

Aleš Hrdlička and the American Racial Hierarchy, 1890-1940

Tereza Humpolíková

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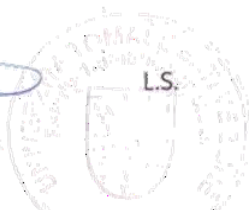
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doc. Ing. Anežka Lengalová, Ph.D.
děkanka




PhDr. Katarína Nemčoková, Ph.D.
ředitelka ústavu

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ABSTRAKT

Pokřivená ideologie pseudovědeckých rasistů, vzrůstající příklon k nativismu a postoj některých radikálních hnutí přeformovali americkou rasovou hierarchii v letech od 1890 až 1940. Tato práce dokazuje, že prostřednictvím pseudovědeckého rasismu a zaujatého přístupu fanatických organizací byla bílá rasa vyzdvižena, čímž bylo posíleno přesvědčení o existenci nadřazených a podřazených ras. Vedle toho migrační vlny vyvolaly u mnoha Američanů negativní přístup k přistěhovalcům. Česko-americký antropolog a také imigrant, Aleš Hrdlička, čelil podobným rasistickým postojům a bojoval proti nim tím, že se snažil, aby bylo na Jihoevropany a Východoevropany pohlíženo jako na bělochy. Některé jeho argumenty byly napadeny a ostře diskutovány, ale v závěru, tato práce dokazuje, že se Hrdlička nejen dokázal zbavit nálepky rasisty, stal se zastáncem rasového progresivismu, ale také kladně změnil přístup a pohled Američanů na Evropské imigranty.

Klíčová slova: Spojené státy americké, Američan, Aleš Hrdlička, rasa, rasová hierarchie, nadřazená a podřazená rasa, imigrace, imigranti, nativismus, eugenika

ABSTRACT

The distorted views of scientific racists, a rising nativist sentiment, and the approach of some radical movements reshaped the American racial hierarchy between 1890 and 1940. This thesis proves that the perceptions of whiteness in America were reinforced by the means of scientific racism and the biased approaches of fanatic organizations, cementing the belief in the existence of superior and inferior races. Additionally, waves of immigration prompted many Americans to adopt strong anti-immigrant stances. The Bohemian American immigrant and anthropologist Aleš Hrdlička countered such racist attitudes and beliefs, arguing that Eastern and Southern Europeans should be classified as white. His arguments were opposed and sometimes hotly contested, but in the end, Hrdlička, in distancing himself from other racial supremacists, not only reinforced his position as racial progressive but positively influenced the American public's perception and reception of many European immigrants.

Keywords: United States, American, European, Aleš Hrdlička, race, racial hierarchy, superior inferior race, racist, racism, scientific racism, immigration, immigrants, nativism, eugenics

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INTRODUCTION

We have long been taught about the existence of racial divisions. Today, the United States government recognizes just four races, white, black, Asian, and Native American, but this was not always the case. Such categorizations changed repeatedly in the past, and were quite complex. What was consistently clear, however, was that whites were at the top of the racial hierarchy, and that whiteness was a classification that went beyond skin color.¹ For instance, although the Irish had the same skin color as the English, the Irish were not white, while the English were.² And the Irish were not alone. Many people were considered to be not fully-fledged or adequately white. Among them were the Czechs, who arrived in America in the late-nineteenth and early twentieth-centuries as non-whites, and this despite their white skin tone.³ This thesis approaches the topic of the American racial hierarchy of 1880-1940, which was driven by scientific racism and Nativism. Anthropologist Aleš Hrdlička, himself a Czech immigrant, was one of the few scientists who confidently argued that Czechs but also other nations were indeed worthy of whiteness. In doing so, he broadened the definition of whiteness and made it more inclusive.⁴ The life trajectory of Hrdlička offers significant insights into the intricate web of racial politics and science. Hrdlička's story depicts the struggle between his racial prejudices based on race and his scientific findings. This thesis argues that Hrdlička does not belong among Eugenicists and adherents of racial supremacy. Rather, he was more progressive in his views. It proves that scientific racism, extreme nativism and numerous fanatic movements adversely affected the American racial hierarchy between 1890 and 1940; secondly, the social construction of the term whiteness works as an ideological justification of discrimination against races, which were determined as inferior; finally, whiteness served as the biological factor of racial superiority.

¹Roger Pearson, *Anthropological Glossary* (Malabar: R.E Krieger, 1985), 79.

² See David R. Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class* (London: Verso, 2007).

³ Mark A. Brandon, "The Racial Status of America's Czech Immigrants, 1900-1943," in *From Theory to Practice 2016: Proceedings of the Eighth International Conference on Anglophone Studies*, Edited by Gregory Jason Bell and Katarína Nemčoková (Zlín: Univerzita Tomáše Bati ve Zlíně, forthcoming).

⁴ *Dictionary of Races or Peoples*, Reports of the Immigration Commission, 61st Congress, Document No. 662 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1911), 30.

1 SCIENTIFIC RACISM

1.1 Racial division

“We are genetically diverse species, and there is meaning in that diversity. Race is a historical, not a scientific term.”⁵

Scientific racism is the pseudoscientific attempt to support and justify racial prejudice. For all practical purposes, race is just a construct, and racial division is a product of culture and human prejudice. Race is an attempt to classify individual groups of different genotypes (which influence skin colour, shape of facial features, and other physical features of human) into distinct categories. The thoughts presented by scientific racists are created to make racism seem admissible, although in reality, it should not be acceptable. Scientific racism labours under the misapprehension that personal characteristics are the same for all members of particular racial group. This type of racism proceeded from physical anthropology, anthropometry and craniometry to support and justify strict racial classifications. Moreover, it defined particular races as more superior than or inferior to the others.

Nowadays, racial classification is generally understood as a social myth, however, this was not always so, and many suffered only because of racial determination. Throughout the nineteenth century, new scientific theories altered the perception of the world. Incidents relating to the slave trade or genocides contributed progressively to the intensification of racism. In order to justify this inhumanity in the age of science and reason throughout the seventeenth century, scientific racism was born. Phrenology was one of the scientific methods used by real ‘experts’ to segregate people. The attempt was to compare and link the size and shape of the human skull to moral and intellectual endowments. Phrenologists such as Samuel Morton in the 1830s ‘proved’ that blacks had incomplete lower brain development and were thus less intelligent than other races. To provide an overview of scientific racism, some racial theories in physical anthropology were based on the scientific classification established by Carl Linnaeus. During the second half of the nineteenth century, social Darwinists such as Herbert Spencer united

⁵ Michael Yudell, *Race Unmasked: Biology and Race in the Twentieth Century* (New York:Columbia University Press, 2014).

anthropological and sociological theories to argue that Caucasians were the pinnacle of human evolution. The process of evolution from primitive to civilized nation became the key topic of numerous philosophers, Immanuel Kant included. In the past, it was claimed that even the Bible was used to justify black slavery and white supremacy.⁶

To completely understand the division of races, it is necessary to grasp the meaning of this concept as a rough division of anatomically modern humans. Firstly, the term race required a definition in the field of physical anthropology. It was Johann Friedrich Blumenbach who divided modern humans into the classes as they are known today under the term traditional racial classification. There were introduced three major races of humankind (Negroid, Mongoloid, Caucasian). In the United States, the term Caucasian did not only connote the racial sub-diversification but also was used in a different context as a similar word for 'white'.⁷ The term Caucasian is used in disciplines such as forensic medicine, forensic anthropology, and forensic archaeology. This term is also associated with notions of racial typology. Besides its use in anthropology and related fields, this concept appeared as one of the main condition for a self-reporting entry in the United States.⁸

Now, race is largely determined by skin color, but it was not always so. When white-skinned immigrants were coming to the United States, they faced a stressful racial classification process. In the third wave of mass migration between 1880-1914, so called 'new immigrants', primarily from Eastern and Southern Europe, knowing the repercussions, strived to be classified as white, often unsuccessfully.⁹ In the early twentieth century, Italians were denied whiteness "with considerable frequency."¹⁰ The spate of new immigrants resulted in increased Nativism and apocalyptic predictions about upcoming doom for America. As one American sociologist noted in 1911, immigrants are "far beneath us" and might take "a generation or two" to civilize.¹¹ The second wave of Irish

⁶ Smith Morton and R. Joseph Hoffman, eds., *What the Bible Really Says* (New York: Prometheus, 1989), 144-147.

