THE
RACIAL PROSPECT
A RE-WRITING AND EXPANSION OF THE
AUTHOR'S BOOK "MANKIND"

BY
SETH K. HUMPHREY

NEW YORK
CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS
1920
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INTRODUCTORY

Ever since the signing of the armistice, the civilized peoples of the world have been demonstrating an amazing aptitude for political and social disorder. A rampant individualism, both crude and incompetent, hinders concerted action toward readjustment. Irresponsibility stands out as one of the commonest of personal characteristics. The rising complexities of our civilization seem to be met by a sheer incapacity on the part of vast numbers to accept reasonable social obligations.

This huge distemper is laid variously to maladministration, social injustice, ignorance, and reaction from war; but there is abundant evidence of a deeper malady—of a degenerative change taking place in the quality of the race itself, which is adding significantly to the difficulties of the present social order.

So the conviction grows that the proper
breeding of the human race is a matter quite as important as the perfecting of any other useful species. Science has already advanced our knowledge of heredity, as applied to human beings, to a degree that suggests new possibilities for the race’s future. We of to-day are better equipped to protect our racial values than those of any earlier civilization who struggled vainly with the problem of racial decline. And now, the frightful destruction of life in the Great War has brought the matter of human conservation directly before the public interest.

This book is written expressly to meet the new popular desire for practical knowledge concerning our racial inheritance—its workings in the every-day life about us, its bearing on human events, both past and to come. For the sake of brevity and readability, the writer dispenses with references and statistics; but he has taken infinite pains, for the security of his readers, to make sure that his generalizations are based on widely accepted authorities. No additions to technical knowledge are attempted; such ele-
mentary facts of inheritance as are deemed essential are given in the second chapter. Interest is centred on what one may see in the great drama of life from a somewhat novel view-point.

A comprehension of these intimate matters, such as is open to any thoughtful reader, adds a peculiar zest to almost every human relationship. Marriage and the family take on a deeper significance. One's friends have to meet a new but appreciative scrutiny, and even the throngs on the street yield interesting human appraisements. The many social problems and reforms of the day come to be viewed in a new and far more critical light.

Perhaps the most startling discovery to be made by the technically uninformed reader is that our present huge business of educating and training individuals does not accomplish race-development. The best authorities are now in practical agreement that cultural effects are not inheritable—they add nothing to the inborn qualities of the race. And we do not have even the
negative consolation of being at a racial standstill. Casual investigation shows that in a highly organized society the falling birth-rate is quite generally chargeable to the more effective of the race, while the less competent are coaxed to greater fertility. In this and other ways a civilization tends to depreciate the mental quality of its human stock, and survives only so long as it may draw upon reserves bred under more normal conditions. Were the influx of fresh blood to the great centres to be cut off, progress would stop within a generation. And human stocks in reserve—the new strength that must flow always into the veins of a civilization—are being drawn upon to-day as never before.

We in the United States, with our huge Negro-White population, and some fifty varieties of labor immigrant so confidently welcomed to our famous Melting-Pot, should be especially interested in the effects of interbreeding unlike peoples. It is found that when the unlikenesses do not involve great inequalities of mental strength, the inheri-
stances may reinforce each other and produce exceptional offspring. Most of the fine old English stocks were the result of such matings. But the mating of radically unlike strains, especially of superior with inferior, yields for the most part ineffective inheritances, well below the average of the parent stocks. Whole populations in Central and South America—the Indian-Whites—were thus mongrelized, to their everlasting detriment. Some day we may apprehend that the efficacy of any melting-pot depends mostly on the quality of the ingredients and their proper mixing—details of race-building which, so far, have been met with the densest unintelligence.

As we learn better to realize the aimless, unstudied character of human breeding, we shall more clearly understand the many great racial failures of the past—the periodic collapses of civilization, the sudden weakening of great peoples apparently at the zenith of their development. It is the habit of mature civilizations to meet racial decadence with more and more intensive training of
their individuals; but training depends for its effectiveness upon the inbred quality of the individuals to be trained. Our own civilization, as careless as any with its racial values, is now being violently introduced to its accumulation of untrainable humans. Signs multiply in these days of social explosions that even here in America we already have, aside from our maladjusted foreigners, immense numbers of native-born, fairly well-taught, and not technically feeble-minded, who are incapable of being drilled to a decent personal responsibility. Their limited mentalities repel sound instruction and develop no self-control; they are the sand in the gears of our democracy. And we have yet to learn that education, the proper remedy for honest ignorance, is mere camouflage against the rising menace of these underbred.

Racial strength and racial decay are the most significant among all the factors which make for the rise and fall of nations. Not even wars can do more than hasten or postpone these inevitable shiftings of power from
the outworn to the vigorous. Against every collective effort of man, the quality of the human stock itself finally determines which shall be the ascendant peoples. How many of us fully realize that the decisions of the Great War have yet to be tried out in the most desperate contest of peace strength ever known? The big, final decision, overshadowing all others, will go to whichever has the brains and vigor to excel in the arts of peace. A rather ominous prospect in a world where Germany was fast excelling until she turned to conquest by force of arms.

Race-building, then, is the key to dominance in the coming civilization. Instead of frantically adding to man's accomplishments, we must now add something to man's inheritance. Race-building is the newest, one of the most promising, and certainly the least appreciated of all instrumentalities for human advancement. It is a field of endeavor left mostly to the breeders of domestic animals and plants. Specialists in human welfare, particularly educators and social
workers, are coming to recognize feeblemindedness as a hereditary defect, to be eliminated by withholding parenthood from the mentally defective. But this concentrating on the case of the mentally defective shows that our conception of human breeding is still most elementary; we class in a lump the remaining ninety odd per cent of mankind as "normals," for no other reason than that they are not feeble-minded. As a matter of fact, gradations in racial worth continue on through all humanity from the dullest to the keenest, and we are in vastly more danger from the inadequate birth-rate of the better grades than from the abnormal increase of outright defectives. Every historic failure of the race has been associated with decline in the quality of its leadership. For adequate results in race-building we have got to look beyond the mere elimination of incompetents. The feeble-minded never overturned a state; they are a racial as well as a social menace, and, since nature is no longer permitted to destroy her weaklings, state control of their reproductive function is logically the first step in adjusting
the propagation of the race to our artificial way of living. But if society, dependent more and more on artifice as its complexities increase, does not take the next logical step and extend its control to erratic parenthood wherever found, from the excessive fecundity of the improvident to the voluntary barrenness of the cultured, racial impoverishment will bring us to the common end of all civilizations since the beginning.

All systems for perpetuating human life have failed under the stress of high culture to maintain effective inheritance values, mainly because they were devised to meet social rather than racial needs. It is of the utmost significance that now, for the first time in history, the race has sufficient knowledge of heredity to save itself from the blight of its own culture. Whether we are to attain a permanent civilization depends upon whether we elect to use this knowledge for the maintenance of permanent racial vigor. The big problem is to work out a scheme of selection for parenthood which shall be acceptable to society as a whole, even if it has to be imposed on the individual somewhat
after the manner of any other social obligation. One of the greatest social discoveries yet to be made is that parenthood is not an inalienable right.

Those who read this book with care should be reasonably prepared for the rather novel suggestions in the final chapter. In the belief that every constructive proposal for the race’s upbuilding brings us nearer to a solution of the problem, the author makes his contribution.

It has been thought best to present the subject in its broad social aspect, apart from its many special appeals to our interest, and to commend the reader to further study. Many good books on Heredity, Genetics, Eugenics, Race Culture, Mendelian principles of inheritance, and other biological facts necessarily omitted here, are offered to the reader who wishes to go further into the subject of race. Francis Galton’s “Hereditary Genius” and other writings are virtually the basis for the present eugenic movement. C. W. Saleeby, Havelock Ellis, Karl Pearson, and W. Bateson write from different points of the English view. In America, the books
of C. B. Davenport, W. E. Castle, H. H. Goddard, David Starr Jordan, and E. G. Conklin are among the best. Three good books on race history are W. Z. Ripley's "Races of Europe," H. F. Osborn's "Men of the Old Stone Age," and Madison Grant's "Passing of the Great Race." Osborn's "Origin and Evolution of Life" is a notable recent contribution. One of the latest books, Popenoe and Johnson's "Applied Eugenics," should be of special interest to students of practical sociology. Most of these books, both English and American, can be found in any well-equipped library. Several of them contain bibliographies which will take the reader into any branch of the subject, and as deeply as he may wish to go.

If this study, in its attempt to give a practical view of the racial problem, succeeds to any extent in promoting intelligent discussion of the race's future, it will have served its purpose.
CHAPTER I

A PANORAMIC VIEW

PREHISTORIC MAN—GREAT AGE OF MAN—RACIALLY NON-PROGRESSIVE—INDIVIDUAL AND RACE DEVELOPMENT NOT RELATED—UNPRECEDENTED DEMANDS OF MODERN LIFE—MAN NEARING HIS LIMITATIONS

The race's origin, and all except the merest fraction of the race's life, lie in an almost unexplorable past. The human remains which have survived even a part of the incredibly long stretches of time that preceded history are both few and fragmentary; and it is upon these relics, coupled with painstaking study of life principles in general, that investigators must build their knowledge of humankind in the making. We may hope to know more about our early forebears as new discoveries are made, but it will always be a knowledge well mixed with speculation.

The best authorities are in sufficient agree-
ment to warrant us in accepting these essential points as fairly established: man was evolved through countless ages from a species akin to the anthropoid apes; and as a being not so very far removed from the present human type, man has lived, according to the best geological guessers, somewhere between five hundred thousand and one million years.

The remotest facts of history take us back less than ten thousand years. The vastness of the span of human life which we term “prehistoric” taxes the power of the imagination. By comparison, the Assyrians were a modern people; Rome and Greece were of yesterday and the day before.

Because the relics of prehistoric man himself are disappointingly few, and the remains of his implements and art are in greater profusion, our knowledge of him pertains more to what he did than to what he himself was. His accomplishments are revealed so far as they can be revealed by imperishable remains only; but the best of man’s handiwork is perishable, so that of his best at-
tainments we are left in the dark. Furthermore, while these remains tell us much about his various stages of development, they disclose nothing of his capacity for development, which is a quite different matter. Man in no past age can be measured by what he succeeded in doing—and much less by the little of his works which we have succeeded in finding. We simply do not know to what heights prehistoric man might have attained if set in the midst of our own opportunities. He had not, as we have, the accumulated knowledge of the ages to assist him. It was he who laboriously wrote the first pages of the great book of human experience which we have only to read. Peace to his ashes!

But we do know that since the earliest times which furnish us with human remains in sufficient number to warrant the drawing of any safe conclusions, the actual progress of the human stock, either in brain capacity or in physical power, has been practically negligible. In other words, with all his spectacular accomplishments in other respects, civilized man has added nothing to
the quality of his inheritance—if, indeed, he has not actually depreciated it.

We blind ourselves to this very essential truth by assuming that as a civilization becomes great, the human stock which is concerned in building it also becomes great. Civilization presents an imposing accumulation of the work of successive generations, so we jump to the conclusion that there must have been a corresponding rise in individual caliber, in potential capacities. But the accomplishments of Egypt, Greece, and Rome—taking into account the accumulation of human experiences at the command of each period—show every whit as much capacity, initiative, imagination, daring, as anything we do to-day. What we mistake for an improving race is a race expressing itself under constantly improving conditions. Each generation appropriates at the start the world’s sum of knowledge, and begins its work with that advantage; each adds its quota of achievement for the benefit of the next.

But this continual adding to the para-
phernalia of living increases the load put upon human capacity. Now, the individual of no greater mental caliber than that of his predecessors is compelled to exercise his wit in a vastly bigger way. To take a specific instance: the ordinary motorman, whose spectacular driving of a hundred-ton electric train down into subways and over the roaring elevated would have caused a Rameses to shudder and a Cyrus to turn pale, is doing no more than their underlings could have learned to do, had they been put to it. They simply were not put to it. Our motorman’s inborn equipment probably is not superior to that of the man who drives a lazy horse to town, or, five thousand years ago, worked on the Pyramids, or—for aught we know—fifty thousand years ago chased the mammoth with a stone hatchet. He is one among the millions who are now trained to fill the thousand and one nerve-racking, soul-devouring situations created by the most intensive system of living the world has ever seen. And these millions are the descendants of equally capable billions who
died with most of their ability unexpressed, because they lived in a world whose work required so little expression of it.

To sense clearly the present critical situation of the human stock, we must understand that the history of the race down to one hundred years ago is a story of human capacities undeveloped, of resources in nature lying fallow through the ages. It is difficult to appreciate in how many respects material existence for the main bulk of humanity proceeded on a dead level from the time of Moses until well on into the last century. Transportation and communication were no more rapid in colonial days than with the ancient Egyptians. Nothing swifter than the horse was known to either Xerxes or Washington, and in every age man carried his own messages. The home was the unit of industry until the birth of our grandmothers, and the slowness of accomplishment held the masses, almost as closely in one age as in another, to a simplicity of life that precluded full display of ability. Leadership and specialization were required of
very few. The powers and limitations of man were little comprehended, because the great mass of mankind had never been pushed within comprehending distance of either its powers or its limitations.

Now suddenly comes this demand upon the individual for a more complete use of his inherent ability. The devices of science and invention have made life extraordinarily complex. The few possessed of the qualities for leadership, initiative, and organization are sought out and pressed to the limit of capacity. But it is far more significant of the revolutionary change in living conditions that, in this day, knowledge, skill, and ability are demanded of a vastly greater proportion of the plodding masses, who hitherto have directed their own more or less inefficient efforts. The day for the working out of one’s own needs, in one’s own way, and in one’s own time, has gone by, and with it, possibly, one of the serene satisfactions of life. The new civilization keeps most of us straining at some narrow task under authority. Capacities are put to the
test *en masse*. The testing discloses inequalities hitherto unobserved in the general run of mankind, and differentiates men as never before. Some rise to great effectiveness who, fifty years ago, would have remained obscure; on the other hand, this new sorting-out process discloses the immense array of hopelessly ineffective human beings already bred into the race.

And this complex, interlocking whirl of existence falls upon men and women whose exact prototypes—until yesterday, as the world’s time goes—spun and wove and wrought with their hands all the things that were made, dreaming little of conveniences that add nothing to serenity, of quickened processes that yield no leisure, or of speedy conveyance that impels only to greater haste!

No wonder that the littleness of men stands out against the bigness of their jobs. The concern of this day should be not so much for further achievement as for man himself, who must carry the load.

Never was it so true as now that “the
proper study of mankind is Man.” That study is going forward under skilled leadership in many places, especially in England and America. Mankind is in a fair way to be eclipsed by its own achievements; but it is a healthy sign of the times that the mania for achievement has at last turned to the rather desperate case of the human race itself.
CHAPTER II

PRINCIPLES OF INHERITANCE

LIKE TENDS TO PRODUCE LIKE—ACQUIRED TRAITS NOT TRANSMITTED—DAMAGE TO GERM-PLASM AFFECTS INHERITANCE—METHOD OF INHERITANCE—OUR NEW RESPONSIBILITY

This book is for the lay reader who is willing to think but not ready to go into the depths of a new science. The next few pages, explaining the elementary principles of inheritance, are wholly untechnical, and a careful reading of them will add much to one's interest in the chapters to follow on the practical aspects of the subject.

One general principle underlying all breeding is embodied in the popular expression "like tends to breed like." A comprehensive study of inheritance would take us into the refinements of this fundamental idea, but a brief statement of the main facts of heredity is all that is here essential.

It has been established beyond reasona-
ble doubt that both physical and mental inheritances in human stock follow laws of breeding quite similar to those for any other stock. This truth was late in arriving, by reason of its running constantly afoul of man's deep-seated notion that he, of all creatures, exists apart from the general scheme. Now that we have come to recognize ourselves as one of nature's creations, we are using animal and plant experimentation for determining certain corresponding facts in human heredity which cannot be directly determined, and for confirming observations made in the study of man himself.

The most prevalent notion which the layman has to unlearn is that acquirements due to environment—to the various experiences of life—become in some way a part of the heritage of the next generation. The idea that developing the mentality of the individual improves the inheritance of the race lingers most persistently, even among those who have most need of knowing better.

It is now almost universally held as a proven fact that traits acquired through
ment impression are not transmitted to offspring. Training, education, discipline do not get into the blood. All inheritance comes through the germ-plasm; the germ-cells develop within the body in strict accordance with their inheritance through both parents, and are no more affected by any life experience, short of actual physical mutilation, than is the shape of one’s ears or the mole on one’s cheek. The germ-plasm cannot be educated or uplifted. The human species, like every other, has no means of improving its hereditary quality except by properly selected matings. Most of our present enthusiasms for so-called ‘race-betterment’ are misdirected because they do not sense this biological truth as fundamental in any scheme of race-building.

But influences which physically damage the germ-plasm itself, and thus disturb its proper functioning, do have a direct effect on the heritage of offspring. Alcohol in excess, lead, and various strong drugs, seem to act in this way. Venereal diseases are supposed to be particularly injurious to
germ-plasm. Possibly there are other systemic poisons, induced by fatigue or by civilization's nerve-racking complexities, of whose subtle effect on the germ-plasm, and thus on the race, we are still unaware.

It is of great significance that the only environmental influences which affect inheritance at all, so far as we now understand them, are destructive influences, tending to impair the normal heritages of offspring. This leads to the rather sombre conclusion that while a healthy individual cannot possibly add value to the heritage of his children by the most exemplary behavior, his misbehavior may seriously damage it. The most that can be done for the germ-plasm is to maintain its normal condition of physical vigor. The latest studies, however, tend to minimize the probability of physical damage to germ-plasm from any source. Emphasis is laid more and more upon the continuity of the germ-plasm from generation to generation, quite effectually protected in the human body from all external influences, both good and bad.
Nearly every trait as we view it in the individual is really a more or less complex ensemble of simple, or unit, characters. "Unit" characters may roughly be defined as the indivisible items which make up the character-building material. These combinations are of almost infinite variety, and some of them may have the appearance of new traits; but the novelty is nearly always one of combination, and environment has no more part in arranging these combinations than in creating the units which compose them. In certain instances, however, variations occur in some manner as yet little understood, which seem to be new traits and are hereditary. But for our purpose we need not go into the baffling study of variations.

Excepting always the systemic poisons which possibly mutilate the germ-plasm, the persistence of hereditary traits through the generations unchanged by life histories is the great fact of reproduction. Thus, the child inherits, not from the traits which its parents and grandparents chanced to develop
in their lives, but from the traits which descended through them in the essentially immortal germ-plasm. This is a very important point. The child’s inborn equipment has no trace of the veneers which time put upon its parents. We may regret that the child does not partake directly of the parents’ chastened maturity, but if we stop to consider that in that case it would also partake of every physical blemish and mental twist which “the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune” had put upon them, we may be thankful that every child, unless its inheritance has been actually poisoned, begins with a clean slate the development of its inherited virtues and defects.

The child’s inheritance is determined irrevocably by the union of two single cells from the germinal material of its parents. Since no two cells developed by either parent contain exactly the same combination of unit characters, no two children of the same parents have exactly the same inheritance; and as theirs is the closest relationship possible, it follows that the probability of any two
people being born into the world exactly alike is infinitely small. The only exceptions are “identical” twins, born from the splitting in two of a fertilized egg.

According to the laws of chance, the child’s traits will more nearly resemble those of his parents, since he and they draw their inheritances from more nearly similar germinal material. But he also has the probability—diminishing rapidly with the remoteness of the ancestor—of inheriting from any of his forebears other traits which may not have appeared in his parents, or in any intervening generation. Thus the probability of being an “odd stick” depends largely on the number of odd specimens in the family tree. Animals in the natural state “breed true” to type, because long-continued selection for certain survival qualities has given them a quite homogeneous ancestry. In the case of “thoroughbred” domestic animals, artificial selection for desired points usually has been carried on for so few generations that unwanted traits from the mixed ancestry farther back frequently appear in the
offspring. It is by rigorously excluding these odd specimens from the breeding stocks, generation after generation, that a reasonably homogeneous ancestry and a stable breed are finally secured.

The human species is interestingly at variance with life in a state of nature. Obviously, radical unlikenesses in offspring are to be expected from a much mixed ancestry. The germinal material made up from their unlike contributions offers a wide range of inheritance possibilities. Now it happens that man is the only creature that habitually mates with unlikeness among his immediate kind, and is not overparticular when it comes to mixing extreme types, or even races. Consequently the human breed is the most thoroughly mongrelized, and produces the most diversified offspring, of any on earth. There is no telling what unheard-of trait a child sometimes may pick out of his ancestry—and it comes as a surprise to most parents, because their acquaintance with the personal traits of their ancestors is slight. The notion is curiously preva-
lent that only undesirable traits thus re-
appear; but what is more natural than that
fond parents should regard a child’s unwel-
come characteristics as a stroke descended
from oblivion, while its virtues are modestly
accepted as reflections of their own? As a
matter of fact, some people would be poor
sticks, indeed, had they not chanced upon
a few ancestral virtues which their parents
overlooked.

So much for the fundamental principles
of inheritance. The investigations of re-
cent years have taken our knowledge far
beyond the scope of these simple statements.
But for a broad view of the race’s history
and of the race’s future, and for a concep-
tion of the separateness of racial and cul-
tural influences, certain basic facts should
be kept in mind:

Hereditary likeness is the general expec-
tation.

The only human qualities which endure
are those which are bred in the race.
All environmental effort must be expended anew upon each generation.

We may seemingly transform the character of a man, and still no more affect the values in his germ-plasm than the curve of his eyebrows.

Inheritance fixes the capacity of the individual to respond to environment, to develop; upon the quality of inheritance depends primarily the quality of all human achievement, of civilization itself.

Thus the first essential for stable progress is a race of humans well bred, in the literal sense.

Years ago we hit upon the clever scheme of first improving the breed of domesticated animals and plants so that they could respond more effectively to training and cultivation. Nowadays no species of any interest to us—except our own—escapes the building up of its hereditary quality. In-born handicaps to development are tolerated only in humankind.
Our new knowledge of these matters puts upon us a new responsibility for the future quality of the race. This does not suggest a race of supermen, nor humans all approaching a single standard of excellence. We do not want a race of men as alike as two squirrels, nor bred for special points. Even if we did, the complexities of human inheritance make it unattainable. The glory of man is in the infinite variety of his worthwhile characteristics,—a variety suited to the wide range of his tasks,—and we know now that we could get more of these worthwhile characteristics transmitted to posterity if we were to exercise ordinary intelligence in selection for parenthood.

It would be a failure of human skill in its supreme test if we were to succeed in bringing all other useful creatures to hereditary perfection, and fail with our own kind.
CHAPTER III
THE RACE'S HERITAGE

A HERITAGE FROM THE AGES—ELASTIC RESPONSE OF MIND TO IMPRESSIONS—HEREDITY AND ENVIRONMENT COMPARED—UNLIKENESSES AND INEQUALITIES IN INHERITANCE—RELATION OF FEATURES TO CHARACTER—THE SUPERIOR INHERITANCE

We are so in the habit of putting the whole emphasis on developing the individual that we miss his significance as one of a species, dependent like any other on his inheritance for the very qualities which enable him to develop at all.

To clear the way to this broad view, our dilettante, cultural notions of race-improve-ment need a complete upsetting. The making of the human species was like the making of every other species which has escaped destruction—through constant survival of the fit and ceaseless dying of the unfit. It was in five hundred thousand years of primitive struggle with its own and every other kind that the stamina of the race was built
up—not in the few hundred years of its effete civilizations. Throughout unrecorded ages, he of the greatest wit and skill secured the best food and had the most women; he and his kind survived. He could not even save his own weaklings to pollute the race. Only the best blood went back into the human stock, and because it did so for thousands of centuries we have to-day the unique life forces which give us capacity for great achievement. True race-improvement began with the primal who first conceived the happy notion of cracking the heads of the less wary with a stone hatchet; race-improvement ended when civilization gave the incompetent an equal chance to survive and multiply.

The building up of human quality was a ruthless business. Culture, with its softer ways, brings it to glorious fruition. But culture merely utilizes human material; it abhors nature's brutally effective method of selection, and substitutes none of its own. Our great heritage goes to posterity by way of any two people not in jail or the
THE RACE'S HERITAGE

lunatic asylum. Race-builders? We are race-spenders, mostly unaware that race-building is done, not by developing human talent, but by properly transmitting it.

