

Science in the Service of the Far Right: Henry E. Garrett, the IAAEE, and the Liberty Lobby

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*Henry E. Garrett (1894–1973) was the President of the American Psychological Association in 1946 and Chair of Psychology at Columbia University from 1941 to 1955. In the 1950s Garrett helped organize an international group of scholars dedicated to preventing race mixing, preserving segregation, and promoting the principles of early 20th century eugenics and "race hygiene." Garrett became a leader in the fight against integration and collaborated with those who sought to revitalize the ideology of National Socialism. I discuss the intertwined history the International Association for the Advancement of Ethnology and Eugenics (IAAEE), the journal *Mankind Quarterly*, the neofascist Northern League, and the ultra-right-wing political group, the Liberty Lobby. The use of psychological research and expertise in the promotion of neofascism is examined.*

No more than Nature desires the mating of weaker with stronger individuals, even less does she desire the blending of a higher with a lower race, since, if she did, her whole work of higher breeding, over perhaps hundreds of thousands of years, might be ruined with one blow. Historical experience offers countless proofs of this. It shows with terrifying clarity that in every mingling of Aryan blood with that of lower peoples the result was the end of the cultured people. . . . The result of all racial crossing is therefore in brief always the following: Lowering of the level of the higher race;

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Physical and intellectual regression and hence the beginning of a slowly but surely progressing sickness.

— Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf* (1925/1971, p. 285)

I think racial mixing is undesirable in this country and could be catastrophic. Racial amalgamation would mean a general lowering of the cultural and intellectual level of the American people.

— Henry E. Garrett, *U.S. News & World Report* (1963, November 18, p. 92)

While the postwar members of SPSSI worked for liberal, democratic aims and social justice (e.g., Herman, 1995), another group of psychologists, sociologists, political scientists, historians, biologists, and geneticists also devoted great effort to “social issues,” but from a very different perspective. These were academics who, even after World War II, remained tied to the intellectual traditions of early 20th century eugenics, racial hygiene, and racial research. They were dedicated to preventing race mixing while preserving segregation and apartheid.¹ In this article, I focus on Henry E. Garrett (1894–1973), a major figure in this movement. To Garrett and others, SPSSI was not only the enemy, but a danger to Western civilization. As a past president of the American Psychological Association, Garrett represents the rebirth and persistence of racial theory at a time when such ideas seemed unsustainable in mainstream psychology (see Richards, 1997, 1998; Samelson, 1978). These themes are most clearly illuminated by examining the intersection of Garrett’s career with that of two other individuals: anthropologist Roger Pearson and Liberty Lobby founder Willis Carto. The publications, organizations, and joint projects of Garrett, Pearson, and Carto during the 1950s to 1970s provide insight into the ways in which psychological research and psychological expertise may be used to promote racism and neo-Nazism in North American and international contexts. Furthermore, the intellectual community Garrett helped to form may have had limited influence on academic psychology but more substantial influence in the broader social arena. Unlike those psychologists whose expertise was explicitly contracted for corporate, military, or government agencies, Henry Garrett and his associates provided expertise to a variety of ideological and political communities with an interest in race. Thus Garrett offers us an expanded view of how psychological expertise might function.

¹ The complex history of eugenics involves a variety of internal disagreements and distinctions that cannot be dealt with in the present paper. For useful general sources on this history, see, for example, Adams (1990), Allen (1986), Barkan (1992), Haller (1963), Kevles (1985), and Mehler (1988). The emphasis in the present article on continuity of certain eugenic themes, especially concerning hybridization, should not be taken as a denial of these distinctions.

The activities of Garrett and the International Association for the Advancement of Ethnology and Eugenics (IAAEE) are little known to psychologists, although Garrett's role in fighting integration was described by Newby (1969) in his analysis of social scientists challenging *Brown v. Board of Education*. Similarly, Jackson (1996) and Kluger (1976) dealt with Garrett's testimony at the 1952 *Davis* case, which preceded *Brown*. Garrett is mentioned briefly and Pearson more extensively in Billig's (1978, 1979) analysis of the interplay of psychology and fascist movements. Mehler (e.g., 1983, 1989) described the connections among eugenics movements, neofascist activities, and the work of Pearson and Carto, although his focus was not on Garrett. The most recent and detailed discussion of these issues is Tucker (1994), who clearly outlined Garrett's role in right-wing political movements.² However, the nature of these movements, their shared view of race and history, and their international political activities deserve further analysis. The support of social scientists for neofascist political activity is interesting in itself, but the primary concern here is how social science justified such activities by drawing on the discursive resources of "value-neutral" empiricism.

Henry E. Garrett: The Native Son

Henry E. Garrett, born in 1894 in Clover, Virginia, was educated in the Richmond Public Schools and at the University of Richmond, where he received his BA in 1915.³ During World War I he taught mathematics in the Coast Artillery Training Center at Fort Monroe, Virginia, and was head of mathematics at the John Marshall High School in Richmond. He took graduate courses in psychology at Columbia University during the summers of 1916 and 1919, primarily with Albert Poffenberger (see Wenzel, 1979). Garrett (1919) described his background in a letter to the psychology department's executive officer, Robert S. Woodworth, asking to become an assistant and to continue graduate work. Woodworth agreed, and Garrett enrolled at Columbia full time and completed his doctorate in 1923 with a dissertation on the relationship of speed to accuracy in psychophysical judgments and motor skills (Garrett, 1922).

Garrett subsequently joined the Columbia faculty, where he rose to professor in 1943 and served as executive officer (head) of the department from 1941 to 1955.⁴ He

² Richards' (1997) thorough examination of racism in the history of psychology appeared just after the completion of this paper. This work deals with Garrett only briefly but is extremely valuable for general context. For other recent discussions of scientific racism, see Dubow (1995), Marks (1995), and Tobach and Rosoff (1994), and discussions for the general audience by Kohn (1995) and Shipman (1994).

³ There is no known autobiographical or biographical sketch of Garrett. The most extensive and useful discussions of Garrett's work are in Newby (1969) and Tucker (1994). A brief obituary appeared in the *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, June 27, 1973.

⁴ Columbia University archival records show that Garrett served as Acting Executive Officer from 1939 to 1941 and was designated professor emeritus in 1956.

was honored as the 1946 president of the American Psychological Association, 1944 president of the Eastern Psychological Association, 1943 president of the Psychometric Society, fellow of the AAAS, and member of the prestigious National Research Council. The University of Richmond awarded him an honorary doctorate in 1954. After retirement from Columbia in 1955, he returned to Virginia to become a visiting professor at the University of Virginia in the Department of Education, where he taught courses and supervised graduate students (Garrett, 1959). In 1954, Garrett requested an appointment in the psychology department at the University of Virginia, but the members of the department categorically rejected this request. According to a colleague from that period, the rejection was based on Garrett's views on race (Frank Finger, personal communication, April 1997). His views were already well known, perhaps because of his testimony in the 1952 school segregation court case of *Davis v. County School Board* in Prince Edward County, Virginia. But Garrett had supporters in the education department, and they were pleased to have a person of such prestige.

Garrett is remembered among psychologists for his statistics textbook, one of the first in the field, and for *Great Experiments in Psychology* (Garrett, 1926, 1930). He taught statistics and differential psychology to many Columbia graduate students in the 1930s and 1940s. He published work on racial and ethnic differences early in his 30-year career at Columbia (e.g., Garrett, 1929), and his general hereditarian position was well known. Surprisingly, he concluded in Garrett and Schneck (1933) that the source of Negro-White differences in intelligence test scores "remained an unsettled question" (p. 204).⁵ Until the 1950s, he remained on polite terms with those who did not share his hereditarian views, including Otto Klineberg, whose work he would later vilify (Rieber, 1985; see also Anastasi, 1993). In the early 1940s, Garrett was even willing to supervise the doctoral research of at least one Black psychologist, Mamie Clark.

By the mid-1940s, Garrett's *public* position shifted. Montagu (1945) used the World War I Army intelligence data to argue that state-by-state patterns, in which Northern Negroes showed higher mean scores than Southern Whites, supported a socioeconomic interpretation of racial differences. Klineberg had noted this pattern some years earlier. Garrett (1945a) replied swiftly and accused Montagu not only of errors of fact and statistical slips, but also of dogmatism and bias: "Montagu knew exactly what he wanted to find and intended to find it."⁶ He described Montagu as

⁵ The apparent reasonableness of this conclusion may be due largely to the fact that this chapter of Garrett and Schneck (1933) was actually prepared by Anne Anastasi, who had studied Klineberg's work carefully and included it in her draft. According to Anastasi (1993), "Not surprisingly, the interpretation of findings were quite differently slanted in Garrett's final version of the chapter, and my contribution was acknowledged in general terms in the preface" (p. 46).