⁷ Stephen Jay Gould, "The Geometer of Race," *Discover*, November 1, 1994, <http://discovermagazine.com/1994/nov/thegeometerofrac441>.

⁸ Jeannette W. Schuster, "The Values of Negro and Caucasian Children: Do They Differ?" *Journal of Negro Education* 37, no. 1 (1968): 90-94, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2294085>.

⁹ Brendo Starkey, "When Immigrants Weren't Always Considered White and Acceptable," *The Undeclared*, February 10, 2017, <https://theundefeated.com/features/white-immigrants-werent-always-considered-white-and-acceptable/>.

¹⁰ Starkey, "When Immigrants Weren't Always Considered White and Acceptable."

¹¹ Yiorgos Anagnostou, *Contours of White Ethnicity: Popular Ethnography and the Making of Usable Pasts in Greek America* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2009), 50-51.

immigration, resulting from a changing rural economy, continued from 1855-1921. The predictions were that the non-white Irish, for instance, would corrupt white society with their religion, biological inferiority, and abnormal ways. American children were taught that immigrants in general were culturally inferior, unclean and less intelligent.¹² Carried into adulthood, such ideas led to rampant discrimination against immigrants.

1.2 Background of Scientific Racism and Social Darwinism

The American scientist Samuel Morton was integral in the development of scientific racism. He collected skull samples from all over the world, and in 1839, published the first book about craniometry, *Crania America*. In it, he divided humankind into five different races based on skull configuration. He let his biases influence his conclusions, e.g., he noted of Native Americans that “the structure of their mind appears to be different from those of white mankind.” Beyond typology, Morton also more deeply discussed the cranial structures but also culture and habits of races. He concluded his book with his theories on hereditarianism, emphasizing heredity as a significant factor for determination of intelligence. At the very end of his work, Morton argued in favour polygenism, contending that there were multiple racial creations, and that human races were created separately and unequally. In his second craniometric publication, the *Observation on Egyptian Ethnography*, Morton carried out an in-depth analysis of the human races in ancient Egypt. In it, he claimed that racial distinction of contemporary Caucasoid and Negroid craniums were quite distinct in the past. Hence, the results of the analysis supported his thesis about the existence of a Caucasian upper-class in Ancient Egypt. Moreover, Morton believed that the enslavement of black Americans had its origin in the ancient past. As a result, after his death in 1851, the *Charleston Medical Journal* published a statement in memory of Samuel Morton: “We can only say that we of the South should consider him as our benefactor, for aiding most materially in giving to Negroes their proper position of an inferior race.” Clearly, then, Morton was influential. Even so, some of his peers viewed him as racist. Harvard palaeontologist Stephen Jay Gould argued that Morton’s research of cranial capacities was biased, and thus, flawed.

¹² Starkey, “When Immigrants Weren’t Always Considered White and Acceptable.”

Moreover, Gould claimed that Morton deliberately manipulated his scientific research so as to prove that whites had larger cranial capacities than the others.¹³

The publication *On the Origin of Species* by Charles Darwin in 1859 had a significant impact on intellectual movements throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Although Darwin never made reference to humankind in his book, it carried potential implications of a “man who had derived from the animal kingdom.”¹⁴ Scientific racists then distorted Darwin’s theories on evolution and applied them in unattended ways. For instance, it was claimed that the theory of evolution proves different evolutionary processes for different races of people, which in turn gave rise to evolutionary evidence for racial superiority and inferiority.¹⁵

In Darwin’s later book, *The Descent of Man*, published in 1871, Darwin cast light on a definition of a particular family of man-ape from which the human originated. Darwin also declared his feeling about the origin of language. Many believed that Darwin claimed that the struggle for existence among humans would proceed to racial extermination. According to historian Richard Weikart, for Darwin it was important to insist on the argument that the civilised races of man will almost certainly exterminate and replace the savage races throughout the world. This was one of the many abuses of Darwin’s quotations, when they were trying to misuse his work as a means of scientific racism.¹⁶ Further, in his *The Descent of Man, and Selection in Relation to Sex*, Darwin analysed the arguments opposed to the categorization of humans towards distinct species. On the other hand, many took the view that he repeatedly divided humanity into definite races regarding their skin tone, eye or hair colour. General arguments suggested that Darwin presented white races, mainly the Europeans, as evolutionarily more-developed than other races. Altogether, he was often perceived as the scientist who established race differentiation and a racial hierarchy with the aid of this distorted theories.¹⁷

¹³ Karen Elise Fields and Barbara Jeanne Fields, *Racecraft: the Soul of Inequality in American Life* (London: Verso, 2004), 121-123.

¹⁴ Marek Kohn, “Did Charles Darwin Believe in Racial Inequality?” *Independent*, January 30, 2009, <https://www.independent.co.uk/arts-entertainment/books/features/did-charles-darwin-believe-in-racial-inequality-1519874.html>.

¹⁵ Tim Radford, “The Book That Changed the Word,” *Guardian*, February 9, 2008, <https://www.theguardian.com/science/2008/feb/09/darwin.bestseller>.

¹⁶ Richard Weikart, “Progress through Racial Extermination: Social Darwinism, Eugenics, and Pacifism in Germany, 1860-1918,” *German Studies Review* 26, no. 2 (2003): 273-294, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1433326>.

¹⁷ Kohn, “Did Charles Darwin Believe in Racial Inequality?”.

Some sociologists and anthropologists made use of the ideas that Darwin used to define the biological world. They exploited this opportunity to establish and promote their own ideas and theories about human society. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, some sociologists adopted the language of evolution to draw up a reasonable conclusion from the growing gap among primitive and dominant cultures. The answer they came up with was unreasonable. They argued that well-known professional and successful persons were so, because they were socially and biologically competent. On the contrary, they came to the conclusion that the paupers and the unsuccessful people were descended from the inferior races. They stated that it would be a disastrous mistake to allow the most powerless of the species to keep on breeding. Unlike Darwin, these sociologists were not wildlife experts. They were only altering and debasing Darwin's work for their own social and political justifications. Darwin's theories have remained a vital element of modern biology, but the standpoints of Social Darwinists are no longer generally agreed upon, as they were formed on false interpretations of the theory of evolution.¹⁸

The fanatical beliefs of Social Darwinism also damaged international relations. As an enormous amount of immigrants came to the United States during the Second Industrial Revolution, white Anglo-Saxon Americans considered them inferior. To illustrate one of their pretexts, these newcomers differed from earlier immigrants in that they were less able to speak English fluently. The newcomers were also generally Catholics or Jews rather than Protestants, which was problematic. There was a tendency to disrespect them and hold them in contempt. Since mainly Eastern and Southern Europeans were immigrating to the United States, they were the most affected. Many Americans assumed they were racially inferior. They also claimed that these immigrants were less developed than immigrants from Germany or England.¹⁹

Social Darwinism was also used to justify American imperialism in Puerto Rico, the Philippines and Cuba during the Spanish-American War.²⁰ At some point, many supporters of imperialism contended that it was the responsibility of white Americans to give a civilized society back to authorized persons. As an illustration of this concept, political

¹⁸ Gregory Claeys, "The Survival of the Fittest and the Origins of Social Darwinism," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 61, no. 2 (2000): 223-240, <http://muse.jhu.edu/article/15068>.

