

Mocking Eugenics

Mocking Eugenics explores the opposition to eugenic discourse mounted by twentieth-century American artists seeking to challenge and destabilize what they viewed as a dangerous body of thought. Focusing on their wielding of humor to attack the contemporaneous science of heredity and the totalitarian impulse informing it, this book confronts the conflict between eugenic theories presented as grounded in scientific and metaphysical truth and the satirical treatment of eugenics as not only absurdly illogical but also antithetical to democratic ideals and inimical to humanistic values. Through analyses of the films of Charlie Chaplin and the fiction of F. Scott Fitzgerald, Ernest Hemingway, Anita Loos, and Wallace Thurman, *Mocking Eugenics* examines their use of laughter to dismantle the rhetoric of perfectionism, white supremacy, and nativism that shaped mainstream expressions of American patriotism and normative white masculinity. As such, it will appeal to scholars of cultural studies, literature, cinema, sociology, humor, and American studies.

Ewa Barbara Luczak is Professor at the Institute of English Studies, University of Warsaw and President of the Polish Association for American Studies. She is the author of *How Their Living in Europe Affected Five African American Authors, Breeding and Eugenics in the American Literary Imagination: Heredity Rules in the Twentieth Century* and the co-editor of *New Cosmopolitanism, Race and Ethnicity: Cultural Perspectives*.



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Mocking Eugenics

American Culture against Scientific Hatred

Ewa Barbara Luczak

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Introduction

This book examines how humor and satire were used as tools to interrogate, unsettle, and mock one of the most dominant and powerful scientific fields of the early decades of the 20th century. It investigates how, by using satire, the rhetoric of biological social engineering of the time was re-mediated to form pockets of social and political resistance. The authors and artists singled out for this study were courageous enough to voice their distrust of eugenics at a time when the science of “better breeding” was considered to be a legitimate, if not leading, academic discipline. This book analyzes the strategies and genres of humor used to challenge the common belief – endorsed by both progressive and conservative thinkers – that human relationships should be channeled towards the production of physically fit and genetically perfect progeny, and that the state ought to control the reproduction of so-called “degenerates.”

The study looks at how film comedies by Charlie Chaplin, play scripts by Anita Loos, a musical comedy and a play by the young Francis Scott Fitzgerald, an anti-eugenic film script authored by Wallace Thurman, an immature novella by Ernest Hemingway, and an anti-fascist fictional satire by Sinclair Lewis undermined and refuted the discourse of eugenics. Although the authors lacked the proper scientific education to engage in a serious scholarly debate over eugenics and could not refute the entirety of the massive eugenics discourse, or even grasp the full scope of the science of better breeding, they were ethically alert to its danger and defined their doubts in clear ways. Consequently, they decided to expose the shortcomings, inconsistencies, and perhaps above all the absurdities in selected manifestations of eugenics.

The not so brief and wondrous life of eugenics

The science of selective breeding was invented by Sir Francis Galton, the nephew of Charles Darwin, who for the first time spelled out his ideas in *Hereditary Genius* in 1869. Analyzing the genealogical trees of eminent British men, Galton decided that genius is hereditary and should be monitored by society through a new science. He argued that human societies are organized

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along the same biological principles that govern the animal world, in which the utmost advantages go to exceptional individuals. Human geniuses were deemed to have the potential to advance societies to new heights, and thus all efforts should be channeled towards the development of a science which could produce well-born human species, that is, the science of eugenics. Galton was convinced that the new science was a logical outcome of Darwin's discoveries, and that a serious treatment of the theory of evolution led to a new set of assumptions about human societies. His theories were given an additional impetus at the beginning of the 20th century with the work of Hugo Vries and the publication of an English translation of Mendel's essay on the laws of heredity.¹

The introduction of eugenics into the academic world can be compared to a seismic shift, the after-shocks of which can still be felt today.

In the course of my research into the presence of eugenic discourse in American culture,² I have come to realize that from the moment of its inception the academic status of eugenics rendered any critical engagement with it a herculean task. Eugenics' scientific credentials were impressive indeed. In the United States, along with a solidification of its administrative structures – such as the opening of the Carnegie Station for Experimental Evolution at Cold Spring Harbor (1904); the Eugenics Record Office (1910); the founding of the Race Betterment Foundation in Battle Creek, Michigan (1906); and the American Eugenics Society (1922) – all of which were due to the generous funding of the Rockefeller Foundation and the Carnegie Institution,³ eugenics soon ceased to be an imported scientific curiosity and became a full-fledged branch of American science, to be treated with care and respect. It managed to win scientists in major and prestigious universities over to its cause, where it was taught as a part of instruction in sociology, economics, anthropology, biology, psychology,⁴ and even in economics.⁵

Embraced by the scientific world, eugenics attained the position of a cutting-edge academic discipline of the time, one that had the ambition to shape both national pieties and fears. It became an agent of a national reproductive program, as evidenced by the introduction of sterilization laws in over thirty American states,⁶ as well as a dominant element of immigration policy, as reflected in the passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882, the introduction of a literacy test for immigrants in 1917, and ultimately the passage of the Johnson-Reed Immigration Act in 1924.

While undergoing major technological and cultural changes, and becoming a sine wave economy – moving from the depression at the end of the 19th century to the economic boom of the 1920s and then back to the depression of the 1930s – American society duly registered eugenics' unprecedented position as an arbiter of social aims, fashions, tastes, and ethics. Opinion-shaping periodicals such as *The Saturday Evening Post* and *The American Mercury*, as well as dailies such as *The New York Times* all included ads on eugenic publications or articles, both pro- and anti-eugenic, informed by eugenic concerns over the significance of conscious racial reproductive choices

and a fear of national degeneration due to the influx of immigrants with large families from Southern and Eastern Europe.⁷ Early Hollywood released educational films on eugenic topics,⁸ theatres staged plays grounded on a desire to promote the eugenic agenda,⁹ and a vibrant exhibition culture enthusiastically embraced eugenic exhibits and competitions.¹⁰ Numerous intellectuals, writers and artists subscribed to Jack London's assertion that "the future human world belongs to eugenics, and will be determined by the practice of eugenics."¹¹

Eugenics as the new Gnosticism: the ethics of might over right

One of the most significant and dangerous aspects of eugenics was probably its desire to create its own system of validation and ethics, independent of the ethics of liberal societies. Eugenics replaced the democratic logic of brotherhood and equality with that of racial exceptionalism and hereditary aristocracy. Madison Grant, one of the founding fathers of racial eugenics, complained that "[t]he tendency in a democracy is toward a standardization of type and a diminution of the influence of genius,"¹² an assertion supported by Grant's admirer, Lothrop Stoddard, who vehemently argued that "[t]he idea of 'Natural Equality' is one of the most pernicious delusions that has ever afflicted mankind."¹³ A similar tone of racial patricianism was raised by Edwin Grant Conklin, an eminent professor of zoology at Princeton. His book on heredity and environment became assigned reading in colleges, and thus students had to ponder over passages that were in sharp conflict with the doctrine of brotherly love, such as:

[M]any idealists maintain that every race and every people has the right to live its life in its own way. But however philanthropic they may be in theory, the practice of all nations demonstrates that weaker and inferior peoples are not permitted to stand in the way of dominant ones.¹⁴

The endorsement of a new ethics of "might over right," which Hanna Arendt, writing two decades later, aptly diagnosed as the foundational principle of racism and fascism,¹⁵ was heightened by the ascription of a sense of exceptional foresight to the so-called "rational scientific elites." Edward Alsworth Ross, one of the main voices in eugenic sociology, emphasized – in his *Sin and Society*, a eugenically-inspired reflection on the roots of social evil and a treatise endorsed by President Theodore Roosevelt – that his book's "exhortation is not *Be good* but *Be rational*" and its lesson is to take the reader out of the backwoods of superstition and straight into rational modernity. "Rationalize public opinion; modernize it and bring it abreast of latter-day sin, make the blame of the many into a flaming sword guarding the sacred interests of society,"¹⁶ Ross thundered, savoring the power of a biblical comparison of himself to the Archangel Gabriel.

Interestingly, Ross's use of biblical imagery highlights the way in which eugenics straddled two apparently, mutually exclusive rhetorical registers: that

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of a rational language of science, and of a metaphysics characteristic of traditional religious communities. Rationality, science, and metaphysics, even though uncomfortable bedfellows in other contexts, became merged in the science of eugenics. Galton was the first to initiate the religious cult of eugenics, comparing it to a new religion. In “Eugenics: Its Definition, Scope, and Aims,” a lecture he delivered in May 1904, Galton insisted that eugenics “must be introduced into the national conscience, like a new religion.”¹⁷ Following Galton’s lead, Charles Davenport, the director of the Eugenics Experimental Station at Cold Spring Harbor, NJ, in 1916 delivered a talk entitled “Eugenics as Religion” at the Golden Jubilee Celebration of the Battle Creek Sanitarium, in which he detailed his 12-point creed of eugenic faith.¹⁸ The blending of eugenics and religion assumed its most curious shape in the “Best Eugenic Sermon” contests organized by the American Eugenics Society in the 1920s.¹⁹

Realization of the metaphysical status of eugenics facilitates seeing it as a form of new religious approach, or a new Gnosticism (in the way Ihab Hassan applied it to describe the intellectual endeavors of modernism).²⁰ Eugenic discourse manifested all the qualities of such a “New Gnosticism.” While perceiving social life exclusively through the prism of Social Darwinism, in which individuals were functionaries in a larger system of race and nation, eugenic discourse devalued experience and denied significance to the individual body. Eugenics promised *gnosis*, or knowledge of the mechanism of functioning of societies, and characterized everyday reality as messy and irrelevant to the larger project of understanding and constructing the human condition through the laws of heredity.

The eugenicist – equipped with scientific knowledge of the Mendelian laws, statistical data, economic evidence, and shoring up his (or her) prestige with the “big vocabulary” of abstractions – was what D. Diane Davis called, in another context, the *homo serious*, the “ideologue” or, to use poststructuralist terminology, the metaphysician of presence and substance.²¹ Believing that eugenics provided a foundation on which to ground absolute truth and knowledge, and cherishing a vision of an administered culture which left no space for irony, the eugenicist saw himself (or in fewer cases herself) as the messenger of a new, one and only, just and true order, whose role was to save Western civilization from racial decline and apocalypse. The social and economic problems encountered in the first two decades of the 20th century – overcrowding in the cities, the outbreak of World War I, and the dawn of the Bolshevik revolution – convinced the eugenicist of his unique role in society. Rather than piecing together the fragments of what he believed, in accordance with T.S. Eliot, were the ruins of the Western world, he aimed at the construction of a coherent metaphysical system grounded on science. He was convinced that the unusual times, described by Carl Schmitt as a “state of exception,” called for such a philosophical and ethical reconstruction.

Given the inherently two-faced nature of eugenic discourse – which on one hand wished to be perceived as partaking of a purely objective and detached

system of scientific inquiry, while on the other flaunting its Gnostic and religious aspirations – the opposition to eugenics could not but assume two forms as well. Thus, on one hand it searched for scientific blunders, errors of judgment, and faulty assumptions in order to challenge eugenics in a rational and scientific debate; but at the same time, it wished to expose the pitfalls and dangers associated with the metaphysical aspirations of eugenic science and interrogate its drive towards discorporation and etherealization. While the former critique necessarily assumed the form of a scientific inquiry, the latter relied on the forms of philosophical and artistic disputes, which frequently shaded off into irony, and ultimately into satire.

Scientific inquiry: Franz Boas and G.K. Chesterton and their opposition to eugenics

Nowhere was the scientific opposition to eugenics better manifested than in the work of Franz Boas. A professor at Columbia University, and also a Jewish immigrant from Germany,²² Boas quickly realized that the dedication to scientific rigor in the newly-emerging discipline of anthropology did not necessarily entail acceptance of eugenics' racial and biological determinism. And even though he initially trusted the value of measurements and statistics to draw conclusions about human societies and carried out controversial research at Clark University²³ – where he measured “stature, weight, circumference of chest and strength of muscle”²⁴ of immigrants coming to Ellis Island – his findings clashed with the eugenic dogma. Boas' argument posited the plasticity of the human form and pointed out that measurements are inadequate tools to decide about one's ethnicity and race. In his “Changes in Bodily Form of Descendants of Immigrants” (1912), he highlighted the significance of the environment in affecting measurements of the human skull.²⁵ Despite maintaining ties with and even seeking the advice of Charles Davenport, the main eugenic scientist of the first two decades of the 20th century,²⁶ Boas could not accept eugenics' reductive thinking, which relegated cultural experience to the margins of anthropological investigation. As early as in 1916 he dismissed eugenics, calling it “a dangerous sword that may turn its edge against those who rely on its strength.”²⁷

Boas's critique of eugenics assumed the most elaborate shape in his groundbreaking *Anthropology and Modern Life* (1928). While acknowledging the seductive nature of “the thought that it may be possible by [eugenic] means to eliminate suffering and to strive for higher ideals,”²⁸ Boas asserted that the premise that the laws of heredity determine humans' physical and mental characteristics to the same degree was faulty. He pointed out that “[f]eatures, and color of eyes, hair and skin are more or less rigidly hereditary; in other words, in these respects children resemble organically their parents. (...) In other cases, however, the deterministic influence of heredity is not so clear.”²⁹ Boas argued that “...we reach a parting of the ways of the biological eugenicist and the student of human society.”³⁰ Boas questioned

the value of major eugenic studies and concluded that “the data on which the theory of eugenics is based are unsatisfactory,”³¹ while dismissing eugenics as a serious science. His opposition to eugenics gave rise to cultural anthropology, which rejected the premise of race and biology as a basis of an inquiry into human differences.

While Boas and his disciples from Columbia University drew attention to the shaky nature of eugenic arguments and wished to relegate eugenics to the margins of scientific inquiry, Gilbert Keith Chesterton was a thinker who challenged eugenics from a philosophical and ethical point of view. A British intellectual and writer, known as the “prince of paradox” and compared to Oscar Wilde and Bernard Shaw, he challenged eugenics as early as 1913, when the Mental Deficiency Act was being debated in the English Parliament. He gave up on his challenge to the science of eugenics during World War I and the exigencies that followed, but returned to it in the 1920s, when eugenics was again in ascendance, this time through its discourse based on the concept of Nordic supremacy. The result of Chesterton’s renewed fighting spirit was the ambitious treatise *Eugenics and Other Evils* (1922), in which he condemned eugenics on ethical grounds. Motivated by orthodox Christianity and parading irony and paradox, Chesterton reflected on how “[t]he Eugenists’ books and articles are full of suggestions that non-eugenic unions should and may come to be regarded as we regard sins; that they should really feel that marrying an invalid is a kind of cruelty to children.”³² He pointed out that nevertheless “history is full of the praises of people who have held such ties to invalids.”³³ Chesterton exposed the shortcomings of a eugenic rhetoric which, while using euphemisms and casuistry, served as a smokescreen for the real aim of eugenics – to engineer human lives in a totalitarian manner. He urged the reader to consider the ethical implications of a eugenic hierarchical view of humanity, with geniuses on top and “the mad” at the bottom. He asserted that “mankind (as its name would seem to imply) is a *kind*, not a degree. In so far as the lunatic differs, he differs from all minorities and majorities in kind,”³⁴ Chesterton thus denied the validity of the eugenic claim that people differ in the degree of their humanity. Challenging the eugenic assumption of the inequality of people, he pointed out that the eugenicists “cannot define who is to control whom” and, moreover, “cannot say by what authority they do these things.”³⁵ In Chesterton’s eyes, eugenics has totalitarian aspirations “to bring all human life under the Lunacy Laws”³⁶ and as such should be banned from democratic societies.

Since they came to their criticism of eugenics from disparate backgrounds and equipped with different tools, Boas and Chesterton each refuted eugenics in a different manner. If the former relied on the examination of accumulated scientific data, the latter subjected the eugenic rhetoric and ideas to moral scrutiny, thus denying its claim to be a new religious and a moral approach. However, both brought to the table their strong ethical convictions, which conflicted with the eugenic agenda. Boas was building on the ideas of the Enlightenment, whereas Chesterton was prompted by the Catholic Church’s

distrust of eugenics³⁷ and subscribed to the ethics of Christian Universality. Despite their different initial premises, they both reached similar conclusions: eugenics was a “science” that undermined the ideas of brotherhood, solidarity, and human equality, and thus threatened the future of humankind. Looking back in hindsight, their critique was not only timely but also prophetic. Eugenics turned out to be the ur-science of Nazism and was used to justify the Nazi atrocities and the Jewish Holocaust.