How are we to distinguish between inborn traits and those imposed by life's experiences?

Most inherited physical qualities are in evidence, and easily recognized. In his physical aspects, man under normal conditions develops true to the image predetermined by his inheritance, down to the least item in his anatomy. To be sure, the physique yields with discouraging ease to degenerating influences, such as malnutrition and disease, but we have learned fairly well to distinguish between these environmental effects and the actual physical inheritance.

It is in the study of mental attributes that the characteristics due to inheritance are not by any means so easily identified. The human mind, in its elastic response to a vast multitude of external influences, so far transcends every other phenomenon which man
is called upon to study, that he has difficulty in conceiving its ultimate subservience to the laws of heredity. The mind so quickly reflects external impressions that impressed traits and hereditary traits are confusingly intermingled. Its expansive willingness to take on all manner of influences, both good and bad, leads many enthusiasts to the buoyant view that proper environment can make up for almost any lack in mental inheritance.

Controversies over the relative importance of heredity and environment are pointless, since the two factors are so essentially unlike that comparison is impossible. Heredity supplies the material, both physical and mental; it is the business of environment to develop this material into the finished product, as manifested in the individual. It is environment that produces the spectacular effects, and thus leads us to exaggerate its relative importance; but obviously the effects which it can produce in any case are limited by the capacity of the inheritance to respond. The best carpenter in the world
cannot make a mahogany table out of pine boards, although he may make a good imitation of one. So may “uplift” enthusiasts bedeck a poor stick of a man with the habiliments of virtue and prop him up in the straight and narrow path, without making a real man of him. But the carpenter has the best of it—veneers stick to a cheap table better than to a cheap man.

Good material for the making of a man or a table is the prime essential. One’s inheritance is a fixed quantity; environmental limitations may be overcome. A mentally strong man in an unfortunate environment is self-impelled to get out of it and into one which matches his powers. His forceful inheritance is the ever-present factor which shapes his career. A weak man flaccidly accepts his surroundings; environment dominates his life. The strong inheritance may laugh at environment; the weak succumbs to it.

Although the effects of environment are the more insistently obvious, we are viewing and measuring hereditary mental differences in almost every one of our daily contacts—
differences which cannot be accounted for by differences in life experiences. From the beginning to the end of life each one of us unwittingly proclaims the various inclinations and limitations of his mental inheritance by responding variously to experiences; more readily to this, less readily to that, and to some others not at all.

Personal intimacies bring to light these inherent characteristics. We are most keenly alive to them among members of our own family. Since environment for them has been similar, most differences in their mental reactions, like differences in height, or color of hair and eyes, are due to heredity. We naturally seek friends among those in whom a similarity of environment has developed congenial tastes, pleasures, habits, and outlook—all acquired characteristics—but as acquaintance proceeds we hold as friends only those whose more intimate qualities—inborn qualities which have not been remodelled by environment—prove to be compatible with our own.

The search for inborn traits does not wait
for intimacy. We begin it the moment we look a stranger in the face. Mental individuality is closely bound up with physical individuality. Certain mental traits correspond so habitually to certain physical features that we proceed, without a fixed rule in our heads for doing so, to "size up" the eyes, nose, mouth, chin, forehead—the tout ensemble—and set a measure of the man before we know him. In a sense, the mind is cast into the physical mould, and the rigidity of this mould argues a corresponding stubbornness of inherited mental characteristics.

This correlation of mental and physical parts is one of the most astonishing of all human phenomena. It has been too much exploited by charlatans and too little studied by scientists. Stand on any busy street corner and watch the crowd go by. Faces and features depart radically from the lines which we instinctively have come to recognize as denoting strength of character. A like array of any other species would strike us as having been carelessly bred, but it is
the polite custom to charge the motley state of humankind to the infinite variety of his surroundings. In certain respects this view is justified, yet what we see mostly in the faces of the passing throng are hereditary characteristics. Environment may alter facial expression, but it does not shape those features which are a sure index of inherent mental capacity. The weak mouth, chinless chin, nose imperfect in its various lines, retreating brow, ill-shaped head, eyes which we feel at once are the windows of a little soul—these are inbred structural faults which indicate corresponding handicaps in mental inheritance, and such individuals are at lifelong disadvantage in a world adjusted to the capacities of the well-born.

The unlikelihood in character traits suggest the inequalities in mental inheritance which we all know exist, yet scarcely comprehend in their true significance. We ascribe altogether too many of these obvious inequalities to differences in opportunity and training. Because there is a certain sameness in untried youth, it does not fol-
low that similar opportunities will disclose anything like equal capacities. A wheelbarrow and a sewing-machine in the back yard are equally inert—neither expresses anything. But that does not imply that by skilful handling the wheelbarrow can be made to sew.

*Inequality*—of races, of individuals within a race, within a community, within a family—this is an idea fundamental to the study of mankind. Constant emphasis on political equality befogs our view of these hereditary differences, and leaves us too satisfied with the race as it is.

Man is a gregarious animal. Luckily for social peace, a wholesome inclination to conform in all essentials to the social order sets ninety per cent of us to a constant redirecting of some, and suppressing of other, inherited traits. We aim to present a harmonious front to society and conceal the discords. Society exists because we succeed so admirably in doing this. The average good citizen may be safely permitted at
large, only because he keeps a few of his natural-born proclivities locked up. He keeps them locked up, not merely because he wishes to deceive his fellow men as to their existence, but because he himself recognizes their undesirability.

As for the ninety per cent who willingly conform to the social order, these distinctive inherent traits of a minor sort yield so readily to the persuasive efforts of the individual and society that they are of little importance in any but a technical consideration of inheritance values. They give us individuality and add spice to acquaintance; they may break up friendships, but they do not disrupt the community. People who cannot abide each other may be equally conscientious and valuable citizens.

Inheritances of special talent for doing certain specific things, such as the power to create art, music, poetry, and the like, while of great value to the community, are rarely attended by well-rounded capacity in other directions, and are possessed by so few that a consideration of inheritance values
for the main bulk of humanity may ignore them. The inheritance, too, of specific inclination to deceit and crime in persons otherwise normal need not be dwelt upon. These cases are exceptional; we shall find that habitual criminality and general undesirableness are due chiefly to mental incompetence.

What, then, if not the gift of special talent, is the nature of the inheritance which leads to great achievement?

The superior inheritance is a mind balanced to meet the unusual demands of life unusually well, rather than one foreordained to distinguish itself in a single respect; it is of that quality of brain which impels to creative leadership in whatever activity it may select. It dominates environment and advances into new undertakings. It is the mark of the social migrator—the man of initiative who extricates himself from the mass and changes some bit of the world, for better or for worse, by his contact with it.

Minds of this transcendent quality give
order and meaning to all constructive effort. They co-ordinate and make effective the labors of the vast masses of humankind—the virtuous mediocrity that accepts the world as it finds it, plays its passive part with undistinguished honor, and goes to oblivion. The whole character of a civilization is determined by the superlative acts of an incredibly small number.

The reader probably has noticed by this time that much emphasis is laid upon the value of mental inheritance, while physical inheritance values have had little consideration. This is because, physically, the race seems to be adequate to all reasonable demands upon it. A race of giants and Methuselahs could hardly have done better. Variations in physique have had small part in making and unmaking civilizations.

While certain influences damaging to physical values have been introduced by present-day civilization, there is not the slightest evidence that the race as a whole has deteriorated physically in all its long history.
The physically strong both outlive and out-breed the weak, and thus eventually thwart civilization's humanitarian efforts to create a sickly race. If the mentally vigorous were equally attentive to their racial duties, civilization would have been a continuous growth from the beginning, not an intermittent phenomenon.

It is the *mental* quality of the stocks now most prolific that should concern eugenists. Bodily vigor is essential for brain development, but the greatest gift of inheritance is brains, and with lack of them the strongest man is the most helpless of animals. This book, for the very good reasons stated, sounds no alarm for the physical welfare of mankind. All allusions to racial values, superiority, inferiority, fitness and unfitness, must be understood as referring to mental quality unless otherwise specified.
CHAPTER IV

BIRTH-RATE AND RACE VALUES

Man discards Nature's methods—breeding of man and of animals in nature—man breeds away from survival of best—erratic parenthood mostly at extremes

Now that we know that the qualities which are carried forward in the race depend wholly upon the manner of breeding, it is easy to understand why the human stock should gradually have ceased to improve as civilizing influences gradually softened the rigors of natural selection and gave the less fit a chance to survive. And it is quite as easy to understand why, if conditions were to favor a disproportionate survival of the less fit, the human stock would deteriorate.

It is a habit of the thoughtless to meet all warnings of racial decline with a vague faith that nature will somehow step in before serious mischief is done, and keep the race going on forever unimpaired—having in mind, perhaps, the seeming permanence of
other forms of life more directly under her control. It is a beautiful thought that nature is standing by with a generous purpose to set right whatever our folly may happen to set wrong, but the fact is that man broke away from nature's scheme for maintaining species almost at the beginning. The first use man made of his wits was to soften the conditions of living. Right there he opened a new portal to survival values. The old physical basis of survival of the fittest took on a new factor—the survival of the wittiest. The man who first drew over his back a skin other than his own made possible the survival of a being who could not live without paraphernalia. To provide the paraphernalia, this being required intelligence. Thus began the selective development of man's most glorious attribute—brains.

To-day we survive the destructive agencies of nature, not because of physical adaptation, but because of the many artifices with which our ingenuity has surrounded us. Almost the only items we now take direct from nature are breath and sleep.
And these many artifices for keeping alive as many as possible of our kind lead to still another phase in the race's life—the increasing survival of the unfit. Man is the only species that protects incompetency beyond the period of youth.

So at this late day it is absurd to allege a contract with nature to look out for our racial integrity. The best evidence that she will not do it is that she never has done it. Not one of all the preceding civilizations was able to outlive its own destructive influences. Other species proceed with an even development until, perhaps, the turn of a geological age reverses living conditions and destroys them, but a half-dozen localized developments of the human race have gone to pieces during the merest fraction of a geological age. To be sure, man lives on through the centuries physically unimpaired, but man's proper development is one of brains and of creations due to brains, not of physique, and his failures have been failures to maintain his mental vigor under the stress of civilization.
Unless we are able to discover the cause of these failures and to apply a remedy, there is no ground for belief that our civilization will not eventually follow those which have gone before.

Since we know that racial values are bred, we must look into man’s system of breeding for both the cause and the remedy. More than likely we shall fairly agree as to the causes of racial decline, and still be of many minds over the question of remedies.

We perceive and understand the effects of breeding in animals, because the breed makes the animal as we see it—it is not refashioned by environment. We perceive with difficulty the effects of breeding in man, because we succeed so well in refashioning him into something quite different from the creature bred. Among animals in the natural state the harsh struggle for existence eliminates the born weaklings before they can reproduce their defective kind. We recognize this as one of nature’s methods for maintaining a vigorous species. Our humanity impels us to preserve the weak; and
while we fail more often than not with the physically defective—Heaven be praised!—we succeed in coaxing the mentally weak to an unhappy maturity, to breed their infirmity with that pristine sexual vigor so characteristic of the irresponsible. A similar perpetuating of defective strains among animals we would at once recognize as disastrous. We conceal the damage in our own case by multiplying almshouses, institutions, homes, and all sorts of social props for the deficient. Again, in natural life the instinct for reproduction presses more markedly upon the vigorous and the fit, and nothing intervenes to divert it; the fittest are the most prolific. The sex instinct in man presses as markedly upon the physically inclined, and gives us a physically vigorous race; but the mentally superior habitually divert it from its natural function. The inevitable result to the race is mental impoverishment.

The world has been worrying itself of late about the birth-rate—whether it is rising or
falling, in this or that country—as if a nation's strength depended on the number, not the quality, of its people. In making up the human inventory, we still count noses instead of brains. Yet the world knows that surplus populations are to-day stifling certain countries and will eventually stifle others. The test for survival is to be, increasingly, one of possessing the best human stock, and no more of it than can properly exist.

The question of rate of increase pales into nothingness before the question of what sort of stock is supplying the increase. Man stands unique among all living creatures in capricious range of fecundity, and in his power to control it at will. It is a momentous fact that we have quite taken over from nature the racial destiny of our species. How well or badly are we managing?

A charge of erratic parenthood cannot be laid against an entire people. Most excellent stock sometimes indulges in large families, and many worthless individuals leave no offspring at all. To both of these we
should be grateful as special conservators of the race.

Yet statistics by the volume have been gathered which prove conclusively all that has been said here about man’s dangerous reversal of nature’s scheme for maintaining quality of species. Not only in this country, but among all civilized peoples, stocks of high genetic value, as measured by those individuals in every grade of society who rise to leadership in some degree, are not by any means so prolific as those stocks which are improvident, incapable, less valuable to the community, and of less genetic worth. Moreover, the inferior types produce at least four generations to the century, against three of the superior, and thus practically double the racially disturbing effect of their greater fecundity.

In modern society nature has no chance against the artificially restrictive precautions of the better grades, while the natural fecundity of the less desirable receives every encouragement from a social order overflowing with good intentions but decidedly
short of racial sense. A high English authority asserts that more than one-half of England's children are born from the lowest one-sixth of her population. There is no reason to suppose that we in America are faring any better.

The reader is not to be wearied with statistical proofs of these well-known facts. Rather, the next chapter will attempt a somewhat intimate picture of Racial Slackers, as they are found in the every-day life about us; the chapter following it—The Fertility of the Unwanted—is an equally discoursive view of the opposite extreme in racial worth.
CHAPTER V
RACIAL SLACKERS

THE SUPERIOR INHERITANCE—THE AMBITIOUS—THE INTELLECTUALS—THE RICH—WOMEN AND RACE VALUES—THE FEMINIST MOVEMENT—WOMEN'S COLLEGES—MEN CHOOSE INFERIOR WOMEN

The civilized world to-day is saved from overpopulation by the infertility of its best stocks. Would we expect any other species to thrive under a like condition?

Effective men and women of every grade are essential to a civilization, but those most necessary for its permanence are the individuals with innate capacity for doing best the things which civilized man has to do. Leadership in the creative arts, in literature, science, business, education, finance, statesmanship—in all affairs which determine the character of a civilization—may come to inheritances such as these. But the innate capacity of a man cannot be measured by his achievements—achievement depends
upon opportunity, and opportunity is partial in distributing its favors. The aristocracy of brains runs crosswise through all the social strata, and expresses itself relatively. Hereditary strength is in the man, high or low, who strives and achieves better than his fellows. He sees his goal always beyond him; they see in him one beyond themselves. By inheritance he is a "social migrator." He may be the country lawyer who becomes President of the United States, or the sales clerk who finally owns the store. He is the one man in the ditch to become a boss, or the boss who blossoms into a contractor, or the contractor who afterward develops into a public-spirited citizen and serves his community. And the newsboy who manages to go to college and breaks away from his father's trade is a full member of this well-mixed fraternity.

We say that such men have ambition, as if that were a specific quality which impels one to endeavor. Ambition is no more than the outward symptom of innate superiority striving to express itself. No man naturally
has ambition beyond his capacity to achieve; most failures are due to false stimulation to effort.

Sometimes the manifestations of a really desirable inheritance are distinctly antiso-
cial. Vicious leaders often get their viciousness from ignorance and wrong conceptions; their power to lead indicates strength which might have been better directed. The point to bear in mind is that imperfectness of expression does not lessen the value of such an inheritance as a transmitter of strong characteristics to future generations, in whom they may have better opportunity for develop-
ment. The cursing boss on a big construction job is very apt to be carrying germ-plasm of greater promise for posterity than the soft-mannered curate who fell into his position and stayed there—yet of course we would much prefer having the curate to tea. One must forever be on guard against mistaking culture for inborn quality, although the inevitable trend of able men and women is upward through the social strata into the cultured classes.
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So from every walk of life in the cities, and from towns, villages, country—the great reservoirs of unexploited human material—come the best of their kind, impelled by their fortunate inheritances toward the centres of achievement. This is the phenomenon of leadership—in America, in every civilized country, and in all previous civilizations.

These are indeed the stocks from which to breed a race of men. A system of selective breeding would choose just these—but this is beyond present attainment. The best that could be hoped for would be a generous infusion of their good blood into the blood of the race. Then, as a matter of fact, how well do they fulfil their racial duties?

They fulfil them less completely than almost any other set of individuals in the community. The stressful, shifting conditions under which they work out their emergence are directly opposed to anything in the nature of a handicap. They are as inclined to marry as are all normal, healthy people, and most of them do marry, but prudence is a dominant trait with them,
and prudence suggests both a late marriage and a limited family. They arrive at a settled condition too late in life, and the economic problem lingers too long with most of them to admit of an adequate number of children.

Thus a civilization picks out the best from every part of its human supply, leads it to greater achievement, and to less fertility. It does not matter that these men die; it does matter that they let their exceptionally good germ-plasm die with them. The loss of their rich inheritances, which might have enriched other inheritances till the end of time, definitely impoverishes the world’s racial values.

Of course we all know that exceptionally able men often have commonplace children—especially if they have commonplace wives. We shall have more about commonplace wives toward the end of this chapter. Even if the parents are equally well born their children tend to revert to mediocrity, for the very simple reason that all of us have much more of mediocrity than of greatness
in our ancestry, and therefore in the germinal material from which our children draw their inheritances. But this does not alter the fact that rich inheritances can come only from germ-plasm rich in possibilities. Superior germ-plasm not transmitted is always a distinct loss to the race, even if it might not always have produced greatness in the immediate offspring. The able man who leaves no children deprives the race of the benefit which would come from a diffusion of his strong qualities through it, and reduces the probability of future exceptional inheritances.

Another order of ability and genetic values well above the average might be taken to include the culture and intellectual refinement of the community—more particularly represented among educators, statesmen, writers, jurists, physicians, scientists, editors, preachers of the compelling sort, and all the like, whose abilities are more directly employed for the well-being of society, in controlling its affairs, in shaping its thought
and cultivating its tastes, rather than in seeking personal advantage. They are characterized by a pervading sense of social obligation, a more or less unconscious altruism which leads them to accept satisfaction with good work done as a conspicuous part of their reward.

This describes the most honorable and socially important group in the community life. Genetically considered, not a high proportion are of the exceptional type described as in the "social migrator" class; most of them, perhaps, have been assisted quite materially by favoring environment. But favoring environment does no more than assist them. The fundamental requisite for their several callings is brains of a high order—strong inheritances, which should be transmitted generously for the race's good.

Yet these people are compelled to undertake the rearing of families under peculiar social and economic difficulties. There are long years of preparation, then longer years before a fair measure of success is attained;
and all the while their refined taste makes them long for the trappings of good living. Then there is something about the cultural life, less tangible than the economic bogey, which turns their interest from its natural centring upon children. So curtailment of family becomes among them an almost universal habit. Any observer who compares even casually the unthinking fecundity of the masses with the few children of our intellectuals knows that they fail adequately to perpetuate their superior heritages. They constitute another vitally important group that absorbs more of the world’s best stocks than it returns to them. Two children to every couple of a group, carried through the generations without a single break, would exactly maintain its numbers. But breaks are of frequent occurrence, through deaths, infertility, and failure to marry; it is safe to assert that families which average less than three children brought to maturity are in process of dying out. Now scan the well-born families of your acquaintance and note how many of them, on this basis, are
on the way to extinction! The failure of
the intellectuals of Europe in this respect
is as ominous as with us, although the
astounding fertility of our labor immigrants
stands out in more vivid contrast against the
infertility of the effective American stocks.

The fortunate—or unfortunate, as often
happens—members of a community who
are loosely described as "the rich" are sup-
posed to be particularly indifferent to racial
duties. For the good of the race, it is well
that some of them are. Wealth is no surer
index of genetic worth than culture.

Possessors of wealth are of two very dis-
tinct sorts—those who create fortunes, and
those who inherit them. The first of these
average high in strength of inheritance.
None but the well-balanced, alert, compre-
hending mind, set in a vigorous and healthy
body, can attain success in the management
of large affairs. The substantial qualities
of inheritance essential to money-making in
a large way are of the kind which might lift
their possessor to eminence in other spheres
of leadership not so strictly measured by dollars and cents. Many great money-makers demonstrate their bigness of personality by attaining distinct success and public usefulness in affairs quite apart from their main occupation. To be sure, some fortunes seem to grow out of sheer chance from the skies, followed up by narrow, stingy persistence, but these are exceptions. Bigness of action and a certain dependableness of character are among the parts of most great builders of wealth.

It goes without saying that the race could hardly receive a more valuable legacy than a generous perpetuation of heritages such as these. But builders of fortunes are for the most part self-made men—"social migrators"—beset throughout their early years by the migrator's temptations to forego the encumbrance of a family during the struggle for success. We have already gone into the shortcomings of the exceptionally endowed with respect to racial duties. A glance at his two, one, or none, as against the six or eight offspring of the ubiquitous, happy-go-
lucky improvident, will reveal the small part that his rich heritage has in perpetuating racial values.

There is a natural, if not sublime, justice in the material advantage gained by men of big achievement. In general, they pay in great works for the wealth they gather in. It is in the universal scheme that strength shall be rewarded. But that other group of the rich, the inheritors of wealth, do not have the fortune-builder's cosmic justification. They take over the parental accumulation whether or not they have inherited the parental brains. Consequently, we have a whole class artificially placed by the endeavor of others; the natural relation between ability and reward is set aside. One of the most obvious and every-day of social phenomena is that of money sustaining myriads of people in positions to which their innate capacities would never have raised them. Of course no one could object to reasonable provision for family; but with the inheritance of large fortunes, the able are not compelled to their best efforts, while the
simpler minded, drilled in this atmosphere of high culture, take on a plausible showing of wit. One can hardly distinguish personal worth through the camouflage.

Yet their racial strength is better conserved than one might be led to suppose. No class in the community has less incentive to be really useful and greater incentive to be worse than useless. Inherited wealth, in its way, is a more fiery ordeal for character than poverty. It picks out much of its own bad blood and sends it to profligacy. Bad stock thus partially disappears from the ranks of wealthy families and leaves the good in possession. Most important, too, for the enrichment of its blood, wealth’s effective appeal to the ambitious of lesser affluence gives it the pick of matings from the superior stocks of the community.

Thus a high proportion of exceptionally good stock is lodged with inherited riches, and the fact of its dilettante performance does not lessen its genetic value. We might forgive inherited wealth for misdirecting a large portion of the talent which succeeds in
getting under its ample roof, if it would only pass on in good measure its unusual inheritance values—for wealth becomes redistributed, while its good blood survives, and in later generations might give a decent account of itself.

Yet no one pretends that the offspring of the ready-made rich compare in numbers with those of any other class; neither does the greater proportion of survivals make up for the deficiency. Free as they are from the economic considerations which beset the family desires of the worthy in every other group, and best equipped of all to raise families, they are the least excusable of racial slackers.

Little has been said of woman's part in sustaining racial values. This is because of the major part taken by men in the conduct of affairs and the more obvious relation of men's abilities to the world's progress. But women have equal part with men in determining the inheritances of their children, of both sexes. A woman may convey masculine
traits from her male progenitors to her male offspring which do not appear in her own inheritance; that is, a woman inherits neither the physical nor the mental texture of a man, although she may transmit both. Conversely—to be strictly impartial—the feminine characteristics of a line may be carried down through the males, but not a male among them will have in his own being the finer attributes of physique, or the delicate alertness of thought, the intuitive penetration, the exquisite quality of love for offspring, which make the glory of womanhood.

The law of inheritance for men and women does not raise the question of equality; it points to mental and physical differences so impassable that men and women cannot be measured against each other. Certain women, whose feminine characteristics are more or less obscure, deem it their business in life to proclaim the "equality of the sexes." This is an innocuous phrase as applied to two complementary beings, both equally essential for a complete demonstra-
tion of human attributes. The sexes are too dissimilar to be either equal or unequal.

While there is much to be commended in the feminist movement, particularly in its aspirations for a more equitable share in political and legal rights, it must be said that, in many of its essential aims, it is a movement away from motherhood toward an ineffective mannishness. The worst feature of this enthusiasm for some sort of career other than the one intended for them by nature is that it takes hold of the strong-minded, the capable, whose initiative reveals itself in justified protest against social conditions—women such as are the potential mothers of a great race.