¹⁹ John P. Jackson and Nadine M. Weidman, *Race, Racism, and Science: Social Impact and Interaction* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University, 2014), 20-32.

²⁰ Karen Norrgard, "The Eugenics Movement of the Early 1900s," *Nature Education* 1, no.1 (2008):170, <https://www.nature.com/scitable/topicpage/human-testing-the-eugenics-movement-and-irbs-724>.

cartoons portrayed the national personification of the American government, Uncle Sam, in the role of a teacher working with a group of crude childlike caricatures. These cartoon portrayed negative images of Cubans, Puerto Ricans and Hawaiians. The most brilliant students of Texas, California and Alaska sit in the back of the classroom, while the African American students are compelled to wash windows, Native American pupils are squeezed in the corner and the Chinese pupils are pushed out of the classroom altogether. Increasingly, newcomers were often met with scepticism and a growing distrust, and violence against them was on the rise.²¹

1.3 Herbert Spencer and his ‘Survival of the fittest’

The English philosopher most associated with Social Darwinism, however, was the well-known sociologist and anthropologist, Hebert Spencer. He was the one who coined the term ‘survival of the fittest’ to describe the result of a contest between social groups. Spencer was an enthusiastic adherent of the theory of evolution, supposing that the theory could be applied to humans. In his work, *Social Statics*, Spencer claimed that owing to social competition between the races, social evolution would undoubtedly bring lasting prosperity and complete liberty. Spencer saw a striking parallel between his economic theories and Darwin’s progressive ones. Afterwards, he wrote, “this ‘survival of the fittest’, which I have here sought to express in mechanical terms, is that which Mr. Darwin has called a natural selection or the preservation of favoured races in the struggle for life.” Spencer misappropriated the phrase natural selection for his own human race theories. The understanding of this term became apparent for many scientists, in the way “the strongest individuals will survive.”²²

In evolutionary biology, ‘survival of the fittest’ is a concise description of a fundamental process of natural selection. For instance, this type of selection, preferring one of the inheritable traits, led to different reproduction. The common meaning of the term fittest meant the individual in the best physical shape and best health, the only one who will continue in existence. Therefore, bright and inventive individuals would successfully sexually reproduce. Hence, after many generations, if this theory lived up to expectations, this line of intelligent individuals would have begun to exceed in quantity the least

²¹ Louis Dalrymple, “School Begins,” in *Puck* (New York: Keppler and Schwarzmann, 1899), <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/pp.print>.

²² Ian W. Howerth, “Natural Selection and the Survival of the Fittest,” *Scientific Monthly* 5, no. 3 (1917): 253-257, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/22572>.

intelligent ones. This example proved to be the case of ‘the survival of the fittest’ over other conceptions. In Spencer’s work, *The Man Versus the State*, he justified application of the phrase with a convincing explanation of how his theory would not be utilized by militarists. However, he applied the term in the context of war publications. In addition, he concluded that, , “by survival of the fittest, the militant type of society becomes characterized by absolute confidence in the governing power, joined with a loyalty causing submission to it in all matters whatever.” In 1886, Russian sociologist Jacques Novicow described the meaning of the foreign policy of a state as “the art of pursuing the struggle for existence among social organisms.”²³ Regarding this view, the fittest nation worked as a reference to a war concept. Another sociologist, Karl Pearson, argued that if war ceased, humankind will no longer progress.²⁴

Social Darwinism played a key role in imperial conflict among European states. It was also a defence mechanism of empire against non-European people. Arguments for being ‘the fittest in a society’ were applied to justify increased military expenditure and as an attempt to form a particular type of American government. American economist Walter Bagehot sought to defend the practises of liberal democracy by pointing out the cultural selection asset: “In every particular state in the world, those nations which are the strongest tend to prevail over the others, and in certain marked peculiarities the strongest tend to be the best.” As for the imperial rivalry between the United States and European countries, Darwinism was exploited for the wrong reasons.²⁵

The issue of the fittest nation was used as a new instrument in the hands of some conspiracy theorists of race. Colonies populated by European immigrants were more likely to prevent land and raw materials from confiscation by greedy rivals. In his 1899 speech “The Strenuous Life,” Theodore Roosevelt included a warning against the possibility of international exclusion in the struggle for existence. He maintained that Americans should not be abased to degrade themselves, owing to the fact that the more prominent and forceful people will be ahead of them, and will win world supremacy for themselves. Thus,

²³ Justin K. Mogilski, *Social Darwinism* (Rochester: Oakland University, 2015), 2-42.

²⁴ Karl Pearson, *The Groundwork of Eugenics* (London: Dulau and Co., 1909), 10-48.

²⁵ Thomas Cowles, “Malthus, Darwin, and Begehot: A Study in the Transference of a Concept,” *Isis* 26, no. 2 (1937): 341-348, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/224921>.

the strategic scientific weapons of being vital and strong were perceived to indicate the good health of the American nation.²⁶

Social Darwinists also attempted to bring into subjection non-European people. For them, they were seen as even less fit than Southern or Eastern Europeans. The main strategy they had in mind was to enforce the rule of superiors over inferior races. Scientific racial argumentation was spread to reach a conclusion. French political leader Jules Ferry boldly declared that the superior races are more in the right than the inferior races. After the First World War, the supervisory control of the conquerors over much of the colonised world presented the arguments derived from Social Darwinism. In 1922, a colonial administrator in Africa, Baron Frederick John Dealtry Lugard, considered that natives should rather act as the intermediaries in a colonial government, simply because he believed that Africans would be willing to follow more competent foreigners. In his *The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa*, he maintained the benefit of spreading Christianity in Africa, and he called attention to ongoing barbarism. Social Darwinism thus acquired a false veneer of the diplomatic mission of white Europeans.²⁷

1.4 Eugenics

The most radical form of Social Darwinism was enthusiastically adopted by proponents of Eugenics. Eugenics is defined as a set of beliefs that aims at genetic enhancement and modifying human traits. The Eugenics movement intended to improve human races through the control of hereditary features in sexual reproduction and human sterilization. The proponents strived for the enactment of laws that would control human heredity by imposing a ban on interracial marriages in the United States. Additionally, they required people, whom they considered unworthy, not to consent to sexual intercourse. An English pioneer in Eugenics, Sir Francis Galton, was impressed by Darwin's *The Origin of Species*, especially the chapter about animal breeding. He devoted much of his time to variations in human populations and their implications. Due to this, he developed a research program which included numerous human variations, such as fingertip pattern analysis. This type of program required extensive data collection, in the form of skulls and other human remains. It follows that Galton came up with a

²⁶ Edward N. Saveth, "Theodore Roosevelt: Image and Ideology," *New York History* 72, no. 1 (1991): 45-68, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/23175177>.