Interestingly, at the time of their engagement with eugenics, when Nazism was not yet foreseen as being within the realm of possibility, both Boas and Chesterton courted some eugenic ideas or concepts. Driven by a strong moral and intellectual sense, they were still not free from a “eugenic bite” and the racist bias of the time, which, given eugenics’ racial provenance and its concern with racial degenerates, might have made their disavowal of eugenics less effective. Thus, Boas’s ambitious Ellis Island measurement project in the years 1907–1911, funded by the Dillingham Commission, demonstrates his initial serious treatment of the assumptions, premises, and tools developed by racial eugenics. A decade later however, after having questioned biological determinism, he rejected the belief in the inequality of races, expressing the conviction that “[w]e have found no proof of an inferiority of the Negro type.” At the same time Boas did admit while “[w]e have found that no proof of the inferiority of the Negro type could be given, *except that it seemed barely possible that perhaps the race would not produce quite so many men of highest genius as other races*” (emphasis mine).³⁸

Chesterton, in turn, was not free from anti-Semitism. In his anti-eugenic treatise, for example, he called “The Bolshevist (...) above all a bourgeois; a Jewish intellectual of the time.”³⁹ Boas’s and Chesterton’s oversights, racial slippages, and sometimes even slurs (in the case of Chesterton) demonstrate the power of the racial paradigm in structuring the thinking in the first four decades of the 20th century. Eugenics during this time enjoyed the status of a true and objective science and provided the basis for what Ludwik Fleck would describe as a “thought style” and Thomas Kuhn as “scientific paradigm.” Even those who otherwise rejected eugenic racialism and racial absolutism had problems disengaging from its logic as well as from its racial and racist register.

The difficulties faced by those scientists and intellectuals who wished to challenge the underlying assumptions of the science of eugenics and dislodge it from its pinnacle of authority seemed almost insurmountable in the cases of those who had no scientific or philosophical training. Screenwriters, film makers, and writers of fiction had no access to the scientific or intellectual armature available to Boas and Chesterton. Their aversion to eugenics was basically ethical and social in nature, sometimes even a “gut reaction.” As we shall see, few if any of them were able to totally free themselves from the impact of racialism, racism, and eugenics, be it anti-Semitism or the traces of other racial approaches. What was available to them, however, was art forms, including the oldest mode of social and cultural interrogation and perturbation – satire.

Anti-eugenic satire

Discussing the role of satire as a tool of social critique is a daunting task. The magnitude of such an enterprise was best summed up by John Peter in his review of *The Anatomy of Satire* (1963): "It is an assignment for neither the amateur nor the crank, but only for a scholar with a rich and perceptive experience of all the possible satiric variations, ancient and modern, gloomy and genial, in prose and verse."⁴⁰ The discussion of "all the possible satirical variations" definitely lies beyond the scope of this work.

One of the starting points in the present analysis of the forms of satire applied in the anti-eugenics struggle is the issue of its way of functioning. Satire has been alternately discussed as "a genre, mode and practice."⁴¹ Knight argues, however, that rather than being a genre, satire is a frame of mind, "a mental position that needs to adopt a genre in order to express its ideas as representation."⁴² The adopted pre-generic frame of mind is that of a sceptic, who "recognizes that some people are evil, but all are foolish not only because they do foolish things but because they are unaware of their folly."⁴³ And thus a satirist's aim is "to correct perception."⁴⁴ While satire's attempt to move the audience from blindness to insight can be the aim of any socially or politically involved art, satire is unique in the way it gives itself license to irritate, unsettle, and provoke through either benevolent or aggressive laughter.

It is important to take note of the fact that in his definition of satire, Knight emphasizes the corrective rather than instructive aim of satire. Satire is supposed to correct vision and not to teach one how to see, and thus questions the acceptance of pre-ordained truths. In this regard, Knight corroborates a modern critical tendency to emphasize satire's potential as an agent of social and intellectual liberation, in opposition to a long-held belief that satire seeks to return the respondent to the social fold and to stale, pre-ordained ways.

By accepting that satire may be "independent of moral purpose,"⁴⁵ critics have pointed out a tension between two types of satire, which mirrors two critical approaches to the social function of satire. It was indeed modernism that radically redefined satire as a mode which interrogated "coercive, even tyrannical, ideology, wielding its power through the construction of a bourgeois public taste" and put "the modern satirist on the side of skepticism, rebellion, and creativity."⁴⁶

Given that the subject of anti-eugenic satires is both the status of eugenics as a new visionary science as well as its ambition to promote an alternative, quasi-religious ethic, it seems that a strict division into didactic and moral satire and its provocative and interrogative variants misses the point. Anti-eugenic satire has a strong ethical agenda that, unlike eugenic ethics, is deeply embedded in the liberal ethics of brotherhood and equality and stands steadfast for individual freedom and rights. At the same time, however, its ethical position is not grounded in a desire to conform to prevalent social norms and

tastes, as was the case with neo-classical satires. Eugenic discourse was a powerful agent of public life and over time became *doxa* itself. Consequently, an ethical opposition to it was evidence of social rebellion and subversion, and ran counter to corroboration or conformity.

Anti-eugenic satire, however, seems to avoid easy didacticism. It is not just a “Department of Propaganda”⁴⁷ “putting forth a rational argument”⁴⁸ in order to convey ideas and criticism, reducing its imaginative scope. Its intellectual restlessness, which translates into an imaginative form – be it Charlie Chaplin’s silent films, Anita Loos’s or Wallace Thurman’s film scripts, Francis Scott Fitzgerald’s musical comedy, or Ernest Hemingway’s novella – is grounded in the same set of ethical assumptions that propel its neo-classical ethical engine.

What I describe as anti-eugenic satire is a satire which, motivated by a strong ethical component, interrogates eugenic discourse in its various manifestations, yet does so without the solace of an easy and comforting closure. An anti-eugenic satire both challenges the audience to interrogate the eugenic worldview and openly urges a return to the principles of equality and brotherhood that eugenics wished to undermine. With their eyes on democracy, anti-eugenic satirists spoke out against any form of closure, be it social, political, or artistic.

In the same way that historically there have been two types of satires – depending on their position with respect to their social aim – so too there seems to have been two major ways of interpreting satire. They have been grounded in disparate approaches to art and can be divided into the formalist, also referred to as canonical, and the historical approaches.⁴⁹ If the formalist interpretation had its roots in New Criticism and insisted on the universal structures and operations of satire (Frye, Kernan, Mack),⁵⁰ the historical model acknowledged the inextricability of satire from its historical context and the impossibility of a significant interpretation in a transhistorical and de-materialized vacuum. Bogel identifies E. Rosenheim’s *Swift and the Satirist’s Art* as a turning point for the shift away from the formalist interpretations of satire, where Rosenheim stressed that “[a]ll satire is not only an attack; it is an attack upon discernible, historically authentic particulars.”⁵¹ Interestingly though, Bogel points out that the formalist’s critical habits are so deeply entrenched in the criticism of satire that even now “historical analysis [...] seems retrograde and antiliterary.”⁵²

In this book I subscribe to the historical school, which highlights the significance of the context, history, and real life in grasping satire’s significance. Anti-eugenic satire is therefore analyzed in its specific historical background – the might of the science of eugenics at the time, the lack of relevant scientific education of the authors, and their need to express their ethical rejection of this science/quasi-religion. I attempt to show how historical circumstances led artists and authors of the first magnitude to apply satire (with the exception of Chaplin not used in their other works) to mock and criticize fields in the eugenic doctrine that they felt were wrong, but which they were unable to

question scientifically. And thus Greenberg's assertion that "[a] final characteristic of satire is that it makes reference to the real world,"⁵³ and Bogel's insistence on the significance of external reality which would be the "satirist's world or satirist's personality"⁵⁴ lurk in the background of this study. When analyzing the chosen satires of the period I locate them in their historical context and demonstrate how they entered into a dialogue with selected manifestations of the eugenic discourse which dominated during a particular historical moment. The eugenic aspects I have singled out for my analysis were as follows: in the 1910s – the rhetoric of eugenic marriages, the rise of eugenic nativism and the invention of euthenics, a eugenic twin-sister based on "better living"; in the 1920s – the rise of eugenic psychometrics and IQ testing; and in the 1930s – eugenic sterilization programs and the political solidification of a eugenic rhetoric of Nordicism and Nordic supremacy. Furthermore, this work, aiming to shed light on the reasons for particular acts of satirical resistance, attempts to reconstruct the satirist's world at the time of composing his or her satire. I believe that the experiences of marginalization, or the still-fresh memories of it, were of paramount importance on the path to concluding that the discourse of eugenics was deeply undemocratic and unethical. By parading its patrician rhetoric and racial and class typology, eugenics denied a voice to those that did not fit the class of racial aristocrats. And so the artists discussed in this work underwent the awakening of an anti-eugenic sensibility, either due to the status of being an immigrant (Chaplin); making it as a woman or a black man in the white male world of early Hollywood (Loos, Thurman); or overcoming the experience of being a cultural parvenu (young Fitzgerald and Hemingway).

Another question which arises is that of the place of anti-eugenic satire within the American tradition of humor. Most critics who analyze American humor are unanimous in seeing it as a tool to gauge society's identity myths, taboos, and fears, and argue for satire's prominent, even if invisible, place in American society. "Humor occupies a central place in American discourse," Sloane asserts in an introduction to *New Directions in American Humor*, and adds that "both major and minor authors become potentially valuable in understanding the 'American' way of thinking – past, present, and future."⁵⁵ Yaross Lee makes an even stronger point about the validity of humor in understanding American culture and ideology, and points out that "humor reveals itself as a comic rhetoric that articulates cultural politics."⁵⁶ If studying humor can throw light not only on "our national beliefs"⁵⁷ but also on the national cultural politics, then understanding the anti-eugenic satire – which used humor to refute the eugenic discourse steeped in biological ethics – should illuminate the ethical and social tensions within American society in the first four decades of the 20th century.

It also seems that anti-eugenic satire performed quite well the function of a barometer of the social and political tensions as well as of the struggle with a dominant cultural politics. First of all, it addresses two related questions central to American society from the Revolutionary War onward: What is the

relationship between citizens' freedom and the role of the state? What is the individual's sense of responsibility and obligation to society? These two questions merged into a bigger and more focused one posed in eugenic times: Does the science of eugenics have the right to limit individual freedoms through the process of social engineering based on belief in a biological utopia?

Aware that the science of eugenics wished to subsume an individual under the categories of race, class, and nation and viewed individuals through the prism of one's utilitarian potential, anti-eugenic satire used humor to expose the abuses in eugenic thinking. It pointed out the potential threats eugenics posed to individual freedom and indicated ways to amend the situation.

In exploring the uneasy relationship between a citizen's freedom and his or her duty to the state, anti-eugenic satire was grounded in American idealism, along with its trust in democratic foundational principles. This idealism led the satirist to question the power of a science that negated the principle of all men being created equal (although the satirists themselves did not, especially in questions of race, always live up to the principle). The figure used to convey American democratic beliefs was frequently that of a naif – "[t]he wise fool who speaks more than he knows."⁵⁸ Reaching back to its 18th-century prototype: a rustic Yankee, known also as Jonathan, who "embodied the American common man,"⁵⁹ the naif in anti-eugenic satire explored the power of social and political innocence to oppose socially harmful eugenic ideas.⁶⁰ Charlie Chaplin's the little tramp, Anita Loos' Nella from "The Force of Heredity, and Nella. A Modern Fable with a Telling Moral for Eugenicists", or Francis Scott Fitzgerald's Jerry Frost in *The Vegetable* are only a few examples of the naifs discussed in this book, who were used in opposition to the bulwark of eugenic science. Just like prototypical naifs from the American vernacular tradition, who could "transform [...] innocence from a liability to a virtue,"⁶¹ they used their lack of formal schooling and sophistication to expose the absurdities and dangers of applied eugenics. Exploration of the naif's innocence also had the additional advantage of focusing attention on the shortcomings of those who were eugenic functionaries. While juxtaposing the uneducated yet humane conduct of their naifs against the callous and inhumane actions of, for example, eugenic medical doctors, anti-eugenic satires urged the audience to apply caution in assessing the value of medical and legal experts, who were often proponents of eugenics.

The study of anti-eugenic satire and the naif's role in it also sheds light on the power of what may be perceived as an American idealist naivete, combined with an irrepressible hope. Attempting to distinguish the subversive role of American humor from that of rebellious humor used elsewhere, critics emphasize the American "ultimate Platonism."⁶² Although acknowledging that, just like in other international satires, "the sarcasm in American humor derives from the conflict between reality and idealism," they tend to concede however that "unlike Voltaire's *Candide*, American humor typically does not accept hoeing a garden as a natural outcome." To them "[m]ore typical is the

picture, late in Ken Kesey's *One Flew over the Cuckoo's Nest*, of McMurphy: although brain-dead he triumphs by not lifting the impossibly heavy machine to set free Chief Bromden, making Bromden sane so he could head out for the territories ahead of the rest."⁶³ And thus American humor, along with its political and social arm – satire – is believed to be irrepressibly hopeful. Rather than give in to cynicism and despair, it maintains a trust in a better future and confidence in the self-correcting mechanisms of American folk democracy. This trust seems to propel all the works discussed in this book. From Fitzgerald's youthful comedy through to Chaplin's silent comedies, the anti-eugenic satire stands by what Ellison's *Invisible Man* called "the principle." Unlike TV comedies of the post-1960s, condemned by Foster Wallace for their lack of social commitment and elevation of satirical cynicism over change and commitment-oriented satirical subversion,⁶⁴ the anti-eugenic satires demonstrate the power of ethics to drive not only social critique but also corrective laughter in the pre-World War II decades.

The figure of a naïf used by the anti-eugenic satirists to maintain American idealism was frequently employed against the theme of a domestic saga. Since one of the central pre-occupations of eugenics was that of engineering racially perfect sexual unions, mocking eugenics entailed presenting a narrative which set eugenics in opposition to the theme of romantic love and family. In nearly all of the anti-eugenic satires discussed here, their characters are involved in a search for the best partner. Relying on old-fashioned affection rather than eugenically-sanctioned rational mating choices, they countered the eugenic insistence that social reform began behind the bedroom doors.

Since a meaningful criticism of eugenics could not help but address the question of sexual choices, it trespassed onto the field of human sexuality, the treatment of which was far from explicit in American culture in the first three decades of the 20th century. The visual and literary culture of the period had to struggle with the thick curtain of Victorian propriety, which was strengthened by the founding in 1922 of the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America (MPPDA) headed by Will Hays.⁶⁵ Hays turned out to be an effective guardian of cinematic morality – he pressured studios to eliminate morally-dubious content from their productions; in 1924 he formulated guidelines that were aimed at protecting film's moral content; and in 1934, due to "outside pressure for censorship" he submitted a strict production code.⁶⁶ The Hays code, with its set of rules regarding the depiction of violence and sex and the establishment of a hefty fine for violators of the code, stifled the free depiction of human sexuality for three decades. It wasn't until the 1960s and 1970s that the censorship of sexual matters was effectively ended, which in turn allowed for the social acceptance of "a wide range of sexual material."⁶⁷ Needless to say, the strong taboo on human sexuality in the cultural politics of the pre-World War II period relegated anti-eugenic satires to the cultural margins. Anti-eugenic satires or productions with anti-eugenic satirical motifs from the 1900–1930s period frequently had to struggle with censorship and accusations of immorality. The most acute case was that

of *Tomorrow's Children* (1934), based on a film script by Wallace Thurman and Crane Wilbur. As the only Hollywood film that encompassed a strong message of opposition to anti-eugenic sterilizations, it was submitted to a strict morality review and banned in several American cities. As a result of its problems with censorship, it eventually dropped off the audience's radar.

Mocking Eugenics is structured chronologically, with each chapter focusing on one artist's response(s) to various aspects of eugenics that were given predominant attention in the decade discussed. Thus, the book opens with a chapter devoted to the early Hollywood career of Charlie Chaplin, entitled "'I am for the little man': Charlie Chaplin's Comedies and the Eugenic American." This chapter focuses on Chaplin's criticism of eugenic discourse, especially that of nativism and degeneration, in his early silent film comedies. Coming from an underprivileged British background, with his mother hospitalized in a psychiatric hospital and his father an alcoholic, Chaplin refused to accept the eugenic premises that provided fuel for eugenic aficionados. His film *The Immigrant* (1917) serves as a timely warning against the newly-introduced procedures at Ellis Island and draws attention to the growing discrepancy between the American ideals of openness and the new anti-immigration attitudes fueled by eugenic nativism. If *The Immigrant* scorns American nativism, *The Cure* (1916) exposes the limitations of the "theological medicine" practiced by Dr. John Harvey Kellogg in his sanitarium at Battle Creek, Michigan. Dr. Kellogg was the major founder of the Race Betterment Foundation, and in Chaplin's comedic satire of Kellogg's health empire in *The Cure* his resistance to the regime of racial health promoted by eugenicists shines through. An analysis of Chaplin's *Dog's Life* (1918) closes the chapter and examines how the comedian destabilized the discourse of "purity" by drawing parallels between the life of the little Tramp and that of a "thoroughbred mongrel."