⁶ Garrett (1945b) also attacked Montagu's position on race in an exchange in *Science*, and he repeated much of his argument from the *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology* in his (1945c) reply to Birch.

unable to “separate the scientific study of race differences from his own personal and emotional interests in the subject” (p. 494). He concluded that “the inference is strong that such differences cannot be explained in socio-economic terms” (p. 495). Here Garrett took up the rhetorical position that he and others would use effectively for the next 25 years in the general public arena: Environmental interpretations of racial differences in intelligence were an ideologically motivated fallacy, whereas his genetic interpretation was based purely on detached, scientific thinking, with no political agenda. Later he would describe the environmental view of racial differences as a “hoax” perpetrated by Ashley Montagu, Klineberg, and other students of Boas (Garrett, 1961a). Ultimately Garrett blamed Boas for a conspiratorial, ideological takeover in social science. This positioning was fundamental to Garrett’s growing role as expert for the political right. Montagu’s leadership on the 1950 United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) statement on race, which questioned both typological conceptions of race and innate racial differences in intelligence, undoubtedly strengthened Garrett’s view that something must be done.⁷

Garrett’s attacks were not confined to discussions of intelligence and race. In the *Psychological Bulletin*, he objected in the strongest terms to Lorge’s (1945) conclusion that education raised IQ or MA (Garrett, 1946). He acknowledged that group intelligence test scores increase with amount of education but argued that the effect was much less than Lorge and others believed and might be an artifact of the sample, and that the terms “MA” and “IQ” could not be used with the group tests. Garrett lamented that Lorge’s “misrepresentations” and “incorrect” conclusions were already being “parroted by those who would like to believe that the school book is more powerful than original nature” (p. 72). Thus by 1946, it was already an important part of Garrett’s position to maintain that environmental effects were being overestimated in all cases, not just data on Negroes, and he used his established reputation as a statistician as a basis for his role as expert critic of all environmentalist claims. In the 1930s, Garrett published a number of papers on the psychometric structure of intelligence (e.g., Garrett, 1938). As one of the early users and promoters of factor analysis, he could claim special expertise in the interpretation of complex sets of intelligence test data.

⁷ It is commonly thought that the 1950 UNESCO statement denied the reality of race altogether. This view is inaccurate in that the statement stressed the unity of the species while recognizing that humans might be grouped as Mongoloid, Negroid, and Caucasoid. The second UNESCO statement in 1951 affirmed the reality of races and allowed for the possibility of innate racial differences in intelligence but maintained such differences had not yet been shown (see Montagu, 1972, for full text and discussion of these statements). It is important to note that the UNESCO statements were often taken to be an example of the intrusion of liberal, egalitarian political values into science, and that such arguments ignored the conservative elements of the statements and the politics of the critics.

Garrett's first display of his expertise for the broader public came in 1952, when the lawyers defending the Commonwealth of Virginia in *Davis v. County School Board* followed the suggestion of the president of the University of Richmond and contacted Garrett, who became the star witness. Garrett's testimony followed that of former Columbia student Kenneth Clark, who testified for the NAACP, along with M. Brewster Smith, Isidor Chein, Mamie Clark, Horace English, and sociologist Alfred McLung Lee (see Jackson, 1996; Kluger, 1976). Ignoring the realities of funding in Black schools, Garrett's position was that as long as there were "equal facilities," there would be no damage from segregated schools, and indeed, self-esteem might be higher. Moreover, he used an argument that he would continue to use to deny that he believed in White superiority. Negroes, Garrett argued, had their own special talents: music, dramatic art, and athletics, which would best be developed in their own schools. He implied that the curriculum in the separate schools could then be tailored to these talents. Whether Garrett's testimony was effective or not, the three judges found "no hurt or harm to either race" in segregated schools and ruled unanimously for the defendants (quoted in Kluger, 1976, p. 184). *Davis v. County School Board* was then appealed with the three other cases that became *Brown v. Board of Education*.

As outlined by Tucker (1994), the *Brown* decision galvanized Garrett and a number of other social and biological scientists into action with a new sense that a scientific attack might prove effective in reversing secular trends. Psychologist Frank McGurk, later a member of the IAAEE board, had been studying racial differences in intelligence test scores since the 1940s. In the 1950s, he presented his data as the basis for segregated schools by writing both in scholarly journals (e.g., McGurk, 1953) and popular media, such as *U.S. News & World Report* (McGurk, 1956). With Garrett's encouragement and preface, Audrey Shuey (1958) published *The Testing of Negro Intelligence*, a highly selective review of the available literature, which became a mainstay in the argument that genetic inequality was scientifically based (see Newby, 1969). R. Travis Osborne of the University of Georgia began to publish Negro-White comparisons which, he argued, controlled for inequality of opportunity and demonstrated (to Osborne) that the Negro deficits could not be explained by environment (e.g., Osborne, 1960). All three became involved in the IAAEE within the next few years, and their work would be used heavily by Garrett and others to argue against school integration.

Despite his increasing claims that the truth about race was being suppressed, Garrett had access to *Science*, to *Perspectives in Biology and Medicine*, and to *U.S. News & World Report* for making his views on race known. Now retired from Columbia, he was back in his native Virginia and under less pressure from liberal colleagues. By 1961, he had developed his notion of the "equalitarian dogma"—the view that all races have equal potential for intelligence and civilization—to characterize his opponents, and he presented this idea in a paper published simultaneously in three outlets: *Mankind Quarterly*, discussed in detail below, and in slightly briefer

form in *Perspectives in Biology and Medicine* and *U.S. News & World Report* (Garrett, 1961a, 1961b, 1961c).⁸ According to Newby (1969), the same paper was reissued as an undated pamphlet, *The South and the Second Reconstruction*. Thus Garrett was able to distribute the same vision of race and intelligence to widely diverse audiences.

According to Garrett, the equalitarian dogma had taken over social science and spread through colleges, universities, and society at large because of a propaganda barrage. Columbia anthropologist Franz Boas and his students were said to be responsible for this “sentimental” view, and he later described this phenomenon as a Boas “cult” (Garrett & George, 1962). He also blamed “Hitler’s unspeakable cruelties and the absurd racial-superiority theories of the Nazis” (Garrett, 1961c, p. 73) for creating the climate conducive to equalitarianism. Simultaneously, he denied that his assertions (i.e., that Negroes were six times more likely to be “feeble-minded” and one sixth as likely to be “gifted” as Whites, that Negroes lag most in abstract skills required “in education above the lowest levels,” and that the differences remained when socioeconomic factors were equated) would lead to prejudice and persecution. Instead, he invoked old Southern notions of proper place: Recognition of the special talents of the Negro in sports and entertainment would improve feelings of Whites toward Negroes. Garrett blamed both African nationalism and the end of colonialism for encouraging false ideas of racial equality, despite the fact that “the black African has never constructed an alphabet, created a literature or a science, produced any great men, or built up a civilization” (p. 74). Two more factors were said to contribute to the equalitarian dogma: the Supreme Court decision on *Brown v. Board of Education* and the efforts of the Communists, who were thought to use the equalitarian dogma to recruit converts among the underprivileged and to foment unrest. He concluded that “the weight of the evidence is in favor of the proposition that racial differences in mental ability—and perhaps also in character—are innate and genetic” (p. 74). Despite these harsh judgments, Garrett thought more research to be necessary, perhaps to persuade those who remained unconvinced.

U.S. News & World Report was willing not only to reprint the equalitarian dogma article; two years later it carried an interview with Garrett (and other “world experts” on race) as part of a feature article on “intermarriage and the race problem.”

⁸ *Perspectives in Biology and Medicine* was edited by Dwight Ingle, head of physiology at the University of Chicago. Ingle included an editorial, also reprinted in *U.S. News & World Report*, in which he hedged on endorsement of Garrett’s position while failing to acknowledge his own support for segregated schools and housing (see Tucker, 1994). Newby’s (1969) assessment of Ingle as “no racist” (p. 97) appears overly cautious. Ingle apparently did not know Garrett, and consulted E. G. Boring of Harvard University for his assessment as to whether Garrett was respected by his colleagues in psychology. Boring (1960) replied that Garrett was “an old fuddy-duddy” whom Boring did not respect because he was “so emotional.” Boring repeated a second-hand characterization of Garrett as “notoriously racially prejudiced.”

Here Garrett argued that “racial mixing could be catastrophic” and echoed the anti-hybridization stance of many early eugenicists: “Racial amalgamation would mean a general lowering of the cultural and intellectual level of the American people” (1963, p. 92). Despite his emphasis on mean differences, he slipped readily into more absolute rhetoric by asserting that the Negro “is not able to think in terms of symbols—words, numbers, formulas, diagrams” (p. 93). Moreover, he warned that racial amalgamation was a major goal of Negro leaders and groups.