How are we to convince well-meaning women of fine inheritance that what they owe to the race is children, not milk stations in the slums for other women’s children? The preservation of good blood in the human stock requires personal contributions from just these women. There’s the rub. Like the filling of an unhappy tooth, this is one of life’s experiences which cannot be delegated.
Perhaps it is the mysterious something in the cultural life itself which turns these good women from the sex relation; possibly their eagerness for "self-expression," as they call it, is sometimes accentuated by the thought of the long periods of self-abnegation which the exercise of their natural function would put upon them. No one may judge. The fact remains that in an advancing civilization much of the flower of its womanhood misses its most exalted opportunity to leave its impress upon the race.

These observations are so patent to every thinking person that proof is hardly necessary. But if one were to seek the reason why the flower of America's womanhood runs to infertility, one's inquiry would lead first to the door of the woman's college. Recent careful studies covering the alumnae of many of these colleges, in all parts of the country, reveal an astounding condition. Among all of them, both the marriage and birth-rates have dropped to alarming figures. In many cases less than fifty per cent of the women have married at all, and those who
did marry are either childless or have borne from half to a third of the average number of children. The general average is less than one child per alumna, whereas mere survival of their kind, without increase, requires at least an average of three.

These statistics are for the classes of fifteen to twenty years ago; those in later classes are, of course, more or less in process of marrying and rearing children, and data for them are not available; but if the terrific rate of drop in the figures for the last quarter of the nineteenth century has continued, the marriage and birth-rates for the more recent classes must be something appalling—and there is every evidence that the fecundity of college women has steadily decreased right up to the present time.

This mania for giving young men and women equal opportunity and training for professional occupations is proceeding wholly without regard to its effect upon the race and with no evident comprehension of this wide difference between the sexes: a man's career makes possible his becoming the
father of a family, while a woman’s career makes her impossible as a mother. Nature has put the burden of reproduction upon woman, and the best of her sex cannot dodge it if the species is to thrive. Authorities on race assert that racial decadence in the Middle Ages was hastened by the wholesale withdrawal of the abler young men into the celibacy of the priesthood. To-day we are making virtual celibates of our cleverest young women. In diverting the best potential motherhood to the affairs of the present generation, women’s colleges are lowering by just that much the quality of all future generations.

The remedy is not in condemning college education for women; it lies in making that education a direct preparation for wifehood and motherhood. Until it does that, there can be no racial justification for women’s colleges. It is the dullards among women who should be encouraged to enter celibate occupations.

One may urge that many of these women of strong character, both college bred and
otherwise, have never been asked in marriage—at least by men whom they could bring themselves to accept. But have they generally tried to make themselves acceptable as wives and prospective mothers? Too many college women have educated themselves out of reach—the average young man dislikes to pull a star-gazing damsel off a pedestal when he can fall in with a chummy girl going his way.

Quite likely the young man is wrong in this. Certainly, men as a rule give scant consideration to the needs of the race when choosing a wife. Men shrink from spending a life term with women of pronounced capabilities. To be sure, a man of good parts seeks fine qualities of mind in the woman he wishes to marry, but he also demands other attractions in her which frequently are at variance with those qualities. He is attracted by smoothness of contour and delicacy of features, both clearly indicating simplicity of intellectual endowment. Curve of eyebrow, beauty of hair, teeth, and figure,
and color of cheek are strong matrimonial assets which may, or may not, be associated with genetic worth. The eye expressive of high intelligence is not so fascinating as the dreamy, limpid eye expressive of sensuous mediocrity. Men set great store by sweetness of disposition, but do they choose the woman of intelligent common sense, who will meet the trials of life with cheerful adaptability? Their ideal of good temper is quite as apt to be the amiable creature whose placid non-resistance settles under adversity into a peevish discontent.

While hardly aware of it in most instances, men are inclined toward women of inferior genetic possibilities because they meet the more insistent surface requirements. Physical perfection comes first in their estimate—and again we see why the race holds its own physically. But this stress upon the physical results in the marriage of great numbers of able men to mentally inferior women. This damage to race values is vastly more serious than is usually realized.
The heritages of the children are cut down more than half-way to that of the inferior mother, while the superior women who could have enriched the race carry their lines to extinction. We all know of many unmarried women, especially daughters of men of exceptional ability, whose fine inheritances are shown in strength of features, in vigor and independence of mind—the very qualities which have turned men from them. Many a great man will never be born because his potential mother could not measure down to the man-made ideal of a wife. Mis-mating is the greatest single destroyer of those heritages which the race can least afford to lose.

In these various ways, and with a multitude of other social and economic excuses, civilization everywhere tends to extinguish the very stocks upon which its continuity depends. Culture itself seems to induce an apathy toward the normal rearing of young—an apathy which afflicts most those whose
children are most needed. The silent streets of the well-to-do proclaim the death of germ-plasm which should have been perpetuated.

In the clear light of our present knowledge that education, training, social work, can no more stay the effects of breeding than stop the wind that blows, we see that this deficit in superior human material can be made good only by replacement from other stocks—and at the expense, in turn, of the genetic values in those stocks. The replacement of these destroyed racial values and the reservoirs of human supply from which fresh stocks are drawn are the crux of this study, and will be dealt with in a later chapter.

From the opposite direction another powerful factor works toward the depreciation of racial values—the rapid, uncontrolled multiplication of mental incompetents who are so far below a fair average of social worth that they encumber society more than they assist it. They do not threaten progress so seriously, perhaps, as the destruction of the superior stocks, since the height of a civiliza-
tion is measured wholly by the achievements of its great men, but they are more disturbing to the social structure on which civilization must rest. These men and women deserve careful study.
CHAPTER VI

THE FERTILITY OF THE UNWANTED

THE OBVIOUSLY DEFECTIVE—THE INEFFECTIVE—THEIR PARTS SOCIALLY AND INDUSTRIALLY—SUBNORMAL WOMEN—SPREADING DEFECT UPWARD—PHILANTHROPY ASSISTS INCREASE

When one parent is feeble-minded and the other normal, a varying proportion of the children will be feeble-minded. Those of the children, however, who appear to be normal may carry feeble-mindedness to their own children. In this manner the insidious distribution of mental defect continues on down through the generations, and by means of seemingly good marriages may get into the blood of sound families. Before entering matrimony, one should look beyond the promising candidate to the family history. Never forget that the child inherits, not from its parents, but from the family germ-plasm which the parents are carrying, and to get at the possibilities in that germ-plasm one
should study all persons who have been derived from it—not only parents and grandparents but all brothers and sisters, uncles and aunts.

When both parents are feeble-minded, there is no question as to the offspring—all will be feeble-minded.

It is evident that if the self-perpetuation of subnormals could be stopped, this tremendous burden of the mentally unfit would in time be reduced to a comparatively few casualties. Since earliest times all sorts of proposals to accomplish this have been urged, and some of them tried. A curiously persistent but wholly unthinkable suggestion is that of the lethal chamber—painless death. The moral connection between creating a nobler race and this murder of hapless irresponsibles is not obvious. Sterilization has a growing number of advocates, and if we ever get to the point of actually manipulating racial values, sterilization undoubtedly will have an important part. More will be said about this farther on in the book.
At the present time the generally accepted means of controlling subnormals is permanent custodial care, with segregation of the sexes. Yet even with the prospect of cutting off this fertile source of human misery and racial corruption, scarcely a State in the Union has provided for more than one-seventh of its mentally deficient. This means that the idiotic and imbecile can be taken care of, but only a ridiculously small number of the feeble-minded. The "custodial grade" in each State has to be set to match the State's facilities, regardless of the needs of the situation. So the great bulk of the country's subnormals are still at large — men and women with just enough wit to escape commitment and not enough to connect with the social order.

These constitute the altogether baffling menace of the *semidependent*. The conditions in this group are greatly complicated by our immense foreign immigration; but the immigrant will have attention in a later chapter. It is not the intention to include now those of the foreign-born who are socially
deficient because of ignorance, nor the worthy who have been brought to dependence through misfortune. Excluding these, there is still a vast army of miseries in the border-land which lies between complete helplessness and a useful place in society, whose trouble may be described in three words: ineffective mental equipment. To distinguish them from the more clearly recognized defectives, we will call them "ineffective."

For the problem set us by these men and women there is no solution in sight. Until there is a radical advance in public sentiment and legislative intelligence they cannot be permanently segregated, and with their meagre abilities they cannot meet the simplest requirements of good citizenship and good parenthood.

We find these ineffectives everywhere. Steadfastness of action or of purpose is not in them. They may spend their lives within a stone’s throw of opportunity and never meet it. In their lower grades are many alcoholics, dope-fiends, loafers, tramps, petty
offenders—and petty workers when not offending. They fall in readily with every social disorder that happens along. They get religion in the mission and lose it in the street.

So they drift about between feeble efforts at making a living and chronic entanglement with the law; filling the criminal courts, jails, almshouses, and public institutions generally. This class engages three-fourths of our enormous corrective and philanthropic machinery, and much of it can be sure of keeping out of jail only when it is in the lap of charity.

This is merely descriptive of society's most puzzling group. More to the point is the fact that these men and women are notoriously prolific, with respect to both legitimate and illegitimate offspring. Their sex instincts are uppermost from early youth. It is their one steadily persistent and vigorous characteristic. Many begin their careers with a record of illegitimacy and end with large families which they do not even pretend adequately to support. People of this
mental grade are no more constant in their marital relations than in any other. Their successive matings as they roam about, and the promiscuity of married and unmarried, combine to produce an incredible number of children.

The women of these high-grade subnormals are as ill-fitted to the social scheme as the men, and from a racial point of view are infinitely more damaging. Investigations in New York, Chicago, and other large cities have shown mental incapacity to be the outstanding cause of prostitution and persistent bearing of illegitimate children; yet most of these women are above the custodial grade.

It is with a fine regard for the universal frailty of mankind that we judge somewhat leniently the woman who, under the stress of her unsophisticated affections, makes one serious mistake; but there is something positively grotesque in society's method of handling subnormal women who continue to multiply their defective heritages. These women have been known to return again and again to free maternity institutions—
five, eight, and as many as fourteen times. Were a foolish woman to leave a banana-peel on the sidewalk she would be prosecuted, but she may leave a string of defective children, one after another, to plague society forever afterward, and not only go free but each time the State’s doctors and nurses stand ready to assist her as at a holy function. And each time she is turned loose upon society, because “she can support herself”!

In another way these women inflict a most insidious damage upon the race. If they were to confine their matings with those of their own kind, it would be merely the case of unfitness multiplying unfitness; but a good many of these women are of attractive personality, and in their youth the very lack of mentality gives to their features a placid appeal which attracts normal men. Sometimes these infatuations result in marriage—more often they do not; but in either case this intermixture of good and bad blood produces a degraded offspring. The disastrous spread of hereditary mental de-
fects through the better stocks is due almost wholly to matings between normal men and mentally weak women. Normal women are not attracted to half-witted men.

Again, the careless promiscuity of these women accounts for the wide prevalence of venereal disease among themselves, and their illicit relations with men of better heritage spread the infection upward, with excruciating injustice to the good women whom these men marry, and with horrible consequences to their children and to the race. It will be recalled that venereal disease is one of the few acquirements of man which act directly upon the germ-plasm.

A study of racial values should not presume to pass upon the merits and demerits of social institutions, but it is bound to set forth every kind of influence which bears upon those values. Unfortunately, there are social institutions which do aggravate in several respects this menace of the mentally ill-equipped.

Our new knowledge of hygiene and new
methods of preventing infant mortality have naturally achieved their most conspicuous results among those who hitherto have suffered the highest death-rate because of slovenly habits and general unintelligence in the care of children. There is in this no implication that we should do otherwise than extend succor to all children in the community alike; there is simply the fact that the great campaign for saving infant lives does most of its saving in the very class which is deluging us with inferior human stock.

Individuals above the grade of those who can be segregated as defectives have the full right of citizens in the distribution of public benefits. Opportunities for relief are open pretty much alike to those of deserving qualities who are under temporary misfortune, down to those who can never be fitted into the social scheme and held there. So charity has drifted almost unconsciously beyond its intended function of repairing social injustices and relieving workers in distress to a tremendous expenditure of effort upon the
habitually non-supporting. Free material relief, free dispensaries, free hospitals, free dentistry, free attendance on maternity cases, free district nurses, free shelters and aids of every description—these are righteous gifts of humanity to the worthy unfortunate, but these in such profusion as we have them did not come into existence to care for the worthy unfortunate, or even to meet the imperfections of our social system, as so many like to believe. Their chief business is with those who are below the level of self-support because of hopeless mental inferiority. The net result, then, is every conceivable form of charity for the relief of every conceivable form of inconvenience which may overtake these people, from illegitimate children to delirium tremens.

This is not said in criticism. If society can devise no method for eliminating its enormous "border-line" population, it must take upon itself a part of the functions which it expects the normal family to assume. The condition is stated because nearly all these social props for the deficient ease the way
for the rapid multiplication of hereditary unfitness. It is a very pretty thing to say that nobody shall suffer for lack of food and clothing, but the consciousness that nobody will be permitted to suffer frees many a shiftless man and woman from what little compunction they may have in producing offspring away beyond their ability to care for. They breed with the cheerful certainty that they and their children will be looked after somehow. And their weaklings are among the first to receive philanthropic attention. Many a worthy family endures in secret far greater privation and suffering than would send these people scurrying to the cover of charitable relief. Facilities for better living, rightly calculated to improve their citizenship, enable more of the unfit to marry, and insure the survival of their ineffective children.

It is significant that semidependents are in greater numbers in what might be termed the higher grades of incompetency. In other words, the farther removed they are from
any possibility of being committed as defectives, the more there are of them. They reach their greatest numerical strength among the intermittent workers, the odd-job seekers, the men and women who flit in and out of industry, unskilled and unwanted. The rising demand of industrial life upon the quality of the individual discloses incapacity which heretofore has "got by," and this is added to the prolific natural increase. Obviously, too, these high-grade incompetents are the more dangerous because of their greater capacity for mischief. Men who cannot quite achieve the social order are the readiest to turn against it.

To be sure, the handicaps of foreign birth and poor environment account for many of our social disorders, but they do not account for the slovenly ineptitude, the indifference to instruction, the lack of persistent effort to make good which send nine-tenths of all ineffectives on their pathetic wanderings through the lower grades of industry.

Just as we have learned that alcoholism and habitual criminality are due mainly to
defective mental inheritance, we are now learning that ineptitude, indifference and shiftiness which persist in the midst of reasonable opportunity are due mainly to a similar ineffective mental equipment. In justice to itself, society is bound to provide fair conditions for the self-development of every individual; in no other way can innate capacity and innate incapacity be correctly disclosed. But this does not imply that one who has spent years within reach of the advantages offered in a country like America must be led up by the hand to each of the essentials for the making of good citizenship. We are coming to recognize conspicuous lack of initiative as a sign of mental inferiority. A man who cannot scent opportunity through a few obstacles and go after it has something wrong with his make-up.

So the army of the poorly endowed grows in every civilized land, by addition as new incompetency is revealed, and by its own rapid multiplication; and to this level the
human precipitate from every degenerative influence in civilization eventually settles. It is a menace already of huge proportions, but we succeed well in America in covering the extent and rapidity of its growth with soothing drafts of charity. And most of us rather like to remain blind to the increasing proportion of poor human material. Human interest centres upon vigor, strength, achievement. Its back is toward those who fail to achieve—until, perhaps, their sheer force of numbers brings them into unpleasant view.

As one reviews the latter days of the Roman Empire and reads of the many devices in the way of public entertainments for amusing and controlling the hordes of the unsocial who had accumulated most grievously, the question arises: How soon will we arrive at the time when our unsocial masses shall have become unwieldy? One thing is certain: our more humanitarian methods are bringing the fateful day upon us at a more rapid rate. And our boasted
Americanism is not a cure for mental incompetency. The police blotters of our cities will show that the mobs which spring from nowhere at the slightest let-up in police control are mostly American-born, with scarcely an illiterate among them; yet they revert to the sway of their animal instincts quite as spontaneously as benighted Russians.

It is folly to keep up the delusion that more democracy and more education will make over these ill-born into good citizens. Democracy never was intended for degenerates, and a nation breeding freely of the sort that must continually be repressed is not headed toward an extension of democratic liberties. Rather, it is inevitable that class lines shall harden as a protection against the growing numbers of the underbred, just as in all previous cultures. However remote a cataclysm may be, our present racial trend is toward social chaos or a dictatorship.

Meanwhile, we invite social turmoil by advancing muddled notions of equality.
Democracy, as we loosely idealize it nowadays, is an overdrawn picture of earthly bliss; it stirs the little-brained to hope for an impossible levelling of human beings. The most we can honestly expect to achieve is a fair levelling of opportunity; but every step toward that end brings out more distinctly those basic inequalities of inheritance which no environmental effort can remove. So discontent is loudest in those least capable of grasping opportunity when it is offered.

Neither does true race-improvement lie in the direction of equalizing inherent capacities. It lies in advancing the quality of all worthy types—in producing more of the genetically superior, less of the inferior, and a minimum of the unfit. This involves an almost complete reversal of the reproductive tendencies outlined in the last two chapters—a rather large order.

We need first to be educated to the significance of the biological factor in the making of men and women. It may be that the
present racial threat against democracy itself is the impulse needed to set us to studying the source of all the good and bad that gets into the inheritance of man—parenthood.
CHAPTER VII

THE ROAD TO DECLINE

INEFFECTIVES CLOG SOCIAL MACHINE—INFERTILITY OF SUPERIOR MORE VITAL—CIVILIZATION DEPENDENT UPON INFUX OF ABILITY—THE SIGNS OF DECADE—CRITICAL DISPROPORTION BETWEEN EFFECTIVES AND INEFFECTIVES

In the two preceding chapters the range of human breeding has been gone over, from the best stocks to the worst. The conclusion seems to be obvious that erratic parenthood is a special weakness of the two extremes in genetic worth. It follows, then, that any corrective measures undertaken would have to deal only with these extremes; the general run of the population would scarcely be interfered with. This fixing of the problem upon a comparatively few, made up of the best and worst stocks, simplifies it exceedingly; the point is one to keep in mind as the reader goes on to the end of the book.
One familiar with history must also conclude that this racially destructive unbalancing of reproduction is not peculiar to our present-day civilization; it was characteristic of all other cultures which offered luxury to the strong and protection to the weak. One after another they rose, flourished, struggled, and died, in seeming ignorance that, while civilization makes great display of the individual, it steadily unmakes as much of racial values as it can lay hands on. Now we shall briefly consider in what ways this unmaking of racial values undermines society.

Oversupply of inferior stocks and undersupply of superior stocks have widely differing effects in the destructive process.

The clogging of the social machine with ineffective humans makes its smooth running impossible, and an ideal social and political state a fantastic dream; yet so long as their numbers are not sufficient to bring about social chaos, and industry keeps on its feet under its increasing load of workers who are with difficulty held face to the front, this section of the human family can
have little effect in the region of actual achievement. A civilization is measured across its pinnacles, not around its foundations.

But the persistent infertility of the better stocks aims directly at the height of these pinnacles of achievement. Science, invention, literature, and the ethical and philosophic standards which are the essence of civilization, cannot exist in wholesome, vigorous quality without superior human values in good proportion. Failing adequate self-perpetuation of these stocks, a civilization must rely upon the emergence of exceptional men from its reservoirs of human supply—sometimes from the masses in its cities, but more often from towns, villages, country, or distant lands—wherever there is unexploited human material which has bred more in accordance with nature’s design to conserve effectives and discourage ineffectives.

The value of these sources of supply cannot be estimated by the number of their men and women who are likely human material for the industries. They must be of
the quality which breeds a fair proportion of intellectual strength and leadership.

Now, each migration of ability from a supply group removes from it one source of genetic value. The group tends thereafter to breed more nearly true to its average quality and to produce fewer migrators. If this withdrawal of the better stocks is repeated a sufficient number of times, the group may still continue to breed the quality of men to be fed into the industries, just as great decadent peoples on the Mediterranean are doing to-day, but as a source of men able to keep a civilization going it will be as “played out” as a mine that has had its veins of ore dug down to unresponsive rock. When a civilization’s human resources reach this stage, it begins to feel the pinch of racial poverty.

The impoverishing of a civilization’s racial values may spread over centuries, while the individual, comprehending little more than his own span of life, fails to note its approach. Culture has a way of persisting up to the last minute; it seems to flower most deli-
cately when its racial underpinning is rottenest.

The surest indication of racial decline is lack of effective leadership. When that is persistently in evidence, the great, receptive middle mass of the people, having been led for generations to moral and cultural heights not of their own creating, are left to face a dearth of true leadership amongst ideals upon which they do not have a self-sustaining grasp. Then becomes manifest how little they have had to do with the building of those ideals; they are quite as ripe at one time as at another to revert to their more natural inclinations if bereft of capable leadership. Without their Moses, the people in any age turn as easily as the Israelites to run after false gods. Pseudo-leadership, displaying a thousand forms of sensuous attractiveness, finds in them a ready following. Literature tries out every avenue of sensational appeal, with no more than a reflection of its former stable worth. Sexual morbidity becomes the dominant note in the new symphony of living. The theatre, art,
music, philosophy, ethics, even religion, unable to attract with more lofty ideals, frantically pursue erotic vagaries for something to set before an unguided popular fancy. Cohesion and unity of thought and purpose—sure evidences of orderly leadership—give way to a feverish, rampant individualism that leads in all directions and arrives nowhere. Little, distorted souls catch the public eye, and conspicuousness is esteemed as greatness. Desire for luxury and self-gratification, always present in the unthinking, awaits only the disintegration of old ideals to develop excesses. The people turn their backs upon the wisdom of centuries and strive madly, almost painfully, for sensuous enjoyment.

All this while the ineffectives of the race have been steadily multiplying their kind against the infertility that overtakes those of higher racial worth. The overcrowded discontent of the miserable finds added cause in the riotous extravagance of the luxurious for shaking the foundations of the social structure. It matters little which of the
two most threatens its stability, for, like a wounded bird, a decadent civilization is never left to die of its own hurt; a structure so rotten becomes a standing invitation to less emasculated peoples to step up and topple it over. It is said that every wounded bird has an enemy at hand to put a merciful end to its sufferings. History shows that every civilization, become decrepit, has been spared the humiliation of falling to pieces of its own weight by the timely appearance of an executioner.

From Babylonia to Mexico are the remnants of civilizations burned out, of peoples formerly great whose best blood has been so long and persistently drained away from them that to-day they breed as true to a low mediocrity as rabbits breed long ears; peoples long since turned back by poverty to the forms, but not to the substance, of thrift and virtue; living among imposing structures left by their illustrious predecessors, with no conception of the greatness of either because the rich heritages which made that
greatness possible were not passed on to them.

Of course the fall of successive civilizations cannot be charged wholly to racial decline. The event for each was conditioned on a thousand influences more or less peculiar to its own case. But the self-destruction of its best blood is the common factor which determines for every civilization that it is bound to die. It is also the only factor which can account for the significant failure of every fallen civilization to come back to even a semblance of its former life. For conquest has not usually obliterated peoples; were the qualities which make for greatness still in them, as they were in the French after 1871, their fall would have been a catastrophe to be repaired, a wrong to be avenged with the strength that follows a chastening of the spirit, and great civilizations would have risen again upon the ruins of Babylon, Egypt, and Greece.

It is not in the line of this study to apply to history the principle of erratic breeding.
That is a work for historians. Some day the histories of dead civilizations will be rewritten with a better estimate of the factor that was more potent than the sword in wiping them so completely off the earth.
CHAPTER VIII
HUMAN VALUES IN RESERVE

SUCCESSIVE BREEDING-GROUNDS—THE MIGRATOR—
SURVIVAL OF THE BEST—ISOLATION A FACTOR IN
RACE-BUILDING—IMPEDEMENTS OF LANGUAGE AND
RACIAL DIFFERENCES

The evident dependence of a civilization upon importations of ability from undeveloped stocks leads naturally to the question, How have the effective inborn qualities of the race been maintained for thousands of years against the drain of each succeeding civilization?