The second chapter, entitled "Is the 'Strenuous Life' a Pleasant Life? Euthenic Efficiency, Racial Duty and the Phenomenon of Anita Loos," continues to investigate Hollywood's response to eugenics, this time filtering it through the early *oeuvre* of Anita Loos. One of the most influential women of the silent film era and a prolific screenwriter, Loos focused on the notion of a strenuous life that was advocated by eugenic aficionados as part of the new science of eugenics. While Ellen Richards – the mother of eugenics and home economics – elaborated and insisted on the roles of self-censorship and dietary and physical regimentation in the process of perfecting one's racial potential, Loos challenged such a "model" life. Her short story "The Force of Heredity, and Nella: A Modern Fable with a Telling Moral for Eugenicists" (1914) as well as her scripts for silent films featuring Douglas Fairbanks, *His Name in the Papers* (1916) and *Wild and Woolly* (1917), poke fun at the ideals of bodily austerity and the procreation fetish. The short story mocks the shibboleth of a female reproductive duty, whereas Loos's scripts stand the Rooseveltian notion of the "strenuous life" on its head. They also satirize the excesses of the eugenically-promoted masculinity, which privileged an austerity and toughness taken right out of the myth of a pioneer, and which could easily shade off into national or racial violence.

The third chapter, entitled “Eugenic Marriages and Psychometrics in F. Scott Fitzgerald’s *Fie! Fie! Fi-Fi!* and *The Vegetable*,” moves away from early film to theatre, and introduces the reader to the criticism of eugenics in two little-known stage comedies by Fitzgerald: the operetta *Fie! Fie! Fi-Fi!* (1914) and the play *The Vegetable* (1923). *Fie! Fie! Fi-Fi!* demonstrates Fitzgerald’s critique, while he was still a student at Princeton, of the idea of eugenic marriages and bodily perfection. Dissatisfied with the traditional and socially irrelevant curriculum of “a surprisingly pallid” English Department, Fitzgerald channeled his energy into cooperation with the *Nassau Literary Magazine* and the drama group “The Princeton Triangle Club,” for which he wrote the lyrics and the script for *Fie! Fie! Fi-Fi!*. In this work I reevaluate the comedy and frame it against the discourse of eugenics, which was especially prevalent at Princeton University owing to the powerful presence of Prof. Edwin Grant Conklin, who as the chair of the Department of Biology was instrumental in promoting eugenics. Fitzgerald returned to the theme of eugenics a decade later in another play – *The Vegetable* – in which he poked fun at the abuses of eugenic psychometric tests. The rise of the popularity of IQ testing was largely due to the eugenic insistence that quantitative psychology could help distinguish American geniuses and future leaders from the so-called “degenerates” and feeble-minded, who allegedly endangered the healthy tissue of the American nation. Fitzgerald’s play satirizes the abuses of the trust placed in the value of eugenic psychometric psychology as a tool to appraise one’s potential and future prospects.

The fourth chapter, entitled “Cosmopolitanism vs. Eugenic Racial Nationalism: Ernest Hemingway’s *The Torrents of Spring* and Madison Grant’s *The Passing of the Great Race*,” addresses Ernest Hemingway’s use of anti-eugenic humor in the early 1920s. The chapter evaluates Hemingway’s early artistic development through the lens of his interrogation of eugenics in a largely-ignored satirical novella, *The Torrents of Spring: A Romantic Novel in Honor of the Passing of a Great Race* (1926). By the allusion in its title to the American eugenic “Bible” – *The Passing of the Great Race: The Racial Basis of European History* (1916) authored by Madison Grant (who was later an inspiration to Hitler when he was writing *Mein Kampf*) – Hemingway’s satire should be read as riddled with anti-eugenic anxieties. It is informed by the young author’s thoughts on the emergence of new “racial” groups after the World War I peace treaty, as well as spurred by his awareness of the consequences of implementation of a policy of racial cleansing, the most visible proof of which was the Armenian genocide alluded to by Hemingway in *In Our Time*, his first collection of short stories. The chapter shows how *The Torrents of Spring* challenged the eugenic language of ethnic and racial purity and proposed the discourse of cosmopolitanism and cross-racial solidarity. As such, the novella evidences the birth of Hemingway as a cosmopolitan author, whose works of fiction, such as *For Whom the Bell Tolls*, insist on building bridges over national and racial divisions.

Chapter 5, entitled “For ‘the Betterment of the Human Family’? California Sterilizations, Wallace Thurman and *Tomorrow’s Children*,” examines the

figure of African-American author Wallace Thurman and lauds his brave and unique script for an anti-eugenic film, *Tomorrow's Children* (1934). One of the major intellectuals of the Harlem Renaissance, Thurman voiced his dissatisfaction with the discourse of racial absolutism, gender normativity, and white male supremacy as early as in his novel *Infants of the Spring* (1932). While his novel has become the subject of critical scrutiny, little attention has been paid to his film script, penned by Thurman and Crane Wilbur for the purpose of alerting viewers to the personal and social consequences of forced sterilization of the so-called “unfit” and “feeble-minded.” Envisaged as a response to *The Eugenic Catechism* (subtitled “Tomorrow’s Children”), the film focuses on the harmful and inhumane sterilization statutes operative in the United States, and especially in California, in the late 1920s and early 1930s. By inserting satirical humor into his story, Thurman not only brings comic relief to the audience, which might otherwise have been shocked by the straightforward treatment of the subject, but also exposes the absurdity of a world that accepts eugenic medical discourse as rational and socially justified.

Mocking Eugenics concludes with a chapter entitled “Could It Have Happened Here? The Borderline Existence of Anti-Eugenic Satire,” which focuses on the anti-fascist novel of 1935 by Sinclair Lewis. Written as a response to Hitlerism in Germany, the satirical novel speculates on the possibility of a rise of fascism in the United States. While the book’s warning against fascism was noted by critics and audiences and made the book an object of attention in both Hollywood and the theatre, its anti-eugenic layer has been largely ignored. In my reading, the book demonstrates the consequences of the application of eugenic reasoning to shape politics during times of economic national insecurity. It shows how eugenic science can feed racial xenophobia and chauvinism and promote racial hatred and violence. Moreover, apart from drawing attention to the complicity of the eugenic discourse in the rise of fascism, *It Can’t Happen Here* can also be seen as a telling example of both the uses and limitations of anti-eugenic satire. Halfway through the narrative, when confronted with scenes of racial murder and torture, the novel’s satirical sneer shades off into compassion. Abandoning the secure realm of intellectual laughter, the novel appeals to emotions, thus exposing both the gravity of the subject and the limitations of humor to deal with the eugenic world. Faced with the dire consequences of eugenic politics, the satirist gives way to the compassionate commentator, who through sympathy voices his protest against eugenic tyranny.

It may seem easy in hindsight to expose the shortcomings of the science of eugenics and to laugh at its ambitious plans to engineer a utopian society. The eugenic racial politics of the Nazi regime, which led to massive sterilizations and racial genocide, covered the science of eugenics with disgrace. However, in the pre-World War II period criticism of the science of eugenics – which was viewed by multitudes as a serious science – was not so obvious or simple. Thus, it is worth drawing attention to the resistance to eugenic ideas at the time when eugenics was considered to be a cutting-edge science, with

the power to appeal to and gain the approval of the “best minds.” This book thus diagnoses an important cultural process. It asks: How did it come about that today, in modern times, there is a nearly uniform cultural opposition to a discourse which once functioned as an unerring scientific paradigm and shaped education, domestic life, and politics? To answer this question, it focuses in particular on the role satire played in the process. The analysis of anti-eugenic satires manifests the power of American humor to resist scientific hatred. It also demonstrates that when grounded in American idealism and democratic principles, humor can be a powerful tool to challenge and interrogate ideas that may seem to be beyond reproach. The anti-eugenic satire showed that the Emperor was without clothes, even though the eugenic scientific authorities and crowds at the time argued to the contrary.

Notes

- 1 Gregor Mendel, a monk in a Brno monastery, published his paper on the laws of heredity in plants in 1866 under the title *Verhandlungen des naturforschenden Vereines in Brunn*, although the paper failed to attract major attention. It was only after the parallel discoveries of Hugo de Vries, Carl Correns and Erich von Tschermak-Seysenegg and the translation of Mendel's paper into English in 1901 that his discoveries began to be treated seriously.
- 2 See Ewa Barbara Luczak, *Breeding and Eugenics in the America Literary Imagination: Heredity Rules in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).
- 3 For more on the history of the development of the eugenics movement in the U.S. see Edwin Black, *War against the Weak* (New York: Thunder's Mouth Press, 2003); Elof Axel Carlson, *The Unfit: A History of a Bad Idea* (Cold Spring Harbor New York: Cold Spring Harbor Laboratory Press, 2001); Alexandra Minna Stern, *Eugenic Nation: Faults and Frontiers of Breeding in Modern America* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2005); Paul J. Lombardo ed., *A Century of Eugenics in America: From the Indiana Experiment to the Human Genome Era* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2011); Daniel J. Kevles, *In the Name of Eugenics: Genetics and the Uses of Human Heredity* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1985); Marouf A. Hasian, Jr. *The Rhetoric of Eugenics in Anglo-American Thought* (Athens and London: The University of Georgia Press, 1996); Nancy Ordover, *American Eugenics: Race, Queer Anatomy, and the Science of Nationalism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003).
- 4 See Philip J. Pauly, *Biologists and the Promise of American Life* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000).
- 5 Thomas Leonard, *Illiberal Reformers: Race, Eugenics, and the American Economics in the Progressive Era* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2016).
- 6 For insightful discussions of eugenic sterilizations in the U.S., see: Adam Cohen, *Imbeciles: The Supreme Court, American Eugenics, and the Sterilization of Carrie Buck* (New York: Penguin Press, 2016); Harry Bruinius, *Better for All the World: the Secret History of Forced Sterilization and America's Quest for Racial Purity* (New York: Knopf, 2006); and Alexandra Minna Stern, “Eugenics, Sterilization, and Historical Memory in the United States.” *História, Ciências, Saúde-Manguinhos*. Vol. 23 (1 December 2016): 195–212.
- 7 See Christina Codgell, *Eugenic Design: Streamlining America in the 1930s* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004).

- 8 Martin S. Pernick, *The Black Stork: Eugenics and the Death of "Defective" Babies in American Medicine and Motion Pictures since 1915* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996).
- 9 Tamsen Wolff, *Mendel's Theatre: Heredity, Eugenics, and Early Twentieth-Century American Drama* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009); Martin S. Pernick, *The Black Stork*.
- 10 Robert W. Rydell, *World of Fairs: The Century-of-Progress Expositions* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1993).
- 11 Jack London. Letter to Frederick H. Robinson, September 5, 1913. *The Letters of Jack London*. Vol. 1. Eds. E. Labor, R. C. Leitz, III and I. Milo Shepard (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988), 1226.
- 12 Madison Grant, *The Passing of the Great Race or the Racial Basis of European History* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1918), 5.
- 13 Lothrop Stoddard, *The Revolt against Civilization: The Menace of the Underman* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1922), 30.
- 14 Edwin Grant Conklin, *Heredity and Environment in the Development of Men* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1923), 291.
- 15 Hannah Arendt, "Race-Thinking before Racism." *The Review of Politics*. Vol. 6, No. 1 (Jan. 1944): 36–73.
- 16 Edward Alsworth Ross, *Sin and Society: An Analysis of Latter Day Iniquity* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1909), viii.
- 17 Sir Francis Galton, *Essays in Eugenics* (Honolulu, Hawaii, University Press of the Pacific, 2004), 42.
- 18 Leonard, *Illiberal Reformers*, 16.
- 19 For a rich discussion of the relationship between eugenics and religion, see: Christine Rosen, *Preaching Eugenics: Religious Leaders and the American Eugenics Movement* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004); Marouf A. Hasian, Jr. "Catholic Interpretations of Eugenic Rhetoric." *The Rhetoric of Eugenics*, 89–111. See also Ewa Barbara Luczak, "'A Truly Angelic Society': Eugenic Humanity without Humans." *Breeding and Eugenics in the American Literary Imagination: Heredity Rules in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 13–39.
- 20 Ihab Hassan, "Joyce and the Gnosis of Modern Science" in *The Seventh of Joyce*. Ed. Bernard Benstock (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982), 185–197, 185.
- 21 D. Diane Davis, *Breaking up Totality: A Rhetoric of Laughter* (Chicago: Southern Illinois Press, 2000).
- 22 For more on Franz Boas' opposition to eugenics and his growth as a cultural anthropologist as well as a public intellectual, see: Alan H. McGowan, "The Lesson of Franz Boas." *Procedia—Social and Behavioral Sciences* 149 (2014): 558–564; Pierpoint, C.R., "The Measure of America: How a Rebel Anthropologist Waged War on Racism." *The New Yorker* (March 1, 2004); George W. Stocking, "Franz Boas and the Culture Concept in Historical Perspective." *American Anthropologist* 68 (4): 867–882; Vernon J. Williams, *Rethinking Race: Franz Boas and His Contemporaries* (Lexington, Kentucky: The University Press of Kentucky, 1996).
- 23 Franz Boas carried out his research into the head measurements of immigrants under the influence of G. Stanley Hall, a pioneer of eugenic psychology. See Marshall Hyatt, *Franz Boas: Social Activist. The Dynamics of Ethnicity* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1990), 105–106.
- 24 A letter from Franz Boas to Oskar Bolza, December 15, 1916, American Philosophical Society. The Franz Boas Papers, 1858–1942. Qtd. in Marshall Hyatt, *Franz Boas: Social Activist. The Dynamics of Ethnicity* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1990), 106.
- 25 McGowan, 561. Franz Boas, "Changes in Bodily Form of Descendants of Immigrants." *American Anthropologist* 14 (3), (1912): 530–562.

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- 26 A review of the correspondence between Franz Boas and Charles Davenport throws an interesting light on the relationship between the two intellectuals. American Philosophical Society. Charles Davenport Papers, BD 27. Folder 3.
- 27 Franz Boas, *Anthropology and Modern Life* (New York: The Norton Company, 1962), 121.
- 28 Ibid., 106.
- 29 Ibid., 107.
- 30 Ibid., 108.
- 31 Ibid., 112.
- 32 Gilbert Keith Chesterton, *Eugenics and Other Evils* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1927).
- 33 Ibid.
- 34 Ibid., 40.
- 35 Ibid., 48.
- 36 Ibid.
- 37 The Catholic Church took a principled position on eugenics in 1930. In his encyclical on marriage, *Casti Connubii: Encyclical of Pope Pius XI on Christian Marriages* issued on December 31, 1930, Pope Pius XI condemned eugenics. See also Christine Rosen, "Sterilization, Birth Control, and the Catholic Confrontation with Eugenics." *Preaching Eugenics*, 140–164; Marouf A. Hasian, Jr, "Catholic Interpretations of Eugenics Rhetoric." *The Rhetoric of Eugenics*, 89–111; Edwin Black, *War against the Weak*, 232–233.
- 38 Franz Boas, *The Mind of Primitive Man* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1938). The full sentence in the original reads: "We have found that no proof of the inferiority of the Negro type could be given, except that it seemed barely possible that perhaps the race would not produce quite so many men of highest genius as other races, while there was nothing at all that could be interpreted as suggesting any material difference in the capacity of the bulk of the Negro population as compared with the bulk of the White population" (268).
- 39 Chesterton, *Eugenics*, 220.
- 40 John Peter, rev. Gilbert Highet, *The Anatomy of Satire. The Modern Language Review*. Vol. 59. No. 1. (Jan, 1964): 93–94.
- 41 Jonathan Greenberg, *The Cambridge Introduction to Satire* (Cambridge UK: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 11.
- 42 Charles Knight, *The Literature of Satire* (Cambridge UK: Cambridge University Press, 2004).
- 43 Ibid., 3.
- 44 Ibid.
- 45 Ibid., 5.
- 46 Ibid., 14
- 47 Steven Weisenberger, *Fables of Subversion: Satire and American Novel 1930–1980* (Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 1995), 16.
- 48 Ibid., 16.
- 49 See Fredrick Bogel, "Satire, Resistance, Theory" in *The Difference Satire Makes* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2001), 1–40; Jonathan Greenberg, "What is Satire" in *The Cambridge Introduction to Satire*, 3–23.
- 50 Northrop Frye, *Anatomy of Criticism* (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000); Maynard Mack, *The Muse of Satire* (New York: Gordian Press, 1966); Alvin Kernan, *The Cankered Muse: Satire of the English Renaissance* (New York: Yale University Press, 1959).
- 51 E. Rosenheim, *Swift and the Satirist's Art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963), 23.
- 52 Bogel, *The Difference Satire Makes: Rhetoric and Reading from Johnson to Byron* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2001), 8.