In the *Mankind Quarterly* version of the equalitarian dogma, Garrett was more specific about the role of the Jews in spreading the dogma, and these remarks were omitted from the *Perspectives in Biology and Medicine* and *U.S. News & World Report* versions. He blamed “Jewish organizations,” most of whom “belligerently support the equalitarian dogma which they accept as having been ‘scientifically’ proven” (Garrett, 1961a, p. 256). An identical view was presented by Carleton Putnam (1961) in his widely read racist tract *Race and Reason*, to which Garrett wrote the introduction. Here Garrett served as the scientific authority, helping Putnam to position his ideas as rational and reasonable. Putnam also blamed the Jewish background of Boas and his group and even tracked down Ashley Montagu’s Jewish origins, a strategy later employed by Roger Pearson (1995a) to discredit Montagu. The view that Jews were the enemies of “eugenic truths” was not new in eugenics circles. According to Samelson (1975), Prescott Hall of the Immigration Restriction League wrote to Madison Grant, author of *The Passing of the Great Race*, in 1918 that “I am up against the Jews all the time in the equality argument” (see also Allen, 1986, note 51). In another *Mankind Quarterly* article, Garrett (1962a) argued that those who supported genetic equality of the races were “mostly members of minority groups” and “seem willing to destroy Anglo-Saxon civilization because of real or imagined grievances” (p. 106).

During this period, Garrett responded vigorously to any criticism and used such opportunities to reiterate his basic position on race and hybridization. When anthropologist Santiago Genovese (1961) objected in *Science* that Garrett’s (1960) treatment of Klineberg and his 1956 UNESCO report was unfair, Garrett replied that:

No matter how low . . . an American white may be, his ancestors built the civilizations of Europe, and no matter how high . . . a Negro may be, his ancestors were (and his kinsmen still are) savages in an African Jungle. Free and general race mixture of Negro-white groups in this country would inevitably be not only dysgenic but socially disastrous. (1962b, p. 984)

Garrett denied that he opposed *all* race-mixing by noting that Hawaiian-Chinese and Japanese-American “crosses” could be successful, but Negro-White crosses led to “illiteracy, social and economic backwardness, and degeneracy” (1962b, p. 982). This was hardly an original view. Even the leading racial hygienists of the 1920s maintained that race crossing among races that were “close” did not necessarily produce “disharmonious” outcomes (e.g., see Baur, Fischer, & Lenz,

1927/1931). But like race theorists of earlier traditions, Garrett appealed to history rather than psychology for the evidence of the dangers of Negro-White intermarriage. In addition, Garrett deflected charges of racism by asserting that he would be racist only if he promoted “doctrines of a ‘master race’ or ‘chosen people.’” (Garrett, 1962b, p. 982). The juxtaposition of ‘master race’ and ‘chosen people’ as logical and moral equivalents is a device Garrett used several times, and allowed Garrett to class Jews with Nazis as racists while denying his own racism.⁹

Additional criticism of Garrett’s equalitarian dogma article in *Perspectives in Biology and Medicine* came from SPSSI (1961). At the 1961 SPSSI meeting during the APA convention, the executive council, lead by Chein, issued a statement that there was no evidence that racial differences in intelligence were innate and condemned the article as a misuse of science. The SPSSI statement was printed in *Perspectives in Biology and Medicine*, followed by a statement from Ingle defending his decision to publish Garrett’s article. A series of letters, some critical and others supportive of Garrett, were also included. A paper by Herskovitz (1961), criticizing the concept of race and Garrett’s linking of racial equality to communism, was placed just before the SPSSI statement. But Garrett (1962c) was able to publish a relatively long reply to SPSSI as a letter in *American Psychologist*. Using highly selected data from Shuey, McGurk, and others, he argued that the SPSSI statement was wrong in maintaining that Negro-White IQ differences tended to disappear when socioeconomic background is controlled. Thus Garrett effectively countered the single occasion on which an official body of psychologists condemned his work. He did this partly by avoiding any of the strong language on race mixing that he used in other publications, particularly *Mankind Quarterly*.

While warning of the consequences of race mixing, Garrett and other members of the IAAEE (see below) helped with a new attempt to reverse the *Brown* decision. In 1962, a group of White parents in Georgia won intervenor status in an NAACP suit, *Stell v. the Savannah Board of Education*, brought to compel immediate desegregation. These parents were allowed to present data on the harmful effects of integration, and given that Garrett was already well known to the White Citizens Councils, he and others were recruited as expert witnesses. First, R. Travis Osborne testified on the persistence of lower test scores and school achievement of Black versus White students. Garrett testified that the Black-White differences could not be changed by any environmental intervention. Wesley Critz George, emeritus professor of medicine at the University of North Carolina, confirmed the scientific

⁹ With this invidious linking of Jews and Nazis, Garrett helped perpetuate a popular antisemitic stereotype that the notion of a “chosen people” means Jews think of themselves as a biologically superior group. The concept of the “chosen people” refers to the covenant between God and the ancient Jews, as laid out in the Pentateuch, and not to any biological character of the Jews. (See Silberman, 1972.) Garrett’s use of this device is particularly disingenuous given his association with leading neofascists during this period.

basis of Garrett's conclusions. Social philosopher and psychoanalyst Ernest van der Haag testified to alleged damage caused by integration for both Black and White children and warned of pathology and disturbance that would result. Osborne, George, and van der Haag were all IAAEE directors. Judge Frank Scarlett made extensive use of their testimony, and cited one of Garrett's papers from *Mankind Quarterly*, work by Shuey, and others. He concluded that the damaging effects of intergration had been demonstrated (Scarlett, 1963). The judgment was soon overturned on appeal, but it illustrates the marshaling of IAAEE group expertise, and the acceptance of that expertise by the court. A summary of the testimony was reported in the *Richmond Times-Dispatch* (May 10, 1963), although the trial was in Savannah.

Garrett continued the fight against school integration through public lectures (e.g., Nashville Citizens' Council, 1965) and by writing a series of pamphlets on race. Lecture announcements invited the audience to hear the "facts" on "the reality of race" from "a leading authority in the field of psychometrics (intelligence testing)." The pamphlet *How Classroom Desegregation Will Work* appeared around 1965, with a brief version in *The Citizen*, the journal of White Citizens Councils, and was then distributed free by the right-wing Patrick Henry Press to more than 500,000 schoolteachers, according to *Newsweek* ("Lesson in bias," 1966).¹⁰ The publisher, a secretive firm headed by John Synon in Richmond, Virginia, claimed that more than half of the 20,000 reply cards received from teachers expressed support. Patrick Henry Press followed with two other undated pamphlets by Garrett, *Breeding Down* and *Children: Black & White* (see illustration in Popplestone & MacPherson, 1994, p. 167). *Breeding Down*, which, according to Tucker (1994), was also distributed free to hundreds of thousands of teachers, warned that the goal of the civil rights movement was to bring Whites down to the Negro level through "mongrelization." In 1973, the year of Garrett's death, *IQ and Racial Differences* appeared under the imprint of the ultra-right-wing publisher Howard Allen Press.

Tucker's (1994) careful analysis has rightfully emphasized the blatant racism of these publications. It is also essential to emphasize that this racism was wrapped within a highly scientized package. For example, both *Children: Black and White* and *IQ and Racial Differences* contained extensive and calmly presented discussions of data on racial differences, complete with tables and detailed references to the work of Carlton Coon, Cyril Burt, Audrey Shuey, and Frank McGurk, as well as extensive reference to technical literature on the cortex of the Negro brain. Though Garrett's dire

¹⁰ Interviewed by *Newsweek* for the May 30, 1966, article, Garrett maintained he was not a racist but simultaneously destroyed any illusions of this position. He was quoted as observing that "Those black Africans are fine muscular animals when they're not diseased. . . . and I think they're fine when they're not frustrated. But when they're frustrated they revert to primitive savages" ("Lesson in bias," p. 63). Here again Garrett slid from the discourse of overlapping distributions to that of absolute distinctions.

warnings that school integration heralded the decline of the West hardly followed from the data and may seem foolishly overstated, his audience might have seen these pamphlets in a different light. To many who were alarmed by the social change of the 1960s, such pamphlets were the objective scientific conclusions of a leading psychologist, backed by findings rather than, as Garrett often put it, "wishful thinking."

Thus Garrett was presented to the American public as not only the past president of the American Psychological Association and chair of the department of psychology at Columbia, but also as a leading authority on race, despite the fact that he had not engaged in any original research in the area. Garrett's writings of that period make it clear that the objection to school integration was not based primarily on issues of educational quality. Of much greater concern was that integrated schools would lead to "race-mixing," which would in turn lead to "race suicide," a concept first popularized by Theodore Roosevelt and sociologist E. A. Ross and used widely in racial hygiene movements of the 1920s and 1930s.¹¹ But to understand Garrett's views on race mixing fully, it is necessary to understand the shared vision of those who became his intellectual and political allies.