The question is pertinent, since we have reason to believe that our sustaining stocks are at least equal to those which made the greatness of former civilizations. A brief answer will make a good preface to the subject of this chapter: Each of the former civilizations utilized and exhausted human stocks more or less locally; each in turn developed in stocks not vitiated by previous cultures; none relied for its effective racial
values on the worn-out human material of its predecessor. Racial deterioration, then, in any large way, has never been progressive, never cumulative. Civilization has always "begun over" with new material at about the same level of hereditary values.

The human race has in effect maintained enormous successive breeding-grounds apart from its centres of civilization, in which selective processes, somewhat imperfect, to be sure, operated to perpetuate vigor and ability and to eliminate weakness and incapacity. A conspicuous feature in the history of white peoples has been their constant migrations into less settled, less civilized portions of the earth, and generally westward. These migrations have been of every variety, but usually of a selective nature, in that a large proportion of the migrants were the more hardy, resourceful, and ambitious of the peoples from which they came. These stocks settled in new country and lived under conditions which approached closely the terms for the survival of the more fit.
Whether they were the earliest migrators from the still undiscovered cradle of civilization who made the Babylonian and Egyptian civilizations, or the vigorous hordes of northern Europe out of whom has come much of present-day European culture, or our own hardy pioneers from the East to the West of only one hundred years ago, there was always a similarity in the fundamental condition that strength, vigor, and resourcefulness were the guarantees of survival. The more primitive held fecundity to be the perquisite of the strong; and even the migrators from the developed peoples reverted in a measure to the primal instinct. The sturdy routine of life away from contact with civilization centred about the home and children. They were naturally the main interest of an existence rather bare of objectives. The vigorous and resourceful secured these benefits of home and children in greater degree. They were the more prolific, as nature intends her strong shall always be. The weak and ineffective were less able to gain even the simple protection and necessaries
which made possible their own survival. In the face of adverse conditions some weaklings died, others gave up the contest and returned to mingle their feebler heredity with the stay-at-homes. Thus the selective process, begun with the choosing of vigorous stocks for migration, was in the usual case continued so long as primitive conditions lasted; constantly improving a human stock rich in the physical and mental qualities which go to the successful building of a civilization. And the significant thing about this process is that it created no new qualities; it multiplied the good and decimated the bad in the human material with which it had to do. The essence of this breeding system, as of any other, is in the high quality of the first selection of the stocks to be bred, and in continuing the selection of the best over a considerable period. However we may now revolt at the thought of selective breeding, we have the good racial values of to-day only because the bulk of the race was held for so long to the business of breeding effective human stock. Our human fuel,
like the coal we burn, is a gift from another age.

If we remember that until scarcely two thousand years ago dominant, consuming civilizations were few and localized, while vast portions of the temperate zone offered favorable conditions for natural selective breeding, we may readily understand why the sturdy qualities of the race have outlived the successive local dissolutions. Until civilization had spread generally among the white peoples of the world, dearth of selectively bred human material was never more than a local phenomenon.

In a description so brief it is impossible to indicate more than a general trend in human breeding under natural conditions. Its ways were not so simple nor its selections always the best for the ultimate good of the race, as one might hastily conclude. There is a wide distinction between "fittest" as applied to natural selection, and "best" as used to designate an ideal. In natural breeding of animal and plant life the "fittest" survive, not because they are the "best"
according to some external standard of desirability, but because they are best adapted, fitted, to meet the stern conditions of their environment. It is only in our breeding-stables and the like, where we select for desirable points, that none but the "best" survive.

Fortunately for the race, it may be said of human breeding under natural conditions that most of the qualities which survive as the "fittest" for the vigorous life are also the "best" for the purposes of civilization.

In a system of selective breeding so imperfect as that of man, even under the most natural conditions, it is essential that the best genetic values be turned back into the racial blood for many generations, even many centuries, before the proportion of exceptionally good material becomes sufficiently great to withstand for any considerable time the drain of a civilization. Isolation is the most effective means for preventing the escape of the ambitious and resourceful from the monotony of racial develop-
ment to the excitements of individual development at the centres of culture. There is the isolation of distance, and of oceans and great mountain ranges. These have now been pretty much overcome with respect to every portion of the earth. Previously in this book the remarkable dead-level of means for travel and communication down to one hundred years ago was commented upon; we now see that this inability of peoples to get together was one effective means for preserving great areas of the human family for future exploitation. Greece and Rome exhausted the resources of their own peoples and dependencies without getting access in any general way to the values in the undeveloped hordes to the north of them. Consequently these hordes succeeded Greece and Rome in establishing the civilizations of another age. If at any stage of the world’s history a powerful civilization had had free draft upon all the undeveloped human stocks of the earth, that civilization might have lasted long and blazed with exceeding glory, but with its final burning out
all prospect of future civilizations for this earth would have been as dead as Babylon.

But physical isolation alone did not prevent the putting of the whole world's racial powder into one rocket. The impediments of language, customs, inborn racial antagonisms, fundamental differences in mental constitution—these assisted geographic barriers in preventing excessive drafts upon the world's human values in reserve, and both together determined the slow succession of essentially unlike civilizations.

Thus the inaccessibility of the world's complete store of human values to the prodigal demands of any one civilization was the guarantee that another should always rise to take its place. And this raises the question, How would a universal civilization manage to replenish its extravagant waste of effective human material? Embarrassingly pertinent the question is, for we to-day have that universal civilization.
CHAPTER IX
EXHAUSTION OF RESERVES

RACE CONSERVATION ON NEW BASIS—QUICK COMMUNICATION HASTENS EXHAUSTION OF RESERVES—NEW ENGLAND—OVERESTIMATE OF INDIVIDUAL—CIVILIZATION MUST BREED ITS OWN RACE VALUES—A GLIMPSE AHEAD

Will the reserves of undeveloped human stocks hold out under twentieth-century conditions?

We are beginning to sense the fact that the revolutionary developments of the last hundred years have wholly reset the course of human affairs; but we do not yet adequately comprehend that this revolution has affected the very foundations of race existence. The world now faces an utterly new prospect for the perpetuation of its racial values.

Distance and physical barriers have yielded to modern invention. Man now flashes his words across the earth by no less than four effective devices; his several methods of
transport make light of seas and continents. So with the spread of life's complexities to the remotest corners has come a levelling of conditions, and the race everywhere is open to unrestricted exploitation.

Thus we have come almost unawares to this critical pass: the system of breeding selectively in isolation, either in lands distant or in rural communities near at hand, is made impossible; inaccessibility, the only guarantee that civilization has had of human values in reserve for its constant rebuilding, is a thing of the past; and now mankind must find a way to conserve its effective inheritances in the midst of all-pervading influences which directly oppose their conservation.

This artificial maintenance of the stock is something that has not been done since the beginning. The ancient Greeks attempted the breeding of ability as they saw racial impoverishment coming upon them, but failed. Perhaps other civilizations tried to replace from within the vigor that had ceased to come from without. We do not
know. But we do know that if they had succeeded they would have lived.

Yet so long as there were great stores of potential ability inaccessible to these civilizations, it did not matter so much that they burned themselves out. Others stood ready to kindle the torch of a new civilization at the dying embers of the old, and to carry it forward until they, too, should sink exhausted before those who were to succeed them. But now that all effective human material is being drafted at once into the service of a world-wide civilization, it does matter greatly that we are consuming it in the same lavish way without thought of future replenishment. A racial failure now would be in the nature of a final catastrophe.

Quick communication has done more than open up every human preserve to exploitation; it has facilitated the rapid peopling of the last of the world’s vacant spaces. But vacant spaces could never again have served the race as in all the ages past. A vacant America to-day could not escape the railroad, steamship, aeroplane, telegraph, tele-
phone, wireless, and become in the old sense a land held to the development of racial values. This is equally true of every section of the earth still open and favorable for settlement. Opportunity, not physical barrier, now holds strong men to the wilds—and the pursuit of opportunity leads directly away from race development.

In a word, we may as well dismiss the prospect of future selective migrations, of peoples held for centuries to the upbuilding of hereditary values.

A specific example may convey a clearer idea of these racial happenings. The immigration of the Puritans and Pilgrims equipped this new country with a stock which for many generations was most in evidence as the great, sustaining stock of the land. They were, to begin with, selected stocks, with an exceptionally large proportion of strong personal characteristics. It was this same stock, somewhat mixed with other stocks more or less worthy, that from time to time pushed westward and again westward, until it reached the Pacific
coast, and each time it was the more ambitious, the more vigorous of the communities who migrated.

For more than one hundred years the flower of this nation's ability came from the rugged country districts of New England; but even the wonderful qualities which were in the rich heritage of New England could not withstand the double drain of the flight to the cities and the successive migrations to the West. New England's position as the main source of exceptional men is gone. It is to the great West, to which has gone much of the best of New England's stock, that we now look and will increasingly look for the main strength of the nation. It would seem as if our supply were almost infinite—as if so great a volume of unexploited material of strong ancestry could never be exhausted.

But these selective migrations can no more take place. Every portion of this country is now in the condition of a settled community, just as New England was in the position of a settled community one hun-
dred years ago. And as the eastern centres of population were at that time beginning their drain on the New England districts, centres of population now dotted all over our land are in a similar way draining the entire country at once of its best stocks.

This wholesale drain upon unexploited reserves is now an almost universal phenomenon. The lure of the new-fangled civilization reaches every spot on earth. City, college, factory, business are within a day's journey of all but a few. No superior man, restless in his too meagre surroundings, is beyond hearing of the call to self-development; then why stick to the slow business of race development? The weak brother remains behind to multiply, while the strong rises to a position of greater usefulness and comparative infertility. No sooner does inborn capacity show itself in the remotest corner than it is whisked away to "make good."

The tapping of the whole world's human resources is quite as if several reservoirs of water, in usual times drawn upon successively, were at once piped for rapid delivery
to a great, final aquatic display. This sort of display we are now witnessing. The easy flow of talent to its opportunity, the unprecedented gathering of the world's ability at its effective centres, leads naturally to a burst of material achievement the like of which was never before seen. And never did ability work to so good advantage. Each new discovery adds to knowledge, and the new knowledge leads to further discovery. The cumulative reactions of one upon the other give an almost uncanny potency to human endeavor.

Small wonder, then, that common sense is repeatedly assailed by insistence that man must suddenly have become a very superior being. It is too little understood that the great achievements of to-day are due to the unfolding of one discovery after another in natural sequence, by many experimenters and in various departments of science. We should not mistake cumulative effects for individual effects, nor assume a rise in individual capacity because of results from intense co-ordination of the world's talent.
The eye fixes upon the capstone of a pyramid, not because it is an uncommon stone, but because it is at the top of so many other stones. Nowadays we are in the spectacular business of putting capstones to many pyramids of achievement whose lower tiers were laid by predecessors of equal ability, equal resourcefulness—laid, perhaps, with greater ingenuity in their lack of our own scientific knowledge. A broader appreciation of the patient labor of the ages, which we are now turning to quick account, might assist our modesty and awaken us to the borrowed character of our greatness.

To be sure, this exceptional stock is not led at once to destruction, but it is led to a comparative infertility that makes further drafts upon reserves inevitable. We see with our own eyes the effects of this drain in countrysides, villages, small towns, at this moment in process of succumbing, not to any lack of numbers, nor to decrease in natural opportunity, but to the dead-weight of their own depreciated human material.
These breeding-places which have emptied the last of their superior values into the insatiable maw of civilization fail to teach us a lesson because until now there have always come forward other communities, other reservoirs, from which the needed supply could be drawn. For that reason as much as any other, we do not see in a racially impoverished countryside the beginnings of a racially impoverished civilization.

Since there are to be no more reservoirs of unexploited values to succeed those now being depleted, it follows naturally that the racial values of the future will be just such as society decides to breed within its own environment. If it chooses to ignore the situation and continues to breed away from the best and toward the poorest, as it always has done, this million-year-old human race is comparatively near the end of its effective life. To survive, civilization must somehow get its racial values into a stable condition of supply and demand within itself. That is the alternative.
It is unthinkable that this world-wide civilization—unified with respect to scientific achievement, however disrupted politically—will not at least attempt to meet these extraordinary racial conditions. Our command of knowledge and of ways and means should lead us to a greater success than the Greeks attained. A consciousness of race in its larger sense is rapidly developing among the thoughtful of all countries. The near future seems likely to be quite occupied with schemes for reversing the present destructive order of human propagation. The great war has done much to awaken interest in the question of race rehabilitation. What sort of workable plan will be finally evolved is a matter of conjecture, but whatever it is, it will undoubtedly involve in some degree the yielding of the individual to the good of the race. If this is to continue as an orderly world, the time is coming—why speculate as to the century, since man's existence is reckoned in ages?—when the business of race conservation will be taken over by so-
ciety and given a place among other activities commensurate with its importance. The people of that day will look back with incredulous wonder upon the time when any two people not in custody could procreate at will; and with equal wonder that exceptional ability should have been permitted to carry with it to the grave its irreplaceable inheritances—rich with the selective breeding of former ages, only to be destroyed at the beginning of usefulness.

Possibly these people will also be looking at gasolene in a phial and at coal in a museum; but for these their ingenuity will have devised substitutes. There is no substitute for brains. The only way to multiply rich inheritances is to breed them, and the only way to eliminate undesirable inheritances is to stop breeding them.

How infinitely beyond conception must all this be in a social state that restrains scarcely one-seventh of its outright defectives from reproducing their kind, and merely hints at the wastage of its superior hereditary
values! Yet to assert that the community will never guide the reproductive function of any except its defectives is to confess the ultimate failure of all civilization.
CHAPTER X

THE DOMINANT WHITE

MAN'S TIME COMPARED TO ALL TIME—PHYSICAL AND MENTAL UNLIKENESSS—THE WHITE MAN'S CHARACTERISTICS—HIS MIGRATIONS—RACIALLY DESTRUCTIVE INFLUENCES—DEPRECIATED RACE MIXTURES

With the thought that the world's supply of ability is now running to exhaustion in a manner without parallel in any previous racial failure, it becomes a matter of fascinating importance to inquire into the present resources of the human race in this respect. What are the prospects of the various civilized peoples for a continuance of racial effectiveness?

A book that holds to a non-technical presentation of an essentially technical subject should not lead its readers into the mazes of race history. That literature is exhaustive, with scarcely two writers of the same opinion, perhaps because too many of them are bent on persuading their readers to some
pet idea. The ethnological complexity of the species was tersely expressed by Blumenbach in the eighteenth century: "Innumerable varieties of mankind run into one another by insensible degrees." Since then, persevering students of ethnology have expanded this clear observation into many volumes. Man's buoyant enthusiasm for mixing strains at every opportunity has made of the human family a racial mess that invites heated differences of opinion. Yet among the best of them there is sufficient accord with respect to fundamentals to establish the subject upon a foundation of reasonably certain facts and to commend it as a fruitful study.

Race history takes us back only a step into the long stretch of man's life since he became a developed human; of his countless earlier millenniums we know next to nothing; and the untold ages of his evolution from ape-like ancestors lie still farther back in that impenetrable darkness of time. Those evolutionary processes undoubtedly are as active to-day as in any day of the world's
life, but time is the essential factor with them, and man’s time, compared to All Time, is like a minute in a thousand years. Our delving into the past gets us no deeper into the story of human affairs than a comparative yesterday.

Opinion is divided on the question whether all mankind is descended from a single wide variation among his unhuman predecessors, or from several different variations, in several localities and probably in different though not widely separated periods. Significant differences in bone structure between races now living incline many to the latter view. But the question does not concern us in this social study of race values. Marked unlikenesses and inequalities, especially of mental attributes, are the facts of to-day, however they arrived.

Mankind is divided into races primarily according to physical unlikeness; but dissimilarities of mental attributes and capacities are so closely associated with outward physical differences that they enter as important factors in distinguishing races one
from another. Whether or not the mental attributes of the White were also once lodged with the Yellow, the Black, and other inferior races, and gradually became lost to them through outbreeding during their millenniums of separation from the parent stock, is a question as unanswerable as it is unimportant. The outstanding fact is that they are not possessed of these attributes to-day. Since our earliest knowledge the White man has been pre-eminent for his capacity to dominate environment, to migrate, to colonize, to subdue both nature and other men, to turn both to his advantage, to develop a high state of social organization, and, in a widely comprehensive sense, to bring things to pass.

Many thousand years ago the White races began the migrations of their restless, dominating breed—migrations which have never ceased to this day—venturing into the lands of other peoples, to conquer, to establish civilization, and then to lose the force of their good blood through racial dissipations. For the record of their surgings back and
forth in endless conflict, their overflowings and readjustments and failures and successes, their slow and painful attaining to the heights which now distinguish them above all other peoples, we should have to read most of the volumes of the world's history.

White migrations to equatorial climates are successful only as exploits—their continuity is always dependent upon a stream of recruits from the homeland. Long ago the migrating White man learned the expediency of reasonable adherence to isothermal lines. No considerable bodies of pure White stocks have lived and multiplied in the tropics; White blood, to persist so far outside its climatic element, must seek the questionable protection of mixing with that of the natives. Naturally, the chances of survival increase with the proportion of native blood, until finally, through successive matings, the White infusion becomes diluted to a degree which does not inconvenience the native individuals who carry it.

This suggests a question of interest to ethnologists whose specialty is primitive
races. Knowing the spirit of adventure which has carried White men at some time or another to the farthest of the world’s inhabitants, and their invariable habit on such occasions, one is led to wonder whether there is a people or a tribe in existence which has not had a more or less remote infusion of White blood. Individuals with very unusual characteristics are to be found in many native tribes otherwise of homogeneous appearance. Stefansson’s discovery of blond Esquimaux in the Arctic raises the presumption that at some earlier date blond sailors discovered Esquimaux in the same region. The possibility of the ubiquitous White man’s racial imprint spoils ethnological conclusions regarding most native races.

White civilization develops in a tempered climate, but the most propitious of climates is not in itself a civilizer. It is merely a favoring circumstance. A race with inborn qualities for progress chooses its climate just as it chooses its fields and woods and harbors; these things do not develop accidental humans into a dominant race. The best of

ters and assert the unintelligent strength of numbers. Human nature has had in every age the tragedy of its weaknesses as well as the glory of its strength. As to the earlier peoples we can only surmise, but in the civilizations of Greece and Rome we know that social conditions favored racial impoverishment essentially as they favor it in our own civilization. Dissipation of the better racial values and multiplication of the poorer have played a continuous part at tumbling race, state, and civilization into a dusty heap with periodic certainty.

These four greatest of the ancient civilizations left the immense regions about the Mediterranean well peopled, but racially devastated. It is noteworthy that to-day these same regions—excepting localities here and there which afterward were restocked with vigor from Northern Europe—are still well peopled, but as hopeless as ever with respect to racial values. Once drained of energizing qualities, the human stock has absolutely no way of recovering. Civilization never renews itself on old ground, ex-
cept as fresh stocks make of it a new venture.

When one considers that the White race, never more than a small part of the earth’s population, has already made a racial waste of these immense sections of its available material, one must begin to realize the responsibility that rests upon the dominant White peoples of to-day. Only the most carelessly optimistic look to the Yellow and Black and their thousand mixtures for promising racial material. There is no basis for the belief that these races are following, ages behind, in the footsteps of the White and destined for later emergence. They are contemporary races, following different courses because of different inheritances. The world has been theirs as well as ours, and probably for as long. Our estimate of race values must not be misled by what inferior peoples can be taught to do; their measure is in what they can do of themselves. It is of no consequence that an Abyssinian can handle a gun with the dexterity of a White man, or that Congo natives take quickly to
the telephone; they are a million years away from creating either.

Then it is to the White peoples now leading in the world's affairs that we must look for the perpetuation of those qualities which build and sustain civilizations. This part of our study can be no more than a speculative estimate of racial possibilities and prospects. If it could be done by the usual method of arriving at human values—counting noses—the task would be easy. Counting brains is difficult. The attempt, in the next chapter, may at least prove interesting.
CHAPTER XI

OUR RACIAL POVERTY

SMALL PER CENT OF SUPERIOR ABILITY—IN FRANCE, ENGLAND, GERMANY—ABILITY IN THE UNITED STATES—STARTLING RACIAL POVERTY

A close view of dominant White peoples leads to the striking discovery that exceedingly few individuals among them are really dominant. The active substance of civilization is involved with the destinies of a mere handful. The vast majority are virtuously but hopelessly receptive.

Some one has said that if France were to lose fifty of her greatest statesmen, fifty leading scientists, fifty each of her shining lights in education, art, music, and so on, there would be nothing left of France. This states in an exaggerated way a deep truth which can be far more convincingly illustrated. We may continue with France as an example, although the case fits England, Germany, and America as well.
The population of France is about forty millions. Then, instead of these few hundred, suppose France were suddenly to lose four hundred thousand—one per cent—of her very best in human values; not of the physically best, such as were lost in the horrible war, but of the best in intellectual and creative ability, in leadership, in genetic worth. Gather in every man and woman in France who leads, sustains, creates, and brings to pass the things that are vital to her life; then to the sum of all these add as many of equal potential worth, who in the nature of things would succeed them; and still this one per cent conscription of France's best would be unfilled. Add, again, the most promising child in every family which has ever produced exceptional ability; it is doubtful whether then the list of four hundred thousand would be complete. What would be left of France?

This idea is so pertinent that it cannot be impressed too strongly. Take the illustration to Great Britain—eliminate a half million of her active and potential leaders; and
to Germany—subtract six hundred and eighty thousand from her best genetic values. What would be left of Europe?

Bring it home to our own United States. One per cent of the population is one million. Four times this number of physically fit were raised to defend their country, with as many more available; but could we find a quarter of one million who have a vital, constructive part in the making of it? If so, remove these from the nation’s life, and then, to complete the million, three times as many more chosen from the most promising of the country’s blood. What would be left of the United States?

A smaller unit may bring the idea closer. In New York City is supposed to be concentrated much of the country’s ability, but a list of one hundred would include New York’s really big men. The names of not more than five hundred would be generally recognized in the country at large for conspicuous achievement. *Who’s Who in America*, with its fine-tooth comb, finds less than five thousand men and women worthy
of its not too discriminating pages. New York is popularly considered as swarming with financial and industrial magnates. Within the limits of a thousand one could put all its leaders of finance and captains of industry and still have places to spare.

Yet the toll of one per cent would call for fifty thousand of New York's best. To make up the list, take every man and woman who has achieved leadership in some part of the city's intellectual or political life; add all the executives of her important corporations, every department head, and an understudy for each of them; all men from the professions who have displayed exceptional ability; merchants big enough to have brought something new and worth while into the methods of trade; keep on adding from exceptional ability wherever it has revealed itself, until the list reaches fifty thousand. Then imagine, if you can, this entire group taken out of New York's active life. What would be left of New York?

It seems incredible that the loss of only one individual in every hundred could so
devastate human values in any vigorous people. But we are wholly misled in our estimate of a nation's strength by the always satisfactory proportion of its physical vigor. We forget that, physically, a people can hold its own almost indefinitely. In the physical display which any active nation can make we lose sight of the rather appalling fact that its constructively effective brains are concentrated in the heads and inheritances of an unbelievably small number.

It may be contended that this one per cent represents only so much of the world's ability as can find place for its exercise, and that from the inexhaustible masses would emerge great men in any numbers and as often as needed. But we must get away from the old notion that mental strength rises indiscriminately from the mass. It rises from certain stocks here and there in the mass. Civilization has loaded the human family with a vast lot of survivors whose capacity for producing leaders of men is almost nil. Ability is never careless of its ancestry. Men of brains may come to light
in the slums or on Fifth Avenue, but they come always from good stock, never from bad, nor even from a solid line of mediocrity. Somewhere in the ancestral lines of "self-made" men we always find strong, well-balanced inheritances, and usually in good numbers. "Self-made" men are mostly ready-made before they are born.

Of course it is impossible to make any reliable estimate of these supereffectives scattered here and there under all sorts of living conditions. But the tremendous and always increasing difficulty in finding men of the right caliber to fill positions requiring brains and initiative does not indicate any great surplus of ability waiting to be called to the front. The experience of all business and political life is that prospecting for men of initiative gives about as meagre results as prospecting for gold. Opportunity in these days does not wait to be sought—it goes dragging for capable men. The insatiable demand for men big enough to take leadership may miss a few in obscure places, but it
is constantly missing fewer. Does any one suppose that, for the fifty thousand of New York's best, substitutes of equal quality could be developed from her own population? Never. At least three-fourths of the present fifty thousand were drafted from outside New York; if bereft of these, she would again have to appeal to the country at large for as many more—and this would merely drain other centres of their own effective stocks.