- 53 Jonathan Greenberg, *The Cambridge Introduction to Satire* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press), 8.
- 54 Bogel, *The Difference Satire Makes*, 12.
- 55 David E.E. Sloane, Introduction to *New Directions in American Humor*. Ed. David E.E. Sloane (Tuscaloosa and London: The University of Alabama Press, 1998), 3.
- 56 Judith Yaross Lee, *Twain's Brand: Humor in Contemporary American Culture* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2012), 4.
- 57 Sloane, *New Directions in American Humor*, 258.
- 58 M. Thomas Inge, "What's So Funny about the Comics?" *American Humor*. Ed. Arthur Power Dudden (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 76–84, 82.
- 59 Judith Yaross Lee, "From the Sublime to the Ridiculous: Comic Traditions in the American Novel." *A Companion to the American Novel*. Ed. Alfred Bendixen (New York: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2012), 218–240.
- 60 For more on the introduction of the figure of a naif in American humor, see also, Nancy A. Walker, "Introduction: What is American Humor? Why American Humor?" *What so Funny? Humor in American Culture* (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, 1998).
- 61 Judith Lee Yaross, "From the Sublime to the Ridiculous," 221.
- 62 Sloane, *New Direction in American Humor*, 3.
- 63 *Ibid.*, 3.
- 64 David Foster Wallace, "E Unibus Pluram: Television and U.S. Fiction." *Review of Contemporary Fiction*, 13:2 (1993: Summer): 151–194.
- 65 Kristin Thompson and David Bordwell, *Film History: An Introduction* (New York: McGraw-Hill Inc. 1994), 160–161.
- 66 *Ibid.*, 239.
- 67 Donald W. McCaffrey, *Assault on Society: Satirical Literature to Film* (London: The Scarecrow Press, 1992), 234.

Notes

Introduction

- 1 Gregor Mendel, a monk in a Brno monastery, published his paper on the laws of heredity in plants in 1866 under the title *Verhandlungen des naturforschenden Vereines in Brunn*, although the paper failed to attract major attention. It was only after the parallel discoveries of Hugo de Vries, Carl Correns and Erich von Tschermak-Seysenegg and the translation of Mendel's paper into English in 1901 that his discoveries began to be treated seriously.
- 2 See Ewa Barbara Luczak, *Breeding and Eugenics in the America Literary Imagination: Heredity Rules in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).
- 3 For more on the history of the development of the eugenics movement in the U.S. see Edwin Black, *War against the Weak* (New York: Thunder's Mouth Press, 2003); Elof Axel Carlson, *The Unfit: A History of a Bad Idea* (Cold Spring Harbor New York: Cold Spring Harbor Laboratory Press, 2001); Alexandra Minna Stern, *Eugenic Nation: Faults and Frontiers of Breeding in Modern America* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2005); Paul J. Lombardo ed., *A Century of Eugenics in America: From the Indiana Experiment to the Human Genome Era* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2011); Daniel J. Kevles, *In the Name of Eugenics: Genetics and the Uses of Human Heredity* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1985); Marouf A. Hasian, Jr. *The Rhetoric of Eugenics in Anglo-American Thought* (Athens and London: The University of Georgia Press, 1996); Nancy Ordover, *American Eugenics: Race, Queer Anatomy, and the Science of Nationalism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003).
- 4 See Philip J. Pauly, *Biologists and the Promise of American Life* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000).
- 5 Thomas Leonard, *Illiberal Reformers: Race, Eugenics, and the American Economics in the Progressive Era* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2016).
- 6 For insightful discussions of eugenic sterilizations in the U.S., see: Adam Cohen, *Imbeciles: The Supreme Court, American Eugenics, and the Sterilization of Carrie Buck* (New York: Penguin Press, 2016); Harry Bruinius, *Better for All the World: the Secret History of Forced Sterilization and America's Quest for Racial Purity* (New York: Knopf, 2006); and Alexandra Minna Stern, "Eugenics, Sterilization, and Historical Memory in the United States." *História, Ciências, Saúde-Manguinhos*. Vol. 23 (1 December 2016): 195–212.
- 7 See Christina Codgell, *Eugenic Design: Streamlining America in the 1930s* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004).

- 8 Martin S. Pernick, *The Black Stork: Eugenics and the Death of "Defective" Babies in American Medicine and Motion Pictures since 1915* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996).
- 9 Tamsen Wolff, *Mendel's Theatre: Heredity, Eugenics, and Early Twentieth-Century American Drama* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009); Martin S. Pernick, *The Black Stork*.
- 10 Robert W. Rydell, *World of Fairs: The Century-of-Progress Expositions* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1993).
- 11 Jack London. Letter to Frederick H. Robinson, September 5, 1913. *The Letters of Jack London*. Vol. 1. Eds. E. Labor, R. C. Leitz, III and I. Milo Shepard (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988), 1226.
- 12 Madison Grant, *The Passing of the Great Race or the Racial Basis of European History* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1918), 5.
- 13 Lothrop Stoddard, *The Revolt against Civilization: The Menace of the Underman* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1922), 30.
- 14 Edwin Grant Conklin, *Heredity and Environment in the Development of Men* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1923), 291.
- 15 Hannah Arendt, "Race-Thinking before Racism." *The Review of Politics*. Vol. 6, No. 1 (Jan. 1944): 36–73.
- 16 Edward Alsworth Ross, *Sin and Society: An Analysis of Latter Day Iniquity* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1909), viii.
- 17 Sir Francis Galton, *Essays in Eugenics* (Honolulu, Hawaii, University Press of the Pacific, 2004), 42.
- 18 Leonard, *Illiberal Reformers*, 16.
- 19 For a rich discussion of the relationship between eugenics and religion, see: Christine Rosen, *Preaching Eugenics: Religious Leaders and the American Eugenics Movement* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004); Marouf A. Hasian, Jr. "Catholic Interpretations of Eugenic Rhetoric." *The Rhetoric of Eugenics*, 89–111. See also Ewa Barbara Luczak, "'A Truly Angelic Society': Eugenic Humanity without Humans." *Breeding and Eugenics in the American Literary Imagination: Heredity Rules in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 13–39.
- 20 Ihab Hassan, "Joyce and the Gnosis of Modern Science" in *The Seventh of Joyce*. Ed. Bernard Benstock (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982), 185–197, 185.
- 21 D. Diane Davis, *Breaking up Totality: A Rhetoric of Laughter* (Chicago: Southern Illinois Press, 2000).
- 22 For more on Franz Boas' opposition to eugenics and his growth as a cultural anthropologist as well as a public intellectual, see: Alan H. McGowan, "The Lesson of Franz Boas." *Procedia—Social and Behavioral Sciences* 149 (2014): 558–564; Pierpoint, C.R., "The Measure of America: How a Rebel Anthropologist Waged War on Racism." *The New Yorker* (March 1, 2004); George W. Stocking, "Franz Boas and the Culture Concept in Historical Perspective." *American Anthropologist* 68 (4): 867–882; Vernon J. Williams, *Rethinking Race: Franz Boas and His Contemporaries* (Lexington, Kentucky: The University Press of Kentucky, 1996).
- 23 Franz Boas carried out his research into the head measurements of immigrants under the influence of G. Stanley Hall, a pioneer of eugenic psychology. See Marshall Hyatt, *Franz Boas: Social Activist. The Dynamics of Ethnicity* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1990), 105–106.
- 24 A letter from Franz Boas to Oskar Bolza, December 15, 1916, American Philosophical Society. The Franz Boas Papers, 1858–1942. Qtd. in Marshall Hyatt, *Franz Boas: Social Activist. The Dynamics of Ethnicity* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1990), 106.
- 25 McGowan, 561. Franz Boas, "Changes in Bodily Form of Descendants of Immigrants." *American Anthropologist* 14 (3), (1912): 530–562.

- 26 A review of the correspondence between Franz Boas and Charles Davenport throws an interesting light on the relationship between the two intellectuals. American Philosophical Society. Charles Davenport Papers, BD 27. Folder 3.
- 27 Franz Boas, *Anthropology and Modern Life* (New York: The Norton Company, 1962), 121.
- 28 Ibid., 106.
- 29 Ibid., 107.
- 30 Ibid., 108.
- 31 Ibid., 112.
- 32 Gilbert Keith Chesterton, *Eugenics and Other Evils* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1927).
- 33 Ibid.
- 34 Ibid., 40.
- 35 Ibid., 48.
- 36 Ibid.
- 37 The Catholic Church took a principled position on eugenics in 1930. In his encyclical on marriage, *Casti Connubii: Encyclical of Pope Pius XI on Christian Marriages* issued on December 31, 1930, Pope Pius XI condemned eugenics. See also Christine Rosen, "Sterilization, Birth Control, and the Catholic Confrontation with Eugenics," *Preaching Eugenics*, 140–164; Marouf A. Hasian, Jr, "Catholic Interpretations of Eugenics Rhetoric." *The Rhetoric of Eugenics*, 89–111; Edwin Black, *War against the Weak*, 232–233.
- 38 Franz Boas, *The Mind of Primitive Man* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1938). The full sentence in the original reads: "We have found that no proof of the inferiority of the Negro type could be given, except that it seemed barely possible that perhaps the race would not produce quite so many men of highest genius as other races, while there was nothing at all that could be interpreted as suggesting any material difference in the capacity of the bulk of the Negro population as compared with the bulk of the White population" (268).
- 39 Chesterton, *Eugenics*, 220.
- 40 John Peter, rev. Gilbert Highet, *The Anatomy of Satire. The Modern Language Review*. Vol. 59. No. 1. (Jan, 1964): 93–94.
- 41 Jonathan Greenberg, *The Cambridge Introduction to Satire* (Cambridge UK: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 11.
- 42 Charles Knight, *The Literature of Satire* (Cambridge UK: Cambridge University Press, 2004).
- 43 Ibid., 3.
- 44 Ibid.
- 45 Ibid., 5.
- 46 Ibid., 14
- 47 Steven Weisenberger, *Fables of Subversion: Satire and American Novel 1930–1980* (Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 1995), 16.
- 48 Ibid., 16.
- 49 See Fredrick Bogel, "Satire, Resistance, Theory" in *The Difference Satire Makes* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2001), 1–40; Jonathan Greenberg, "What is Satire" in *The Cambridge Introduction to Satire*, 3–23.
- 50 Northrop Frye, *Anatomy of Criticism* (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000); Maynard Mack, *The Muse of Satire* (New York: Gordian Press, 1966); Alvin Kernan, *The Cankered Muse: Satire of the English Renaissance* (New York: Yale University Press, 1959).
- 51 E. Rosenheim, *Swift and the Satirist's Art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963), 23.
- 52 Bogel, *The Difference Satire Makes: Rhetoric and Reading from Johnson to Byron* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2001), 8.

- 53 Jonathan Greenberg, *The Cambridge Introduction to Satire* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press), 8.
- 54 Bogel, *The Difference Satire Makes*, 12.
- 55 David E.E. Sloane, Introduction to *New Directions in American Humor*. Ed. David E.E. Sloane (Tuscaloosa and London: The University of Alabama Press, 1998), 3.
- 56 Judith Yaross Lee, *Twain's Brand: Humor in Contemporary American Culture* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2012), 4.
- 57 Sloane, *New Directions in American Humor*, 258.
- 58 M. Thomas Inge, "What's So Funny about the Comics?" *American Humor*. Ed. Arthur Power Dudden (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 76–84, 82.
- 59 Judith Yaross Lee, "From the Sublime to the Ridiculous: Comic Traditions in the American Novel." *A Companion to the American Novel*. Ed. Alfred Bendixen (New York: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2012), 218–240.
- 60 For more on the introduction of the figure of a naïf in American humor, see also, Nancy A. Walker, "Introduction: What is American Humor? Why American Humor?" *What so Funny? Humor in American Culture* (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, 1998).
- 61 Judith Lee Yaross, "From the Sublime to the Ridiculous," 221.
- 62 Sloane, *New Direction in American Humor*, 3.
- 63 Ibid., 3.
- 64 David Foster Wallace, "E Unibus Pluram: Television and U.S. Fiction." *Review of Contemporary Fiction*, 13:2 (1993: Summer): 151–194.
- 65 Kristin Thompson and David Bordwell, *Film History: An Introduction* (New York: McGraw-Hill Inc. 1994), 160–161.
- 66 Ibid., 239.
- 67 Donald W. McCaffrey, *Assault on Society: Satirical Literature to Film* (London: The Scarecrow Press, 1992), 234.

Chapter 1

- 1 Kenneth S. Lynn, *Charlie Chaplin and His Times* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1997), 128.
- 2 David Robinson, *Chaplin: His Life and Art* (New York: McGraw Publishing Company, 1985), 171.
- 3 Colin Chambers, *Here We Stand: Politics, Performers and Performance: Paul Robeson, Isadora Duncan and Charlie Chaplin* (London: Nick Hern Books, 2006), 98.
- 4 For more on Chaplin's political ambivalence, which eschewed a clear political position in favor of anarchic humor, see Randall Gann, "Deconstruction and the Tramp: Marxism, Capitalism, and the Trace" in *Refocusing Chaplin: A Screen Icon through Critical Lenses*. Ed. Lawrence Howe, James E. Caron, Benjamin Click (Toronto: The Scarecrow Press, 2013).
- 5 Lewis Jacobs, *The Rise of the American Film* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1939), 274. For a nuanced discussion of Chaplin's role in the American imagination of the late 1910s, see Charles Menard's Introduction to *Refocusing Chaplin*.
- 6 Lynn, *Charlie Chaplin*, 174.
- 7 Lynn, *Charlie Chaplin*, 65; Robinson, *Chaplin*, 101–133; John McCabe, *Charlie Chaplin* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday), 1978.
- 8 McCabe, *Charlie Chaplin*, 96.
- 9 Robert Ingersoll, *Lectures and Essays* (London: Watts, 1907); Ralph Waldo Emerson, *Selected Essays by Ralph Waldo Emerson* (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1910); Arthur Schopenhauer, *The World as Will and Idea*. Tr. R.B. Haldane and J. Kemp (London: Kegan Paul, 1896).
- 10 Charlie Chaplin, *My Autobiography* (London: Bodley Head, 1964), 134.
- 11 Ibid.