Garrett and the IAAEE

Garrett's activities during the late 1950s and 1960s were carried out within a community of scholars that he helped to organize. In 1959, Garrett and others founded the International Association for the Advancement of Ethnology and Eugenics (IAAEE) to disseminate research on genetics and race. The beginnings of this group have been documented through archival work by Mehler (1989, 1998) and Tucker (1994). There were both national and international aspects to the IAAEE. Locally, the IAAEE was incorporated in Maryland on April 23, 1959, as a nonprofit group to fund, promote, publish, and disseminate research on "optimal development"¹² of peoples, stocks, races, ethnic and cultural groups through "biology genetics, eugenics, ethnology, anthropology, psychology, history, pre-history, archeology, geography, demography, and human ecology" (IAAEE, 1959). The charter was cast in very broad terms, but the IAAEE aim was to "effectuate a betterment and enhancement of the various nations of the world" and "to assist anyone interested in the issues of ethnology and eugenics, and investigate the sources of incorrect information on these issues" (IAAEE, Section III).¹³

¹¹ It should be noted that Roosevelt was referring to the low birth rate of the middle and upper classes, not race mixing (see Kevles, 1985, p. 74).

¹² The phrase "optimal development" is used in this community to connote both optimization of genetic quality through eugenics and the separation, in terms of breeding, of different genetic groups so that each can develop or evolve along its own "path."

¹³ Presumably this meant the investigation of the communist background of "equalitarians," which Garrett and other IAAEE members noted frequently.

The initial directors named were Garrett and three others. Robert Kuttner (1927–1987), a biologist, was associate editor and a regular contributor during the 1950s to the periodical *Truth Seeker*, controlled by Charles Smith. Although *Truth Seeker* was originally the house organ for a late 19th century society of free-thinkers and atheists, Smith and Kuttner transformed this small circulation newsletter into a rabidly antisemitic and racist outlet with such lead stories as “Jew-Led Levelers Plan to Suppress Racial Truth” (Smith, 1958) and “The Nordic as the Natural Leader of the White Race” (Kuttner, 1958). According to Mintz’s (1985) careful analysis of the history of the far right, Kuttner provided the more scientized and academic versions of *Truth Seeker*’s racism. Both Smith and Kuttner condemned religion for promoting ideas of racial equality. *Truth Seeker* frequently described Christianity as “Jewized,” as was anyone who denied the inequality of races. Kuttner figured prominently in the far-right Liberty Lobby, as an editor of the *Mankind Quarterly*, and as a member of Roger Pearson’s Northern League. Thus his activities overlapped heavily with Garrett’s during this period. But in *Truth Seeker*, Kuttner could give his most frank views on race. In “The Nordic as the Natural Leader of the White Race,” he praised Byram Campbell’s analysis of the Nordic as an ideal. Like Garrett, Kuttner adopted the racial view of history in which Nordics were said to have “a special civilizing mission” and served as a “racial gyroscope” whose “strong men” acted as “the catalytic seeds of destiny.” Invoking Lothrop Stoddard’s title, he warned of “the rising tide of color”¹⁴ and that unworthy races were now demanding “the trophies of success . . . the good things of the earth, the fertile lands which they had never worked for.” The solution to this crisis was to be found only “in the biological call of race and blood” (1958, p. 113). It is essential to note that this style of discourse, which echoes many themes of the 1930s, was considerably softened when Kuttner spoke to wider audiences, as when he gave congressional testimony on integration in the 1960s (see Mintz, 1985). Other contributors to *Truth Seeker* during the late 1950s included many later associates of Willis Carto as well as Pearson, writing under the pseudonym, Edward Langford (see Hirsch, 1997).

A second founder of the IAAEE was Donald A. Swan (1935–1981), a graduate student in economics at Columbia during the 1950s. Like Kuttner, Swan carried forward the discourse of Nordicism in a form hardly changed from the Nazi era. Swan (1954) declared:

Despite our relatively small numbers, we, the Nordic people, have been responsible for almost all the scientific, literary, artistic, commercial, industrial, military, and cultural achievements of the world. The other races can merely imitate, without any contributions of their own. The world we live in today is a product of Nordic inventiveness, and genius. Only

¹⁴ Kuttner, Garrett, Pearson, and their circle frequently quoted or invoked Stoddard as well as Madison Grant.

the unfortunate spectacle of Nordic fighting Nordic in the 1st and 2nd World Wars has produced the chaos of today, and prevented the millenium of a "Pax Nordica." I too am an American Fascist.¹⁵

The founding directors also included Alfred Avins, an attorney, legal scholar, and leading member of the Liberty Lobby, and A. James Gregor, a political scientist now at Berkeley and a noted expert on the history of fascism. Gregor wrote on National Socialism and race and contributed articles to Sir Oswald Mosley's post-war fascist journal, *The European*.¹⁶ Gregor's work often drew heavily on that of Corrado Gini of Rome, Mussolini's eugenicist and scientific advisor, who became an editor of *Mankind Quarterly*. Other initial directors were Frank McGurk, a psychologist who taught at Lehigh, West Point, Villanova, and Alabama College and whose work on racial differences was mentioned earlier; 96-year-old Lawson Purdy, former New York City tax commissioner and civic leader in the 1920s; and John Brockenbrough Fox. Most of these IAAEE founders were also involved with a simultaneous effort to legally incorporate an allied entity, The Association for the Preservation of Freedom of Choice, founded to fight integration and civil rights legislation. As reported in *Truth Seeker* (1959), the "Jewish judge" denied their petition. Avins and others kept up the legal fight through 1960, while successfully incorporating in the District of Columbia, and their efforts indicate the level of energy and resources at work in this community of activists.

While this group incorporated the IAAEE in the United States, IAAEE monographs, which began in 1960, listed a much broader and international group of scholars with a shifting set of founders. Initially, R. Ruggles Gates (1882–1962), a Canadian plant geneticist from Kings College, London, who turned his attention to human evolution late in his career, was listed as a founder (see Wolpoff & Caspari, 1997). Gates actively opposed all racial intermarriage and argued that races were separate species (see Barkan, 1992). The second founder was Georgetown University historian Charles Tansill (1890–1964), who had written works excoriating Lincoln for causing the Civil War and contributing to racial "mongrelization." He

¹⁵ This quote is taken from the web site of Mehler's Institute for the Study of Academic Racism (<http://www.ferris.edu/ISAR/homepage.htm>). Mehler describes its sources as follows:

Exposé was a tabloid paper of the publisher Lyle Stuart. It was established in 1951 & renamed *Independent* in 1956. Its editorial tone was low. It's mild prurience always rested uneasily with its pretensions to serious muckraking. It had lurid interests in such things as sexology, quack health cures, atheism, the Catholic Church, conspiracies, Nazis, etc. Swan's letter is a response to a confessional piece by H. Keith Thompson Jr., a leading American representative of the Nazi underground, entitled "I Am an American Fascist," the first part of which appeared in August issue.

It is useful to compare Swan's statement with *Mein Kampf* (Hitler, 1925/1971, pp. 284–296).

¹⁶ When Newby (1969) noted these activities, Gregor (1969) countered that he also published in left-wing journals. Gregor has also criticized more extreme versions of Nordic theory. Newby (1969) and Tucker (1994) have correctly noted Gregor's vigorous defenses of the later versions of National Socialist racial theory.

opposed U.S. entry into World War II. His postwar book *Back Door to War* (Tansill, 1952), blamed Franklin Roosevelt for forcing a peace-minded Hitler into war and used the standard Rudolph Hess line that Hitler wanted only a free hand to deal with Bolshevism in the East. The book became a foundation for revisionist history of World War II. It is important to note that Tansill was active in the legal fight to establish the Association for the Preservation of Freedom of Choice and therefore had contact with Garrett, Kuttner, Swan, Avins, and others. Swan (1960) announced the first general meeting of the IAAEE and the Association for the Preservation of the Freedom of Choice would take place at Tansill's home in Washington on February 20. Thus Tansill's appearance as a founder of the IAAEE and a member of the *Mankind Quarterly* Board reflects a serious involvement in the political aims of the movement, rather than simply the lending of his name to a scholarly group.

The International Executive Committee of the IAAEE also included Corrado Gini and Robert Gayre, Lord of Gayre, a Scottish anthropologist. Gayre argued that Black races were genetically suited to humor, music, art, community life, emotional religious experience, boxing, and running, while Whites excelled in intellectual skills. He was a champion of apartheid, promoted the work of the premier racial theorist of Nazi Germany, Hans Günther, and had connections with many postwar British fascists (Billig, 1979).