Suppose we assume that our one per cent covers only the superdesirables already in conspicuous service and those immediately in prospect. For every one of these mature individuals there must be several in the stages of minority. Proper allowance, too, should be made for ability held down by lack of training and poor environment. Then let us make these allowances generously, and assume that for every individual who manifests exceptional capacity there are ten sources from which his like might possibly rise; in other words, raise our estimate
of sustaining inheritances from one to ten per cent. Now imagine ourselves empowered to recognize, through the human camouflage, just which stocks are of the greatest racial worth. What would the population be like after we had removed its best one-tenth?

The toll from New York City would be five hundred thousand; what a Bolshevik opportunity, with the murdering of the thrifty all done for them in advance!

Ten millions of the best from the United States. Many a hill town and sleepy valley would scarcely know that the grim reaper was abroad; but wherever the strong and resourceful had gathered, there would be desolation. Can we look into the faces of the passing multitudes and imagine them as replacing any such loss of effective inheritances?

Four millions from the vitals of France; five millions from Great Britain; six and one-half millions from Germany. If the civilized world were to lose the best ten per cent
of its human values, it would become a wilderness of mediocrity.

This is getting at racial values from a novel view-point. Numbers lose their impressiveness, and quality takes on a new significance. The object in viewing humanity from this particular angle is to put emphasis on the racial poverty existing in the human material from which future generations are to be derived. Whether ten per cent is a fair measure of supereffectiveness among the foremost peoples is a mere matter of opinion; setting the figure at five or twenty-five per cent would not alter the fact that the remaining huge per cent are congenitally receptive. In an advancing civilization the masses adopt devices which they could not devise, marvel at discoveries which they could not make, and reflect among themselves the light that is shed upon them. They take the stimulus of their daily lives from a higher atmosphere as unconsciously and with as much right as they breathe the free air of heaven. The great scheme of
civilization is for them, not of them, and when it fails they settle of their own weight to a new level of mediocrity.

The preservation of human quality is not to be done by any such haphazard methods as are to-day piling up human life on earth. It is a specific undertaking for the qualified. Stimulating general fecundity by indiscriminate rewards for parenthood is the worst possible means for overcoming a falling birth-rate. That stimulates mostly the production of low-grade human beings.

Look to China and India for the impotency of mere numbers. A nation is no greater than its greatest men, no sounder than the quality of its leadership.
CHAPTER XII

EFFECTS OF THE WAR

BERNHARDI'S FALLACIOUS ARGUMENT — THE OPTIMIST'S VIEW — ULTRAHUMANISTS — EFFECT ON PHYSIQUE — ON MENTAL STRENGTH — THE GREAT OPPORTUNITY

Any fair estimate of war's damage to racial values should carefully exclude losses which affect the present generation only. It must hold strictly to loss of qualities which are hereditary. Mere destruction of lives, even vigorous young lives, is in itself no proof of racial loss. It must be shown that in those destroyed there was a preponderance of good qualities, of the inheritable kind, which in the ordinary course would have been transmitted to the next generation.

Most writers, in estimating this injury to the race, hopelessly confuse environmental with hereditary effects — some to prove their special contention, others through lack of a knowledge which can discriminate between
the two. War and its aftermath affect racial values in many and devious ways, both adversely and favorably. This chapter attempts an impartial view of the main facts and aims to clear up certain popular misapprehensions as to racial losses in war.

At one extreme are professional militarists of the German type, who extol war as an effective means for ridding the earth of unfit peoples. Bernhardi is their most widely known exponent. He makes the direct assertion in his book, "The Next War," that "War is a biological necessity of the first importance," as a means for destroying the weak and preserving the strong. It is difficult to believe that any methodical German, however obsessed by Prussian Kultur, could honestly have put forth the biological rubbish with which Bernhardi attempts to support his proposition. Bernhardi was writing to enthuse the heavy German mind for a war of conquest. His argument that war is akin to nature's method for destroying the weak is particularly futile. Among animals, almost the whole battle for survival is with
other species and the elements, and the strong live. Those of the same species may quarrel among themselves, especially over food and the sex privilege, but they rarely fight to kill. Man is the only creature which sets the vigorous to killing each other while keeping the weak out of harm's way. Human warfare has no parallel in the selective devices of nature, and Bernhardi's appeal to nature for its justification is grotesque.

But suppose that the racially superior do happen to win? Good biological selection requires that the inferior shall be utterly destroyed. Yet not even the barbaric German militarists contemplated the wiping out of peoples; they held to the mediæval view that the profits of conquest are largely to be had in the virtual enslavement of the conquered. Of course there is no biological advantage to the race in a denouement of this sort; on the contrary, it has been the universal experience that conquered peoples multiply far more rapidly than their conquerors. The ancient civilizations were lit-
erally overcrowded with inferior peoples who had been beaten in war.

As an example of pseudo-scientific vaporizing, Bernhardi's excursion into the field of biology is entitled to first rank.

Then we have the forgivable optimists, eager to find some good in the midst of all that is devilish, pointing out war's spiritual uplift and its mighty stimulation to endeavor. Whether war spiritualizes more than it debases and disillusiones is open to question; but as a spur to effort in almost every sphere of human activity, there is nothing in the whole range of man's experiences which equals it. This World War has shown up the bigness and the littleness of men and women by the scores of millions. In four years it sorted out, tested, and pushed to development, both in the line and back of it, more of the world's human capacity than even our fiercely exacting civilization could do in four decades. Never before have so many men and women known themselves and each other for what they are really worth.
Yet this magnificent energizing of latent human powers scarcely touches the inborn qualities of the race. Its influence is environmental, and the generations now living will be more effective because of it. This effectiveness may or may not go on to coming generations, but if it does, it will go as an inspiration, not as an inheritance. War as a stimulant has nothing to offer to sound racial values.

At the other extreme are the ultrahumanists, whose abhorrence of everything pertaining to war leads them to exaggerate its damage to racial values. In the selection of the physically perfect for war they see racial deterioration, without fully sensing the modifying circumstances. Many of the defects which unfit for war—such as loss of an eye, finger, limb, or any other disabling injury—do not unfit the stay-at-homes for parenthood. However, it must be conceded that war takes a heavy excess of its toll from among those whose physical vigor is a hereditary characteristic, and their loss is a very real damage to the next generation or
two. But even for this there is compensation. Physically, the race has an unfailing recuperative power in the greater fecundity and survival value of the physically vigorous, not only in the generation damaged but in all which succeed it. Innumerable wars have left mankind physically unimpaired.

It is possible that selection of the tall for war and rejection of the short might permanently affect stature to a slight degree, since stature is not a direct function of vigor—the tall are not supposed to be more prolific than the short—and therefore the race would not tend to recuperate from an excessive loss of its tall men. It is claimed that the Napoleonic wars reduced the stature of the French. But in the combing out of the world's populations for men to fight the great European War, very few were discarded on account of stature. Both the tall and the short were impressed into the service. Of course the taller men offer the more extended target; but the percentage of losses in direct, visible contacts between forces is so small that the excess losses of the tall would
practically be negligible. Taken altogether, we need fear no appreciable shortening of the race because of this war.

The race's only serious danger is one of decline in mental quality. Then the pertinent question is, Does war take a higher proportion of the mentally strong?

In making up this country's army and navy, less than three per cent of the conscripts were rejected because of mental disability. These, war or no war, should not figure as parents. It must be evident, then, that a fighting force embracing over ninety-seven per cent of the nation's vigorous young manhood fairly represents the average mental quality, and losses from its ranks do not much disturb that average. Numerical losses are heartrending enough without forcing the conclusion that they are also racial losses. Some pacifists urge that the men of high character and strong initiative are the more forward in their sense of duty, and therefore the more likely to be killed. This is perhaps true in many individual cases; on the other hand, they are the least
given to unnecessary and foolhardy exposures under the emotional stress of battle. Whether one fully offsets the other can hardly be determined.

Of course the losses in war do painfully affect the even balance of males and females in the particular generation involved, as well as the physical quality and numbers of their offspring. But sex balance and physical quality will be restored, as we know; whether the shortage of births is to be mourned in a world already crowded to the point of perpetual irritation is a matter for individual opinion.

Torn as we are by the excruciating personal, human losses in the war, there should be some consolation in the view that damage to racial values is among the least of its atrocious legacies to mankind. We should be thankful that nature still looks after the physical welfare of the human race—that the physically inclined both survive and multiply in greater numbers than the weak, in spite of the doctors. They exceed the average in fecundity. This is nature's first
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law for survival of the fit. It is their excess production that restores physical quality after a great war. Without it, this man-killing species of ours would have gone to physical degeneracy ages ago.

This leads to the observation that if the mentally vigorous were equally attentive to racial duties, civilization would not be ever-lastingly searching the byways for men of brains to manage its affairs. Can one imagine an excess production of capable men? Naturally we mourn for the men of brilliant promise who have given their lives in the war. But who stops to consider that, in the older generation that stayed at home, the supereffectives alone left unborn more fine inheritances than the entire younger generation lost in the war?

This is a compelling assertion. Figures, however, prove it, as nearly as anything connected with racial probabilities can be proven. Take the four leading nations involved in the war—England, France, the United States, and Germany. Their total population—using round numbers—is two
hundred and fifty millions. About one-third constitute the family-raising generation—say eighty millions. Our superlative one-tenth in this older generation would be eight millions. Now if this company of racial slackers had borne on an average one more child per couple than they did, they would still be well below the general average in fecundity—and yet, they would have given to the race four million boys and girls of the highest mental promise, who were left unborn!

To give this illuminating proposal a concrete application, suppose that, in the youthful generation now coming to maturity, the genetically best one-tenth—chosen as wisely as we could—were to be prevailed upon to follow the sublime law of nature for the survival of the fit, and give the race more than the general average of offspring, instead of less. They could thus not only restore in one generation the racial losses of the great war many times over, but the full numerical losses as well—and the replacement would be wholly from the best stocks, instead of from the general run of humankind.
EFFECTS OF THE WAR

Would this added fecundity result in over-population? Not if we have enough sense to cut off at the same time the reproduction of ineffectives. At present, the least desirable one-sixth of the population supplies more than one-half the increase. What a racial prospect a reversal of this proportion would open up—the miserables replaced by the well-born!

The thought that, in every civilized country, those best qualified for parenthood are wasting more exceptional inheritances in each generation than were lost in the great war should bring us to a sense of the race’s neglected resources. Realization of this is enough to fill one with buoyant enthusiasm for the race’s future. The reversal of our absurdly unbalanced manner of propagating the species would put no unusual burden on those who should bear it. How this is to be brought about is made the hazardous speculation of the last chapter.

The way is seemingly over a chasm of difficulties. Seemingly, because the need of bridging the chasm is not as yet sufficiently impelling. When time and educa-
tion have shown us the need, the chasm will reveal itself as a mire of prejudices, not so difficult after all.

There is great encouragement in the knowledge that the resourceful White man has invariably devised a way to achievement, once he is under the full pressure of necessity. To promote a clear understanding of this necessity is the prime object of this book.

The great human losses of the war have stirred the whole matter of race conservation. They have shaken many old conventions. Already the question is being fervently pressed as to what is to be done about the several million fine and wholesome women deprived of their natural mates. Shall these women be denied their normal expectation of motherhood because custom so decrees?

It is just possible that our children may look back to this awful war as the starting-point of effective race regeneration.
CHAPTER XIII

FRANCE, ENGLAND, RUSSIA

WAR'S DECISIONS INCONCLUSIVE—ESTIMATES OF FRENCH AND ENGLISH—GERMANIZED RUSSIA

Against the hereditary character forces of a people, war is a dead failure. Racial strength not only survives the general havoc, it also refuses to be disposed of by any peace conference. Not even defeat can turn it long from its inevitable part in shaping human relationships. It is a common matter of history that the beating down of a virile people by military strength, however profitable at the time, makes in the end an over-expensive enemy. Napoleon, with all his genius for war, had to learn in bitterness the futility of conquering racially sound peoples. Bismarck’s easy ravishment of France stirred a volcano that has finally destroyed his Empire. William II, the blundering, plundering mediævalist, was plainly dead to the significance of racial values. Mere con-
quering has never made a good job of con-quest, unless the vanquished were racially insolvent to begin with. Hence the ulti-
mate failure of most wars between civilized peoples.

So whenever the brave legions have done with their fighting, the world invariably settles down again to the international con-test of wits and resources. War unbalances resources, but the significant thing for the international game is that with the coming of peace there is the same old alignment of wits. Again there is the steady, persistent aggression of the mentally alert in commer-
cial and diplomatic activities—that peaceful penetration which finally brings supremacy to the quickest-minded, wars and treaties notwithstanding.

We overrate everything that can come from war except its miseries.

Now we are to have a long peace, if the new covenants can be made to hold. A long peace will give uninterrupted play to these innate forces of mind and character in their working out of human destinies. The
real contest—the only sort of contest which can render a lasting decision—is just now beginning.

In the years past we have been keen at studying the military equipment of the peoples at war, as measuring the prospects of victory or defeat. Now, we should be learning what we can of their racial equipment for what is probably to be the most momentous trial of peace strength in history.

Who in 1914 would have said that France could stand for more than four years against assaults beside which her own batterings of the Teuton a hundred years before were as child's play? Not those, surely, who measure her by her gay capital. But in this crisis Frenchmen may thank their stars that Paris is not France, and that of leadership they still had sufficient to fling their millions against the enemy.

France in 1871 could be conquered by Germany, but her spirit was unbreakable. Did ever a nation win a prize more filled
with burdensome hate than Alsace-Lorraine and the gold at Spandau, and profit less by the experience! Again in 1914 Germany, for whom attention to detail is a religion, was equally blind to this most fundamental detail of all. A more intelligent estimate of France's racial strength would have shown her that France was not ready to subdue her culture to the tone of any other, nor to give up any part of her country without a continuity of protest that in time would plague her conqueror out of more than its value. The courageous response of the French to the frightful demands of this war has given France a new and glorious place among the nations. The French temperament turned enthusiasm almost to ecstasy. France showed a burst of new life that thrilled the world.

And yet the racial prospects of France are of the darkest. It is true that Paris is not France, but Paris typifies the leadership of France; and Paris, of all the capitals of Europe, is farthest on the way to Babylon, Memphis, Athens, and ancient Rome.
France’s racial values have gone down under long-continued failure of her best stocks adequately to perpetuate themselves. France has had long periods given over to the advancement of culture and to the enjoyment of it. Luxury has had much time and opportunity to play havoc with her best inheritances, and in this, luxury has been assisted by the very quality of the French temperament that has made the glory of French culture. No new blood can come to France—her resources are within the realm. Her African possessions are more of a drain than a prop to her racial vitality. By every sign discernible, France is nearer to the critical disproportion between her constructive and non-constructive elements than either of her greatest rivals—England and Germany.

A gloomy picture? Not at all. France is also nearer to that impelling force—necessity—which will turn her to racial reconstruction. It is in human nature that action in most essentials does not very far anticipate necessity—we usually await its urgent
signal before doing the obvious. So the war has set France’s racial prospects forward instead of backward. Moreover, its fierce demand for every bit of capacity that was in the French people has disclosed and inventoried her effectives as no other estimate could have done. The perennial objection to all schemes of selective parenthood is that selection is impossible because so much that is good and so much that is worthless is camouflaged by environment. Now here is France, with her men and women down to the very last of them, reliably sorted and tagged according to what they did or did not do when tested in the great war.

Under a test so universally applied and pressed to the limit, capacity to do things worth while—taken of course with other technical factors which have a bearing—is as fair a measure of individual genetic worth as we are likely to have in this world of imperfect human estimates. France to-day has the greatest opportunity ever offered a nation to choose the right kind of people to replenish her wasted racial values. Will
she rise to it? Or, will she fall back upon the old device of encouraging general fecundity, and try to make up her racial losses by increasing in numbers mostly from the less fit?

During the war and afterward, we often heard that the French people were "bled white." If the French people are ever bled white, it will not be by any war, but by a continuance of the same impossible habits of perpetuating their human values which have been bleeding France for generations past.

Great Britain is pre-eminently the country of extremes in racial values. No other country excels her in the production of able men, in the adequacy of their numbers, and the genetic richness of the stocks from which they are derived. Yet Great Britain has a higher proportion of ineffective, underbred, hopelessly inferior white stocks than any other dominant nation.

We are not interested here in the political significance of this condition, nor in the sec-
tional exclusiveness, the persistent social isolation of types, which have carried differentiation of genetic values in Great Britain to unprecedented lengths. Let us take the condition as it exists.

England is keenly alive to the threat of her racially depreciated masses—in London’s East End, in Liverpool, Manchester, Glasgow, in the substratum of her agrarian population, and throughout all her manufacturing and mining regions. They make for England a social problem that is already a severe tax upon her resources of control. Yet they will never get their hand upon Great Britain’s helm until failure of her best stocks compels the last remnant of her dominant blood to let go. If England can devise a way to reduce the fecundity of her ineffectives she may lighten her social burden, but for the preservation of her national life she must look to the adequate perpetuation of the high genetic values which supply her with able men.

No country has had a better heritage. Angle, Celt, Saxon, Norse, Dane, Norman—
migrants, invaders all of them, bred under conditions rigorous in their selection of resourceful men. This was race mixing of the kind which upbuilds. We may picture the hardy and adventurous of these stocks as mingled in the virile, domineering Englishman of to-day.

Those who have any knowledge of England will not even have to ask what she is doing with her rich inheritances. Our own manner of wasting the race’s legacy applies to English stocks with very little adaptation. England’s system of hereditary titles and land sustains poor genetic values in high places, perhaps a little more absurdly than our imitative effort to set up class distinctions by inheritance of large fortunes; but her higher classes represent her richest inheritances, and their decreasing fertility is a national peril. Great Britain’s approach toward a critical disproportion between her sustaining and her socially dependent stocks is an arithmetical certainty, even though this war has disclosed the remoteness, not the nearness, of her racial undoing.
Great Britain is perhaps not so pressed by necessity as France, but the great selective forces of the war have given her the same unusual opportunity to know the individual quality of her people. Why should not a nation which has just discovered its finest men and women by the hundreds of thousands urgently consider the advantage that would come to it through the adequate perpetuation of their particular inheritances? Racial values have to be rediscovered in every generation—the present unique inventory of human resources pertains to this generation only. In England, as in France, necessity and opportunity have arrived together. It is as inviting a prospect for race regeneration as either will ever have offered, unless some time we devise a better way than war to rouse the people to an equally comprehensive self-revelation.

Russia, because it is a land of immense numbers and unknown racial values, is popularly regarded as a mighty reservoir of human possibilities, awaiting only better
environmental conditions for their expression.

This is presuming on ignorance. Because Russian capacities seem to be mostly untried—or most poorly tried in the chaos of recent happenings—it is not safe to assume either that they do or do not exist in quality fitted for self-sustaining development. The masses of Russia, like every other people from Hottentot to finest White man, come to a higher level of existence under improved conditions; but their racial worth depends upon how much they are able to contribute to the maintenance of that higher level. Our inquiry is not for peoples capable of receiving from civilization; it is for the few capable of giving to it. This indicates the question which we now ask of Russia.

It would manifestly be unfair to judge the Russian peoples by their almost continuous display of incapacity for concerted and orderly effort since the overthrow of the Empire. Environmental and hereditary limitations are in hopeless confusion. An estimate of Russia's inheritance values must
be vague and unsatisfactory at best, and until the present demonstration has had many more years in which to reveal Russian ability in its sober worth, we should consider Russia as she was in the calmer days of the Empire.

The Russia of the Czars embraced a most heterogeneous population of some one hundred and eighty millions—Slavic races predominating, innumerable White mixtures with inferior stocks of unknown origin, strong infusions of Mongolian in the East and South, and Jews everywhere in immense numbers. The Russian Empire was an inconceivable multitude of nationalities.

It is very essential to distinguish between these variegated peoples and the half-Teuton handful which, from the time of Peter the Great down to the late Czar, not only dominated but actually was the Russian Empire as we always knew it, so closely was it identified with everything constructive in Russian life. If the Russians ever had an Empire, it vanished when Catherine II
impregnated its very soul with the German influence.

So we have to judge Russians not so much by what they have done in the past as by what they have failed to do. A strong argument against the possession of any high degree of initiative and creative capacity by the many races which we call Russian is in the very fact of their long-continued submission to domination by groups essentially foreign in blood. No peoples of high initiative leave the expression of their national, commercial, and industrial life so generally to a foreign element. The natural inference from this condition is that Russian inheritances do not well compare with Teutonic in the qualities adapted for taking a leading part in civilization. From her manufacturing processes to her art, nearly everything that is best in Russian life is borrowed from Western civilization.

Until true Russians have given a sane account of themselves, one can only infer from their past record that to whatever
heights they may attain, those heights will be below the level of Western culture. It is too early—a generation too early—even to assume that the overthrow of the Empire means a democracy for Russia. We might as well have hailed Mexico as a glorious democracy when Maximilian fell. The parallelism is severe but suggestive. Illiterate Russia has many years of painful struggle, of slow education, before she can even determine the capacity of her suppressed millions for self-government, much less bring self-government to pass.

But why talk of true Russians? Russian blood for generations has been mingling with that of the German; the dominant forces in Russian affairs even now are Teutonic-Slavic. The bond between Germany and Russia is one of the flesh—unbreakable in the last analysis. If we could look beyond the results of the war, and beyond the events which ever since have involved Russia in chaotic enterprises, we might see that the final answer to the Russian riddle is Ger-
many. He is a bold optimist, and not well versed in human nature, who can see in this war and all its covenants anything more for Russia than a mild interruption of the steady, inevitable Germanizing of her peoples.

Germany, the Isolated—she is to have a chapter by herself.
CHAPTER XIV

GERMANY, THE ISOLATED

A DISTINCTIVE STOCK—CAUSES OF GERMAN ALOOFNESS—PRUSSIANISM—GERMANY’S ADVANTAGE IS YOUTH, NOT INHERITANCE—DEGENERATING INFLUENCES—GERMANS AND ENGLISH OF THE FUTURE

In the ceaseless mixings which have made distant cousins of all peoples in Europe, the tendency of Germans, particularly in their later history, has been to do their mixing through overflowing upon other peoples, and to maintain the integrity of their original stocks against influx of foreign blood. German kinships with foreign peoples are mostly on foreign soil. Thus in his racial inheritance, as well as in those acquired habits of thought and action which go to make up nationality, the German is the most pronounced foreigner in Europe.

The racial isolation of Germany has been accentuated by a number of events in her history. Until long after other European Powers had achieved a unity of their re-
spective elements which made possible a fair degree of individual development, the present Germany remained a people divided against itself into petty states, warring and warred upon, the frequent victims of each other and of their more powerful neighbors. In a sense, theirs was a case of arrested development. Their centuries of aloofness tended to make the Germans, naturally an introspective people, more self-centred, and to harden the racial as well as the national lines between them and other European peoples. Although constant wars made a severe drain upon their best stocks, the German peoples were held almost continuously to the rigorous conditions of living which make for the survival of strength and resourcefulness. They were still gathering nation-building life forces while others were well along into the stages of dissipating them. When the unifying of her peoples gave Germany her opportunity for development, she was ready for it with a wealth of untried inheritance values backed by the enthusiastic eagerness of youth.
Modern Germany could not have timed her arrival to better advantage. It coincided almost exactly with that burst of achievement which began less than a century ago, and set the whole world at the business of developing its individuals. Germany entered upon this outpouring of the world’s ability with her own forces in the fresh vigor of youth. She soon gathered impetus from her unduly retarded development. She had far to rise, and her rise to the level of the other great Powers was spectacular, even for this era of spectacular achievements.

The rapidity of Germany’s advance impressed the world. It impressed her rivals more particularly. Most of all, and significantly, it impressed the German people themselves. Perhaps none of her rivals could have gone through the unique experiences of Germany and kept their heads. Certainly Germans did not. Germany developed in a cloud of self-conceit, the like of which has never before afflicted a whole people. It befogged their relations with
other peoples and locked them up in their own circle of ideals. The German mind, dense by nature, was made impenetrable by self-esteem.