- 12 William Hazlitt, *Wit and Humor and Other Essays* (London: Gay and Bird, 1901), 6.
- 13 Emerson, 66.
- 14 Chaplin, *My Autobiography*, 134.
- 15 Ibid., 135.
- 16 Martin S. Pernick, *The Black Stork: Eugenics and the Death of "Defective" Babies in American Medicine and Motion Pictures since 1915* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 134.
- 17 Ibid., 138.
- 18 "His voice became harshly bitter. 'Perhaps that's competition, too. I want to prove how much better I can do than my family did. Perhaps it's vanity. I want to pass my genius on.' His face suddenly brightened, and his voice turned enthusiastic. 'Think of the exceptional children we could have, Pola. They'd be bloody marvels.' I laughed. 'Charlie, you are racing ahead fast. We barely know each other.' 'What difference does it make? Biologically we're a great match.' 'Raising a family is not like putting an animal out to stud. There are other things involved beyond hereditary characteristics.'" Pola Negri, *Memoirs of a Star* (New York: Doubleday & Company, 1970), 209.
- 19 McCabe, *Charlie Chaplin*, 61.
- 20 In his *Autobiography* Chaplin recalls his difficulties and pains in having his own artistic vision accepted by early film directors such as Lehrman or Mabel Normand (147–149).
- 21 Chaplin, *My Autobiography*, 154.
- 22 Charlie Chaplin gives an interesting tongue-in-cheek description of the character of the Little Tramp in his interview with Miriam Teichner in 1916 (Miriam Teichner, "Charlie Chaplin: A Tragedian Would Be," *The Globe and Commercial Advertiser* (February 19, 1916): 3–4). For a contextualized discussion of the origin of the character of the Little Tramp, see Lynn, *Chaplin*, 150–51.
- 23 For an interesting discussion of the Little Tramp's subversive nature, manifested through his skilful use of the body as an ironic trickster, see James E. Caron, "Chaplin's 'Charlie' as Merleau-Ponty's Phenomenological Everyman." *Refocusing Chaplin*, 1–25.
- 24 McCabe, *Charlie Chaplin*, 79.
- 25 Qtd. in Robinson, *Chaplin*, 195.
- 26 See Brian C. Wilson, *Dr. John Harvey Kellogg and the Religion of Biologic Living* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2014).
- 27 John Harvey Kellogg, *Life: Its Mysteries and Miracles: A Manual of Health Principles* (Battle Creek, MI: Good Health Publishing Company, 1910), 4.
- 28 John Harvey Kellogg, *Social Purity: An Address* (New York: Pacific Press Company, 1891), 6.
- 29 Kellogg, *Life*, 17.
- 30 Ibid., 4.
- 31 Ibid.
- 32 Robinson, *Chaplin*, 192.
- 33 An inspirational analysis of Chaplin's performance of masculinity and his gendered spectacle can be found in Cynthia J. Miller, "A Heart of Gold: Charlie and the Dance Girls" and Lawrence Howe, "American Masculinity and the Gendered Humor of Chaplin's Little Tramp." *Refocusing Chaplin*, 45–61, 61–83.
- 34 Lynn, *Chaplin*, 131.
- 35 A letter to the editor of the *New Orleans America*, qtd in Lynn, 131.
- 36 For a link between tobacco smoking and "race purity" see H. Kellogg, *Tobacco-ism: How Tobacco Kills* (1922). For a detailed discussion of Kellogg's anti-smoking campaign, see Elizabeth Fee and Theodore M. Brown, "John Harvey Kellogg, MD: Health Reformer and Antismoking Crusader." *American Journal of Public Health*, 92(6) (June 2002): 935.

- 37 In his *Illiberal Reformers*, Thomas Leonard points out the links between the activities of Francis Willard of the Women's Christian Temperance Union and hereditarian thinking (125). *Illiberal Reformers, Race, Eugenics, and American Economics in the Progressive Era* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2016).
- 38 Qtd in McCabe, *Charlie Chaplin*, 95.
- 39 Robinson, *Chaplin*, 195.
- 40 Qtd. Robinson, *Chaplin*, 26.
- 41 Ibid., 198.
- 42 Lynn, *Chaplin*, 201.
- 43 Ibid., 194.
- 44 In his book, Gehring argues that "[t]o many Progressives this sympathetic portrayal [of the protagonists] was an example of why they felt the immigrant was a drag on American society" (67). Wes D. Gehring, *Charlie Chaplin: A Bio-Bibliography* (London: Greenwood Press, 1983).
- 45 Edwin A. Ross, *The Old World and The New: The Significance of the Past and Present Immigration to the American People* (New York: The Century 1914), 1.
- 46 Ibid., 289.
- 47 Ibid., 286.
- 48 Ibid. Ross's aesthetic musings were not an exception to the rule, but rather a sad example of a larger trend. In his *The Fruit of the Family Tree*, published a decade after Ross's treatise, Albert Wiggam, one of the most popular eugenic writers of his time, similarly argued: "Examine these women as they are unloaded at Ellis Island. I have studied thousands of them. ... Scarcely one in hundreds would be called beautiful. They are broad-hipped, short, stout-legged with big feet; broad-backed, flat-chested with necks like a prize fighter and with faces expressionless and devoid of beauty." A. E. Wiggam, *The Fruit of the Family Tree* (New York: Blue Ribbon Books, 1926). For a discussion of eugenic aesthetics and nativism, see Luczak, *Breeding and Eugenics* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 27.
- 49 *Manual of the Mental Examination of Aliens* (United States Public Health Service, 1918), 8.
- 50 Ibid.
- 51 Quoted in Petit, 2. Jeanne D. Petit's, *The Men and Women We Want: Gender, Race, and the Progressive Era Literacy Test Debate* (Rochester NY: University of Rochester Press, 2010) provides an excellent analysis of the rise of American nativism in the Progressive Era, as well as the background of the introduction of the literacy test. See also Leonard, *Illiberal Reformers*.
- 52 Goddard, H.H. *The Kallikak Family: A Study in the Heredity of Feeble-Mindedness* (New York: Macmillan Co, 1912).
- 53 Quoted in Stephen Jay Gould, *The Mismeasure of Man* (New York: Norton, 1996), 166. For a thorough treatment of the history of IQ testing, see "The Hereditarian Theory of IQ" in Stephen Jay Gould, *The Mismeasure of Man* and Jeffrey M. Blum, *Pseudoscience and Mental Ability: The Origins and Fallacies of the IQ Controversy* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1978). A Ph.D. dissertation titled "Variable Factors in the Binet Test" by Carl C. Brigham, a future author of the influential *A Study of American Intelligence* and the father of the SAT test, exemplifies the racist bias of the rise in IQ testing in the second decade of the twentieth century.
- 54 On the history of Presidential vetoes of the IQ literacy test, see John Higham, *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism 1860-1935* (Atheneum: New York, 1971).
- 55 Lynn, *Chaplin*, 203.
- 56 Ibid., 204.

- 57 Robert Duncan Coombs, "Bull Terrier Breeding: Ancestry of the Breed is a Cross between White Bulldog and Black-and-Tan Terrier—Modern Standards Are Peculiar and Exacting—An Interesting Case of Intensified Line-Breeding." *Journal of Heredity*, Volume 8, Issue 7. (1 July 1917): 314–319.
- 58 Ibid., 314.
- 59 In his *Illiberal Reformers*, Leonard points out how "Darwin began the *Origin of Species* explaining natural selection by analogy to artificial selection" and compared the workings of nature to the operations of a breeder of dogs or pigeons (92). Leonard emphasizes that Darwin abandoned the analogy between nature and the breeder of animals in his fifth edition "at Wallace's urging" "because it wrongly implied variation was purposeful rather than random" (92).
- 60 "Superman: A Being of Nervous Force." *New York Times* (January 11, 1914): 12.
- 61 "Registered as Human Thoroughbred." *The Boston Sunday Globe* (August 27, 1916): 38.
- 62 Ibid.
- 63 Ibid.
- 64 "Charlie Chaplin Is Too Tragic to Play Hamlet." *Current Opinion*, Vol LXX, No. 2 (February 1921): 187–8.
- 65 Rob Wagner in his article in *The Ladies Home Journal* takes note of the speculations surrounding Chaplin's ancestry: "He has been heralded as everything, from an absinth-minded Frenchman to an Indiana Jew, from a vulgar little clown to the mysterious offspring of nobility." "Mr. Charles Spencer Chaplin: The Man You Don't Know". *The Ladies Home Journal* (August 1918): 82.
- 66 Julia Kristeva, *Nations without Nationalism*. Tr. Leon S. Roudiez (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990).
- 67 Edward A. Ross, "The Causes of Race Superiority." Address at the Fifth Annual Meeting of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, April 12–13, 1901. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, vol. 18, *America's Race Problems* (July 1901): 67–89.
- 68 The links between Puritanism, economic discourse of efficiency and eugenics have been noted by a number of scholars. See Leonard, *Illiberal Reformers*; Daniel Kevles, *In the Name of Eugenics: Genetics and the Use of Human Heredity* (New York: Random House, 1985), and Luczak, *Breeding and Eugenics*.
- 69 Horatio Alger, *Ragged Dick or Street Life in New York with the Boot-Blacks* (Philadelphia: The John C. Winston Co, 1910).
- 70 Charlie Chaplin, *Interviews*. Ed. Kevin J. Hayes (Jackson, Mississippi: University of Mississippi Press, 2005), 23.

Chapter 2

- 1 *Vanity Fair: Selection from America's Most Memorable Magazine. A Cavalcade of the 1920s and 1930s*. Ed. Cleveland Amory and Frederic Bradlee (New York: The Viking Press, 1960), 7.
- 2 My interest in the short story was prompted by a reference to it by Dana Seitler in "Unnatural Selection: Mothers, Eugenic Feminism, and Charlotte Perkins Gilman's Regeneration Narratives." *American Quarterly*, Vol. 55, No. 1 (March 2003): 61–88.
- 3 Ibid., 8.
- 4 After the publication of *Gentlemen Prefer Blondes*, in his letter to Loos flippantly addressed "Something Febry 1926" Faulkner acknowledged: "I have just read the Blonde book, Bill's copy. So I galloped out and got myself one. Please accept my envious congratulations on Dorothy – the way you did her through the intelligence of that elegant moron of a cornflower." *Selected Letters of William Faulkner*. Ed. Joseph Blotner (New York: Random House, 1977). Literary affinities between

- William Faulkner and Anita Loos have been explored in John T. Mathews' "Gentlemen Defer Blondes: Faulkner, Anita Loos, and Mass Culture." *Faulkner, His Contemporaries, and His Posterity*. Ed. Waldemar Zacharasiewicz (Tubingen: Francke, 1993), 207–221.
- 5 Aldous Huxley, "Letter to Mary Hutchinson." *Aldous Huxley. Selected Letters*. Ed. James Sexton (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2007), 180.
 - 6 Gary Carey, *Anita Loos: A Biography* (New York: Knopf, 1988), 42.
 - 7 Loos took pleasure in emphasizing how Vachel Lyndsay, a young poet fascinated by the art of the cinema, switched from his admiration of the Hollywood star Mae Marsch to Loos herself. Anita Loos, *Cast of Thousands* (New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1977), 31.
 - 8 In her interview for the *New York Times*, Loos brought up her friendship with Fitzgerald, whom she met through Thalberg, when the writer was employed by Hollywood. She revealed that during one of the parties that happened to be on his birthday, Fitzgerald "wrote a poem for my astrological autograph book." Harvey Breit, "Talk with Anita Loos" *New York Times* (May 6, 1951): 8.
 - 9 Denise Lowe, *An Encyclopedia Dictionary of Women in Early American Films 1895–1930* (New York: The Haworth Press, 2005), 329. Lowe also provides the most comprehensive lists of the films for which Loos should be given credit.
 - 10 Laura Frost, *The Problem with Pleasure: Modernism and Its Discontents* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2013), 14.
 - 11 Laura Frost, "Blondes Have More Fun: Anita Loos and the Language of Silent Cinema," *Modernism/modernity*, Vol. 17, No. 2 (April 2010): 211.
 - 12 *Ibid.*, 213.
 - 13 See Daniel Tracy, "From Vernacular Humor to Middlebrow Modernism: *Gentlemen Prefer Blondes* and the Creation of Literary Value." *Arizona Quarterly: A Journal of American Literature, Culture, and Theory*. Vol. 66, No 1 (Spring 2010): 115–143.
 - 14 Anita Loos, *A Girl Like I* (New York: Viking Press, 1966), 71.
 - 15 An excellent description of the Race Betterment Exhibit can be found in Alexandra Minna Stern, "Race Betterment and Tropical Medicine in Imperial San Francisco." *Eugenic Nation: Faults and Frontiers of Better Breeding in Modern America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 27–56.
 - 16 "Official Proceedings of the National Conference on Race Betterment." (Battle Creek, Michigan: Race Betterment Foundation, 1915), 145.
 - 17 *Ibid.*
 - 18 *Ibid.*, 146.
 - 19 Ellen H. Richards, *Euthenics: The Science of Controllable Environment: A Plea for Better Living Conditions as a First Step Toward Higher Human Efficiency* (Boston: Whitcomb & Barrows, 1910), 1.
 - 20 *Ibid.*, 1.
 - 21 *Ibid.*, viii.
 - 22 *Ibid.*, 48.
 - 23 In this regard her project is clearly connected to the extremely influential, albeit new, movement of town planning, whose first conference was held in England in 1910: https://www.academia.edu/2289847/Transactions_of_the_1910_Town_Planning_Conference
 - 24 Richards, *Euthenics*, viii.
 - 25 An excellent discussion of Taylor's economic model and eugenic progressive reform can be found in Thomas C. Leonard, "Efficiency in Business and Public Administration." *Illiberal Reformers: Race, Eugenics and American Economics in the Progressive Era* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016). An interesting perspective on a "eugenic design" which was to express "a pursuit that conjoined notions of the efficiency of bodies and products with the eugenic idea known as

- 'national efficiency'" (130) can be found in "'Flow is the Word': Biological Efficiency and Streamline Design." Christina Codgell, *Eugenic Design: Streamlining America in the 1930s* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004).
- 26 Ibid., 5.
 - 27 Ibid., viii.
 - 28 Ibid., 26.
 - 29 Ibid., 19.
 - 30 Ibid., 23.
 - 31 Ibid., 11.
 - 32 Ibid.
 - 33 Ibid., 10 (emphasis mine).
 - 34 Ibid., 32–3.
 - 35 Ibid., 23.
 - 36 Ibid., 33.
 - 37 Ibid., 79.
 - 38 Ibid.
 - 39 Thomas C. Leonard, *Illiberal Reformers*.
 - 40 Anita Loos, *A Girl Like I*, 83.
 - 41 Anita Loos papers. Gotlieb Center, Boston University. Anita Loos 844. Box 1. Folder 5.
 - 42 *The Dayton Herald* (January 10, 1914): 12.
 - 43 Kenneth Wilcox Payne, "God Intended All Men to Live to Be 100 Years Old! Declared 92-Year-Old Scientist, And He Tells Why!" *The Reading Times* (January 20, 1914): 3.
 - 44 Anita Loos, "The Force of Heredity, and Nella. A Modern Fable with a Moral for Eugenicists." *Cavalcade of the 1920s and 1930s: Selections from America's Most Memorable Magazine "Vanity Fair."* Ed. Cleveland Amory and Frederic Bradlee (London: The Bodley Head, 1960), 16.
 - 45 Both Loos's biographer Carey as well as her niece, Mary Anita Loos, have argued that Loos should get the credit for the titles of *Intolerance* despite her alleged cooperation with Emerson. Their belief is largely based on Loos's own fictionalized memoirs, in which she suggests that it was her rather than Emerson, her later husband, who was busy writing titles (Carey, *Anita Loos*, 47–49); *Anita Loos Rediscovered: Film Treatments and Fiction by Anita Loos*. Ed. Cari Beauchamp and Mary Anita Loos (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 41.
- However, in his monumental *Silent Players: A Biographical Study of 100 Silent Film Actors and Actresses* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 2002), Anthony Slide launches a vitriolic attack on Loos's version of the cooperation with Emerson. He argues that Loos's "contribution [to *Intolerance*] was limited to the comic titles dealing with the Mountain Girl" and accuses her of being "dishonest in taking credit for the Loos-Emerson films away from her husband" (370). Whichever version of events is correct, there is no doubt that Griffith's assessment of Loos's writing skills increased after the production of *Intolerance* and doubled after *His Picture in the Papers*.
- 46 Loos, *A Girl Like I*, p. 100. In her autobiography *Cast of Thousands*, Loos emphasized her success as the author of scripts for silent films in the years 1912–15. She pointed out that out of 105 scripts submitted "only four were rejected by the Biograph Company. But the rejects found a ready market at the Vitagraph, Kalem, or Selig Studios." Anita Loos, *Cast of Thousands* (New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1977), 25.
 - 47 William K. Everson, "The Art of Subtitles." *American Silent Film* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978), 130.
 - 48 Nicolas Larchet, "Food Reform Movements." *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Food and Drink in America*. Ed. Andrew F. Smith. Second ed., vol. 1 (Oxford: Oxford