Others on the IAAEE Executive Committee were conservative sociologist Ernst van den Haag, South African anthropologists and geneticists whose work was used to support apartheid, such as J. D. J. Hofmeyr, Oxford Professor of Botany C. D. Darlington, biologist Wesley Critz George, and noted Italian geneticist Luigi Gedda. Garrett had direct contact and collaboration with both van den Haag and George on a variety of projects, including the *Stell* case described above. What united these scholars from disparate disciplines, some of whom had reputations as mainstream scientists, was the shared view of race and history: the view that European civilization existed only because of the qualities of the northern European gene pool, and this civilization would decline or disappear without careful protection of the gene pool from interbreeding. The collapse of the great ancient civilizations of India and Egypt were attributed to interbreeding. Some members of this group, like Ruggles Gates and Bertil Lundman of Sweden had even contributed to the 1930s racial literature via the German periodical *Zeitschrift für Rassenkunde*, edited from 1933 to 1945 by Egon Freiherr von Eickstedt, with the help of Günther. A self-taught anthropologist, Günther's extreme Nordicism, antisemitism, and general racial theory of history became so influential during the 1920s and 1930s that he was subsequently known as "Rassen Günther" (see Billig, 1979; Burleigh & Wiperman, 1991; Proctor, 1988; Weindling, 1989). Although Günther was not well regarded by German anthropologists, his work was highly praised by the leading heredity text of the 1920s (Baur, Fischer, & Lenz, 1931), and his ideas are closely related to the *Weltanschauung* expressed by Garrett in the 1960s.

The IAAEE, primarily through the efforts of Gayre, Gates, and Garrett, began the publication of the journal *Mankind Quarterly*, as well as a series of IAAEE monographs on race. Publication of *Mankind Quarterly* commenced in 1960 with Gayre as editor, Gates and Garrett as “honorary associate editors,” and most of the IAAEE Executive Committee on the “honorary advisory board.” Within a year, Kuttner, Swan, and Gregor were appointed as assistant editors, and McGurk became an honorary associate editor in 1971. Gayre announced that the journal was explicitly for the study of race, to counter the recent tendency to “neglect the racial aspects of man’s inheritance for the social” (1960, p. 4).

The contents of *Mankind Quarterly* are worthy of a separate analysis that is beyond the scope of this article (see Billig, 1979; Newby, 1969; Tucker, 1994). From 1960, there appeared a steady stream of articles on the importance of race in history, particularly the role of race in the rise and fall of civilizations, U.S. Black-White differences in intelligence, intelligence of Africans, implicit defence of apartheid, the negative consequences of school integration, and the naturalness and inevitability of racial disharmony. But not all of the articles were of this nature; some were discussions of ancient civilizations, prehistory, or the physical characteristics, such as eye color, of ethnic groups. This mixture gave the appearance of an academic journal, although on careful reading, many articles contain themes that harken back to the journal’s central mission. Thus, van Rooyen (1963), writing on “The Bantu and European Occupation of Southern Africa,” warns the reader not to be deceived by the ancient, fortified civilization of Zimbabwe. This accomplishment, impossible for Africans, according to van Rooyen, was the product of the Ethiopian “racial breed, which we believe was derived from an ancient cross between Caucasoid and Negroid” (1963, p. 3). The mixture of anthropology, ethnology, racial psychology, and other fields is not unique to *Mankind Quarterly* but is quite similar to the pattern found in the *Zeitschrift für Rassenkunde*. This journal published mainstream anthropology discussions as well as Günther’s analyses of race and head shape, which were of specific importance to National Socialist racial theory. American eugenicist Charles B. Davenport remained on the Board of the *Zeitschrift für Rassenkunde* until 1938 and was able to express strong opinions on the dangers of race mixing (Davenport, 1937) in less-qualified terms than those he used in *Race Crossing in Jamaica* (Davenport & Steggerda, 1929).

The appearance of *Mankind Quarterly* was attended by heavy criticism in mainstream anthropology journals (e.g., Harrison, 1961). One member of the honorary editorial board, Yugoslavian anthropologist Božo Škerlj, immediately resigned.¹⁷ When Gates refused to publish his letter of resignation, in which he discussed the abuse of anthropology to promote racism, Škerlj (1960) published it in

¹⁷ Škerlj had also published in the *Zeitschrift für Rassenkunde* during the 1930s, a further indication that such journals attracted a range of contributors.

Man. Garrett, Gates, and Gayre, although arguing regularly for free speech on race, apparently did not think this principle applied to their critics, and sued Škerlj and *Man* for libel (Royal Anthropological Institute Proceedings, 1962). Despite these difficulties, *Mankind Quarterly* continued, and in the 1970s and 1980s, a number of additional psychologists joined the honorary advisory board. Hans J. Eysenck appeared on the board from 1975 to 1978, and Raymond B. Cattell was an advisory board member from 1980 until at least in 1997, when he was still listed. Richard Lynn of Ireland, author of much work on racial differences in intelligence and a recent book warning of dysgenic trends (Lynn, 1991, 1997), has been an associate editor since at least 1975. R. B. Cattell's student and coworker John L. Horn, Audrey Shuey, and Stanley Porteus, expert on the intellectual inferiority of Australian aboriginal peoples, served on the board in the 1960s and 1970s.

Like the IAAEE, the *Mankind Quarterly* board had one foot in the race science of the 1930s via supporters of Günther, such as Gayre, and former contributors to the scientific literature of the 1930s, such as Gates and Lundman. In addition, the German geneticist Otmar Freiherr von Verschuer, an important race hygienist of the Nazi period, was listed as a member of the honorary advisory board from 1966 to 1978.¹⁸ In a 1941 race hygiene textbook, he called for "a complete solution to the Jewish question"; by 1944 he could publicly declare that "the dangers posed by Jews and Gypsies to the German people had been eliminated through the racial-political measures of recent years" (quoted in Proctor, 1988, p. 211). During the war, in his position at the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute, von Verschuer had urged his former graduate student and assistant, Josef Mengele, to take up the opportunity for unique research possibilities at Auschwitz (see Kühl, 1994; Proctor). It is neither trivial nor sensationalistic to mention Mengele in this context. Both Mengele and von Verschuer shared the view that the study of twins was the premier method of genetics. Accordingly, Mengele sent the results of his "experiments" at Auschwitz, including body parts, to von Verschuer for analysis. Despite the highly negative postwar report by a German investigation, von Verschuer obtained a *persilschein*,¹⁹ a certification of his political acceptability, and his reputation as a "neutral scientist" was restored (see Müller-Hill, 1988; Proctor). Von Verschuer was called to the prestigious chair of human genetics at Münster in 1951, and there is no indication that his views on human genetics and race ever changed.

Thus the founding of the IAAEE and *Mankind Quarterly* involved a number of key figures who had been active in, or who continued to support, the basic principles

¹⁸ Von Verschuer died in 1969. However, it was common for editors and board members of *Mankind Quarterly* to be listed long after their death, usually with a cross.

¹⁹ *Persil* was the name of the most common laundry powder in Germany, and a *persilschein* was understood to be a document that literally provided a "cleaning up" of the reputation of those with Nazi party membership and problematic activities, such as von Verschuer.

of 1930s *Rassenhygiene* and, in the case of Kuttner and Swan, openly affiliated with postwar Nordicist movements. Such individuals were uniquely qualified to provide the far right as well as the general public with a revitalized, scientized racism that focused on Negroes rather than Jews. But during the 1960s, Garrett's campaign against integration brought him into collaboration with others who had leading roles in neofascist movements that developed in the late 1950s. In 1978, five years after Henry Garrett's death, Gayre acknowledged the help of Garrett and Gini in founding *Mankind Quarterly* and announced that the editorship of the journal would be passed to Pearson and that the publication would now be issued from the Institute for the Study of Man in Washington, which Gayre had helped to found and which had Pearson as its director.

Roger Pearson and the Northern League

Roger Pearson (1927–) holds a master's in Economics and Sociology and a doctorate in anthropology from the University of London (Pearson, 1991). Currently, he is cited in papers by Philippe Rushton and others for his 1991 book, *Intelligence, Race and Bias in Academe*, which described the "persecution" of Rushton, Eysenck, William Shockley, and Arthur Jensen by left-wing and communist forces. He also recently edited a collection of Shockley's writings, with an introduction by Arthur Jensen (Pearson, 1992). He published a standard introductory anthropology text and taught in the United States at the University of Southern Mississippi, Hattiesburg, and the Montana School of Mines.

Pearson's writings and activities during the 1950s are critical to understanding both his later work and his collaboration with Carto and Garrett (see Winston, 1996). In a pamphlet entitled *Blood Groups and Race* (Pearson, 1959a), the basic racial "types" were identified as "sub-species," a view also implied by the early covers of *Mankind Quarterly* (Gelb, 1996). Pearson defined a "subspecies" as "a distinctive group of individuals which are on their way to becoming separate species, but which have not been isolated long enough, or had time to become sufficiently diversified to lose the power to inter-breed" (p. 7). The belief that if isolated, human races would become biologically unable to interbreed was shared by eminent psychologist Raymond B. Cattell (e.g., 1987; see also Mehler, 1997) and others. Pearson was clear about the problem of contact between races:

Evolutionary progress can only take place properly amongst small non-cross-breeding groups. Always, a cross between two types meant the annihilation of the better type, for although the lower sub-species would be improved by such a cross, the more advanced would be retarded, and would then have a weaker chance in the harsh and entirely amoral competition for survival. (1959, pp. 9–10)

This position was hardly unique and was shared by geneticist and *Mankind Quarterly* editor Gates (see above) and many other scientists (see Provine, 1973). Garrett expressed a similar position in his writings of the 1960s. Most critically, this view

was a cornerstone of 1920s and 1930s racial theory, and the alleged deleterious effects of "race crossing" were outlined in such mainstream works as C. B. Davenport and Steggerda's (1929) *Race Crossing in Jamaica*, based on research done in collaboration with Arnold Gesell and under the advisory committee of Walter V. Bingham, Edward L. Thorndike, and Clark Wissler. Garrett and others who wrote on race mixing or amalgamation during the 1960s often quoted Davenport for support. But Pearson's anthropology owed more of a debt to Sir Arthur Keith and his views of race (e.g., see Mintz, 1985; Wolpoff & Caspari, 1997), a debt that Pearson often acknowledged. Keith's views on the value and naturalness of racism as well as the superiority of northern European races were frequently echoed in Pearson's writings.