But the factor in Germany’s estrangement from her sister peoples, overshadowing all others and setting her off as of a different race, is Prussianism and all that Prussianism stands for in the ethics of human relations.

We are not interested here in the political aspects of Prussianism, but in the fact that it is a phenomenon distinctly racial in character. The Prussian type is not wholly an environmental differentiation from the Germanic stocks. It bears evidence of more remote and more fundamental character differences than could thus come to it. During many centuries the inhospitable lands of Prussia were the rendezvous of the adventurous, the elemental, the innately barbaric from all regions. Out of this fierce conglomerate developed the typical Prussian. By direct descent, modern Prussia is the outlaw of Europe. The sculpturally hideous
row of the Sieges Allee was not the expression of one egoist's dangerous mediævalism, but of the whole Prussian type. The astoundingly cold-blooded militarism of Bernhardi, oblivious almost beyond belief to those human rights which are the ethical basis of civilization, found enthusiastic response among the elect of Prussianism.

It was to the domination of this essentially foreign and least cultural element in Germanic character that intellectual Germany gave herself. The rise of that leadership happened to coincide with the advent of the world's greatest opportunity for development. This opportunity would have come to the German people as a matter of course; yet its coincident arrival with Prussian militarism and Kultur seems to have convinced introspective, docile, scientific Germany that it was to Prussia that she owed her phenomenal progress. It required a frightful world war to awaken her to the truth.

The typical Prussian's psychic isolation is chargeable more to his sinister inheritance
than to his having been drilled from childhood in self-conceit. He seems to lack that inborn mental alertness which gives other peoples mutual understanding in spite of their differences. With this breed whose psychic obtuseness is innate, neither we nor our children's children can hope to get on comfortably; but the saving fact in the German racial situation is that many Prussians, and most Germans outside of Prussia, carry Prussia's bumptious mediævalism merely as an infection—an infection horribly developed, to be sure, during forty years under their masters in devilish preparation for the great war, yet there is no racial impediment in the way of their returning to a genuinely cordial relation with the rest of the world. Whether they will be able to purge themselves of this ghastly environmental poison and present an acceptable bill of moral health has yet to be demonstrated.

Aside from the Prussian distortion, Germany's racial inheritances have much in common with those of her neighbors; which
means, emphatically, that there is nothing extraordinary about them, as the Germans have led themselves to believe. It does not follow that, because Germany rose speedily under the pressure of unique conditions, she is to shoot up to cultural heights not already attained. Germany's rise may be likened to the filling of an empty reservoir from its overfull neighbors. The water rushes spectacularly, but with all its roar it does not rise a thousandth of an inch above the level of its source. Germany owes much of her rise to an inpouring of the world's attainments, if she would but know it. She has drawn liberally from the common source to bring herself so quickly to the common level. Her achievements have been in the nature of perfecting and extending the scope of the creations of others, rather than in creating. The progress of unified Germany is more identified with the material trappings of civilization and the development of German Kultur than with the sort of culture which is civilization itself. In literature, art, music, philosophy, modern Germany has
not matched the achievements of her own pre-Empire days. Least of all the German states has Prussia, the builder of the Empire and the chief exponent of Kultur, contributed to the world’s cultural attainments.

Germany’s significant advantage is in the newness of her vigor, the abundance of her developed ability, and the small proportion of her human dross. While there is nothing in these to raise the world’s civilization into realms unattained, they do assure to Germany a very significant length and strength of racial life for the attainment of those ideals of which the German inheritance is capable. They give to the German a survival value which other stocks in Europe do not possess. No disaster coming from this war can take away Germany’s fundamental advantage of racial youth; neither can the winning of it infuse new blood into other nations feeling the initial palsies of age. Wars may alter, hasten, or postpone, but they settle nothing in the larger current of human affairs; the final determiner is racial value. The people, English or German,
which in some way achieves the adequate survival of its superlatively effective stocks will not need to make war eventually to possess the earth.

In Germany’s present racial strength lies the most profound argument for an immediate turning to race regeneration among all who abhor German Kultur.
CHAPTER XV

AMERICA: THE MIXING-POT

MAKING OF THE AMERICAN TYPE—RACE MIXTURES—THE INDIAN-WHITE—DUAL PERSONALITY—MELTING-POT CAN ONLY MIX, NOT FUSE—MONGRELISM—MIXTURES OF UNLIKE TYPES

Is this country of ours a melting-pot, or a mixing-pot?

A melting-pot suggests the fusing of intelligently chosen materials into a stable compound for some definite purpose. But if we pour beans, peas, and hay-seed into a pail, and stir them ever so thoroughly, we still have beans, peas, and hay-seed—in a mixing-pot.

Now it happens that the elementary characters which go to make up inherited traits have a way of maintaining their identity down through the generations. The children of unlike parents do not acquire a stable inheritance, fixed midway between those of the father and mother. The apparent blend
is a mixture of traits, and a very unstable one at that. "Melting-pot" implies a far more reliable product than can be had from an uncalculated mingling of widely dissimilar peoples. "Mixing-pot" better characterizes what we have in this land of fifty nationalities.

Mixing of vigorous, resourceful types, not radically unlike in mental attributes, has given the world the most forward of its peoples. But mixing of diverse types is the thing written largest on the tombstones of departed civilizations. We in America ignore the distinction, and hail the interbreeding of many and varied peoples as the means for evolving an American type. Magnificent courage, this, led by an altruism that knows nothing of heredity.

We are primarily inheritors of English blood—a blood derived from race mixing of the effective sort. The qualities handed down to us by our English-speaking ancestry are the qualities most responsible for our greatness. Later, we ourselves mingled these qualities with those of hardy pioneers from northern Europe, who came largely for the
adventurous purpose of joining us in the development of the great West. That, too, was race mixing of the effective kind.

Now to get an understanding of the ineffective kind, take, for an extreme example, the union of two wholly unlike races—the American Indian and the White man. This is a mingling, within a single being, of characteristics which have been strangers to each other for ages unknown. Here once more we must call to mind the persistence of identities. Even in this most intimate relation these very unlike character traits, Indian and White, go on through the generations unchanged. The half-blood Indian is not in reality a creature midway; he is a mixture of characteristics as purely Indian and as purely White as if they had found companionship in a being wholly of their own kind. In complexion and features he is a blend of Indian and White—an apparent development of a new and distinct type—but in mental response to environment there is strong suggestion of the dual personality which we know actually exists in him.
The curious persistence in the half-blood of habits exclusively characteristic of the White came to the writer’s attention a dozen years ago, during a close study of the Indian, in the preparation of a sympathetic history of certain Northwestern tribes. The racial values which had survived in the Northwestern Indian were those adapted to the rather improvident life of the hunter—the dependant upon the chance of the hour for subsistence. He had few of the characteristics which distinguish the White man as a creature chiefly occupied in looking after his future needs; during the ages of his separate development, those characteristics seem to have been bred out from the inheritance of the Indian, just as opposite and equally persistent influences have bred them into the White man’s inheritance. Now, the experience of Indian agents, as given in reports year after year, shows that it was always the half-blood who evinced a spontaneous desire for a garden and crops; the half-blood who voluntarily looked after and protected his live stock. And the same
reports show that the full-blood acquired these habits with the greatest difficulty, and was held to a perfunctory, uncomprehending exercise of them only by vigilant and unceasing oversight. Both were required by government agents to learn the White man’s way; the whole point is in the spontaneity of the half-blood’s adaptation and in the full-blood’s lack of it.

The half-blood’s voluntary exercise of habits exclusively of the White man is a manifestation of his White inheritance; the Indian traits in him would never have impelled him to it. So it is with any mixture of unlike peoples. What appears to the eye as a blend is an intimate mixture in new combination, exactly as in individuals deriving their inheritances from a single race.

Even if intermarriage were to become universal, our “Melting-Pot” would not give us in a thousand years what enthusiasts expect of it—a fusing of all our various racial elements into a new type which shall be the true American. It will give our
children for many generations a perplexing diversity in ancestry, and since they must reach back into that ancestry for characteristics, this diversity will increase the uncertainty of their inheritances. They will inherit no stable blended character, because that will be impossible for centuries.

There is nothing new in this. It is a commonly recognized phenomenon in promiscuously bred domestic animals, and is known as mongrelism. Every breeder knows that there is no telling what kind of chicks or cattle will spring from the persistently mixed stocks of a careless farmer. They may resemble neither their parents nor each other in size, color, or general characteristics, because of the confused nature of the germ-plasmic streams from which they draw their inheritances. Nothing short of generations of selective breeding for specific characteristics will bring back such stocks to a reasonably stable inheritance.

So it is to mixtures of unlike and conflicting characteristics—the superior with the inferior, the vigorous with the decadent—
that disaster comes. Not only is there uncertainty as to what such an individual’s inheritance will be, as we have already seen; there is also no certainty that from the mixed collection at his disposal he will draw characteristics in sufficient harmony with each other to make a workable inheritance. This is the crucial fact in race mixture. We speak of conflict of races; there may be a very real conflict of races, of types, within a single being. An individual so constituted cannot come to effective development, for he has not the unencumbered qualities of any one of the stocks which entered into his inheritance.

It is for this reason that persistent mixing of unlike human types, especially of superior with inferior, results in deterioration far beyond that due to a simple averaging of values. Truly, our “Melting-Pot” of racial values needs vastly more of skill and intelligence for the mixing of its ingredients than we have so far displayed, if the brew is not to be an unsavory mess.

We are often led away toward the pleas-
ing view that humanity at bottom has most of its attributes in common, by the occasional reappearance in an inferior stock of traits implanted long before by some intruder from a superior type. We may return to the American Indian for illustration of this. From time to time Indians, apparently full-blood, have come out of the great Northwest who manifested surprising initiative and ability in matters supposed to be wholly outside and beyond the Indian capacity. This is a stock argument of those who would set the Red man on a racial level with his White brother. The shortest answer to this is that no Indian is sufficiently familiar with his ancestral tree to say whether he is full-blood or mixed. Infusions of White blood began with the earliest Spanish traders of the Pacific coast, and have never ceased. Those who have read the unedited record of the Lewis and Clarke expedition overland to the North Pacific, in the early years of the nineteenth century, will appreciate the trail of White inheritance left in the wake of that intrepid band. Since their
day, hunters, gold-seekers, adventurers, have constantly traversed the Indian country, with the same incidental result.

Of course these sporadic infusions would eventually be so absorbed into the great body of full Indian blood as to be lost to the eye, except for the lighter complexions of the quarter and eighth bloods in evidence here and there. But the White characteristics would persist as White until actually bred out of the race. So it is quite possible, even probable, that an Indian, in physical aspect a full-blood, would now and then have reached well back into his germ-plasmic streams, as is the freakish way with all of us, for mental traits contributed by some able, adventurous White ancestor. It is no disparagement of the Indian’s capacity to imitate the White man’s way, to suspect him of White blood if he sets out to initiate the White man’s way.

The Indian seems to present no special racial problem. We have used him here to illustrate the significance of race mixture. He bids fair to become in time an attenuated
infusion in the White blood of the nation—the more attenuated the better, for despite his good qualities the Indian had little in his inheritance to benefit the White stock and much to encumber it. We are to be mercifully spared at least one source of racial impoverishment by the fading away of the American Indian.

We may turn with this much of relief to an examination of other ingredients in the American "Mixing-Pot."
CHAPTER XVI

AMERICA: THE NEGRO-WHITE

COMPLETE RACIAL ESTRANGEMENT OF WHITE AND BLACK—THE TRAGEDY OF TWO BEINGS IN ONE—STATISTICS ON NEGRO WORTHLESS—NEGRO-WHITE CHARACTERISTICS—BLOOD TIES MAKE RACES INSEPARABLE—WHAT TO DO

In the Negro-White this country faces a race problem that overshadows every other in its mixed population. The problem is not between full White and full Black; the two opposites of the world’s peoples have not enough in common on which to base a substantial difference. It concerns the Mulatto, a being who is neither the one nor the other, and yet is part of both.

Two more diverse races were never called upon to remingle their inheritances. We do not even know that it is a remingling, for that implies racial acquaintance in a former age. Yet it matters little whether or not White and Black were derived from a com-
mon ancestor; the period of their divergence as separate races is so lost in the back recesses of time that their complete racial estrangement is a present fact.

So distinct from each other are their inheritances that never in history have full White and full Black lived in the intimate relation of equality. Yet within the limits of his person the Mulatto carries the elements of both in the closest association. We know, of course, that these elements hold their identity even in this strange companionship. We call him Mulatto, but classify him in law and society with full-blood Negro; here we shall call him Negro-White, to emphasize the fact that in the fundamentals of his inheritance he is truly a hyphenated being. And so absurd a misnomer has the word “Negro” become that we must speak of the unmixed African as Black.

It is presumable that most White stock mingling with Black is of the non-assertive, inferior quality which would of itself settle complacently into any environment. The
average Negro-White is equally non-assertive; he takes as easily the conditions within his being as his inferior White progenitor took the conditions in his neighborhood. But we know that in the days of slavery much of the best Southern white blood found its way into colored veins. Those dominating, assertive traits still wander through the germ-plasmic streams of many an humble colored folk. What a chaos of emotions, then, must there be in him whose sadly mixed inheritance happens to include some of these strong characteristics of the White man! Is there a more excruciating intimacy than that of dominantly White traits—bred through unnumbered generations to association with none but White—fettered within the limits of a soul to an uncomprehending Black inheritance?

The Negro-White thus afflicted is a living protest. How little do we comprehend the character arrangement of this racially perplexed individual! He does not even comprehend himself. When, with quivering voice and muscles tense, he declaims against
the injustices done "his race," he falls into the common error that "his race" is the Negro. But his is not the protest of a Negro—no full-blood Negro protests his race. It is the cry of a forceful White man in soul-entanglement with an utterly strange being.

Socially, we feel compelled to set the color line between pure White and the least suggestion of Black blood. As a matter of fact, the line between Negro and White would have to thread its way through every tissue in the Negro-White's body. Classification of him with either race is absurd, no matter at what degree of color the line is drawn. The Negro-White belongs to neither race. He has the qualities of both—in most cases ineffectively combined.

We little realize into what error this classification of the Negro-White leads us. So accustomed are we to regard as Negro every person with a trace of colored blood, that we set down all achievements of colored people to the credit of the Negro. Most of the literature and all the statistics on Negro accomplishments are worthless as measur-
ing the capacity of the Black, since they deal mainly with doings of White men more or less incumbered with Black inheritances.

The last statement will be vigorously protested with an array of “Negroes” who have demonstrated a White man’s capacity. But as with the Indian, no Negro in America can say with any certainty that he is full-blood African. Continued reversion of a once mixed line to matings with full Black may so reduce the proportion of its White characteristics as to obscure them from the eye, but so long as any of the White inheritance remains it may still be effective for determining character. Now when a “Negro” attains to more than an imitative success in those matters which pertain exclusively to the White man, and through the ages were beyond the attainment of the African, it is a sensible conclusion that he is dominated by his White characteristics. Booker T. Washington is said to have had a remarkably able White father. Surely no one who watched his great educational work would say that the Black inheritance of
Booker T. Washington was thus demonstrating itself. And very few colored people who manifest White initiative claim or appear to be full Black.

Reliable statistics as to the proportion of mixed-bloods in our colored population are not to be had. In 1910 the census enumerators, yielding to the general inclination to regard as Black all who are not distinctly light-colored, returned only twenty-one per cent Mulatto. The compiler of the Census Report himself admits a much greater proportion of Negro-Whites, and adds that an estimate as high as three-fourths is not improbable. From all the evidence it seems reasonable to conclude that somewhere between sixty and seventy-five per cent of our colored people have a racially appreciable infusion of White blood, whether or not it is apparent to the casual eye. The proportion is increasing rapidly, somewhat through intermarriage with pure Whites, but mostly through the mating of Negro-Whites with each other and with Blacks.

It is just this entanglement in the flesh of
White and Black that makes the Negro a problem. Nature is wise in decreeing sterility for the offspring of racially discordant matings. The offense against her cannot become self-perpetuating. She would have been more than kind had she put a like ban upon the evil matings of White and Black, for that would have left the races virtually full White and full Black, with their common desire to live each after its own fashion. Then there could have been no serious race problem.

But nature decrees that the White man shall pay dearly for his forcible crossings with inferior peoples. That decree is written upon the vanishing ruins of every dead civilization. And so now in America, a tenth of our population is of Negro blood in some degree, most of it grafted upon us by the unbreakable ties of blood infusion. What are we going to do about it?

The best we can do is to make our social adjustments such as wholly to discourage further racial intermixing. Matings between pure Whites and any shade of the Negro
are nothing short of deliberate race suicide. We may not be able to reduce the infusion of Negro blood, but to increase it is self-evident folly. A racial comprehension of the Negro-White should enable us to take a broader and more sympathetic view of him as a fellow being; yet it should also set us forever opposed to intermarriage as one of the greatest offenses which we could commit against posterity. That opposition should be written into laws, nation-wide, heavily penalizing unions, and even sex relations, between White and colored.

At present, there is no justification for interference with their natural increase among themselves. Possibly, however, enthusiasm for a purified race may take our successors to a different outlook. Intelligent selection for parenthood is surely coming. The disqualifications which will be laid more and more upon the ineffectives among us as we grow in racial knowledge will always, we should hope, be laid impartially; yet who can say that the impartial judgment of the future may not give at least some weight to
an individual's awkward racial make-up as in itself a disability for parenthood—whether he be Negro-White, Eurasian, or of any other discordant mixture?
CHAPTER XVII

AMERICA: THE LABOR IMMIGRANT

EFFECT ON RACE VALUES—RACIAL REQUIREMENTS—
A MEASURE OF RACE VALUE—SOUTHERN ITALIANS
—HISTORIC MIGRATORS AND LABOR IMMIGRANTS—
OUR IMMIGRATION LAWS—AMERICA'S RUSH TO DE-
VELOPMENT

The unthinking altruism of a generation or more ago that viewed this country as a free haven for the oppressed, disgruntled, and unwanted of all nations is gradually yielding to the instinct of national self-preservation. This instinct, in its unintelligence, senses danger to the social rather than to the racial welfare. A very considerable number of disabilities is now listed in our immigration regulations for excluding undesirable aliens, mainly because we are beginning to comprehend the tremendous social distortions which result from the injection of immigrant masses faster than they can be assimilated. In the literature on immigration there is
little appreciation of its racial significance. When will we realize that every foreigner imported to dig our ditches is also a potential father of our population? His uncertain social qualities as an ignorant ditch-digger are of infinitely less significance than his qualities as a race-builder. We may profitably turn from the much-discussed social aspect of immigration to study its effect on racial values.

First, let us make use of our new knowledge to ascertain what the maintenance of our present racial values requires of us, and then see how well the quality of the incoming alien squares up with the requirements.

If we have learned anything from this study, it is that a civilization lives only so long as it is able to develop from its available sources a fair proportion of exceptional individuals, whose function it is to leaven the human lump. We also know that civilization has the disastrous habit of dissipating these best values.

The imperative requirement, then, from any influx of human stock is that it shall
be competent to replenish the hereditary values which in the ordinary course are being drained out of our native population. It is not enough that it shall be capable of reproducing a dead level of worthy mediocrity; we ourselves are multiplying that grade of individual in more than sufficient numbers for our racial good. We want new possibilities injected into the source from which our leaders must come. The new stocks should be capable of sending their fair share of men and women to the pinnacles of our civilization. And the very least that we should require of all immigration is that it shall bring to us genetic values in as good proportion as they exist in our native population. If it brings us any less, it brings us racial depreciation.

How are these genetic values to be recognized? Certainly not by the state of development to which the individual immigrant has attained. Environment may have held him from an effective disclosure of his capacity. But in this age of world-wide opportunity for ability to demonstrate itself
there is a criterion for making a fair estimate of the racial possibilities of a given people, taken as a whole:

If our immigrants come from countries which are themselves in process of growth through the upward migration of exceptional individuals from their masses, we may reasonably expect that the stocks which are coming to us from those same masses contain potential capacities which will add to our racial values. Those stocks would be acceptable.

But if these immigrants come from countries or communities which have long since been denied vigorous growth by reason of having drained their masses of their best material, it is safe to assume that those masses have reached a condition of breeding true to a mediocrity which will continue under any and all conditions. The importation of stocks from those communities will merely add to the growing inability of our own masses to produce the superior stocks which alone make a civilization possible.

A proposition of this kind has to meet the
absurd notion that, somehow, the free opportunities and high ideals of this country will develop to American standards any sort of material which happens to come to us. But the best that our institutions can do is to develop stocks which have capacity for development; if the stuff is not in them, and has been demonstrated in their own country to have been absent from their germplasm for generations, nothing under heaven that we can do will put genetic value into them or into their offspring. Their children and their children's children will not have those inherited characteristics which are essential to creative leadership, and will simply add to the depreciated human material which we already have. No amount of education or environmental work of any sort can push such stock beyond the limit of its narrow capacity.

With these basic principles in view, let us take a look at the various immigrations of laboring classes to this country.

Until a generation ago by far the greater proportion of our labor immigrants came
from the north of Europe. These immigrants on arrival did not present any more favorable personal appearance than do the immigrants whom we are now receiving from southern Italy, the Balkan regions, and the Levant. But the Germans and Scandinavians—taking as examples two of our most worthy immigrant stocks—came from countries which were themselves in full vigor and have since continued to develop at a rate commensurate with other civilized nations. The very fact of their increasing development indicates with certainty the genetic value of their stocks, and this value has been amply demonstrated in the development here of the immigrants from these countries. Under our greater opportunities they have given us the benefit of hereditary values which at home have made their countries to prosper.

But immigration from the countries of northern Europe has very largely ceased. In its place we were receiving in increasing numbers each year, before the war, to the extent of a million or more, immigrants from
southern Italy and from numerous other countries adjacent to the Mediterranean. Not one of these countries was in a condition of healthy internal growth, even before the war. As a fair example of all of them, take southern Italy.

The populations of southern and northern Italy differ so widely that they can scarcely be thought of as one people. They do not regard each other as one people. So superior are the peoples of northern Italy that the existence to-day of Italy as a whole is due to the strength of its northern population. Southern Italy as a people by itself would hardly hold a place on the map of Europe.

Southern Italy is in the condition of having been drained of its superior blood for hundreds of years. It has long since ceased to produce exceptional individuals in any significant number. Much less do we get any of them in our Italian labor immigrants—potential leaders do not need to emigrate from a country where ability is the rarest characteristic. The mass from which we draw Italians has so thoroughly parted with
its superior stocks that for generations it has been breeding almost as true to type as rabbits breed, and with as little hope of developing unusual individuals.

This condition is equally true for the forty odd types which are now coming to us from non-progressive communities. Indeed, many of them never were possessed of particularly worthy inheritances; their peoples have never seen racial heights which at any time would have justified the mingling of their inheritances with the progressive makers of civilization.

Antirestrictionists assume to compare favorably our labor immigration with the historic migrations which have produced every great civilization, including our own. No more futile argument could be attempted. Initiative, daring, exceptional inheritance striving to express itself in new undertakings, conscience that would not be suppressed—these were among the qualities which selected the migrators of history for the building of civilizations. Present-day immigrants, more often than not, are se-
lected by steamship agents for their fitness to get by the immigration inspectors, and they come to attach themselves to a social order already established. Not one of the qualities which stirred historic migrators to action is essential to so mild an adventure. From their prolific increase can we in the wildest flight of imagination see Washingtons, Hamiltons, Franklins, Websters, Lincolns—emerging to take leadership in future critical periods of our history?