- University Press, 2112), 796–805. See also Adam D. Shprintzen, *The Vegetarian Crusade: The Rise of an American Reform Movement, 1817–1921* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2013). For an in-depth description of a food reform in the Progressive Era see Ruth Clifford Engs, *The Progressive Era's Health Reform Movement: A Historical Dictionary* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing, 2003).
- 49 Ellen H. Richards, *The Cost of Food: A Study in Dietaries* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1913), 4. Other titles conjoining dietary education with a eugenic agenda include E. Wake Cook, *Betterment: Individual, Social, and Industrial or Highest Efficiency through the Golden Rules of Right Nutrition; Welfare Work; and the Higher Industrial Development* (New York: Frederick Stokes Company, 1906); Irving Fisher, *The Effect of Diet on Endurance* (New Haven, CT: Tuttle, Morehouse and Taylor Press, 1907); John Harvey Kellogg, *Practical Manual of Health and Temperance* (Battle Creek, MI: Good Health Publishing, 1885).
 - 50 Richards, *The Cost of Food*, p. 8.
 - 51 Devin Anthony Orgeron and Marsha Gabrielle Orgeron, "Eating Their Words: Consuming Class a la Chaplin and Keaton." *College Literature*, Vol. 28, No. 1. *Oral Fixations: Cannibalizing Theories, Consuming Cultures* (Winter, 2001): 87.
 - 52 Anita Loos papers. Gotlieb Center, Boston University, Box 1. Folder 11.
 - 53 In "Performance, Enunciation and Self-Reference in Hollywood Comedy," Steve Seidman, building on Stanley Cavell's thought, argues that the earliest representation of self-reference in silent films can be found in Chaplin's production. Such a time-line of the metaphysical cinema neglects Loos's contribution to the development of cinematic meta-techniques. See *Hollywood Comedians: The Film Reader*. Ed. Frank Kutnik (New York: Routledge, 2003), 34.
 - 54 Loos, *A Girl Like I*, 100.
 - 55 *Ibid.*, 101.
 - 56 Brooks E. Heffner is one of the critics to suggest that *His Picture in the Papers* was a real breakthrough for Loos's popularity. Brooks E. Heffner, "'Any Chance to be Unrefined': Film Narrative Modes in Anita Loos's Fiction." *PMLA*. Vol. 125, No. 1 (Jan., 2010): 107–120.
 - 57 In the 1920s, along with the publication of *Gentlemen Prefer Blondes*, Loos was hailed "the soubrette of satire." This term was picked up by Kristine Somerville and Speer Morgan in "Anita Loos: The Soubrette of Satire." *The Missouri Review*, Vol. 37, No. 4 (2014): 87–109.
 - 58 Leslie Midkiffe DeBauche suggests that the name of Jeff's father, Coolins J. Hillington is evocative of James J. Hill, owner of the Northern Pacific Railroad, as well as of Collins P. Huntington, one of the four businessmen to form the Central Pacific Railroad Company. "1917: Movies and Practical Patriotism." *American Cinema of the 1910s. Themes and Variations*. Ed. Charlie Keil and Ben Singer (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2009), 183–203.
 - 59 See Richard Abel, "G.M. Anderson: 'Broncho Billy' among the Early 'Picture Personalities'" in *Flickers of Desires: Movie Stars of the 1910s*. Ed. Jennifer M. Bean (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2011), 22–42.
 - 60 Anita Loos papers. Gotlieb Center, Boston University, Box 1. Folder 11.
 - 61 Theodore Roosevelt, "A Letter from President Roosevelt on Race Suicide," *American Monthly Review of Reviews*, vol. 35 (1907): 550–551.
 - 62 Theodore Roosevelt, "The Strenuous Life." *The Strenuous Life: Essays and Addresses* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1910), 1–23.
 - 63 *Ibid.*, 1.
 - 64 One of the first books to introduce a sustained analysis of the shaping of the American myth of regeneration through violence was Richard Slotkin's *Regeneration through Violence: The Mythology of the American Frontier* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1973).

- 65 For more on the history of the Boone and Crocket hunting club, see Jonathan Peter Shapiro, *Defending the Master Race: Conservation, Eugenics, and the Legacy of Madison Grant* (Lebanon, NH: University of Vermont Press, 2009), 3–6.

Chapter 3

- 1 Harvey Breit, "Talk with Anita Loos." *New York Times*. May 6, 1951: BR8.
- 2 Ibid.
- 3 Obituary: "Scott Fitzgerald, Author, Dies at 44." *The New York Times* (December 23, 1940): 19.
- 4 In an introduction to Fitzgerald's autobiographical writing, James L. W. West argues that Fitzgerald's nonfiction collection published posthumously by Fitzgerald's friend Edmund Wilson under the title *The Crack-Up* solidified the image of Fitzgerald as "an apologist for the 1920s, a chronicler of remorse and regret, and a student of failure and lost hope" (ix), while neglecting another side of Fitzgerald: his "playfulness and sense of fun" (x). F. Scott Fitzgerald, *A Short Autobiography*. Ed. James L. W. West III (New York: Scribner Classics, 2011). One of the few exceptions to the critics' tendency to downplay humor in Fitzgerald's writing is D.G. Kell's "Thalia Does the Charleston: Humor in the Fiction of F. Scott Fitzgerald." *F. Scott Fitzgerald in the Twenty-first Century*. Ed. Jackson R. Bryer, Ruth Prigozy, and Milton S. Stern (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press), 204–222.
- 5 F. Scott Fitzgerald, *The Great Gatsby* (New York: Macmillan, 1986), 13.
- 6 There has been a critical discussion around the source of Tom's quotation, the most detailed one in Horst H. Kruse's, *F. Scott Fitzgerald at Work: The Making of "The Great Gatsby"* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2014). Kruse argues that Henry Goddard is the eugenicist Tom refers to. I am not entirely convinced by his argument. As Kruse rightly points out, Henry Goddard was a psychologist, but as such he was much more preoccupied with the study of psychological types and with the theory of degeneration than with the theory of the decline of White civilization, an object of Tom's interest. Goddard's major work *The Kallikak Family: A Study in Heredity of Feeble-Mindedness* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1912) focused on the topic of hereditary degeneration within a family. The fall of a civilization was the subject of two books produced by Stoddard which were popular with readers in the early 1920s: *The Rising Tide of Color Against White World-Wide Supremacy* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1920) and *The Revolt against Civilization: the Menace of the Under Man* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1922). Thus, it seems that Lothrop Stoddard is a more probable source of Tom's eugenic wisdom. See also Richard Lehan, "F. Scott Fitzgerald and Romantic Destiny." *Twentieth Century Literature* 26 (Summer 1980): 137–156; Robert Beuka, *American Icon: Fitzgerald's The Great Gatsby in Critical and Cultural Context* (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2011), 95; Alan Margolies, "The Maturing of F. Scott Fitzgerald." *Twentieth Century Literature* Vol. 43, No. 1 (Spring, 1997): 75–93.
- 7 Ronald Berman, *The Great Gatsby and Modern Times* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1994), 15–37; M. Gidley, "Notes on F. Scott Fitzgerald and the Passing of a Great Race." *Journal of American Studies*. Vol. 7, No 2 (August 1973): 171–181, and Horst H. Kruse, "F. Scott Fitzgerald and Mary Harriman Rumsey: An Untold Story." *F. Scott Fitzgerald Review*, Vol. 13, No. 1 (2015): 146–162. Kruse points to the role of Mary Harriman Rumsey in familiarizing Fitzgerald with the circle of eugenic enthusiasts when he was residing in Long Island, a fact which became "important material for *The Great Gatsby*" (137).
- 8 Betsy L. Nies, *Eugenic Fantasies: Racial Ideology in the Literature and Popular Culture of the 1920s* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 4.

- 9 Ibid., 87.
- 10 Fitzgerald made the most elaborate explanation for his choice of Princeton over other universities in his essay “Princeton” written in 1927, i.e., a decade after his university experience (F. Scott Fitzgerald, *A Short Autobiography*. Ed. James L. West III (New York: Scribner’s Classics, 2011)). For a thorough academic discussion of his reasons for choosing Princeton over other Ivy League Universities, especially Yale, see Edward Gillin, “Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University, and the *Nassau Literary Magazine*.” *F. Scott Fitzgerald in Context*. Ed. Bryant Mangum (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 126–135. See also F. Scott Fitzgerald, “Who’s Who and Why.” *F. Scott Fitzgerald: A Short Autobiography*. Ed. James L.W. West III. (New York: Scribner, 2011), 1.
- 11 Fitzgerald, *A Short Autobiography*, 93.
- 12 When entering Princeton on the money bequeathed by his grandmother McQuillan, Fitzgerald was enchanted by the campus’ pastoral location “rising like green Phoenix, out of the ugliest country in the world.” Fitzgerald, *A Short Autobiography*, 93.
- 13 For an excellent discussion of the change in the popularity of eugenics in the 1910s, see D. J. Kevles, *In the Name of Eugenics: Genetics and the Uses of Human Heredity* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1985); D. K. Pickens, *Eugenics and the Progressives* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1968); E. Black, *War Against the Weak: Eugenics and America’s Campaign to Create a Master Race* (New York: Thunder’s Mouth Press, 2003).
- 14 Fitzgerald, *A Short Autobiography*, 97.
- 15 Ibid.
- 16 For a defense of Conklin regarding his involvement in eugenics, see Kathy J. Cooke, “Duty or Dream? Edwin G. Conklin’s Critique of Eugenics and Support for American Individualism.” *Journal of the History of Biology* 35 (2002): 365–384. Cooke argues that when juxtaposed with such hard-headed hereditarianists as Paul Popenoe, Charles Davenport or Henry Fairfield Osborn, Conklin’s eugenic ideas were relatively mild. But even if Conklin was not as radical in his social views as Popenoe, Grant or Davenport (with whom he maintained close cooperation), his endorsement of eugenic ideas cannot be questioned. A review of his papers at Princeton University demonstrates Conklin’s wholehearted endorsement of eugenic views in his academic work and teaching. *Department of Biology Records, 1892–1975*, AC 142. Mudd Library: Princeton University.
- 17 “Arts and Science: Lewis Thomas and F. Scott Fitzgerald.” *The FASEB Journal* (Official publication of the Federation of American Societies for Experimental Biology). Vol. 25 93 (March 2011): 809–812.
- 18 Edwin Grant Conklin, *Heredity and Environment in the Development of Men* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1923).
- 19 Conklin was nominated to the board of the newly founded Princeton journal right from the journal’s inception in 1915. There he joined ranks with top eugenic authorities of the time: C.B. Davenport (Carnegie Institution of Washington), H.S. Jennings (Johns Hopkins University), R. Pearl (Maine Agricultural Experimental Station) and G.H. Shull (managing editor, Princeton University).
- 20 Edwin Grant Conklin, “Foreword.” *Genetics: A Periodical Record of Investigations Bearing on Heredity and Variation*. No 1 (March 1915): 1.
- 21 See, Adam Cohen, *Imbeciles: The Supreme Court, American Eugenics, and the Sterilization of Carrie Buck* (New York: Penguin Press, 2016), 122. Laughlin has entered history as one of the most dedicated supporters of eugenics. His testimony on the subject of “biological aspects of immigration” for the House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization was largely responsible for

- implementation of the Johnson Reed Act of 1924, which radically limited the influx of immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe.
- 22 “Professor Conklin on Eugenics and Heredity.” *The Daily Princetonian* (Wednesday, 25 February, 1914). Laughlin wrote his Ph.D. Dissertation under Conklin’s supervision on the subject of “Biology-Genetics with special reference to human heredity” and briefly served as an assistant at Princeton in the years 1915–16, only to return to his major work at the Eugenics Record Office in nearby Cold Spring Harbor (Princeton University Archives. Alumni Records: Undergraduates. Box 382).
 - 23 “‘Genetics and Ethics’: Final Conklin Address.” *Daily Princetonian*, Vol. 38, No. 34 (15 April, 1914): 1.
 - 24 Anne Margaret Daniel, “‘Blue as the Sky, Gentlemen’. Fitzgerald’s Princeton Through *The Prince*.” *F. Scott Fitzgerald in the Twenty-First Century*. Ed. Jackson R. Bryer, Ruth Prigozy and Milton R. Stern (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 200): 10–11.
 - 25 Ibid., 16.
 - 26 Ibid., 15.
 - 27 See Ewa Barbara Luczak, *Breeding and Eugenics in the American Literary Imagination: Heredity Rules in the 20th Century* (New York: Palgrave, 2015).
 - 28 Daniels points out that this book “is on display at the F. Scott and Zelda Fitzgerald Museum, in Montgomery, Alabama. Anne Margaret Daniel, “‘Blue as the Sky, Gentlemen’. Fitzgerald’s Princeton Through *The Prince*.” *F. Scott Fitzgerald in the Twenty-First Century*. Ed. Jackson R. Bryer, Ruth Prigozy, Milton R. Stern (Tuscaloosa, AL: The University of Alabama Press, 2003), 17.
 - 29 *Catalogue of Princeton University 1913–1914* (Princeton: Princeton University, 1913), 181.
 - 30 The description of the course in personal hygiene, which Fitzgerald also had to take, was as follows: “A discussion of the fundamentals of health and physical efficiency; the influence of diet, exercise, bathing and sleep; the effects of personal habits; the use of alcohol and tobacco; and a study of the more common infectious diseases – their nature, causes, methods and transmission and prevention.” *Catalogue of Princeton University*, 181.
 - 31 See Anthony J. Berret, *Music in the Works of F. Scott Fitzgerald* (Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2013), 21.
 - 32 See Berret, *Music in the Works, Scott Fitzgerald* and Matthew J. Bruccoli, “Introduction” to F. Scott Fitzgerald, *Fie! Fie! Fi-Fi!: A Fascimile of the 1914 Acting Script and the Musical Score* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1996), vii–xii.
 - 33 F. Scott Fitzgerald, *Fie! Fie! Fi-Fi! A Musical Comedy in Two Acts. A Fascimile of the 1914 Acting Script and the Musical Score with Illustrations from the Original Production*. Ed. Mathew J. Bruccoli (Columbia SC: University of South Carolina Press for the Thomas Cooper Library, 1996), ix.
 - 34 For a description of Fitzgerald’s fascination with the Broadway scene, see Andrew Turnbull, *Scott Fitzgerald* (New York: Grove Press, 2001), 51–54; and Mathew J. Bruccoli, *Some Sort of Epic Grandeur: The Life of F. Scott Fitzgerald* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1981), 45–47 and Berret, *Music in the Works*, 15–20.
 - 35 Commenting on the lyrics from *Fie! Fie! Fi-Fi!*, Donald A. Yates notes their “brilliant execut[ion]” yet dismisses their artistic significance in Fitzgerald’s oeuvre: “one sees little of Fitzgerald in them and much of W.S. Gilbert” (26). *F. Scott Fitzgerald’s Critical Assessment*. Vol II. Ed. Henry Claridge (Mountfield: Helm Information, 1991).

- 36 Fitzgerald mentions the song in his Ledger under the year 1912, *F. Scott Fitzgerald's Ledger: A Facsimile*. Introduction by Mathew J. Bruccoli (Washington D.C.: NCR/Microcard Editions, 1972), 166.
- 37 The success of musical comedies such as *Don't Choose a Gibson Girl* (1909), *The Belle of Mayfair*, or *The Goddess of Liberty* (1909), ushered in the vogue for light songs with erotic innuendos and the Broadway scene was taking advantage of this.
- 38 Berret, *Music in the Works*, 17.
- 39 See F. Scott Fitzgerald, *Before Gatsby: The First Twenty-Six Stories*. Francis Scott Fitzgerald. Ed. Matthew J. Bruccoli (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2001).
- 40 In "Notes on Personalities: F. Scott Fitzgerald," B.F. Wilson quotes Fitzgerald as saying "I consider H.L. Mencken and Theodore Dreiser the greatest men living in the country today." Ed. H. Claridge, *The Bookman* LV, *F. Scott Fitzgerald: Critical Assessment* (399). The correspondence between Fitzgerald and Mencken in the Princeton papers of Fitzgerald testifies to the commonality of ideas as well as the strong and warm nature of the relationship between the "dean of American letters" and the leading American writer. See also, Ronald Berman, "H.L. Mencken's Democratic Narrative." *Fitzgerald's Mentors: Edmund Wilson, H.L. Mencken and Gerald Murphy* (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 2012), 47–68.
- 41 *The Smart Set* freely dispensed epigrams which undermined Victorian mores of prudishness and modesty. Lines such as "Consider the wisdom of the bee" or "to choose between two women, introduce them" are just some of numerous examples. *The Smart Set: A Magazine of Cleverness* (October, 1916): 25.
- 42 His Saint Paul plays include *The Girl from Lazy I*, *The Captured Shadow*, *Coward*, *Assorted Spirits*. See Alan Margolies, ed. *F. Scott Fitzgerald's St. Paul Plays 1911–1914* (Princeton: Princeton University Library, 1978).
- 43 Fitzgerald, *Ledger*, 168.
- 44 Brian Way, *F. Scott Fitzgerald and the Art of Social Fiction* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1980), 112.
- 45 Jack London and Ana Strunsky, *Kempton Wace Letters* (New York: Macmillan, 1903); Jack London, *A Daughter of the Snows* (Paris: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1914); Charlotte Perkins Gilman, *Moving the Mountain*. *Charlotte Perkins Gilman's Utopian Novels: Moving the Mountain, Herland and With Her in Our Land*. Ed. M. Doskow (Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1999); Charlotte Perkins Gilman, *The Crux* (New York: The Charlton Company, 1911); Percy MacKaye, *Tomorrow: A Play in Three Acts* (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company, 1912).
- 46 For a discussion of the presence of eugenic argument with respect to marital choices in the fiction of London and Gilman, see Luczak, *Heredity Rules: Breeding and Eugenics*.
- 47 For a nuanced discussion of Willa Cather's struggle with the discourse of eugenics see, Linda Lizut Helstern, "My Antonia and the Making of the Great Race." *Western American Literature*, Vol. 42, No 3 (Fall, 2007): 255–274.
- 48 Tamsen Wolff, *Mendel's Theatre: Heredity, Eugenics, and Early Twentieth-Century American Drama* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 1.
- 49 "MacKaye Indulges in Impeccable Eugenics." Review by Willard H. Wright. *Los Angeles Times* (April 9, 1912): 114.
- 50 Percy MacKaye, *To-morrow* (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company, 1912), 55.
- 51 *Ibid.*, 17.
- 52 *Ibid.*, 22.
- 53 "MacKaye Indulges in Impeccable Eugenics," 114.
- 54 G. Frank Lydston, *Blood of the Fathers* (Chicago: The Riverton Press, 1911), 8.
- 55 *Ibid.*, 8.