²⁷ Owen J. M. Kalinga, "The Karonga War: Commercial Rivalry and Politics," *Journal of African History* 21, no. 2 (1980): 209-218, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/182135>.

controversial idea. In 1883, he developed Eugenics, a new conception of improving the human population through the study of heredity.²⁸

At first, he was simply focused in the terms of science, analysing the selective breeding of mankind to improve human health. Nevertheless, when his attempts were united with the concept of survival by Hebert Spencer, it resulted in Social Darwinism. Forceful as well was Spencer's theory *Descriptive Sociology*. This series of works was about pulling off the existential victory of civilized society over primitive societies and cultures. Confirming fundamental principles of Eugenics, there was evidence that some unfavourable human traits, such as a lack of intelligence, were inherited. Therefore, the selection process would help to improve society.²⁹ The gaps in knowledge in genetics led to the failure of tackling key issues of Eugenics. After decades of research, scientists found human selective breeding to be unjustifiable. Even so, between 1900 and 1930 in the United States, Eugenics still had support. And Adolf Hitler in his *Mein Kampf* frequently quoted American Eugenicists.³⁰ The downfall of this movement came after 1930, when German Eugenicist Ernst Rudin applied Eugenics as a justification for the racial policies of Nazi Germany. However, its decline was progressing slowly, since racial discrimination continued. Predominantly, the claims made by Eugenicists were blatant lies and misleading overstatements that formally approved racism.³¹

Social Darwinian language spread into the theories of Eugenics. Supporters claimed the national predominance of one race over another. Numerous social scientists, political theorists and conspiracy theorists devoted efforts to Social Darwinism in order to discredit government programs that aided the poor, as they were firmly convinced that poverty was the outcome of human inferiority. Therefore, this negative effect should be eliminated from humanity. Eugenicists favoured the improvement human health and intelligence by purifying society of unfit population. For instance, Eugenic sterilizations,

²⁸ Michael Bulmer, "The Development of Francis Galton's Ideas on the Mechanism of Heredity," *Journal of the History of Biology* 32, no. 2 (1999): 263-292, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4331525>.

²⁹ David J. Galton and Clare J. Galton, "Francis Galton: And Eugenics Today," *Journal of Medical Ethics* 24, no. 2 (1998): 99-105, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/27718075>.

³⁰ Pavla Vobornikova, "American Eugenics and Its Impact on Nazi Germany," (Bc., Univerzita Karlova v Praze, 2013), 28-32, [file:///C:/Users/uzivatel/Downloads/DPTX_2012_2_11230_0_322656_0_121045%20\(1\).pdf](file:///C:/Users/uzivatel/Downloads/DPTX_2012_2_11230_0_322656_0_121045%20(1).pdf).

³¹ John B. Eggen, "The Fallacy of Eugenics," *Social Forces* 5, no. 1 (1926): 104- 110, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3004817>.

which unreasonably targeted national minorities, women and immigrants, persisted in the United States until 1969.³²

³² Paul Campos, "Eugenics Are Alive and Well in the United States," *Time*, July 10, 2013, <http://ideas.time.com/2013/07/10/eugenics-are-alive-and-well-in-the-united-states/>.

2 NATIVISM

Nativism, in general, is the political policy that protects the interests of the native population of a country. It promotes national values against the interests of immigrants. A massive wave of Nativism swept over the United States during the period of Irish and German immigration in the late 1840s and '50s. The next outpouring of nativist sentiment coincided with Chinese immigration in the 1870s. During the nineteenth century, many Americans held strong anti-Catholic feelings, and many immigrants were Catholic. Another root cause of nativist protectionism was that many newly arrived immigrants were skilled small retailers and cheap labourers who threatened American jobs.³³

In the United States, the term Nativism was firstly used in 1844. Nativism does not concern Native Americans, but is instead associated with descendants of the thirteen original colonies. Nativists clamoured against the arrival of Irish Roman Catholics because of their religion and different values. Leading the way in nativism in the 1850s was the American Party, commonly known as the Know-Nothings. Members of this party were generally xenophobic and anti-immigrant.³⁴ Although the Know-Nothing party was absorbed by the Republican Party in 1856, its nativist sentiments remained and were later embraced by the Ku Klux Klan. The Klan, which was founded in Tennessee in 1867, was Protestant, white supremacist, white nationalist and anti-immigrant. Klan members were not afraid to use violence to maintain the racial status quo. For instance, in western North Carolina in June 1867, the Klan was responsible for the murder of 197 blacks and Republicans. The Klan disbanded after Reconstruction, when the South was redeemed, but appeared again in 1915, after the release of *Birth of a Nation*. This Second Klan, a social club, resolutely upheld the views of white protestant supremacy and immigrant inferiority. Its purpose, as stated by Joseph Simons, was “to shield the sanctity of home and to protect the privileges and values of pure Americanism.” At the pinnacle of their success in the 1920s, the organization had five million members, or almost fifteen percent of the U.S. population.³⁵

³³ Norman L. Friedman, “Nativism,” *Phylon* 28, no. 4 (1947): 408-415, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/274292>.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Rory McVeigh, *The Rise of the Ku Klux Klan: Right-Wing Movements and National Politics*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009): 1-86, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.5749/j.ctttsd54>.

2.1 Anti-immigration arguments and immigration restrictions

Between 1880 and 1940, racial intolerance of Americans towards immigrants was common. This opposition towards immigration laboured under the misapprehension that immigrants would mislead innocent people and spoil American society. Americans tried to apportion blame and responsibility for unemployment, barbaric crime and overwhelmed public services on newcomers. The anti-immigrant attitude towards all minorities was justified by persuasive arguments such as immigrants' refusal to learn the local language, or that they caused damage and disgraced American values. For numerous American citizens, immigrants acquired jobs that could have been theirs. Another argument used against accepting immigrants was the overconsumption of valuable resources. Particularly, in view of permanent and massive immigrant influxes, environmental pollution increased. In the light of some comments from extreme nationalists, the arrivals of immigrants were associated with the over-exploitation of social welfare systems. They were concerned that the newcomers would overpopulate American states. Another common argument against immigration was based on the fear of the unknown. Immigrants would spell doom for American culture by replacing it with their own. Other anti-immigrant arguments included an increase housing costs, as increasing demand would increase rents.³⁶

Anti-German nativism occurred in the United States in the 1840s and lasted to 1920. There was suspicion and mistrust between German immigrants and Americans because of German separatist social structure. Other causes of American distrust resided in Germanic attachment to their native language over English, and a detachment from First World War. Very controversial state law that was passed in Wisconsin in 1889 caused a real uproar. The law governing the use of English language as an official language for all elementary and high schools, was strongly resented by German society. Moreover, the government threatened German minorities with a closure of many German language elementary schools. It followed that German Americans took a stand against this law and opposed American politician, William Hoard, who sought to enforce the Bennett Law. Hoard in that law claimed, "We must fight Alienism and selfish ecclesiastical practises of Germans." Hoard vehemently opposed Germans, yet he was defeated in a successful campaign by American writer and Democrat George Peck and the law was repealed in 1891. In 1920s,

³⁶ Raymond Cohn, "Nativism and the End of the Mass Migration of the 1840s and 1850s," *Journal of Economic History* 60, no. 2 (2000): 361-383, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2566375>.

this form of radical Nativism led to culture repression of German immigrants. Violence against German minorities broke out also in Australia where internment camps were built for enemy aliens and British nationals of German ancestry. In the United States, many Americans also engaged in violence against Chinese habitants. One of the very memorable mass movement organized against them occurred in San Francisco. This riot in 1877 was a pogrom lasting for two days, resulted in four deaths and fatal destruction of their homes.³⁷

The Emergency Quota Act from 1921 is known as the most important turning-point in American immigration policy. The Act was passed after a mass nativist lobby for the immigration restrictions. This Act included two key restrictions, numerical limits on immigration and the use of quota system. The system restricted the number of immigrants, gaining entrance to the United States, to 3 % of people. Regarding The Act, Northern Europeans had a better chance to be admitted to the United States than people from Eastern and Southern Europeans, or non-Europeans. Based on the use of quota system, the amount of immigrants admitted fell from 805 229 in 1920 to 309 555 in 1922. In 1923, there was also a drastic reduction in immigration from Southern and Eastern Europe. Two years later, the Immigration Act of 1924 was followed. This Act stated even more dramatic reduction of immigrants admitted in the United States, only 164 687 people.³⁸

³⁷ Ralph Linton and Irving Hallowell, "Nativistic Movements," *American Anthropologist* 45, no. 2 (1943): 230-240, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/663272>.