The vagueness of our notion as to what constitutes racial value is displayed in our immigration laws. They are designed solely to exclude physically and mentally unsound stocks and certain persons of color. Beyond that, "A man's a man" in the eyes of Uncle Sam. The world's age-long story of what happens to sound stocks which take on depreciated mixtures of peoples has not penetrated under that old beaver tile. Apologists for our heterogeneous collection like to cite Babylonia, Egypt, Greece, and Rome as examples of what fearfully mixed peoples can develop in the way of culture. But
their inferior hordes were the menials such as every civilization must have in abundance to do its grosser tasks. The ancients enslaved them—we import them; and our shrewd captains of industry have been known to choose their laborers from the most backward of European races for the very purpose of securing docility under wretched conditions, and cheapness and continuity of service—the nearest approach to slave labor. Of course they are also the nearest approach to worthless racial material—the sort which comes to toil and stays to tear down. Older civilizations sensed this danger vaguely; ours is the first to be charged with clear biological knowledge which should serve as a forewarning. Yet between the money lust of foreign steamship companies and the eager desire of our huge industries for manual laborers of a type that will "stay put" industrially, we are loading up with racial material, much of which is also going to "stay put" in every other respect, in spite of our social endeavors to make something out of it.
Here, again, protest will be entered. Do not exceptional individuals arise now and then from these apparently hopeless sources? They do. But they arise so infrequently that they prove only the general barrenness of their hereditary values. We should hold to a view of proportion in our estimates of these people. One Mary Antin does not compensate for the tens of thousands of Russian Jews who never get beyond a driving acuteness in small trade, and range down from that to gunmen for wages and incendiaries for insurance.

What if our immigration laws should succeed perfectly in excluding the physically and mentally unsound? The complete attainment of their purpose would bring us only to the threshold of race protection. In physical and mental soundness there is no indication of the qualities which we must have if we are not to be overtaken by the dead level of mediocrity that already claims nine-tenths of the world’s peoples.

What can be done? Our immigration laws have been developed almost wholly to
meet social exigencies; they have no basis in the racial needs of the situation, except as they attempt, quite ineffectually, to exclude outright defectives.

We have got to start afresh with the conception that every drop of imported blood containing less of promise than our native blood lowers our capacity to resist degeneration. This sets a standard quite beyond the dreams of the most ardent restrictionist; but here we are dealing with facts, not compromising with expediency. The importation of inferior stocks may mean everything to industry; it can mean just one thing to racial values.

What if exclusion of racially undesirable labor does reduce the feverish speed of our development? How many of us realize that the present rate of exploiting our natural resources is forcing them to early exhaustion? Another fifty years of agricultural expansion equivalent to that of the last fifty is impossible, simply for lack of land. A hundred years hence scarcely one of the basic underground materials will be
available in anything like the quantities essential to the kind of prosperity we now worship. A few hundred years at the present rate of increase will give us a population density worse than that of China.

Just why are we driving the industrial machine at so hot a pace? Is it because we have no vision of this comparatively near future? Then what of a thousand years hence, or ten thousand? Centuries still unnumbered are coming to us, whether we reckon with them or not. No other undeveloped lands invite us to rush our present task to completion. Why load the business of a century upon the shoulders of each generation, when the centuries are without end and our natural resources are limited?

It is an idle boast that in fifty years we have seen more of material progress than Egypt saw in her five thousand. The point is that Egypt saw five thousand years. Even five hundred years for us, with our mania for destructive living, is beyond conception. Each succeeding civilization seems
to be destined for a more complex development and a shorter life.

But we need not deliberately shorten our own term. It behooves us to adapt ourselves, now, to a scheme of living which has some promise of continuity. And in that scheme there would not be a horde of inferior outsiders, killing us racially while helping to disperse the very resources on which continuity depends.

America for Americans, and for other peoples every whit as promising who want to become Americans. We are too mongrelized as it is, yet rich in that sort of character material which could be developed by intelligent selection for parenthood into the greatest race on earth. We cannot give up this prospect merely to satisfy the greed of industry.
CHAPTER XVIII

WHICH PEOPLE SHALL DOMINATE?

THE MASS-INSTINCT—RACIAL PROSPECTS OF ENGLISH-SPEAKING PEOPLES—THEIR MUTUAL SUPPORT NECESSARY—THE UNITED STATES, CANADA, AUSTRALIA, NEW ZEALAND—THE MONROE DOCTRINE—THE UNCERTAIN FUTURE

Imagine sixty-eight million virile Americans crowded into the State of Texas. Could they be held there by edicts, treaties, or international agreements? Would virtuous regard for the rights of small peoples restrain their desire for more territory? Did ever a people in cramped quarters stifle its craving in moral precepts?

Germany is four-fifths the size of Texas. In that area she has sixty-eight million people. And they are virile to a high degree.

There is nothing in history to warrant the expectation that Germany, because she has been beaten in war, will settle down within her boundaries forever after in a
subservient position. Only inferior peoples submit under compulsion to permanent overcrowding. All experience points to the inevitable spreading out of the racially strong.

A situation like Germany’s can be relieved in two ways: by conquest, or by overflowing upon other peoples. Germany was winning the world by the second method, but she chose to revert to the first, and lost. Now she finds herself reduced as to territory, but numerically and racially very little impaired. According to all historical precedent, Germany’s position to-day is more impossible than it was before the war.

Again, Germany has the same two methods of relief: another war of conquest, or a resumption of peaceful penetration.

In deciding which she shall undertake, it is in the fundamentals of human nature that Germany should not be guided by any moral considerations such as make up the code for individuals. To sense the threat in this we must get away from our closet-made idealism and view world politics in the cold light of the world’s experience. While land-
hunger is on, the mass-instinct prevails, and the mass-instinct, impelled by this primal need, has a code of ethics all its own, as unpleasant incidents in the land-seizing days of every civilized nation bear witness. Undoubtedly the nations lately allied against Germany have come to a higher conception of international morality with respect to weaker peoples. Their well-rounded land possessions make the holding of such ideals more convenient for them than for Germany. Both France and Belgium have forcibly taken to themselves ample colonies at the expense of weaker peoples. England is in the position of a prosperous burglar, viewing old age some distance ahead, who takes to preaching on the iniquity of breaking and entering. We in America are having the virtuous day-dreams which follow a satisfied appetite. Perhaps it would be well for our souls to remember that our most recent spasm of land-hunger—appeased by a good bite out of Colombia—was only a little less marked with the ethics of the crocodile than the taking of the great Southwest from Mex-
ico, or the long conquest of the Indians, with its many scores of broken treaties, its heartrending deportations, its deadly concentration camps where the old, beaten Indian of the plains rotted away his remaining years in the slow torture of a futile hate, watching his children led uncertainly to the despised civilization of his conquerors. “Sweet land of liberty”—what tales it could tell of the agonies of the dispossessed!

And yet, who would leave the best portions of the earth to those least fitted to develop them? Human progress is bound to be disastrous to those who cannot progress. They are an inevitable sacrifice in a world fast becoming too small to tolerate ineffective use of its resources; and as time goes on, their easy independence is very apt to suffer still more, instead of less, as certain idealists would have us believe. It is just as well that at the Peace Conference we did not put any real meaning into that new and rather pretty phrase, “The right of self-determination for all peoples,” else half the subject peoples of the earth would have had
to be returned to the chaos of their own incompetence.

There is a cosmic justification for the dominance of the racially strong that cannot be expressed in terms of individual morality. If the time ever comes when slovenly peoples are left to their own devices merely because they happen to be in possession, virility will have departed from mankind.

However we may succeed in promoting international virtue, there is nothing in recent events to indicate any significant reversal in human nature itself. We imperil our very existence by turning now from the hard facts of the mass-instinct to the shelter of parlor ethics. Germany is still in the throes of an elemental passion for territory which in less devilish form has at one time or another possessed all of us. She must be reckoned with strictly on that basis.

Under present conditions, Germany's alternative seems to be a resumption of peaceful penetration. Of course Germany is facing a universality of righteous condem-
nation such as no other civilized power has had to meet. Can she make headway against it?

The attitude of the world toward Germany to-day is no indication of what it will be a generation hence; it is a passing event, just as are wars and all other surface happenings with which history makes its colorful pictures. The deeper current of human affairs knows nothing of the ripples which so constantly fill our excited vision; it runs silently past the hours of the day to meet the centuries, carrying the racially strong through all accidents of war and peace to ultimate world domination.

It is possible in various ways to hold Germany from another savage outbreak against civilization, but there is only one defense against German cleverness in the arts of peace—and that is, to be still more clever. Germany before the war was rapidly gaining commercial and banking ascendancy, not only in Russia but in Italy, in the principal countries of South America, and among lesser peoples everywhere. It was the fashion
during the war to brand these advances as German propaganda. Perhaps they were. But in their bigger aspect they presented the cosmic phenomenon of the strong prevailing over the weak. Germans have no charm of manner to give them advantage. They gain footing because they do their business more effectively than the native peoples. The remedy for German or any other foreign influence is an adequate counter-influence of native ability, and a people that cannot develop its innate capacities to the level of any foreign standard set up in its midst is slated for eventual foreign domination.

Peaceful penetration has an uncanny justice back of it. It is easier to win a bloody war than to combat the peace decisions of racial strength.

In the long peace which, we trust, is ahead of us, the main contest will be between the English-speaking and the German peoples. Without disparagement of other nationalities, these are unquestionably the two racially dominant peoples of the present.
Which of the two will eventually impress its culture upon a receptive world depends upon which of them best maintains its racial strength, provided—and in this is the essence of success—that all English-speaking peoples are willing to put aside their slight differences and unite for an effective display of their heritage in the great business of peaceful penetration.

What are the racial prospects of the various English-speaking peoples?

England's racial tendencies have been discussed. England, the natural leader of any coalition, needs most of all a reversal of her extremes of birth-rate. And she is probably the best equipped of all to devise and put in force means to accomplish it.

In the United States the African infusion and importations from non-progressive foreign stocks together constitute what might be called an extraneous load upon our racial values. It is significant that a similar load of anything like its proportions does not rest upon any other English-speaking peoples, except, perhaps, South Africa. Yet
against these racially and socially disquieting influences the United States still has racial values as effective as those of any inheritor of England's widely distributed legacy. Those early stocks were of the sort of genetic material to build a great republic. They were prolific; their increase overflowed westward again and again, as far as the Pacific coast, and their descendants in turn, effectively mingled with the sturdy product of the earlier migrations from northern Europe, have endowed this country with a fund of genetic values that needs only to be maintained—even in its present proportion—to insure permanence to the most fortunately situated people on earth. But to hold these values to their present proportion is the most difficult order ever put up to the American people.

Of the other English-speaking countries, Canada is a land of material opportunities comparable in many respects with our own. Racially, she has the advantage of us in the purity of her British-descended stocks, and in the prospect of continuing that purity if
she has the wisdom to choose to do so. The cloud on her racial horizon is her legacy of original French stocks, which persist in remaining at a genetic and cultural level below that of the dominant English-speaking population. They may fill a worthy place in Canada's economic scheme, but they do not furnish their proportion to the essential ability of Canada's people, and to that extent are a hindrance to her racial future.

But in Canada, as with us, the Star of Empire has moved westward; and in that great West is the purest and best of her inheritances, needing, as ours, only to be perpetuated to make of Canada one of the great peoples of the world.

The racial difficulties of South Africa do not augur well for her place among the English-speaking communities of the future. Her dominant people have displayed an admirable comprehension of race values in attempting to stay the almost overwhelming flood of inferior stocks, but the odds against them are so immense that nothing short of
revolutionary tactics will save South Africa from racial oblivion.

In Australia and New Zealand we come again to lands brilliant in promise of a great future for English-speaking peoples. Both have their race problems, and both are meeting them with conspicuous intelligence. Countries of dimensions so magnificent, with resources scarcely touched, and peopled by British stocks still in the full vigor of youth, have only to conserve the one and adequately perpetuate the other to make sure of a future well out into the unknown that lies ahead of us all.

The United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand—four young giants of the earth, growing and with abundant resources for further growth. Were these four, with England as their mutual bond, joined in singleness of purpose to carry forward to still greater achievement the humane culture that distinguishes the English-speaking peoples, who could effectually set up against them? Germany has youth, but it is the
youth that compares well with the old age about her, not with these four lusty sons of Great Britain. Any one of the four has undeveloped resources greater than the resources of all Germany. But resources alone determine nothing in human affairs; they are the instruments of resourceful peoples. What is more clear, then, than that English-speaking peoples, with their superior opportunities, have only to perpetuate their best stocks in order to make sure of a predominating influence in the future civilization?

By entering the war, we not only did the obvious thing in that crisis, but we also set ourselves right with a far more enduring situation; if we had not put effective meaning into the blood relationship with England’s descendants while the war was on, that relationship would have been thinner than water for years afterward. The hope of the English-speaking peoples is in unity; a cultural union to last through the centuries, but also temporary unions of force whenever force threatens their cultural ideals. Those
differences between English and German racial character which will always outlive wars and their futile settlements demand that nothing be left undone which will lead to a more workable understanding among Britain's descendants.

The time may come, too, when we ourselves shall need the active backing of our English-speaking cousins, if we persist in maintaining a situation so unnatural as that imposed by the Monroe Doctrine. The masses in the Central and South American republics are for the most part mixtures of decadent White with Negro and native Indian stocks. In certain localities, where intermixture has been going on for several centuries, it has evolved a fairly homogeneous type of depreciated human, who may indeed be hailed as the "true American" of the Melting-Pot. He is a few degrees lower, perhaps, than we in the United States could evolve in a like number of centuries of promiscuous breeding, but the low-class Spanish-American type is a faithful illustration
of the ineffectiveness that comes from persistent mingling of unlike inheritances.

Leaving out of consideration the three leading South American governments, the saving fact for these so-called republics is that they all have a smattering of fairly capable leaders, mostly of Spanish blood, whose chief aim seems to be to impose themselves upon, rather than leaven, the always excessive and sometimes overwhelming masses of the inferior. Consequently, these governments, with a few exceptions, alternate more or less frequently between the anarchy of bandit leaders and a despotism that usually turns the opportunity of office to quick profit. And knowledge of race tells us that all talk of such peoples emerging some day into higher levels is merest cant.

This is not a discussion of the Monroe Doctrine. It may be expedient for us to insist that we shall tolerate no expansion of European Powers on this hemisphere. But what we say in effect is that some of the richest portions of Central and South Amer-
ica shall remain undeveloped in the hands of incompetents, unless outside private interests are willing to undertake the work under the pilfering tyranny of their farcical governments.

It is a novel attitude of protection for our government to assume, unbidden, toward incompetency on so grand a scale. Such has never been the habit of the dominant White man. It would be, perhaps, ethically correct if the ethical consideration were sincerely back of it, but that pretense would deceive nobody. We were not so tender of the American Indian’s right to his undeveloped country.

However kindly our feelings may be toward our Southern neighbors, the Monroe Doctrine was not intended to express them. It is a device to save ourselves the inconvenience of powerful neighbors; and a clever one it would be if it did not happen to entail the virtual closing of a huge portion of the earth to reasonable development for the good of mankind. There’s the rub. The world has never before had to deal with its
like, but it is against all human experience that a barrier so artificial set across the natural course of ascendant peoples should hold indefinitely. And the two ascendant peoples are English and German.

The Monroe Doctrine involves the race problem. With the light of our new knowledge of racial values we should restudy it most earnestly. If it appears that, some time, domination by the ascendant races must come to those oft-distracted peoples, which shall it be—Prussianism, that must break whatever it cannot bend to its unyielding Kultur, or the strong, satisfying guidance of the speakers of English? The decision will affect the welfare of both Americas. Its importance gives us another reason for making our kinship with English-speaking peoples a more effective relation than it now is.

So we look out upon a future clouded with perplexities which can scarcely be defined. Against that uncertain future an unshakable bond of mutual understanding between
all speakers of English is the most obvious preparation. But that alone will not suffice. We know that mere numbers are of little avail, and the accumulated trappings of civilization have in themselves no lasting strength. The source of all strength is in an abounding racial vigor. It is the one sure reliance for the meeting of whatever may come. It is the motive power behind all successful human effort, and the failing of it is the palsy that marks nations for destruction.

In the coming great contest of racial strength, which shall gain the decision—Britain's descendants, or the Germans?
CHAPTER XIX

EUGENIC MISCONCEPTIONS

GROTESQUE NOTIONS—ABUSE OF EUGENIC WARNINGS
—VOLUNTARY EUGENICS—EUGENICS BY COMPEL
SION—MISGUIDED SOCIAL WORKERS—EUGENICS FOR
THE WHOLE COMMUNITY

Retrogression sometimes has a way of
getting in its work under the camouflage of
noisy progress. Not long ago a woman of
some local prominence as a feminist leader
publicly declared against child-bearing as an
experience altogether too harrowing for the
modern woman of culture to undergo, and
quite beyond any reasonable demand upon
her highly sensitized organism. Let the
stolid, physically hardened drudges of the
laboring world, said she in effect, attend to
the perpetuation of the race, while women
of brains devote themselves to uplift—and
so on, ad nauseam.

This woman expressed the antithesis of
the eugenic ideal. The fact that her utter-

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ance was hailed by the paragraphers as the last word in advanced feminism, and got by without special protest, indicates the popular indifference, if not a wide-spread and deplorable ignorance, with respect to the fundamental source of human quality.

Eugenic propaganda for a well-bred race seems to meet a flood of destructive unintelligence. Its almost morbid appeal to the imagination is seized upon by space-writers to spread grotesque misinformation broadcast. Newspaper items relate all sorts of cases which illustrate the popular misunderstanding. An expectant mother will devote herself to poetry, music, and all beautiful things. So far as any effect on her child is concerned, she might as well take to shoplifting, or knitting tidies, or marching with the suffragettes. Sometimes the father catches the notion of the hour, and goes in for lofty thinking.

This is the same old confusing of environment with heredity. The first lesson to learn is that the character equipment of a child is as much a determined fact at the
time of conception as it is that a tree shall bear peaches or apples before it has pushed its first shoot above ground. All thereafter is environmental. The matter of heredity for one's children must be attended to before marriage, by choosing the proper mate.

The most insistent and misleading of all the popular misconceptions is that the chief end and aim of eugenics is to improve the physical quality of the race. In a recent play, an undersized but intelligent couple solve the problem of getting a perfect child for adoption by marrying the chauffeur to the housemaid—both well above the average in physique, and as well below in mentality. And yet, the thousands who went to see the play seemed to take this sort of thing as practical eugenics. Not one of all the press critics, however they scored the performance, grasped its fundamental absurdity.

If the student of race learns anything, it is that physical quality is assured forever by the inclination of every grade, from improvident to intellectual, to breed most
from its physically sound stocks, while nature beats the doctors in attending to the weaklings. To be sure, eugenic knowledge should be taken advantage of to prevent matings between persons carrying hereditary physical defects, especially such as would mar the effective years of life; but further discrimination in favor of physical quality interferes with many a good mating.

The chief aim of eugenics is to increase the proportion of those above the normal in mental quality. It is satisfied with the average, normal physique.

A species as imperfect as ours should not hold out for absolute physical perfection in its matings. This putting too much emphasis on good health unduly alarms the healthy. In these days when the economic problem rises up between a normal young man and his honest family desires, his courage is not at all assisted by the questions which the careless eugenist would put to the woman of his choice. Admonished to look into her ancestry, he discovers that all four of her grandparents died of something.
Of course this is no news to him; the novelty is in contemplating the chilly fact as a eugenic proposition, and it gives him a new and terrifying view of the young lady. What if her grandparents did live with no more than the usual discomforts to a reasonable age? He sees at once four different means for her taking off and four distinct afflictions lying in wait for his prospective children.

Such physical considerations have an unpleasant way of disclosing age, infirmity, death—matters which nature has beneficently put into the background of the mind. Nothing but persistent teaching of its aim for mental superiority will get the public away from its too morbid physical conception of eugenics.

An unguided eugenic propaganda, besides overworking the imaginations of those who want the best of children, offers a plausible excuse to those who want no children at all, or no more than they already have, whether or not they have a really substantial impediment to fit parenthood. Such people
can almost always manage to find in their ancestry one or more of the racial imperfections to which eugenics has directed its "Thou shalt not."

The fundamental weakness of eugenics as a voluntary measure is that its warnings appeal most to those who have least need of them. They are not heeded in the slightest degree by the incompetents who are the principal source of depreciated human material.

Neither can eugenic advice be expected to initiate matings between those genetically the most fit to mate. Propinquity, as an inspiration to love and affection, holds first place as match-maker. Personal attractiveness, congeniality of acquired tastes, wealth, social position—a score of incentives to marriage take precedence over the stern demands of race. It is difficult for naturally inclined men and women to put away such considerations and deliberately pursue the eugenic ideal. Eugenics can do little more than act as a censor, to let pass or condemn matings already proposed. It may do much
good in this way among the intelligent—people can be frightened out of a bad marriage who could not be persuaded into a good one.

The persistent upholding of eugenic ideals may to some extent increase matings among stocks rich in genetic possibilities. But suppose it does? Proper matings are of little effect except as they produce an adequate number of children. In this, voluntary eugenics fails utterly. Eugenic couples here and there, rearing one or two well-bred children, are the joke of the present eugenic movement. Their scrub-woman may have six by a drunken husband, and the furnace-man as many by no one knows whom. It is too much to hope that *universality* of good matings and sizable families, the only salvation for our effective stocks, will ever be attained through voluntary methods which depend upon marriage.

To sum up, the appeal of eugenics for a voluntary application of its teachings affects only the intelligent classes. Its advice cannot promote matings—its work is almost wholly one of elimination. In so far
as unfit matings are prevented, the race benefits; but in offering a way out to the multitudes of racial slackers, and in alarming the overcautious, voluntary eugenics looms up as a potent agency for race suicide.

We are coming to a realization that something more effective than a warning finger must be behind eugenic advice.

Eugenics by compulsion is that "something more." It does not wait upon the absurd expectation that intelligence and cooperation will manifest themselves in quarters where neither exists. Its ideal of complete effectiveness is in putting the reproductive function of the entire community under the calm judgment of authority, just as is every other human activity which touches upon social welfare. There is no reason except the obsolete one of custom why the function most vitally concerning the human race should not submit, as all lesser functions have submitted, to intelligent guidance.

In beginning the segregation of the feeble-
minded we have taken the first step toward the full attainment of this ideal. There is a growing recognition of the necessity for cutting off the increase of downright human unfitness, but public indifference to even this first essential in race preservation is evidenced by the segregation of less than one-sixth of the country’s obviously feeble-minded.

One cause of this blindness to the necessities of race is the present mania for developing the individual, setting environment above everything. Our educators, who should be looking after both our racial and environmental welfare, have gone education-mad—and the vehemence of their enthusiasm has set them mostly at loggerheads over methods. There is a certain humor in the fact that a people so particular as to the quality of materials which go to the making of its pianos, pigs, and flowers should be willing to take its human material blindfolded. A saner view of both education and heredity must be developed before real progress can be made in conservation of
racial values. No people can offset under-breeding with overeducating.

Of all persons in the community it does seem that social workers, having so much to do with the kind whose prolific increase is doing serious racial havoc, should approach every one of their problems with a comprehensive appreciation of inheritance values. Yet most of them see only the more obvious need for environmental uplift. Keeping an utterly incompetent family together is little more than multiplying it into six or eight families for social workers of the next generation to look after. Enthusiasm for social work does not need dampening; it needs redirecting to the work of stopping altogether the propagation of such unfit material. A conception that one is working toward the elimination of these unhappy families for all time, instead of temporarily bolstering them up for further increase of unfitness, should heighten enthusiasm for social work.

If child-rescuing agencies, bent on taking away the offspring of these miserably unfit parents, would come to realize that in too
many instances Little Wanderers’ Homes clear the way for other little wanderers to appear, they might see the necessity for devising means to stop completely the output of such families.

The usual answer of social workers to suggestions of this sort is that facilitating the increase of the unfit is an unavoidable incident of their work. This answer condemns their method without satisfying the complaint in the least. This is not the day for unquestioning acceptance of results which help the individual and hurt the race.

All this is to show how little we apprehend the degree of supervision of parenthood which eventually must come if the present standard of human quality is to be maintained. Suppose that every defective in the land were segregated during the entire reproductive period—the full attainment of present eugenic endeavor. Then suppose that the great army of scarcely committable “borderliners,” the ineffectives, were wholly cut off from reproducing, by sterilization or other means—a wild supposition, something
unattainable in the present state of opinion. This would rid society of its tremendous burden of the specially unfit. But what would it add to the specially fit at the other end of the scale, the prime essential in any civilization? Nothing. Civilization's critical disease is the failure of its best stocks, not the fecundity of its worst, and elimination of unfitness scarcely touches this disease.

But a new meaning can be read into the eugenic ideal. Its complete effectiveness is in putting the reproductive function of the whole community under the calm judgment of authority. "The whole community"—that includes the best as well as the worst of us.