- 56 Wolff, *Mendel's Theatre*.
- 57 H.L. Mencken, "Asepsis: A Deduction in *Scherzo* Form." *A Book of Burlesques* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1923), 159–183.
- 58 George Bernard Shaw's play *Man and Superman*, which combines the theme of female liberation, "creative evolutionism" and eugenics was staged in New York in September 1905. A thorough introduction to Shaw's theatre and his adaptation of the eugenic thought can be found in Tamsen Wolff, *Mendel's Theatre*, 37–54.
- 59 Edward Goodman, *Eugenically Speaking. Washington Square Plays*. The Drama League Series of Plays. Volume XX (New York: Doubleday, 1919), 39.
- 60 Fitzgerald, *Fie! Fie! Fi-Fi!*, 7.
- 61 See Luczak, "Eugenic Strands in the Gynaecocentric Criticism of Charlotte Perkins Gilman" in *Breeding and Eugenics*, 99–125.
- 62 Winfield Scott Hall, *Sexual Knowledge* (Philadelphia: International Bible House, 1913). The book includes eugenically inspired language of sexual selection and encourages choosing the healthiest and best specimen of one's race as a partner. The book was regularly advertised in the influential *Ladies Home Journal* as including "plain sexual truths according to the latest researches of Medical Science, in relation to Eugenics and happiness in Marriage." *Ladies Home Journal* (May 1914): 31.
- 63 Charles A.L. Reed, *Marriage and Genetics* (The Galton Press, 1913). This book was also advertised in *The Ladies Home Journal*. Its ad described the book as "the compendium of applied eugenics for the layman" "[g]iving the laws of heredity as related to the individual." *Ladies Home Journal* (September 1913): 30.
- 64 For a discussion of the eugenic seduction of women, feminists, and birth control proponents, see B. W. Capo, *Textual Contraception: Birth Control and Modern American Fiction* (Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 2007); A. Franks, *Margaret Sanger's Eugenic Legacy: the Control of Female Fertility* (Jefferson: McFarland & Company, 2005); N. Orlover, *American Eugenics: Race, Queer Anatomy, and the Science of Nationalism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003), 137–158; D. K. Pickens, *Eugenics and the Progressives* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University, 1968), 69–85; Luczak: "Eugenics Strand in the Gynaecocentric Criticism of Charlotte Perkins Gilman" in *Breeding and Eugenics*, 99–125.
- 65 Fitzgerald, *Fie! Fie! Fie-Fie!*, 20–24.
- 66 Berret, *Music in the Works*, 22.
- 67 See Henry Herbert Goddard, *The Kallikak Family; A Study in the Heredity of Feeble-Mindedness* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1912).
- 68 Elizabeth Stevenson, *Babbitts and Bohemians: From the Great War to the Great Depression* (New York: Macmillan, 1998), 138.
- 69 Anon., "F. Scott Fitzgerald and His Popular Novel," *Des Moines Capital* (February 18, 1923): 33. Katherine Drowne calls this comment "disingenuous" and argues that Fitzgerald "certainly did not 'make' the flapper (though one might argue that she made him, or at least started him off)" (245). Kathleen Drowne, "Postwar Flappers." *F. Scott Fitzgerald in Context*. Ed Bryant Mangum. (Cambridge UK: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 245–253.
- 70 See *ibid*.
- 71 Sara M. Evans, *Born for Liberty: A History of Women in America* (New York: Free Press Paperbacks, 1997), 147.
- 72 Martha H. Patterson, *Beyond the Gibson Girl: Reimagining American New Woman, 1895–1915* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2005).
- 73 Martha H. Patterson, *Beyond the Gibson Girl*, 27.
- 74 See, for example, John Harvey Kellogg, *Ladies Guide in Health and Disease* (London: Pacific Press Publishing Company, 1890).
- 75 On the significance of physical culture for Gilman on eugenic grounds see, for example, Luczak *Breeding and Eugenics*.

- 76 John Harvey Kellogg, *Man, the Masterpiece: Plain Truths Plainly Told* (Des Moines, IA: Candit & Nelson, 1886), 90.
- 77 Fitzgerald, *Fie! Fie! Fi-Fi!*, 10.
- 78 Ibid.
- 79 Fitzgerald refers to this song in his Ledger entry of June 1912. *Ledger*, 166.
- 80 An enthusiastic review of the play in the *New York Times* singled out Walter Ellis as the play's author and an accomplished actor. "Princeton Capers in *Fie! Fie! Fi-Fi!* Triangle Club Makes a Hit in Its Annual Musical Comedy at Hotel Astor." *New York Times* (April 25, 1915): 14.
- 81 "His Fame Arrived Early" *The Washington Post* (August 29, 1920): 45.
- 82 John Peale Bishop, "Three Brilliant Young Novelists" in *F. Scott Fitzgerald: Critical Assessment*. Ed. Henry Claridge, 378. Bishop's praise for Fitzgerald's *The Beautiful and the Damned* wasn't free of bias, grounded most likely in the initial feeling of competition coming from Fitzgerald's friend and literary mentor from Princeton. Interestingly, Bishop endorsed *The Beautiful and the Damned* for the stories' satirical value.
- 83 Christopher Wixson, "Ragged Edges: The Curious Case of F. Scott Fitzgerald's *The Vegetable*." *American Drama*, 15.2 (Summer 2006): 48–60.
- 84 F. Scott Fitzgerald, *The Vegetable: From President to Postman* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1923).
- 85 Bruccoli, *Some Sort of Epic Grandeur*, 178–184.
- 86 Ibid., 184.
- 87 Bruccoli, *Some Sort of Epic Grandeur*, 175.
- 88 Edmund Wilson, "The Literary Spotlight – F. Scott Fitzgerald." *The Bookman* LV (March 1922): 20–25. Fitzgerald's friend and mentor from Princeton, Edmund Wilson, called *The Vegetable* a fantasy and while he placed it next to "The Diamond as Big as the Ritz," he remained highly critical of both: "Fitzgerald is a dazzling extemporizer, but his stories have a way of petering out; he seems never to have planned them completely or to have thought his themes from the beginning. This is even true of some of his most successful fantasies, such as 'The Diamond as Big as the Ritz' or his comedy *The Vegetable*." *F. Scott Fitzgerald: Critical Assessment*. Ed. Henry Claridge. Vol. I, 390.
- 89 Wixson, "Ragged Edges," 50.
- 90 F.S. Fitzgerald, *The Vegetable*, 3.
- 91 Ibid., 4.
- 92 Ibid., 6.
- 93 Ibid., 11.
- 94 Ibid., 22.
- 95 Ibid., 25.
- 96 Ibid., 18.
- 97 Ibid., 54.
- 98 Ibid., 56.
- 99 Ibid., 109.
- 100 Ibid., 105.
- 101 Ibid., 112.
- 102 Ibid., 116.
- 103 Ibid., 117.
- 104 Ibid., 128.
- 105 Ibid., 132.
- 106 Ibid., 143.
- 107 Ibid., 145.
- 108 Christopher Wixson, "Ragged Edges."
- 109 Maxwell Perkins, A Letter to F. S. Fitzgerald of December 26, 1922. *The Sons of Maxwell Perkins: Letters of F. Scott Fitzgerald, Ernest Hemingway, Thomas*

- Wolfe, and Their Editor. Ed. Mathew J. Bruccoli (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2004), 18.
- 110 “Some little bug is going to find you some day”. Lyrics by Beni Hapgood Burt and Roy Atwell. Music by Silvio Hein. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SwvbONTAXUw> Date of Access Jan. 10, 2019.
- 111 Fitzgerald, *The Vegetable*, 12–13.
- 112 See Nathan G. Hale, Jr. *Freud and the Americans: The Beginnings of Psychoanalysis in the United States, 1876–1917. Freud in America*. Vol. 1 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971).
- 113 Fitzgerald, *The Vegetable*, 89.
- 114 For a discussion of the history of eugenic testing, see, Stephen Jay Gould, *Mis-measure of Man* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1996). Leila Zenderland, *Measuring Minds: Henry Herbert Goddard and the Origins of American Intelligence Testing* (Cambridge UK: Cambridge University Press, 1998).
- 115 See Henry H. Goddard, “Mental Tests and the Immigrants.” *The Journal of Delinquency*. Vol II. No 5 (September, 1917): 243–277.
- 116 H.L. Mencken, “The Genealogy of Etiquette.” *Prejudices: First, Second and Third Series* (New York: The Library of America, 1980), 88.
- 117 For a fascinating analysis of the evolution of Brigham’s theories, see *Testing America: Carl Campbell Brigham and the Origins of SAT* by Alexandra C. Economou (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002). Brigham recanted his racist theories of American intelligence before his death in 1934.
- 118 Carl C. Brigham, *A Study of American Intelligence* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1923), xxi.
- 119 Ibid., 204–205.
- 120 Ibid., 205.
- 121 An exposition of Galton’s concept of genius and his own compulsive obsessive behavior can be found in Lennard J. Davis, “Genius and Obsession: Do You Have to Be Mad to Be Smart?”; as well as Janet Browne, “Inspiration to Perspiration: Francis Galton’s *Hereditary Genius* in Victorian Context” in *Genealogies of Genius*. Ed. Joyce E. Chaplin and Darrin M. McMahon (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2016). For an interesting analysis of the construction of the figure of a genius in the United States 1840–1890 and in literary modernism, see Bob Perelman, *The Trouble with Genius: Reading Pound, Joyce, Stein, and Zukofsky* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1994) and Gustavus Stadler, *Troubling Minds: The Cultural Politics of Genius in the United States 1840–1890* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006).
- 122 Fitzgerald, *The Vegetable*, 117.
- 123 Ibid., 15.
- 124 Ibid., 66.
- 125 Ibid., 16.
- 126 Ibid., 13.
- 127 Ibid., 124.
- 128 F.S. Fitzgerald, A Letter to Edmund Wilson, May 1921. *The Letters of F. Scott Fitzgerald*. Ed. Andrew Turnbull (London: Penguin Books, 1963), 346.
- 129 Quoted from Michael Nowlin, *F. Scott Fitzgerald’s Racial Angles and the Business of Literary Greatness* (New York: Palgrave, 2007), 55.
- 130 See Milton Hindus, “F. Scott Fitzgerald and Literary Anti-Semitism: A Footnote on the Mind of the ‘20s” in *Fitzgerald in Context: Memories and Reminiscences; Contemporary Critical Opinion*. Vol. 1. Ed. Henry Claridge (Helm Information: 1991), 119. The article was published in the *Commentary* issue of June 1947.
- 131 For an in-depth, contemporary analysis of Fitzgerald’s nativism and racism, see Nowlin, *F. Scott Fitzgerald’s Racial Angles*.

- 132 F. Scott Fitzgerald, "The Crack-up." *My Lost City: Personal Essays, 1920–1940*. Ed. James L.W. West III (Cambridge UK: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 142.
- 133 Francis S. Fitzgerald, "Jemina," *Tales from the Jazz Age*. 1922. Kindle edition, 125.
- 134 Ibid., 101.
- 135 Ibid.
- 136 Leslie Fiedler, "Some Notes on F. Scott Fitzgerald." *The Collected Essays of Leslie Fiedler*. Vol. I (New York: Stein and Day, 1971), 174.
- 137 Francis Scott Fitzgerald, "Echoes of the Jazz Age." *My Lost City: Personal Essays, 1920–1940*. Ed. James L.W. West III (Cambridge UK: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 130.

Chapter 4

- 1 *The Letters of Ernest Hemingway*. Vol 2. 1923–25. Ed. Sandra Spanier (Cambridge UK: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 422.
- 2 Sherwood Anderson, *Dark Laughter* (New York: Boni & Liverlight, 1925).
- 3 Most critics agree that the publication of *The Torrents* was a gesture affirming Hemingway's artistic maturity and independence. The phrase "literary house cleaning," coined by Michael Reynolds to describe Hemingway's break up with Stein in 1926, aptly diagnoses the artistic motives behind the novella (Michael Reynolds, *Hemingway: The Homecoming*, New York: W.W. Norton, 1999, 85). In his *A Movable Feast*, Hemingway enlarges the motivation for writing his satire by injecting into it a tone of artistic responsibility. He recalls how after reading Anderson's *Dark Laughter*, he found the novel "so terribly bad, silly and affected that [he] could not help criticizing it in a parody" (28). Later on, in the same section in which he describes his break with Stein and Anderson's artistic fall, Hemingway suggests that Stein's phrase "lost generation" should be used with respect to the generation of Stein and Anderson, with their "egotism and mental laziness" (30). Ernest Hemingway, *A Moveable Feast* (New York: MacMillan, 1964). See also, Michael North, *Reading 1922: A Return to the Scene of the Modern* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 193, and Kenneth S. Lynn, *Hemingway* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1987), 302–306.
- 4 With the exception of Alderman and Nies, *The Torrents'* connections with eugenics were either dismissed or treated lightly. In *Life Story*, for example, Carlos Baker argues that "Ernest's method was mainly a parody of the affectations in Anderson's *Dark Laughter*, a rather silly book that deserved the lampoon. Ernest's manner was brash. He made no pretense of serious purpose" (241). Carlos Baker, *Ernest Hemingway. A Life Story* (New York: Scribner, 1969).
- 5 Ivan Turgenev, *The Torrents of Spring* (London: Heinemann, 1906).
- 6 Ernest Hemingway, *The Torrents of Spring: A Romantic Novel in Honor of the Passing of a Great Race* (London: Arrow Books, 2004), 3.
- 7 Hemingway, *The Torrents*, 63.
- 8 *The Letters of Ernest Hemingway*. Vol. 2, 1923–1925, 435.
- 9 *The Letters of Ernest Hemingway*. Vol. 3, 1926–29, 82. In the same letter of May 21, 1926, written in Madrid, Hemingway attempts to explain himself for writing a biting satire of the novel penned by his mentor and a promoter of his work only a year before: "You see I feel that if among ourselves we have to pull our punches, if a man like yourself who can write very great things writes something that seems to me, (who have never written anything great but am anyway a fellow craftsman) rotten, I ought to tell you" (82).
- 10 Anderson, *Dark Laughter*, 25.
- 11 Ibid., 60.