³⁸ Robert Murray K, *The 103rd Ballot: Democrats and the Disaster in Madison Square*, (New York: Harper and Row, 1976), 7.

3 IMMIGRATION 1890-1940

“Give me your tired, your poor,
Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free,
The wretched refuse of your teeming shore,
Send these, the homeless, tempest-tossed to me,
I lift my lamp beside the golden door!”

These are words written by Emma Lazarus in 1883. The poem was put on a plaque and attached to The Statue of Liberty so that immigrants could see it every time they got off the boats there. The true meaning of this poem consists in liberal values of hospitality and the beauty of American diversity. It is a recognition that the strengths of America reside in greatness of diversity based on international population.³⁹

By the final decade of the nineteenth century, the American government decided to deal with ever-increasing influx of immigrants. In 1890, the President Benjamin Harrison designated Ellis Island as a federal immigration station. This was step to take preventive measures since they did not manage the difficulties of great influxes of immigrants. Hence, more than eight million immigrants passed through the door of Ellis Island from 1855 to 1890.⁴⁰ Immigrants were mainly from Poland, Russia, Italy, as well as from Greece, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and China. Many of them settled in New York City and the rest started living in the cities across America. In 1890, the census showed that immigrants represented more than twelve percent of the national population. Moreover, the census results showed that forty two percent of New York City’s population was foreign born. For instance, more than fifty nine percent of Chicago’s population was not born in the United States at that time.⁴¹

It is necessary to mention, immigration was already restricted that time. In spring in 1882, American president Chester Alan Arthur signed Chinese Exclusion Act passed by

³⁹ Katie Mettler, “Give me your tired, your poor: The story of poet and refugee advocate Emma Lazarus,” *The Washington Post*, January 1, 2017, https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/morning-mix/wp/2017/02/01/give-us-your-tired-your-poor-the-story-of-poet-and-refugee-advocate-emma-lazarus/?utm_term=.32f3f9688040.

⁴⁰Ibid.

⁴¹ Department of the Interior Census Office, “Population of the United States,” Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1895, Accessed March 8, 2018, https://www2.census.gov/prod2/decennial/documents/1890a_v1-01.pdf.

Congress. By this act, ten-year-long moratorium was imposed on Chinese labour immigration. Furthermore, people of Chinese origin already could not become naturalized citizens. In 1902, United States Congress passed the Geary Act that made the moratorium permanent. Socially determined as the second-class citizens, Chinese people remained toward the bottom of social hierarchy. The restriction was reflected in the growing racial diversity of the country. It became evident that the importance of racial identities would again play an important part of American future.⁴²

The year before Exclusion Act, while immigration was continuing, still new restrictions were added to shut immigrants out. For instance, the admission to the United States was not allowed to mentally disturbed persons and polygamists. In 1895, the restrictions regarding prostitutes and political felons followed shortly after. The anti-foreign sentiment was set off by social change when Southern and Eastern Europeans were associated to foreign menace. New immigrants appeared to be a public menace just because they were seemed as different. In the 1890s, many Nativists and labour unions made an effort to restrict immigration. Their plan was to establish a literacy test to exclude people who were illiterate. They won and the first literacy tests were introduced in 1890. The literacy bill was mainly passed to limit poorly educated immigrants who could lower wage scale of American population. The literacy bill mainly affected blue collar workers in labour unions. The aim was to check ability of immigrants to read at least forty words in English language.⁴³

The American Republican Congressman, Henry Cabot Lodge, supported the law of the literacy bill and he argued its implication on immigrants, “The races most affected by literacy tests are those races who are alien to the greatness of real Americans.” Lodge was a committed supporter of immigration restrictions. One reason was that he felt confident about the rise of the American society that would be based on same race and blood. In the second place, he regarded southern Italians inferior to northern Italians because they were descended from Germanic branch of Indo-Europeans. Lodge believed that just a few races were equally worthy of being assimilated into American society. Once he wrote that Indian

⁴² Keith Jones, “*American Nativism And Exclusion: The Rise And Fall Of The Immigration Restriction League, 1894–1921*,” (B.A., Georgetown University, 2013), 9-11, https://repository.library.georgetown.edu/bitstream/handle/10822/558359/Jones_georgetown_0076M_12074.pdf;sequence=1.

⁴³ Keith Jones, “*American Nativism And Exclusion: The Rise And Fall Of The Immigration Restriction League, 1894–1921*,” 59-63.

could be given the highest education but it would not help him to become a proper Englishman. Besides, Lodge was set against mixing of the superior and the inferior races. He appeared to be firmly convinced of race failure of lower races.⁴⁴

In 1894, The Immigration Restriction League was founded in 1894 by three Harvard alumni, who claimed some Europeans were racially inferior to Anglo-Saxons. The League drew sources from inadequate resources to disseminate information and to alert other people about incoming danger. In 1918, the League brought An Act to regulate the immigration of aliens in the United States, of which aim was to increase the amount of Northern immigrants in contrast to the immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe. Secondly, immigrants were asked to pay the duty from two to five dollars. It was argued for Northern Europeans because they were more likely to share similar values with Americans. The Members of the League worried about other Europeans bringing in poverty and carrying out crime. This organization was disbanded after the death of one of the founders, attorney Prescott Hall. To conclude, the arguments against immigration suggested that among newcomers from Eastern and Southern Europe are alarming numbers of illiterates, criminals and poor men who could badly affected American society.⁴⁵

3.1 What about the white slaves?

According to American journalist James Buckingham in 1842, “the emigrants who land at New York, whether they remain in that city or come on in the interior, are not merely ignorant and poor—which might be their misfortune rather than their fault—but they are drunken, dirty, indolent, and riotous, so as to be the objects of dislike and fear to all in whose neighbourhood they congregate in large numbers.” His disparaging description of immigrants, in this case, the Irish, was all too common at the time.⁴⁶ The Irish were classified as not white, and were thus less civilized than Americans of pure Anglo-Saxon stock. Right off the boat, they found themselves on the outside looking in, being not only discriminated against but, as Buckingham’s quote reflects, despised.⁴⁷ And strange as it

⁴⁴ Keith Jones, “*American Nativism And Exclusion: The Rise And Fall Of The Immigration Restriction League, 1894–1921*,” 62-70.

⁴⁵ Keith Jones, “*American Nativism And Exclusion: The Rise And Fall Of The Immigration Restriction League, 1894–1921*,” 65-72.

⁴⁶ Michael Harriot, “When the Irish Weren’t White,” Root, accessed March 17, 2017, <https://www.theroot.com/when-the-irish-weren-t-white-1793358754>.

⁴⁷ Noel Ignatiev, *How the Irish Became White* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 22-48.

might seem, it was America's leading scientists who cultivated such negative opinions.⁴⁸ Despite their apparent whiteness, in the mid-nineteenth century, the Irish found themselves at the bottom of the racial hierarchy, along with Africans. In fact, the Irish were sometimes referred to as "Negros turned inside out," while blacks were called "smoked Irish."⁴⁹

Anti-Irish cartoons, such as those in *Harper's Weekly*, portrayed Irish immigrants as criminally disposed alcoholics.⁵⁰ Moreover, many advertisements published between 1860 and 1890. - were full of embarrassing images, portraying the Irish as violent beasts. With regard to all of this, the Irish were obviously racially differentiated from white Americans. Such images became the bases of strong stereotypes.⁵¹

3.2 Disillusionment

An old Italian man once said, "First, the streets weren't paved with gold; second, they weren't paved at all; and third, I was expected to pave them."⁵² A feeling of disappointment resulting from discovery of hopelessness and futility was possibly caused by economic depression in 1890. The immigration reached its peak in the 1880s. However, after this period, immigration bounded ahead from 3.6 million to 8 million. In 1907 alone, American ports recorded over 1,285,000 arrivals that time.⁵³ Around this year, there were mainly great influxes from Eastern and Southern European countries and they made 70 percent of arrivals which arrived to US. This augured bad for a change in American society.⁵⁴

The propulsion power that encouraged so many people to leave their home behind them and to take risk was different to the one of their predecessors. Naturally, there were still prime causes as political persecution, famine or religious and racial issues. For instance, Italians and Greeks made this decisive step and they moved there due under the contracts of employment offered them by recruiting agencies. Poles, Slovaks, Bohemians

⁴⁸ Harriot, "When the Irish Weren't White."