Blood Groups and Race was actually a collection of articles from *Northern World*, a journal that Pearson founded while working for a commercial firm in Calcutta. *Northern World* was published under a new organization that Pearson founded in the mid-1950s, the Northern League. According to Tauber's (1967) detailed work on postwar fascist movements, Pearson formed the Northern League in collaboration with Peter Huxley-Blythe and Alastair Harper in England. Huxley-Blythe was active in a variety of neo-Nazi groups with connections in Germany and had associations with American neo-Nazi Francis Parker Yockey (Tauber, 1967). The purpose of the Northern League was to save the Nordic race from "annihilation of our kind" and to lead Nordics in Europe and the Americas in the "fight for survival against forces which would mongrelise our race and civilization" (Pearson, 1959b, pp. 2–3). In this struggle, Pearson announced close association and merger of newsletters with Britons Publishing Company, the most extreme antisemitic publisher in England and a major distributor of the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. The readership of both groups would understand who the forces of "mongrelisation" were.

The leading members of the Northern League included Nazi race scientist Hans Günther, who continued to write about race in the postwar period under a pseudonym. Robert Gayre, founder of *Mankind Quarterly*, was also active, and wrote a League pamphlet called *The Northern Face*, according to *Truth Seeker* (Smith, 1959). A number of paleo-Nazis, such as ex-Waffen SS officer and postwar neo-Nazi leader Arthur Ehrhardt, and postwar British fascists also joined, as well as Americans Kuttner and Smith. In fascist circles of the 1950s, such as the remaining followers of Sir Oswald Mosely, the Northern League was considered extremist (see Billig, 1979; Thurlow, 1987). Their goal was not merely unity of spirit, but political unification of what they termed the "Nordic-Teutonic" peoples. According to the reports of other British fascists of the period, some leading members of the Northern League were prepared to accomplish these aims by armed guerilla struggle (Tauber, 1967, p. 1120).

The basic principles in the Northern League literature are the same principles as those in Pearson's "scientific" writings about evolution and race, and his blend of science and politics represents the continuation of a tradition: in the words of a Bavarian cabinet minister of the 1930s, "National Socialism is nothing but applied

biology” (quoted in Proctor, 1988, p. 64). Moreover, the Northern League Statement of Aims (n.d.) hearkens back to even earlier, 19th-century conceptions of *Rasse und Volk*, and represents themes also found in *Mankind Quarterly*. According to the aims, Northern Europeans are the “purest survival of the great Indo-European family of nations, sometimes described as the Caucasian race and at other times as the Aryan race.” Almost all the “classic civilisations of the past were the product of these Indo-European peoples.” Inter-marriage with conquered peoples produced the decay and decline of these civilizations, particularly through interbreeding with slaves. “The rising tide of Color” threatened to overwhelm European society, and would result in the “biological annihilation of the sub-species.” Egalitarian ideas paved the way for this “irreversible destruction.” The League must combat the threat of the “levelling forces of communism and Cosmopolitanism backed by an ever growing alien population” and the threat from within: “cultural and biological decay caused by immigration of alien peoples and the importation of alien cultural patterns, largely through the world of popular entertainment,²⁰ but also through ‘progressive ideas’” (Northern League, n.d.). Many of these themes can be found in *Mein Kampf* as well as the general writings of earlier Nordicism movements. Although such movements often involved substantial internal disagreement, particularly over the classification of races (see, e.g., Weindling, 1989), it is important to identify the concordant as well as the discordant streams. There is no evidence that Garrett participated directly in Northern League activities, but these same themes are found in his writings of the 1960s, particularly in his repeated assertions that interbreeding might lead to the end of Western civilization.

The Northern League position drew directly on the 19th-century traditions of Comte Arthur de Gobineau, Houston Stewart Chamberlain, and Richard Wagner’s “revolutionary and redemptive” antisemitism (P. Rose, 1992). But Pearson reached back further. He encouraged the revival of pre-Christian Nordic traditions, including Odinism. This strategy is quite common among both paleo- and neo-Nazis: Christianity, with its historical ties to Judaism, is therefore “Jewized” (as *Truth Seeker* put it) and unacceptable, although this was not Pearson’s position. He was more likely to have been concerned with the way in which Christianity encouraged universal brotherhood, a view that for him was at odds with the scientific realities of biology and race and an interference in the process of natural selection among humans. How the founder of the Northern League became a friend of U.S. senators, a member of various U.S. political organizations, and the editor of the *Journal of Social, Political, and Economic Studies* and the more scholarly *Journal of Indo-European Studies*, and received a commemorative letter from President Reagan is beyond the scope of this article (see Bellant, 1991). Pearson became the *de facto*

²⁰ Reference to decay through popular entertainment was generally a code phrase for evil efforts of the Jews, who were always identified as in control of these sources.

editor and publisher (although his name has never appeared on the masthead except as an author) of *Mankind Quarterly* after Garrett died, and thus he may seem irrelevant to Garrett's career. But Pearson was involved with Garrett's activities earlier, and understanding his involvement requires examination of a third major figure in Garrett's circle of the 1960s, Willis Carto.

Willis Carto and the Liberty Lobby

In the early 1950s a debt collector named Willis A. Carto, born in Indiana in 1926 and at the time living in California, became involved in a number of right-wing organizations. By 1955, Carto had built his own small organization, Liberty and Property, with its own periodical, *Right*. Kuttner was a regular contributor, along with Smith and pioneer Holocaust denier Austin App, later the author of *The Six Million Swindle* (Mintz, 1985). Carto was also involved with the John Birch Society, but he and others were asked to resign by Robert Welch, who found their extreme antisemitism distasteful and a threat to the Birch Society's respectability. Carto then began to build an organization called the Liberty Lobby, which like the IAAEE and the Northern League emerged in the mid- to late 1950s. In his own organization, Carto promoted four basic themes: Jewish world domination and international Jewish conspiracy, White racial and cultural superiority, to be maintained by segregation and eugenics, extreme anticommunism, and Spenglerian themes of Western decline and decay (see Lipstadt, 1993; Mintz, 1985; Simonds, 1971).

Carto's discourse on these themes had a specific source. At some point in the 1950s he had become a devoted follower of Francis Parker Yockey (1917–1969), an obscure figure highly revered among contemporary neo-Nazis. A lawyer, Yockey was a member of the prosecution team for Nazi war criminals at Wiesbaden, which were much less publicized than those at Nuremberg. It is likely that he obtained this post in order to help the defendants surreptitiously, which he did. He quit or was removed from the prosecution and traveled extensively in Europe, using false passports and meeting with ex- and neo-Nazis. He helped organize a group known as the European Liberation Front, in which members of the Northern League were involved, although direct contact between Yockey and Pearson has not been documented (see Tauber, 1967). In England he worked with Mosley, who found him extreme, and in Ireland he wrote the 600-page *Imperium: The Philosophy of History and Politics*, which was dedicated to "the hero of the Second World War," generally understood to be a reference to Hitler. Only a few hundred copies were privately published. Here Yockey developed many of the themes used by Carto and Carto's former associate William Pierce, the founder of the openly Nazi National Alliance and author of the notorious *Turner Diaries*. In particular, Yockey referred to Jews as "culture-distorters" and carried forward the traditions of the Jew as alien and parasitic.

The nature of Carto's position is best illustrated by the titles reissued by Carto's publishing house, Noontide Press of Costa Mesa, California: *Germany Reborn*, by Herman Goering; *The Myth of the Twentieth Century*, by the prominent Nazi ideologue Alfred Rosenberg; and *The Inequality of the Human Races*, by Comte Arthur de Gobineau, generally considered the *ur* text of Nordic supremacy. Noontide Press also published now-classic Holocaust denial books: Paul Rassinier's (1978) *Debunking the Genocide Myth: A Study of the Nazi Concentration Camps and the Alleged Extermination of European Jewry* and the anonymously authored 1969 book, *The Myth of the Six Million*. In addition to classic Nazi works, Holocaust denial books, and the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, Noontide Press distributed books and pamphlets on race differences in IQ by IAAEE members Garrett, Osborne, and McGurk. Carto reissued Yockey's *Imperium*, with a glowing preface by Carto himself. Most significantly, Noontide Press was the exclusive U.S. distributor for *Mankind Quarterly* for a brief period. Carto later founded the Institute for Historical Review, which published the *Journal of Historical Review*, a journal of "revisionist history" (see Lipstadt, 1993). The institute and the journal have been the primary vehicles for promoting Holocaust denial in North America, although Carto himself lost control of the IHR in 1996 following an internal dispute.