- 12 Ibid., 79.
- 13 Ibid., 74.
- 14 Ibid., 74.
- 15 Anderson, *Dark Laughter*, 73. It is tempting to speculate to what extent Langston Hughes's ironic poem "Mulatto," which addresses the problem of biracialism in the South and which for its poetic effect relies on the refrain "Southern nights," was triggered by Anderson's *Dark Laughter*.
- 16 Betsy Nies, *Eugenic Fantasies: Racial Ideology in the Literature and Popular Culture of the 1920s* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 46.
- 17 Ibid.
- 18 Ibid., 48.
- 19 Ibid.
- 20 Brian Regal, "Madison Grant, Maxwell Perkins, and Eugenics Publishing at Scribner's," *The Princeton University Library Chronicle*, vol. 65, No. (Winter 2004): 317–342, 323.
- 21 This event was staged in a curiously colonial setting. Ripley was invited by the Half Moon Club, which was founded by Grant and whose name, through its invocation of the ship used by Henry Hudson during his exploration of the Hudson River, stressed the club's link with colonial history and American imperial imagination. Ripley summed up his ideas expounded in *Races of Men*. See John Peter Spiro, *Defending the Master Race: Conservation, Eugenics, and the Legacy of Madison Grant* (Burlington, Vermont: University of Vermont Press, 2009).
- 22 Spiro, *Defending the Master Race*, 143–266.
- 23 Madison Grant, *The Passing of the Great Race or the Racial Basis of European History* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1918), xxi.
- 24 Ibid.
- 25 Ibid., 3.
- 26 Ibid.
- 27 Ibid., 5.
- 28 The term "germ plasm" was introduced by August Weismann, who used it to describe the cells of the reproductive system that could be inherited by the next generation. The term was frequently applied by scientists of heredity prior to World War II to denote the carrier of the genetically encoded message. The discovery of the gene rendered the term obsolete.
- 29 "It is simply not possible that a human being should not have the qualities and preferences of his parents and ancestors in his body, whether appearances may suggest to the contrary." Friedrich Nietzsche, *Beyond Good and Evil: Prelude to the Philosophy of the Future* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 161.
- 30 Grant, *The Passing*, 47.
- 31 Ibid., 46.
- 32 Ibid., 48.
- 33 Ibid., 50.
- 34 For a discussion of the eugenic shift from Social Darwinism to the new ethics, see Richard Weikart, *From Darwin to Hitler: Evolutionary Ethics, Eugenics, and Racism in Germany* (New York: Palgrave, 2004).
- 35 For instance, in his *Origins of Species* Darwin himself argues that the human moral sense had arisen through the combined activity of social instincts and rationality.
- 36 Grant, *The Passing*, 273.
- 37 See Brian Regal, "Madison Grant, Maxwell Perkins, and Eugenics Publishing at Scribner's," *The Princeton University Library Chronicle*, vol. 65 (Winter 2004): 325.
- 38 Ibid.

- 39 For a discussion of the impact of Grant's "evangelists" in the U.S., see Jonathan Peter Spiro, "Great Disciples." *Defending the Master Race*, 167–196. The list of books inspired by Grant's work included Seth K. Humphrey's *The Racial Prospect* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1920); Clinton Stoddard Burr's *America's Race Heritage* (New York: National Historical Society, 1922); Charles W. Gould's *America: A Family Matter* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1922); William Sadler's *Race Decadence* (Chicago: A.C. McClurg & Co, 1922); *The Truth about Heredity* (Chicago: A.C. McClurg & Co, 1927); and most significantly, the phenomenally successful books of historical journalism by Lothrop Stoddard, with *The Rising Tide of Color against White World-Wide Supremacy* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1920) and *The Revolt against Civilization: the Menace of the Underman* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1922) leading the way.
- 40 Regal, *Madison Grant*, 332.
- 41 Hitler's biographies are unanimous about the significance of Grant's book in shaping the ideas Hitler expounded in *Mein Kampf*, even though they argue about the extent of their impact on Hitler. For example, in his recent biography of Hitler, Brendan Simms argues that actually most of the chapters of *Mein Kampf* were written by Hitler before he read Madison's book, and that his encounter with it helped him strengthen his evil ideas rather than shape them in a decisive manner.
- 42 Leon Fradley Whitney, *Autobiography*. American Philosophical Society archives. Box BW 613b.
- 43 For example, while mercilessly criticizing *White America* by Ernest Sevier Cox, Melville Herskovits pointed out its lack of substantial evidence other than reliance "on such broad concepts as those of Mr. Madison Grant and Mr. Stoddard" (Melville J. Herskovits, "Extremes and Means in Racial Interpretations." *The Journal of Social Forces* 2.4 (May 1924): 550–551, 551). In his *Anthropology and Modern Life*, published in 1928, Franz Boas dismissed Grant's racial determinism, which was to shape the fate of civilizations, and asserted that "every culture can be understood only as an historical growth. It is determined to a great extent by outer occurrences that do not originate in the inner life of the people" (Franz Boas, *Anthropology and Modern Life*. New York: Norton and Company, 1962, 211). Boas's rejection of absolute hereditarianism and Grant's racial history of the world was uncompromising and final. In a similar vein, in his essay "The Negro Art Hokum," the African-American journalist and satirist George Schuyler singled out the work of Grant and Stoddard as symbols of racial essentialism, radical separation of races, and racial unknowability, all detrimental to the conceptualization of the black cultural awakening referred to as the New Negro Renaissance. George Schuyler, "The Negro Art Hokum." *African American Literary Theory Reader*. Ed. Winston Napier (New York: New York University Press, 2000), 24–27. George Schuyler also took a principled anti-eugenic position in his satirical novel *Black No More* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1989).
- 44 Taylor Alderman, "Fitzgerald, Hemingway, and *The Passing of the Great Race*." *Fitzgerald/Hemingway Annual* 2.5 (1977): 215–216.
- 45 *Ibid.*, 215–216. Betsy Nies, *Eugenic Fantasies*, 48.
- 46 Hemingway, *Torrents*, 11.
- 47 *Ibid.*, 15.
- 48 *Ibid.*, 15.
- 49 Gertrude Stein, *The Making of Americans* (Illinois State University: Dalkey Archive Press, 1995).
- 50 Hemingway, *Torrents*, 83.
- 51 Hemingway, *Torrents*, 83.
- 52 *Ibid.*, 84.
- 53 *Ibid.*, 75.
- 54 *Ibid.*, 84.

- 55 Ibid., 84.
- 56 Ibid., 89.
- 57 Mary V. Dearborn, *Ernest Hemingway* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2017).
- 58 Ernest Hemingway, *Dateline Toronto. The Complete Toronto Star Dispatches, 1920–1924*. Ed. William White (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1985), 38.
- 59 Ibid., 44.
- 60 Ibid.
- 61 Jeffrey Meyers, *Hemingway* (Paladin: Grafton Books 1987), 46.
- 62 Hemingway, *Dateline Toronto*, 215.
- 63 In a letter to Gertrude Stein and Alice B. Toklas of November 9, 1923, Hemingway wrote that: "The paper is full of Hitler and Ludendorff fiasco. It sounds very funny. The early dispatches so far" (90). Despite his flippant reference to the Munich putsch, Hemingway was aware of the political significance of the rebirth of Prussian militarism. In a letter to F.S. Fitzgerald of 15 December, 1925, he informs his friend of Ludendorff's war retrospective, *Own Story. The Cambridge Editions of the Letters of Ernest Hemingway*. Vol. 2. 1923–1925.
- 64 Hemingway, *Dateline Toronto*, 214.
- 65 Ibid., 232.
- 66 Ibid., 232.
- 67 Ibid., 232.
- 68 Ibid., 228.
- 69 Ibid., 230.
- 70 Kenneth Lynn, *Hemingway* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1987), 182.
- 71 Hemingway, *Dateline Toronto*, 229.
- 72 "At the Quai at Smyrna" describing the dramatic burning of Smyrna "in which ... people perished in the wake of the Turk's entry into the city," was included in *In Our Time* as late as the 1930s edition. It is not clear when exactly Hemingway wrote the moving piece.
- 73 Qtd. Martha Nussbaum, "Kant and Stoic Cosmopolitanism." *The Journal of Political Philosophy*. Vol. 5, No. 1 (1997): 6.
- 74 Hemingway, *Torrents*, 5.
- 75 Ibid., 37.
- 76 Ibid., 77.
- 77 Ibid., 91.
- 78 Ibid., 83.
- 79 Ibid., 101.
- 80 Ibid., 10.
- 81 Ibid., 6.
- 82 Quoted in Terry Teachout, *The Skeptic: A Life of H.L. Mencken* (New York: Harper Collins, 2002), 214.
- 83 Michael E. L. Ross, "Agassiz or Darwin: Faith and Science in Hemingway's High School Zoology Class." *The Hemingway Review*, vol. 32, no. 2 (Spring 2013): 7–27.
- 84 Hemingway, *Torrents*, 35.
- 85 Ibid., 35.
- 86 Tamsen Wolff, *Mendel's Theatre: Heredity, Eugenics, and the Early Twentieth-Century American Drama*, 37–54.
- 87 Critics believe that the juxtaposition of H.L. Mencken with Stanwood Mencken was Hemingway's revenge on H.L. Mencken, who a year earlier wrote an unfavorable review of Hemingway's *In Our Time* and whom Hemingway held responsible for the rejection of his short story by *The American Mercury*. After the role he played as a reporter at the famous Scopes Trial in 1925, H.L. Mencken stood for progressivism and rationalism, whereas Stanwood Mencken embodied the conservative movement. Hemingway's *The Sun Also Rises*, written right after *The*

Torrents of Spring, also includes a sarcastic reference to Mencken. One wonders if Hemingway's opposition to Mencken was not additionally grounded in the young writer's resentment towards Mencken's unquenched skepticism and cynicism. In his "Ad Imaginem Dei Creavit Illum," Mencken calls man "a local disease of the cosmos" and radically challenges humanism with its "old anthropomorphological notion that the life of the whole universe centers in the life of man." *Prejudices. First, Second and Third Series* (New York: The Library of America, 2010, 367). Such a stand was incongruous with Hemingway's humanist sympathies. On the feud between Hemingway and H.L. Mencken see Reynolds, *Hemingway: The Homecoming*, 19 and Michael Reynolds, *Hemingway, The Paris Years* (New York: Blackwell, 1989).

88 H.L. Mencken, *Prejudices*, 499.

89 Like other proponents of the theory of evolution and progressivism, H.L. Mencken failed to clearly separate progressive thought and the eugenic social project. For an interesting discussion of Mencken's intellectual dilemmas, see Terry Teachout, *The Skeptic: A Life of H.L. Mencken* (New York: Harper Collins, 2002), 214.

90 Letter of 7 December, 1925. *The Letters of Ernest Hemingway*. vol. 2, 434.

Chapter 5

1 In her short book supplemented with photographs, Dorothy Thompson described Hitler as "formless, almost faceless, a man whose countenance is a caricature, a man whose framework seems cartilaginous, without bones. He is inconsequent and voluble, ill-poised, insecure. He is the very prototype of the Little Man" (13–14). Later in the book she reinforced her description of Hitler as "The Little Man" (35) and added that he "has a soul possessed of the Great Blond Beast of Mr. Nietzsche" (34). Dorothy Thompson, *I Saw Hitler* (New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1932).

2 For an interesting insight into the career of Dorothy Thompson after her expulsion from Nazi Germany, see Vincent Sheean, *Dorothy and Red* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1963), 251.

3 "Dorothy Thompson Expelled by Reich for 'Slur' on Hitler." *New York Times* (August 26, 1934): 1.

4 Vernon Louis Parrington, *Sinclair Lewis: Our Own Diogenes* (New York: Haskell House Publishers, 1973).

5 For an insightful discussion of the origin of the novel, see Richard Lingeman, *Sinclair Lewis: Rebel from Main Street* (New York: Random House, 2002), 392–394.

6 Thompson, *I Saw Hitler*, 34–35.

7 Qtd. in Lingeman, *Sinclair Lewis*, 394.

8 Sinclair Lewis, *It Can't Happen Here* (New York: Signet Classics, 2014), 18.

9 For an interesting discussion of the mutual inspiration between American and German eugenicists, see Stefan Kuhl, *The Nazi Connection: Eugenics, American Racism, and German National Socialism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994); Marvin D. Miller, *Terminating the "Socially Inadequate": The American Eugenicians and the German Race Hygienists. California to Cold Spring Harbor, Long Island to Germany* (Commack, NY: Malamud-Rose Publishers, 1996); and Edwin Black, *War against the Weak: Eugenics and America's Campaign to Create a Master Race* (New York: Thunder's Mouth Press, 2003).

10 Quoted in Black, *War against the Weak*, 27

11 Lewis, *It Can't Happen Here*, 9.

12 Ibid., 17.

13 Ibid., 27.

14 Ibid., 33.

- 15 Ibid., 75.
- 16 Ibid., 186.
- 17 "It Can't Happen Here by Sinclair Lewis. A Review." *Time*, Vol. 26. Number 18 (October 28, 1935): 73.
- 18 Hershel Brickell, "Review of *It Can't Happen Here* by Sinclair Lewis." *The North American Review* (December 1, 1935): 543.
- 19 Fanny Butcher, "Sinclair Lewis Uses Dictator for New Satire. *It Can't Happen Here* Has U.S. for Setting." *Chicago Daily Tribune* (October 19, 1935): 16.
- 20 Ibid.
- 21 Daily press dwelt on the news of the book being withdrawn from production by Metro Goldwyn Meyer. *The New York Times* issue of August 22, 1936 on the first page informed that Will H. Hays, "czar" of the motion picture industry, had prevented production of the film by Metro Goldwyn Meyer, but this was denied by Mr. Hayes. "WPA Aims to Stage 'Can't Happen Here': Agreement Is Reached to Produce Novel 'Banned' by Movies." *New York Times* (August 22, 1936): 1.
- 22 Ibid.
- 23 *It Can't Happen Here*. Play script. Federal Theatre Project. Works Progress Administration.
- 24 For an interesting discussion of dynamic fascism vs. ideological conservatism, see H.R. Trevor-Roper, "The Phenomenology of Fascism," *European Fascism*. Ed. S.J. Woolf (New York: Random House, 1968), 23–24.
- 25 Lewis, *It Can't Happen Here*, 66.
- 26 It was not uncommon for medical doctors of the time, and especially for those endorsing eugenics, to think of their profession as harnessing not only medical science but also social service. Hence their interest in cutting-edge philosophical theories and literary trends. John Harvey Kellogg preached sermons on social purity that included a discussion of "dirty" literature, while Havelock Ellis authored, apart from books on sexuality and psychology, a tract on philosophy and literature. His *Affirmations* is a study of Nietzsche, Casanova, Zola, Huysmans, and St. Francis. Havelock Ellis, *Affirmations* (London: Walter Scott Ltd., 1898).
- 27 Lewis, *It Can't Happen Here*, 54.
- 28 "The 'Aryans,' according to Hitler, who has taken his argument from the ex-patriate Englishman Houston Stewart Chamberlain, and from Professor Guenther, have founded all the cultures of the world. The world belongs to the Nordics – in other words, to you! Thus he addresses his shabby audiences." Dorothy Thompson, *I Saw Hitler*, 33.
- 29 William L. Shirer, *Berlin Diary: The Journal of a Foreign Correspondent* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1941), 257; Kuhl, *The Nazi Connection*, 61.
- 30 Lewis, *It Can't Happen Here*, 54.
- 31 Ibid., 156.
- 32 Ibid., 208.
- 33 Ibid., 209.
- 34 Ibid., 164.
- 35 Ibid., 168.
- 36 Ibid., 220.
- 37 Ibid., 221.
- 38 Ibid.
- 39 Ibid.
- 40 Ibid., 168.
- 41 Ibid., 197. In the context of the political situation of the time, it is tempting to diagnose parallels between *Zero Hour* and Huey P. Long's *Every Man a King*, published in 1933. Being Huey's political autobiography, the book traced the growth of his political activism and spelled out his political and semi-fascist creed.

However, unlike Hitler's *Mein Kampf*, Long's book downplayed the significance of racism in his political program; thus, seeing it as a prototype for Buzz Windrip's book seems to be too far-fetched. See Huey P. Long, *Every Man a King: The Autobiography of Huey P. Long* (New Orleans: National Books, 1933).

42 Lewis, *It Can't Happen Here*, 169.

43 Ibid., 170.

44 Ibid.

45 Ibid., 302.

46 Ibid., 304.

47 Jonathan Greenberg, *Modernism, Satire, and the Novel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011); John Morreall, *Taking Laughter Seriously* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1983).

48 *Compassion*. Ed. Lauren Berlant (New York: Routledge, 2004), 4.

49 C.P. Snow, *The Two Cultures* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1964), 14.

50 F.R. Leavis, *Two Cultures? The Significance of C. P. Snow* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1962), 27.

51 Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958).

52 The modernist search for geniuses has been brilliantly discussed by Bob Perelman in *The Trouble with Genius: Reading Pound, Joyce, Stein, and Zukofsky* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), although bypassing the link between the literary understanding of the genius and its scientific, or rather eugenic, prototype. I would like to thank Professor David C. Lloyd for pointing out this reference to me.

53 Simon Critchley, *On Humor* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 17.

54 Lewis, *It Can't Happen Here*, 381.

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