⁴⁹ Patrick McKenna, "When the Irish Became White: Immigrants in Mid-19th Century US," *Irish Times*, accessed February 12, 2013, <http://www.irishtimes.com/blogs/generationemigration/2013/02/12/when-the-irish-became-white-immigrants-in-mid-19th-century-us/>.

⁵⁰ "Irish Stereotypes - Stereotyping of the Irish Immigrant in 19th Century Periodicals," *Victoriana*, February 24, 2018, <http://www.victoriana.com/history/irish-political-cartoons.html>.

⁵¹ "Uncle Sam's Lodging-house," Library of Congress, accessed November 28, 2017, <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2004670115/>.

⁵² Toni Ardizzone, *In the Garden of Papa Santuzzu* (New York: Picador, 1999), 154.

⁵³ "Immigration the the USA: 1900-1920," Spartacus Educational, accessed December 13, 2017, <http://spartacus-educational.com/USAE1900.htm>.

⁵⁴ "Immigration in the Early 1900s," Eye Witness to History, accessed December 13, 2017, <http://www.eyewitnesstohistory.com/snpim1.htm>.

and many others were beguiled into steel industry. Furthermore, there was another unique job opportunity of railroad companies. They advertised the availability of cheap farmland. This chance attracted many western workers. And finally, main reason was well-known desire to seek new chance over the Atlantic Ocean.⁵⁵

To sum up some facts about how the lives of newcomers were continuing, they could seek solace in the ethnic neighbourhoods inhabited by fellow compatriots. There, they could lead conversations in their native tongue, pursue religion or be embodied in some cultural festivals. All of those needs might help them to escape from their loneliness.⁵⁶ However, these little joyful moments did not guarantee them happy and complete lives. For instance, some companies often did not inform them about true working conditions and primarily about height of wages. Factory conditions were poor and even dangerous for some of them. There were job accidents resulting from the death such as tragic Triangle Shirtwaist Company Fire. In order to save money, children and young women were hired to factories for manual labour. Given that, people came with vision of America as The Saviour and then disillusionment came into their hearts.⁵⁷ It is of great importance to say that being white was seen as one of the biggest privileges in the terms of legality, social structure or economic importance. Huge diversity in determination of races exists for centuries. As has been said before, many Americans were not seen as fully white as from their earliest days. There was such a great gliding scale of how easy it was to collide between the boundaries.⁵⁸

Perception of how Americans became white could be outlined on enlightening evidence of Polish-Americans history. Upon arrival in the United States, Poles were discriminated on the grounds of their appearance, diverse culture and religion. In 1903, the *New England Magazine* spurned Poles with the comments like 'the expressionless Slavic faces' or 'the stunted figures.' Journalists used these expressions like in order to humiliate

⁵⁵ Alan M. Kraut, "Oscar Handlin and the Idea That We Are a Nation of Immigrants," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 32, no.3 (Spring 2013): 26-36.
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.5406/jamerethnhist.32.3.0026>.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Daniel Šabík and Martin Vigner, eds, *World Anthropology at the Turn of the Centuries: IVth International Anthropological Congress of Aleš Hrdlička: August 31-September 4, Prague and Humpolec*, (Prague: Set Out, 1999).

them in the public.⁵⁹ There is no doubt about being considered as white in the United States meant better job possibilities. Under these terms, Polish workers were paid almost nothing for their work. They were heard to be called like 'Thomas Jefferson' by their narrow-minded bosses, unable to use their Polish names.⁶⁰ In other words, Polish people were not accepted white. Not even that, they were considered as cryptic menace or danger that should be ejected. With a reference to an incident where Leon Czolgosz assassinated President William McKinley in 1901, all Poles were regarded as violent rebels.⁶¹ Once Polish-American newspapers wrote, "All people are mourning, and it is caused by a maniac who is of our nationality." It is risible that journalists of that newspaper were most likely forced to apologize for their own people. This was like the image of collective Polish blame.⁶² Luckily for Poles, they became more respected citizens after 1940, though it was not enough to overcome some speculation on this topic. They were categorized as ethnic white and also put in a vulnerable position. It means, they were not certainly called black but also did not receive same opportunities as whites.

Many Italians, Jews, Irish and many other nationalities were criticized. Thaddeus Russell in his book *The Renegade History of the United States* explains how it really was with employment for other immigrants. Unfortunately for Italian immigrants, first really huge wave of them was employed in low-paying jobs. Most of them were building the canals along the Canadian borders or they were working in factories. This type of job position would other Americans probably not accept to take. Beside this fact, many immigrants were accused of stealing all the good job positions.⁶³ There were also thoughts that immigrants are dangerous to society due to their racial inferiority among the superior Americans. American newspapers *The Boston Globe* described anti-immigrant approach which was mainly based on the stereotypes, "Irish are depicted as subhuman. They are carriers of disease. They are drawn as lazy, clannish, unclean, drunken brawlers who wallowed in crime and bred like rats. Most disturbingly, the Irish are Roman Catholics coming to an overwhelmingly Protestant nation and their devotion to the pope made their

⁵⁹ "How the Poles Came to New England," *New England Historical Magazine*, accessed December 8, 2017, <http://www.newenglandhistoricalsociety.com/poles-came-new-england/>.

⁶⁰ Sarah Kendzior, "How do you become 'white' in America?" *The Correspondent*, September 1, 2016, <https://thecorrespondent.com/5185/how-do-you-become-white-in-america/1466577856645-8260d4a7>.

⁶¹ "The Assassination of President McKinley," *The History*, accessed November 26, 2017, <http://www.history.com/news/the-assassination-of-president-william-mckinley>.

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ Thaddeus Russell, *The Renegade History of the United States*, (Detroit: Free Press, 2010).

allegiance to the United States suspect.”⁶⁴ In the end, not every immigrant suffered from the way how other people looked down on them. On the other hand, the fact about how society treated them should not be forgotten and fallen into oblivion.

⁶⁴ John Gehring, “Heavy on Bluster, Thin on Facts,” *Commonweal Magazine*, February 8, 2018, <https://www.commonwealmagazine.org/heavy-bluster-thin-facts>.

4 ALEŠ HRDLIČKA

4.1 Chronological overview of the life of Dr. Aleš Hrdlička

Aleš Hrdlička was born in the Czech Republic in 1869. He was the first-born son of a joiner and he studied a primary school in Humpolec, located in Bohemia. It was 1882, when young Hrdlička immigrated with his father to the United States. His first experience with living in a great world across the big pond in the United States was full of hardships. It did not differ in many aspects from how lives of the other immigrants started. Together with his father, they settled in New York where he started to work in a cigar factory. Since he had suffered from tuberculosis and he had come through very poor medical system of those times, he decided to study medicine and to change American medical system. He successfully graduated at Eclectic Medical College of New York in 1892, despite the fact; he firstly could not gain admission to that school. After his studies, Hrdlička commenced a medical practise which lasted for quite a few years. In 1894, he worked in the Middletown Asylum for mentally handicapped people where he learnt of anthropometry.⁶⁵

After a discovery of anthropometric scientific field, Hrdlička was completely carried away by studying of it. Anthropology is the study of human body in the past and present time. This specific field of science assumed his trajectory of his next life stages in future. He was successfully appointed to the position at his dream Pathological Institute of the New York State Hospital. During that work period he began to have different approach to the human body. Hrdlička began to be convinced of imperfect comparative knowledge of the human anatomy. Therefore, he signed a contract at the Smithsonian Institute, being hopeful of finding the right answers.⁶⁶

Not even this position at the prestige institute was enough sufficient to reach Hrdlička's goals. Hence, he left the United States for Europe in 1896. He was searching for any sources and materials that could support his theory. He visited innumerable amount of hospitals, universities but also penitentiaries and funeral parlours. Afterwards, his research was concluded in France, in a country of the most excellent investigators involved in this field. It is generally known, that anthropology was originated in France in the first half of the 19th century. There, Hrdlička examined the skulls of Java men which were found in

⁶⁵ Robert Lynn Montgomery, *Register to the Papers of Aleš Hrdlička* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1996), 7-14.