Though Carto's own position was extreme, he was a consummate coalition builder and attracted some to the Liberty Lobby who subscribed primarily to Jewish conspiracy theories, some whose primary interest was in race, and some who were extreme anticommunists. Thus FDR's former son-in-law, General Curtis Dall, a man obsessed with Jewish banking conspiracies, became the respectable front and head of the Board of Policy during the 1970s. Novelist Taylor Caldwell also lent her full support by serving on the Board of Policy and as an editor of *American Mercury* (McCune, 1965; Mintz, 1985). Carto was able to gain supporters in Congress, and he provided (and continues to do so) them with more sanitized versions of his program. But for Liberty Lobby insider readers of *Western Destiny* and later *American Mercury*,²¹ the program was clear: Carto promoted White racial superiority, international Jewish conspiracy theories, the *Bilderberger* themes²² now commonly held by many of the far right, Holocaust denial, and extreme anticommunism. Frequently, the editorials called for a radical change in government to replace the failed and unworkable democracy.

Carto and Roger Pearson, the current editor and publisher of *Mankind Quarterly*, began collaboration in the late 1950s. Carto promoted a lecture tour by Roger Pearson in 1960, and according to Valentine (1978), Pearson moved to the United

²¹ The *American Mercury*, originally founded by H. L. Mencken, passed to the control of the John Birch Society in the 1950s and came under Carto's control in the early 1970s.

²² *Bilderberger* refers to the secret meetings of the alleged international Jewish banking conspiracy, described by generations of conspiracy theorists. See Mintz (1985).

States in 1965, in part to work more closely with Carto. Together they continued *Northern World* and *Northlander*, the official publications of the Northern League, as *Western Destiny*. Here they emphasized Nordic supremacy and the dangers facing the Nordic race from the “culture distorters,” Carto’s code phrase for Jews, taken from Yockey’s (1962) *Imperium*.²³ According to Pearson, the Nordic race would survive only if the “culture distorters” could be prevented from “capturing the minds, morals, and souls of our children” (1965, p. 3). Pearson served as editor-in-chief of Carto’s *Western Destiny* in 1965, fully 13 years before he took over *Mankind Quarterly*. Under a pseudonym, Pearson briefly edited another Carto-based periodical, *The New Patriot*, devoted almost entirely to virulent antisemitism (McCune, 1984). Other editors of this short-lived periodical included Edward Fields, a leading American Nazi and longtime associate of George Lincoln Rockwell, and British Admiral Sir Barry Domvile, who was imprisoned for treason during World War II for collaboration with the Nazis (see Thurlow, 1987). Pearson maintained his international contacts when he became head of the World Anti-Communist League in 1973, and helped bring ex-SS, ex-Ustashi, ex-Romanian Guardists, and many others with extreme fascist background into this organization (Anderson & Anderson, 1986).

Garrett, Carto, and Pearson

During this same period of close cooperation between Pearson and Carto, Garrett was also active in Carto’s Liberty Lobby and was clearly involved in the joint activities of Carto and Pearson. The Liberty Lobby arranged for Garrett to give congressional testimony in 1967, arguing against an omnibus civil rights bill. Garrett spoke on the scientifically demonstrated evolutionary “immaturity” of the Negro, particularly in the development of the frontal lobes of the brain (Mintz, 1985, p. 91). He joined in the efforts of a Carto group, Friends of Rhodesian Independence, a lobby group designed to rally support for White rule in Rhodesia (Billig, 1979). Garrett provided scientific legitimacy and academic respectability by serving as an editor and contributor to at least two Carto publications of the 1960s: *Western Destiny* and its successor, *American Mercury*. On *Western Destiny*, Garrett joined the ranks of other editors, such as leading Holocaust denier Austin App, Sir Oswald Mosley associate A. K. Chesterton (see Baker, 1985), ex-Waffen SS officer Arthur Ehrhardt, racial separatist Ernest Sevier Cox, and Nazi collaborator Admiral Sir Barry Domvile.

There is no evidence that Garrett hoped for a National Socialist revolution in the United States, as Carto did. But in the case of these publications, Henry Garrett and other social scientists demonstrated a shared outlook on race, perfectly

²³ The concept of “culture distortion” in *Imperium* is closely related to Hitler’s *Mein Kampf*, pp. 303–306.

consistent with Carto's views, in their own writings. Moreover, Garrett served on the board of *American Mercury* for seven years, and even a cursory examination of its content revealed its thrust quite clearly. Garrett's (1962a) view that the Jews and other minority groups were "willing to destroy Western Civilization" must be viewed in the context of the Yockey notion of Jews as "culture distorters," a construction widely used in Carto circles. Similarly, Garrett's use of the phrase "scientific hoax of the century" (Garrett, 1961a, p. 257) to describe "equalitarianism" takes on new meaning in the context of the Liberty Lobby community, where the Holocaust was frequently described as the "hoax of the twentieth century." To this group, the Jews were the source of both "hoaxes," and these "myths" were employed by Jews to control and defeat the White European world.

Three other IAAEE/*Mankind Quarterly* founders and directors served as editors of *Western Destiny* or *American Mercury* along with Garrett: Kuttner, Herbert Sanborn of Vanderbilt University, and Gerrit Daams of Kent State University. Kuttner was a member of the Liberty Lobby's Board of Policy and a leading figure in this group. Thus the IAAEE founders, the *Mankind Quarterly* editors, the Northern League, and the Liberty Lobby involved an overlapping set of contributors to a movement aimed at reestablishing the ideology of the Third Reich. Although it may seem difficult to believe that mainstream American academics in the postwar period would lend support to such a movement, the shared *Weltanschauung* of this community must be considered. If one believed that Roosevelt and Winston Churchill started World War II at the behest of their Jewish masters; that Hitler wanted only to deal with the greatest threat to civilization, i.e., Jewish-led Bolshevism; that there was no Holocaust; that the genetic hierarchy of races was established scientific fact; and that the White race and Western civilization were in grave danger from race mixing, immigration, and a long-standing international Jewish conspiracy; then support for those who had been or were Nazis, became possible.

In addition to the overlap of the IAAEE/*Mankind Quarterly*, the Northern League, and the Liberty Lobby, Billig (1979) noted cooperation on two additional journals—*Nouvelle École* and *Neue Anthropologie*, which carried overlapping articles and advertisements for each other. Garrett, Pearson, and at least 10 other members of the IAAEE group served as "patrons" of *Nouvelle École*, a highly intellectual journal edited by Alain de Benoist (see Sheehan, 1981). Although the journal contains diverse articles on history and culture, the theme of the role of race in history is nevertheless dominant. Early articles on this subject were contributed by IAAEE founder Donald Swan, who was also the U.S. representative for the journal. While presenting himself as an example of the "New Right" in France, de Benoist served as an editor for Willis Carto publications under the pseudonym Fabrice Laroche, and his writings involve the racism, fascism, and antisemitism of the "Old Right" (see Sheehan, 1980). Benoist, Swan, and two other IAAEE board members served on the Scientific Advisory Board of the German periodical *Neue*

Anthropologie, edited by leading German neo-Nazi Jurgen Rieger.²⁴ Although delineating these connections may seem like lurid sensationalism, it is necessary for understanding the degree of international cooperation and overlapping activities that makes possible a smooth transition from the detached scientific study of race to the advocacy of revived National Socialism.

These cooperative efforts of like-minded individuals were also important in the channeling of money. During the 1950s and 1960s, Garrett helped to distribute grants for the now-notorious Pioneer Fund, which later provided money for racial difference research by Rushton, Linda Gottfredson, Hans J. Eysenck, Richard Lynn, Thomas Bouchard, and Robert Gordon as well as providing funds to Pearson, William Shockley, and anti-immigration groups (see Kühl, 1994). Garrett received Pioneer Fund money as well, partially through the Foundation of Human Understanding, an offshoot group of IAAEE directors, including R. Travis Osborne. During the 1950s, Wicliffe Draper, the fund's founder, personally offered grant money for studies that would not only prove Black inferiority but promote repatriation to Africa and, in his words, insure "racial homogeneity in the United States" (Kühl, 1994, p. 106).