Would the best of us submit? Not in this day. But there may come a time when those like us will be led to a higher conception of racial duty through conventions now unthought of. Suppose we take a look into that future.
CHAPTER XX

INTO THE FUTURE

ELIMINATING UNDESIRABLES—THE NEW MOTHERHOOD—A RACE WELL-BRED

The bulk of humankind, born passively receptive, is forever wary of the untried; hence the inertia of established custom.

Every invention and discovery, every suggested change in habit or belief, has literally to beat its way into favor. No venerable idea leaves the collective mind of its own accord; it waits to be crowded out by a new one, perfected in advance by some little group of enthusiasts, and extravagantly heralded. The public reserves its enthusiasm until afterward.

No wonder, then, that advance agents of progress cudgel their brains for persuasive methods of approach. Direct assaults on old accepted ways are more or less futile. One common expedient of propagandists is to
put the whole effort into picturing the new idea in glowing terms as an accomplished fact, thus setting off by contrast the weaknesses of the old. Among the most notable efforts of this nature was Edward Bellamy's great novel of thirty years ago, "Looking Backward."

Bellamy, whose gentle soul ached with the social conditions of his day, glimpsed beyond them what he thought was a better human existence. So, instead of battling his way through the sordid tangle of the present, he vaulted with his readers clear over it into the year 2000, where all is lovely; and from that point of vantage he tactfully shows up our boasted civilization as a mass of appalling crudities. In that wonderful age of Bellamy's, absolute equality reigns; incomes for all are exactly alike, and irrevocable; the competitive struggle for existence is abolished, and every one, from the ashman to the artist, does his job for the glory there is in it.

The grip of the book is in its taking the reader at one leap into the millennium, with
no bothering over the details of getting there. Needless to say, Bellamy took startling liberties with human nature in his brilliant portrayal—and for the matter of that, in discovering the millennium at all this side of heaven. But he was no ordinary standard-bearer, fearful lest in his eagerness to advance he might get out of touch with his slow-moving company; he rose far above them on a great ideal, and nailed his colors to perfection. That was his sublime method of appeal for a more decent-acting human race—and heaven pity the man who can attain nothing through contemplation of the sweet unattainable.

Our present task is to get beyond the wall of prejudice with which civilization has enveloped the whole system of human propagation. Instead of attempting to force a way through by argument and reasoning, we shall slip around it to an imaginary open space of right thinking, where people have arrived at a condition of sex understanding. It may be that the picture of the wholesome sex relation as it exists there will dis-
sipate in our minds some of the bogies which now deter us from the exercise of ordinary common sense in perpetuating our kind.

Unlike Bellamy’s, this adventure is not going to take us to a state of perfection, nor even for a moment beyond the range of probability. It proceeds in the firm belief that intelligent selection for parenthood is wholly feasible; and, furthermore, that it is soon to become the unique achievement of our civilization.

Then with a gentle rub on the lamp of imagination, we find ourselves transported to a future whose distance away is not measured in years, but in terms of human progress. And as we are on a very special mission, the accommodating genii will set us down at the period when the sex relation is attaining its highest service in perfecting the quality of human beings.

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Any one coming to this far-off period with morbid expectations is sure to be disappointed. Among the great body of the people, marriage and the family have undergone
no change, except that a better knowledge of mankind leads to a generally wiser selection of mates. But this more intelligent attitude toward marriage leads to no appreciable interference with the absorbing pastime of mating; love and lovers go their eternal way, held to virtue, as always, by the lofty ideals of the family relation.

Neither is there any superficial evidence of a nearer approach to equality in personal worth, or to anything like standardization of the human being—those futile dreams of an age long since passed. There are men and women of every degree of capability, displaying in external appearance the usual wide variety of their several occupations. The streets are lined with houses expressing an equal diversity of taste, habit, and financial resource. Man has lost nothing of his individuality, neither has he gained the millennium.

This is the casual view. On closer examination we make our first great discovery: in all this wide range of human quality there are no extremes of degradation—none
below the level of decent social worth. And with all their infinite variety there are no squalid streets, no miserable houses, because there are none of the sort of people shifting about who live in squalid streets and miserable houses. Every visible man and woman is a self-respecting human being, and every place of abode, however humble, is fairly entitled to the word "home."

For the beginnings of this cheerful condition we have to go back to the early twentieth century. The great war of 1914–18—happily the last of its frightful dimensions to afflict mankind, and still known as the World War—gave the nations involved the first really comprehensive appraisal of their human values. In its frantic search for men and women who could do things, the war not only disclosed and tabulated ability of every sort, it revealed by contrast the alarming prevalence of incapacity. The historic risings of the proletariat during the adjustment period after the war, impelled even as they were by a formidable array of just grievances, were in their essentials little
more than riots of incompetency. In those black days of social chaos, twentieth-century civilization had its first chilling scare at the hands of its overgrown army of the underbred. It was literally buffeted into a realizing sense of its depreciated human material.

In the more forward countries, particularly in America, the outstanding social reaction from the war and its riotous aftermath was a determined effort to rid civilization of its newly appreciated but old-as-the-hills disease, human incompetence. We who have come on this long tour of inspection for another purpose need not be told how these chastened Americans of the twentieth century, after a generation of strenuous endeavor, so readjusted the social order that the incompetency due to bad environment, unequal opportunity, and lack of proper training was almost entirely eliminated. Our interest centres on their manner of handling that infinitely more fractious group of incompetents, the abnormally born, the mentally ineffective.

These stern investigators were not long in
discovering that, for the individuals whose unfitness is inbred, decent adjustment to the social order is a mentally impossible feat. Furthermore, they saw that this was largely a self-perpetuating group, representing centuries of accumulated unfitness. Nothing short of bodily elimination would relieve society of this sort of incompetency.

It was a bold proposition, but a people so lately racked by the horrors of war, and torn at their vitals by an unreasoning proletariat, was not to be thwarted in its determination to establish a social order whose structure was to depend on absolute personal responsibility. All sources of incompetency must be eliminated. Unfit individuals, as well as unjust social conditions, had to give way before this new ideal.

Then for the first time in the history of any civilization, that of the early twentieth century found itself in the mood to take drastic measures for the preservation of its racial quality. This was the dawn of intelligence in the breeding of human beings.

Obviously, the first requisite was a com-
plete inventory of the nation's defective individuals. The sporadic and incomplete investigations carried on at intervals by different local or state organizations were of course totally inadequate. As a national undertaking this survey would have been impossible before the war; but the surprising efficacy of universal conscription as a means for bringing out the country's fighting strength had prepared the public mind for government intrusion in such matters. Now it was proposed to make use of a similar national organization to bring to light the country's great army of the unfit.

Of course the croakers who had predicted calamity for any such interference with personal liberty as universal conscription for war, now had to rail against this new sorting out of a group as a thing unheard of in a free country like America. But that favorite American cry, "personal liberty," had come to be known for just what it was, nine times out of ten—the whine of the sensualist for special license, regardless of the public welfare. It was too apparent that the high-
est type of individual freedom obtained where liberty to run amuck was least tolerated. The taking of the inventory proceeded with no more sustained objection than had met the war draft.

As a preliminary corresponding to the registration for possible war service of every male between eighteen and forty-five, this new conscription required of every State, county, and municipality in the land complete lists of all individuals, whether in custody or at large, with a record of any sort of conflict with public authority above the grade of a misdemeanor. This record was not in itself a condemnation, nor did it enter into the final judgment, except in special cases; it merely required the appearance of these individuals for examination. Repeating offenders of every sort, especially such as drunkards and prostitutes, were held to particularly rigid scrutiny. In addition to all these with civil records, complete lists were required of all school children in backward classes, and of all mental defectives in private care.
The avowed object of this survey was to reach all who were in themselves undesirable citizens; but the underlying motive of those back of the project was the eventual cutting off of unfit parenthood. It was an all-comprehending move on the part of government against conditions sensed for a generation, yet endured as tolerable until the great war disclosed humanity in all its mental raggedness.

With these full lists of the country's ineffectives in hand, the examinations proceeded simultaneously, under an organization whose authority reached into every hamlet in the land and dealt impartially with all according to predetermined standards. There was that sense of universality about it, so characteristic of the war draft, which in itself satisfied criticism. No community fared differently from any other; all submitted for the public good.

And when it was over, the public, quite as it had been thrilled by the spectacle of five million able men selected for the honor of fighting their country's battles, stood aghast
before five million ineffective human beings, drafted from the same population; men, women, and children displaying in one way or another the fearful handicap of the ill-born.

The great survey developed scarcely a new fact relating to feeble-mindedness, except its stunning universality. The ominous figures had already appeared in surveys, done here and there on local initiative: Fifty per cent of prison and workhouse inmates mentally deficient; sixty to seventy per cent of drunkards and prostitutes irresponsible; sadder still, nearly eighty per cent of the “special class” pupils in the public schools were found to be little better than hopeless recruits for every kind of social disorder. All these were old figures, merely repeated by the government in more elaborate detail. Somehow the public had always rested on the soothing notion that instances of racial degeneracy were as sporadic and localized as were the surveys which had revealed them; now it was awakened to their terrible all-pervasiveness. The statistics for any one
situation were the statistics for every other situation of a like nature. The degenerate "hill towns" of New England, generally regarded by the rest of the country with a sort of detached commiseration, were found to be duplicated in every State and community old enough to have lost its best blood to the cities for a few generations. The big lesson to be had from this survey of the nation's unfit was nature's absolute precision in distributing the penalties for a man-made breeding system.

Of these five million, two million were pronounced so defective as to be incapable of safe adjustment to the social order—a constant menace in their own persons as well as in their prolific breeding of defective children. Several hundred thousand of these were already in the various public institutions, but the vastly greater number were intermittently at large, furnishing occupation for the hugest penal and philanthropic machinery ever known, before or since. And this vast burden would pass within a century, if denied self-perpetua-
tion. There was but one adequate method of treatment, for their own and society's protection—permanent custodial care, with segregation of the sexes.

Again the bogie of "personal freedom" was raised by more or less well-meaning obstructionists. But what freedom could there be for miserable humans in perpetual conflict with society, competing hopelessly with normal beings, and living distorted, degraded lives because of their incompetency? Liberty for them was only to be had in a life apart, adapted to their feeble capacities, free from ever-impending punishment, and from that other infliction almost as demoralizing, organized charity.

With that same breath-taking hugeness of conception which characterized its building of the cantonments for two million fighting men, the government now proceeded to create numberless farm community centres, adapted to furnish its two million defectives with simple occupation, both on the land and in such industries as they were capable of undertaking. It was to be a healthful,
normal existence, protective instead of punitive—a better freedom than they had ever known. And back of the immense project, with its terrific expense and difficult personal readjustments, was the justifying conviction that every defective sequestered in these communities was to be the last of his breed.

Then the miserable conscripts were gathered in. The population of the entire country was at once relieved of more than half its chronic disturbers—the worst of its idlers, tramps, prostitutes, drunkards, petty offenders—all whose maladjustment was traceable to mental defect. Under the same diagnosis, prisons, jails, reformatories and almshouses emptied a fair majority of their unhappy inmates into the freer life of the new institutions. Innumerable charities, struggling mostly in deluded zeal with the many problems arising from feeble-mindedness, went out of business for lack of human material. Courts languished, policemen slept. Defective children pursued their simpler tasks and pleasures wholly shielded from humiliating contact with normal youth.
Of course all this is now ancient history. Denied self-perpetuation, the feeble-minded dwindled in numbers from the beginning. Fifty years saw the farm communities reduced by half; by the end of the twentieth century all that remained from the accumulated human wreckage of the centuries were a few aged men and women, charter members of the original conscription. And the generations born since then have known the old-time farm communities only as modest little homes in the country, now few and far between, where the small number of defectives born in a normal population are sent to spend their lives in peace.

But the population of the present day would not be anything like so free from degenerate humans if the early twentieth-century movement, besides sequestering two million of the country's worst mental defectives, had not also stopped the self-perpetuation of the other three million ineffectives disclosed by the great survey. These "borderliners"—incapable of that steadfastness of purpose and conduct which gives
value to citizenship, eternally slipping back from normal standards, persistent only in having children no better endowed than themselves—were still not so obviously defective as to warrant their complete segregation. Yet if a community of wholly responsible men and women was to be attained—and the determination was to have nothing short of this—these irresponsibles must be denied parenthood. Prohibiting their marriage would merely scatter their unworthy offspring without in the least diminishing their numbers.

Sterilization, to be administered without favor, was determined upon. Means were already at command for depriving either sex of the power to reproduce, without causing the functional disturbances which attended the older and more drastic methods.

Once more there was protest against interference with personal rights—this time mostly from the more intelligent among the proposed victims themselves. But the stupendous relief at once experienced through the removal of two million defectives merely
added to the public determination to cut off this other source of future incompetency, even though the incompetents themselves were to spend their lives in the community. Why in the name of "liberty" should they be permitted to rear children altogether too likely to repopulate the jails? Their freedom was not to be interfered with so long as they conformed to the simplest requirements of society. They were given the alternative of being segregated with their less fortunate kind in the farm communities. No publicity, special surveillance, or limitation of any sort was imposed. They were free—indeed, encouraged—to marry, either among themselves or with normal people, and to accept home responsibilities.

People living in this truly enlightened age, when denial of the right of parenthood is the commonest method of dealing with persistent disturbers of social peace, find it hard to comprehend the difficulties which beset this wholly reasonable effort in the twentieth century. Parenthood then was regarded as a fatalistic dispensation from
heaven. Degenerate men and women were ridiculously punished for every social offense except the greatest one they could possibly commit. The procreating of hopelessly unfit children was accepted as a matter of course—and this among people zealously guarding their flocks and herds against every intrusion of defective stocks!

But the social upheaval after the great war forced new conceptions of parental responsibility. Procreation was not an inalienable right; furthermore, it became obvious that fitness for parenthood was not wholly a matter of biological determination. "Borderliners" were plainly unfit to rear American citizens, whether or not they might now and then produce a normal child. Why take chances with their offspring in a society bent on purging itself of incompetents?

That period after the war was one of big decisions, carried through against the noisy side-currents of opinion. The government of the United States had learned how to govern for the good of all the people. These
three million individuals of doubtful pedigree lost the right of parenthood.

Just as with the segregated defectives, the problem of the "borderliners" solved itself with the gradual dying off of this great accumulation of the unfit; in the generations born without their numerous progeny there were merely the casuals—the human precipitate from a nerve-wearing civilization.

Thus it was that, in one hundred years, segregation and sterilization abolished more downright human misery than all social reforms put together since man took to reforming. And punishment, that ancient method of torturing men and women into a nobler conception of citizenship, vanished long ago from the code of civilized peoples. In this enlightened age, the few disturbers are confined until they are considered fit to be at large—it may be for a day, or for life. The thing that costs a man his liberty is rather the inclination to offend than the offense itself.

But these forward-looking race-builders of the twentieth century had a still wider
vision. What was all this elimination of the unfit going to do toward providing the race with specially capable men and women at the other end of the scale? Next to nothing. This exposing of the perils of haphazard breeding would not, to say the least, encourage the supereffectives to greater fecundity; fifty percent of all children would still come from the least desirable twenty-five percent of the effective population. The race, then in a fair way to be saved from degeneracy, was still headed for mediocrity. What was to be done?

Curiously enough, quite as the great war had prepared the public mind for radical methods in dealing with ineffectives, it furnished a most unique opportunity for putting into effect a wholly new scheme of race-building.

Five million young and able men of the forward races had been killed in the war. When the surviving fighters had returned and settled themselves in family life, there were five million women left without their natural mates. And since men have a way
of choosing wives according to their own notions of fitness, there was in this five million left-over women the usual very high percentage of the best potential mothers.

Although the situation in America was the least affected of all in the warring countries, this great world-fact was skilfully held before every thinking man and woman in the land. The first popular exclamation with respect to these women was: "Too bad that they must be denied the pleasures of home and children!" But what a visionless view! Their inheritances contained in exceptional measure the richness distilled from a half-million years of the race's tribulation. If they were to be cut off from motherhood, the race would lose at once and forever an appreciable share of its priceless heritage from the ages of man's upbuilding. The deficiency could not be made good by increasing the fecundity of their commoner sisters; those produce the commoner breed.

Interest in the prospect of developing a better race had by this time been roused to such a pitch that this new propaganda took
strong hold on the popular imagination. Never before had the world faced a like racial situation. The veil of prudery was drawn aside, and people began to ask each other frankly whether, in the present form of marriage, society had hit upon the one and only wholesome means for the exercise of the race's most essential function. Yet what other means were there which would satisfy the high moral ideals of the American people?

At the psychological moment, the proposal for a new motherhood was revealed. Scientific methods for the transferrence of the essence of life had been perfected. It was then possible to gain a distinguished father for one's children as impersonally as one would take inspiration from his books, or his lectures, or any other of his distant acts.

There was no intention to make anything like general application of this proposal. It was at once assumed that marriage and the normal family life should continue indefinitely as the chief reliance for the propagation of the race. This special parent-
hood was to be bestowed as a mark of special fitness, and under individual licenses as honorable and as binding and no more extraordinary in any way than licenses issued for marriage.

Naturally, there was a storm of more or less incoherent protest, which had to be met with calm reasoning.

Shocking? Which was the more fundamentally shocking—the legalized exercise of a perfectly wholesome bodily function for the highest good of society, or its legalized perversion by most of the childless married couples all about? Custom sanctifies many a strange practice. Custom is too loaded with prejudice to be a fit judge of what is decent in any case.

The objectors insisted that not enough was known about hereditary characteristics in man to forecast inheritance with certainty. Quite true, it was admitted. So complex is the human inheritance, so interbred with defect through centuries of careless mating, that no one can know exactly what the children of the most carefully
studied union will be like. But why care to know exactly, when there was the absolute certainty of a better grade of children from a better parenthood? Able men and women were merely the custodians of exceptional inheritance values which ages of rigorous selection had perfected. Was it fair to posterity that they should carry the race’s best possibilities to extinction, merely because that artificial requirement, marriage, could not be met?

Against the heavy tide of fixed custom, and through the fog of prejudice gathered about the sex relation during centuries of erotic thinking, the new convention slowly made its way. It had always to combat the settled notion that only marriage could give respectability to an otherwise wicked inclination. But once a few independent women and big-minded men had demonstrated its practical application, opinion suddenly reversed itself. Fertilization without sensuality was found to hold no terrors for the social order. It could not shield immorality of any sort—births had
to be recorded as to time, place, and parentage, and vouched for by licenses duly registered, just as in the case of the married. Only a carefully selected number of women could qualify for the new motherhood, while the new fatherhood was an obligation put upon the few men who had demonstrated exceptional capacity, backed by unimpeachable family lines. Their marrying and rearing families of their own was not at all interfered with. There was absolutely nothing about the idea, after the first sensation of novelty, to stimulate the morbid. In a surprisingly short time it was accepted as one more artificial device in a civilization already quite turned away from the methods of nature.

The most astonishing disclosure brought about was the vast number of women of strong inheritances whose longing for motherhood seemed to be awaiting just this opportunity. Noble women by the tens of thousands, unmated because of the very qualities which indicated their high genetic worth, saw in the new convention the pros-
pect of a motherhood especially rich in its rewards. It was to bring to them the greatest of gifts and the noblest of occupations, and to the world a new generation of the well-born. They turned from the soul-starvation of pointless lives to nature's exquisite love of offspring, and found even a more perfect happiness than was the common lot of their married sisters. It was a motherhood clear of the banalities of twentieth-century marriage—a motherhood entered upon with the single aspiration to give the world the finest sons and daughters of which they were capable. Such a mother could look upon her growing children with the satisfying thought that the great inheritance mingled in them with her own was the surest of promises for their future. A mother's hopes never rested upon a more secure foundation.

Little did these women of the early twentieth century, pioneers in the great Social Reformation, know that future generations were to rise up and call them blessed. They came to the rescue of a dwindling leadership
with their sublime offer of potential leaders. Already the State was fast reducing the elements which made for social disorder; but it was this new motherhood that saved the great inheritance of mankind, and first gave continuity to civilization.

This wonderful land of the future to which we have been transported has so much in it that is novel and altogether satisfying that here we shall stay until the end of the book, and spend the time looking about us.

Even the most foresighted of those twentieth-century leaders could hardly have visioned the full possibilities in their ideal of a race well-bred. Public order is virtually automatic, in the general absence of men and women inclined to disorder. Individual freedom is not hampered by necessarily repressive laws aimed at those who habitually abuse freedom. Opportunity has been levelled, not so much by regulation as by the ability of every human being to grasp opportunity in some measure. Universal competency, even though varying in degree,
has made possible a brotherhood of mutual understanding.

Marriage and the family life are the preoccupation of the great bulk of humankind, quite as in the old days. But marriage is not the same easy-going, haphazard institution. The closer relation of native ability to position in life has set people of all classes to looking after the inborn quality of their children. The Social Reformation of the twentieth century set up many regulations in the interest of effective matings; but, with the new significance put upon individual capacity, it was not long before the eagerness of the people for well-born offspring outran all necessity for regulation in its search for eugenic knowledge. Men reformed their notions of what the mothers of their children should be; maternal love is uncritical, but paternal love is well mixed with pride, and the new valuation put upon ability stirs this double-headed fatherly instinct to a more discriminating choice of mate.

Denial of the right of parenthood has
been carried far beyond the intention of the twentieth-century pioneers. Whoever develops persistent unsocial tendencies, even after marriage and the birth of children, is liable to either sterilization or segregation, as the case may warrant. Improper rearing of children is apt to be met in the same way—and certainly no parents so unfit to raise children that the State has to interfere are left with the right to bring any more into the world. The old way of rescuing abused children, and leaving the unfit parents free to procreate, is incomprehensible to these people. The deeper motive seems to be to keep the population down to livable numbers by generally restricting the fecundity of the least desirable. Indeed, far-seeing men look for a continual extension of restrictive measures, for the double purpose of improving the race and holding its numbers within bounds. Parenthood is to be increasingly scrutinized as the world grows older. The plague of numbers, that horrible affliction of nations grown decrepit, cannot overtake this people. Every item in their
civilization must give evidence of ability to meet this one requirement—continuity.

But it is the new motherhood that gives this civilization continuity at the point where every previous civilization has broken miserably. Since the days of the Social Reformation it has steadily raised the quality of the world’s leadership by contributing to the richness of those higher genetic values which were fast being lost under the marriage system. Effective leadership is the first essential to harmony among a species born to inequality. The efforts of the most intelligent peoples on earth need co-ordinating—and to-day there is the social harmony that comes from a mutually accepted relation, built up on lines of service rendered.

This is a people occupied and rewarded as nearly according to their merits as any should be in a world where love, and pity, and tenderness are still the sublimest human attributes. The milk of human kindness flows more richly, because it is not drained to the limit of patience by hordes of the incapable. Justice itself is permitted a clearer
vision. There are no doles of charity to any one; the ill-born are led away to lives more pleasant than charity could hope to give them; the disabled and superannuated, if their own resources fail them and they are without willing relatives or friends, draw adequate compensation from funds to which they themselves have contributed, and take as their just due. But *uneearned* dependency has been almost unknown since chronic improvidence became a misdemeanor which might land one in a segregated farm community. The old socialistic notion of the State as a benevolent grandmother to the improvident faded away with the passing of that grade of the species. Neighborliness expands without the constant fear of being imposed upon, and the countless minor distresses inevitable in a world full of mortals are met with a kindlier sympathy, a more spontaneous aid, because of their absolute genuineness.

The certainty that one cannot fall to the old depths of poverty has done more to take the old wolfishness out of the com-
petitive struggle than all preachings and teachings combined. It is the man who thinks he may drown that strives to lift himself farthest out of water; confidence leads to moderation. In this age, life proceeds more surely, and for that reason with less feverishness. Men are occupied with providing for their families, but not so fearfully. They live serenely now, because they know that, whatever happens, they and theirs will be able to live decently then.

Now we take leave of this people—somewhat reluctantly, for they are quite like ourselves in every respect, except that they have less of misery and more of contentment. And as we make our way back to our own twentieth century we reflect that the misery which they have put aside we also could banish, and their contentment is such as could be developed by any people well-bred, in the literal sense.