⁶⁶ Montgomery, *Register to the Papers of Aleš Hrdlička*, 13-15.

1891. Between 1898 and 1899, after his comeback from Europe, his study visits across America started. Hrdlička also started to work at the American Museum of Natural History. Since 1903, when the Anthropological department of the National Museum in Washington was found by Hrdlička, his enthusiastic journeys to the American southwest and other remote locations became frequent.⁶⁷

Hrdlička began to study Indians, with whom he actually lived for a short time. He examined the blacks as well. Hrdlička further concluded that there was no dramatic progress of human body in America due to the fact that the continent had been colonised recently. Moreover, he considered Asia as the place of origin of American Indians. Regarding this fact, he made some researches in Asia, Mongolia and Tibet, just in case of finding evidence for his own theory. He set out on a journey to Alaska and the Bering Strait, the nearest mainland of Asia with America. This journey helped him to indicate some new facts for his theses. Additionally, Hrdlička examined some skeletal remains and the conditions of crossing the Bering Strait. Reaching conclusion, he stated that the route was used by Nomads and some wild beat. Hrdlička claimed that the first people who came to the United States by using that route were the Sioux and Eskimos. The travelling point led across the Kamchatka Krai and the Bering Strait and it was named as the North route. The speculations of Aleš Hrdlička turned out to be true information due to the research of Professor Sergei Ivanovich Rudenko from 1945.⁶⁸

As a next Hrdlička's theory it is worth noting was the theory of the single man origin formulated by Aleš Hrdlička in 1927. Hrdlička's theory was based on the fact that there were only very slight differences in evolution between human races, which resulted in the evidence for the single origin of humans. For a positive contribution of the theory to science and anthropological field, Hrdlička was awarded a Huxley Memorial Medal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.⁶⁹

4.2 Internationally respected anthropologist

Generally, Hrdlička was highly regarded specialist and he provided conclusive theories, supported on numerous evidences from around the world (India, Australia, Great Britain, Java, Ceylon or Czechoslovakia). During his life, Hrdlička wrote more than three

⁶⁷ Montgomery, *Register to the Papers of Aleš Hrdlička*, 28-31.

⁶⁸ Viktor Palivec, *Kdo je Aleš Hrdlička* (Praha: Orbis, 1974), 1-29.

⁶⁹ Palivec, *Kdo je Aleš Hrdlička*, 20-29.

hundred scientific treatises, including extensive correspondence and global traveller's memoirs. Predominantly, the aim of his work lay in pursuit of clearer comprehension of the human body and its possibility for modification. With a reference to his scholarly work in transnational context, it helped to open one's eyes to understand the perception of racial hierarchy in the United States.⁷⁰

Many took the view that Hrdlička was a ground breaker who helped to antiracist construct tinged with the racial prejudices of those times. Hrdlička travelled the length and breadth of the all world, he criss-crossed continents and got in touch with some respected great men to promote unbiased ideas. His approach of sharing knowledge with other scientists allowed Hrdlička to set out a way for antiracist discourse. Hrdlička's attempt to weaken scientific racism fevered its pitch in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Hrdlička was not the only one who sought to oppose scientific racism. As an anti-racist activist Michelle Brattain made remark in a well-intentioned essay with regards to post-war statement of UNESCO on race, "Racial distinction worked more as a social myth than biological term." Brattain also added that the term should be removed altogether.⁷¹

The career line of Aleš Hrdlička embodies such a multinational history. Regarding his immigration step that he undertook when he was just a child, he constantly crossed the frontiers of other continents throughout his working life. Even through the fact, they considered him and other Europeans immigrants a second rate, Hrdlička never stopped believe that everybody was worthy of political and cultural privileges of being white in the United States. Being resolved, hard worker and immigrant rights defender, Hrdlička became a highly respected man in international scale.

4.3 Civilized world of White America

Hrdlička was fearful of failure to fully assimilate to American life due to the cultural borders and history between Americans and Afro-Americans. He was suspicious of that dark history that could influence the view on newly arrived immigrants.⁷² Since the beginning of modern history, many scientists and historians speculated about the origins and migratory patterns of Native Americans. Some theories were based on the fact that

⁷⁰ Vladimír V. Novotný, ed., *IInd Anthropological Congress of Aleš Hrdlička: Proceedings of the IInd Anthropological Congress Dedicated to Dr. Aleš Hrdlička* (Prague: Charles University, 1982).

⁷¹ Michelle Brattain, "Race, Racism, and Antiracism: UNESCO and the Politics of Presenting Science to the Postwar Public," *The American Historical Review* 112, no.5 (2012): 1389-1390, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40007100>.

⁷² Viktor Palive. *Kdo je Aleš Hrdlička*, 12-13.

Indians could be associated to Lost Tribe of Israel or some tribes in Europe. Despite all the unconventional modern theories, American Indians still seemed to be for many people only the itinerant savages who took over place in American racial hierarchy. It follows that, Aleš Hrdlička and all immigrants were sometimes seen as travellers between developed and civilised world of White America and descendants of savages.⁷³

The American Southwest, Alaska and some of the Pacific islands were centres of colonial borderlines. They were considered as vague-defined areas inhabited with culturally and biologically mixed nations. Euro-Australians, Euro-Americans and many Europeans viewed physical differences as a tool for division of community. Hrdlička benefited from Enlightenment movement to study the origin of mankind. Drawing inspiration from history, he stated ability of humankind to mix culturally and biologically as a determination of the single man origin. For Hrdlička, racial and cultural differences resided in variations of original humankind that had wandered all over the world.⁷⁴

Firstly, the research of Hrdlička was premised on monogenesis. The main theoretical assumption behind this research was ‘that living men are all of the one species.’ Nevertheless, he also claimed that according to physical and behavioural changes, the human characteristics evolved due to various stages of life existence. Thus, they were not as fixed as it was generally believed. Along similar lines, Franz Boas, also an immigrant and pioneer of modern anthropology, took the same view. Both, Hrdlička and Boas, came to an agreement that there are many valuable links that could be used in physical anthropology. Boas and Hrdlička shared important premise, that the problem of race antagonism could be eliminated by the levelling of the degrees of distinction between white and black race. Thus, the elimination would be achieved by mixing blood. In addition to support this argument, Boas saw an improvement in physically developed Indians. He stated that it was the racial group, possessing a bigger cerebral capacity than it used to have their full-blood predecessors. The results provided confirmatory evidence that

⁷³ Albert M. Hyamson, “The Lost Tribes, and the Influence of the Search for Them on the Return of the Jew to England,” *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 15, no. 4 (1903): 640-676. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1450416>.