The cooperation among such individuals as Garrett, Pearson, and Draper is often difficult to evaluate. Appearance on the editorial board of a journal or the lending of one's name to a group such as the IAAEE must be interpreted with the greatest caution and is insufficient evidence that an individual shares the aims or philosophy of the other editors or board members. Worse, it is possible that the mere mention of Pioneer Fund recipients such as Thomas Bouchard together with Pearson may create an unwarranted sense of "guilt by association." This point must be emphasized with regard to *Mankind Quarterly*. Hans Eysenck (1916–1997), as a member of the *Mankind Quarterly* board, certainly shared an interest in race and racial differences with the other editors and supported a genetic interpretation of racial differences in intelligence until recent years. Although Eysenck wrote the introduction for Pearson's (1991) *Race, Intelligence, and Bias in Academe* and provided material for the book, he appeared quite unaware and shocked when I presented him with the details of Pearson's career, and he assured me that he would not contribute to the *Mankind Quarterly* again or meet with Pearson in the future (H. J. Eysenck, personal communication, August 2, 1996). He had no difficulties with the material on race in *Mankind Quarterly*, but he considered himself to be a lifelong opponent of fascism (see Eysenck, 1990; Gibson, 1981).²⁵

²⁴ Psychologist Arthur Jensen also served on the board of *Neue Anthropologie* during the 1970s.

²⁵ It is not my purpose here to analyze or in any way defend Eysenck's views on race, a task beyond the scope of this article. Eysenck's willingness to be interviewed by or have his writings used by neofascist groups (see Billig, 1979; Tucker, 1994) should be considered in interpreting his reaction to material on Pearson.

The phrase “guilt by association” has a clear meaning when guilt is implied by family relationship (e.g., Eysenck’s father was a member of the Nazi Party), friendship, shared recreational activities (e.g., golf partners), church membership, and the like. In contrast, the complaint of “guilt by association” is most frequently heard on the Internet by members of White supremacist, Holocaust denial, and neo-Nazi groups, when journalists or critics expose their cooperative activities or shared ideology. Similarly, pointing out shared membership in an organization such as the Northern League is not the same as noting friends or family members. That is, the Northern League is a collaborative effort for clearly stated political and ideological aims, and to be a member is to share in those aims. The history of the House Un-American Activities Committee and the evils of the McCarthy era provide a cautionary note for linking people by group memberships. But current historiographic inquiry into neofascist groups cannot be equated with HUAC and other government actions of the 1950s. The purpose of such inquiry is not to blame, but to understand Garrett’s actions. Without the examination of membership in the IAAEE, the Northern League, and the Liberty Lobby, the meaning of Garrett’s contributions to race science is trivialized or uninterpretable.

If some scientific members of the *Mankind Quarterly* and IAAEE circle were detached from and unaware of the political commitments of Pearson, Kuttner, and Swan, their ignorance may have been a distinct advantage for the scientization of a neofascist movement. Such ignorance allowed for a traditional stance of “value-neutrality,” and their data would appear unbiased by politics. Useful cooperation does not require full knowledge of the aims of an organization or its founders. But Garrett, a founder of this movement and its organizations, helped formulate those aims, and he cannot be considered as duped by his collaborators, or as the victim of guilt by association.

Were Garrett and his associates influential? Within the discipline, the combined effects of high scholarly output, research money from the Pioneer Fund, and the creation of new outlets in the form of journals, IAAEE monographs, and books, helped continue the scholarly tradition of race science, which many felt was moribund in the postwar intellectual climate. In this sense, Garrett paved the way for the contemporary work of Rushton (1995) and Lynn (1997). But the influence of Garrett and the IAAEE was perhaps even greater outside of academia, where they provided what race hygienists provided in the 1930s: the justification that policies were based on science, not hatred. It is the appeal to allegedly “value-neutral” data and the general discourse of evidence that has given new hope to extreme racist groups. Since the 1960s, White supremacist and neofascist groups have made extensive use of the prestige and credibility of postwar racial research, and Gary Lauck’s openly Nazi group, The New Order, continues to sell Garrett’s pamphlets. At present, ex-Nazi, ex-Klansman cum politician David Duke declares, “Science is leading the way,” and his web site provides an extensive library of race science research (Winston, 1997).

Conclusions

For Garrett, providing science for the far right did not represent a departure from his position as a mainstream academic psychologist. Although he and others were spurred into action by UNESCO statements on race, by *Brown v. Board of Education*, and by other secular trends, his political activities were for him the rational consequence of a *Weltanschauung* in which race determined culture and history. To Garrett, this position rested on a science of racial differences that he claimed was politically and ideologically neutral. Consequently, Garrett took arms against a sea of Marxists and “equalitarian” Jews who, in his view, threatened to destroy Western civilization. The overlap of this *Weltanschauung* with that of National Socialism is neither accidental nor superficial.

The project of Garrett, Pearson, and Carto is ongoing. Pearson and Carto continue their work, although not necessarily through the direct collaboration of the past. Pearson, providing an outlet for racial science as the publisher Lehmann did in Germany in the early decades of this century, controls Scott Townsend Publishers, which is responsible for his journals, his books, and many works on race. He writes many of the articles for *Mankind Quarterly* both under his own name (e.g., Pearson, 1995a, 1995b) and under a series of pseudonyms which, under oath, he recently acknowledged using (Hirsch, 1997). His views on eugenics and race are largely unchanged from the 1950s, although now laced with contemporary concerns, such as the Human Genome Project. Ironically, Pearson now presents himself as a champion of academic freedom in the fight against political correctness (see Winston, 1996). Those who read his claims to support “freedom” are generally unfamiliar with his earlier political commitments. Carto’s publications have continued to inspire many, particularly in the militia movement, to believe that their government has been taken over by foreign powers, and drastic action is needed.²⁶

Contrary to popular conceptions of the liberalizing value of education, this form of neofascism arose and flourished among those with the highest rather than lowest educational attainment. It is tempting to believe that this neofascism was a separate enterprise from the IAAEE’s racial science, and that others expropriated and distorted this science for heinous political purposes. But with Garrett and the IAAEE founders, racial research was created for and intimately tied to their political aims, despite their claim to *wertfrei* inquiry.²⁷ Garrett was part of a system of “reciprocal legitimization” analogous to the relationship between the 1940s work of Konrad Lorenz and National Socialism, as described by Kalikow (1983). That Kuttner could give congressional testimony as an expert on the biology of human

²⁶ For extensive information on Carto’s recent activities, see the files at www.Nizkor.org, an anti-Holocaust denial web site founded by Ken McVay.

²⁷ See Proctor (1991) for a detailed analysis of the history of “value-free” inquiry.

differences clearly indicates the degree to which ultimate political aims were successfully scientized and concealed.

What is unclear is how the psychological expertise on race provided by Garrett differed from the expertise offered by leading members of SPSSI during that period: Both were based on a fundamental belief that scientific data would ultimately settle the issue of race and racial differences.²⁸ To some extent, both accepted the concepts of intelligence and heritability as measurable entities and thus shared common conceptual ground (see Danziger, 1997). The view that Garrett's version of the psychology of race was "pseudoscience," whereas that of the SPSSI community was legitimate science, is oversimplified and problematic. Before postmodern critiques severely undermined naive, positivist conceptions of intelligence and race, both communities fought with the same discursive weapons, and both hoped to reform social policy in light of data. However, noting the common features of these two communities does *not* mean that the work of Garrett and the IAAEE embodied reasonable scientific practice. Garrett's position required him to discount an enormous body of data on the variability and malleability of test performance, to ignore long-standing scientific critiques of races as biological entities, and to simplify human cultural history and evolution to the point of caricature.

Despite these deficiencies, Garrett and the IAAEE provided important discursive weapons in their battle against "race suicide." As described by N. Rose (1988, 1992), the societal power of psychological expertise lies in the appearance that it can shift judgments of human difference "from a sphere of values, prejudice, or rule of thumb to the sphere of human truths, equality of standards, cogently justifiable choices, and objective criteria of efficacy" (1992, p. 359). Rose explicitly tied psychological expertise to the theme of "calculability," the capacity to make human differences scientifically calculable and thus ethically justify the assignment of persons to different treatments in schools, jobs, roles, or therapies. Although this analysis referred to the calculation of individual rather than group differences, it may help us to understand why Garrett, as a statistician and interpreter of intelligence test scores, was so important to the IAAEE and its allied groups.

As Herman (1995) noted, psychological experts have generally believed since World War II that "psychological theories and applications were inextricably, dynamically linked with democratic politics" (p. 66). Herman's analysis makes clear how psychological expertise could also serve repressive ends, even in a democracy. In 1969, APA President George Miller urged his colleagues to "give psychology away" to the wider public to promote human welfare (Miller, 1969). Garrett and his associates certainly "gave away" their racial research. The belief that

²⁸ I refer here to potential differences in the scientific status of their competing claims, not to differences in the moral status of their projects.

“giving away” psychology will necessarily enhance liberal values and social justice must be tempered by knowledge of the intertwined history of Henry E. Garrett, the IAAEE, and the Liberty Lobby.

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