⁷⁴ Moravian Museum, “Dr. Aleš Hrdlička and a Biographical Sketch,” *Antropologie* 7, no.1 (1929): 6-18, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/26289197>.

there was no degeneration of Indians caused by cultural and biological mixing, but the opposite process, their progressive evolution.⁷⁵

Their next argument suggested by Boas and Hrdlička was that American marriage policies should encourage Indians to propose marriage to white American people. Moreover, Boas argued that chances for Indians to survive would become greater if they were willing to do so. Boas propounded the view that ‘if race mixture seems to be beneficial, it should be facilitated by bringing the Indians into contact with the white race.’ For Hrdlička, it was the evidence that adaptation of one lower race to the standards of the more developed white race was not only possible, it was desirable. They were both so fascinated by these assumptions that Boas instructed Hrdlička how to spread information in a letter from 1923, “My idea was that you present the general race problem as it presents itself here, particularly in relation to Europeans. Some of the questions to be considered would be the influence of the long continued presence here of the English and French, and the general conditions and probable results of intermixture between various European types.”⁷⁶

Although Hrdlička shared the same ideas with Boas, he aimed even higher. He wanted to gain as much knowledge on the topic of white Indians as he could do so. This led him to believe that racial distinctions between Euro-Americans and Indians could be wiped off the racial structure. In the late 1920s, Hrdlička claimed that there existed three races: Black, Yellow-Brown and White. In his program of civilizing North America were included the sexual elements regarding amalgamation of blood due to affiliation of races in spite of marriage policies.⁷⁷

Hrdlička’s statements attracted attention of Eugenicists. They pointed out that the implications of such ideas would strengthen potential to deeply modify the ways of interracial sex and marriage. One of the leading eugenic researcher, Charles Davenport, suggested that it would be possible to breed socially white people from coloured races. Many people took the view that both claimed, Davenport and Hrdlička, that on the basis of those hypotheses a progressive evolution of culturally more civilized and whiter Indians

⁷⁵ Robert Oppenheim, “Revisiting Hrdlička and Boas: Asymmetries of Race and Anti-Imperialism in Interwar Anthropology,” *American Anthropologist* 112. No. 1 (2010):92-96, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20638764>.

⁷⁶Oppenheim, “Revisiting Hrdlička and Boas: Asymmetries of Race and Anti-Imperialism in Interwar Anthropology,” 96-99.

⁷⁷ Ashley Montagu, “Aleš Hrdlička, 1869-1943,” *American Anthropologist* 46, no. 1 (January, 1944): 114, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/662931>.

could come into existence. Hrdlička was inspired by the topic of intermarriage relationships between American Indians and the whites. Due to this fact, he attempted to develop a theory of whiteness that should resolve racial division problems. After the years of researching, Hrdlička concluded that a full-blooded white descendant of Indians and white Americans, can emerge after three future generations. For him, this was viewed as the salvation for half-breeds and the path to the world without racial differentiation.⁷⁸

Hrdlička's point of view was that the pro-active approach in the terms of the assimilation would work nearly the same way with European immigrants. Certainly, it would affect races of the United States. Put another way, racial distinctions could be root out of existence. Unintentionally, his way of thinking could have possible implications in the basis of racist thinking during the pre-era of the Second World War. However, at the times when people in Europe disseminate unreliable Nazi information about the only racial superiority, Hrdlička's opinion was very clear on this point, "All mankind is one origin".⁷⁹ For Hrdlička, whiteness was not a biological feature, it was just a cultural construct. Nevertheless, many resolute scientists and almost white supremacists insisted on the fact that whiteness should be part of biological category.

4.4 Controversy and Criticism

Hrdlička started out on his controversial anthropological career when he published *Anthropological Investigations on One Thousand White and Colored Children of Both Sexes the Inmates of the New York Juvenile Asylum, with Additional Notes on One Hundred Colored Children of the New York Orphan Asylum*, in 1898. He began to gather comparative data on the physical measurements of these children for the purpose to determine precisely whether this group was physically anomalous.⁸⁰

During his life, Hrdlička was associated with the Eugenics movement, and he was likened to the leader of this movement, Charles Davenport. For instance, a historian Michael Blakey was convinced that Aleš Hrdlička produced research exactly comparable with that of Eugenics, and thus, Blakey claimed that Hrdlička presented himself as the

⁷⁸ Gregory D. Smithers, "The Dark Side of Anti-racism," *Transnational Subjects: History, Society and Culture* 1, no. 1 (2011):65-67, <http://www.gylphi.co.uk/transnationalsubjects>.

⁷⁹ Michelle Brattain, "Race, Racism, and Antiracism: UNESCO and the Politics of Presenting Science to the Postwar Public," *The American Historical Review* 112, no.5 (2012): 1399-1402, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40007100>.

⁸⁰ Aleš Hrdlička, "Physical Differences between White and Colored Children," *American Anthropologist* 11, no.11 (1898): 348, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/658699>.

supporter of white superiority. During Hrdlička's studies at the university in Paris, his professor Leon Manouvrier left a distorted information about scientific racism on his memory. The knowledge Hrdlička got during his studies at the institute with professor Manouvrier, modified his investigations into racially oriented form.⁸¹ In order to determine physically abnormal groups, Hrdlička sought to establish the standard of Native Americans. Along these lines, he attempted to examine classes that tended to be abnormal, such as mentally ill persons. Hrdlička found out that to establish these standards for the purpose of comparisons, the target population must be large; otherwise, it could not be established. Hrdlička examined cranial cavities in order to outweigh the social and cultural advantages of black population during racial segregation and the cranial cavities of immigrants during a mass immigration processes. He found some distinctions among the whites and the blacks, but he did not draw any main conclusion and no racist based opinions were reflected in his writings.⁸²

Hrdlička continued the study of orphans at the New York Juvenile Asylum, in effort to quantify some racial comparisons. Some assumptions of white physical superiority were based on his final comments of his work. Analyzing the anthropological structure of thighs of blacks, Hrdlička reflected a difference from samples of whites, "The thighs of whites appear not unlike the frog thighs." The fact was that Hrdlička drew no animal comparison in describing the samples of whites. Besides these arguments, Hrdlička came up with numerous conclusions on the physics of those orphans; however, they were not racially designed.⁸³ For Aleš Hrdlička, to prove white supremacy was not the main area of his research.

Because Hrdlička understood that the intention of some scientist is to see in his theories scientific racism, he stopped his work, being afraid of controversy. American anthropologist Franz Boas shared with Hrdlička a mutual respect. Boas commented on Hrdlička's *The Future of Negro*, that Aleš Hrdlička did not mention the physical interference of black with white population through mixing of different racial groups, but that Hrdlička only pointed out a rapid reproduction of the blacks over the whites. Hrdlička added on his own defence, "The Negro is not naturally inferior, physically, to the white man, but rather reverse." Even though the fact, he did not explicitly present his view,

⁸¹Gregory D. Smithers, "The Dark Side of Anti-racism," 68-70.

⁸²Aleš Hrdlička, "Physical Differences between White and Colored Children," 349-350.

⁸³Aleš Hrdlička, "Physical Differences between White and Colored Children," 348.

Hrdlička noted that physical advantage had done nothing to improve the health status of the coloured races.⁸⁴

Hrdlička was not a proponent of racism, however, in his work *American Type*, he held position of traditional and common science principles. His endeavour to quantify the craniums morphed into an overwhelming support of the new immigrants. The article from *The New York Herald*, published in 1917, established his opinion on the American melting pot. It was written there that Hrdlička was worried about exploiting intermarriages between different races as the prevention against underdevelopment. Since the article was based only on paraphrasing, it did not reflect original opinions of Aleš Hrdlička.⁸⁵

On the other side of these controversial opinions, the magazine *New York Evening Post*, included the direct citation by Hrdlička, "Melting point is a myth." Additionally, the magazine stated that Hrdlička treated the anti-immigrant processes with disdain. With the publication of *Old Americans* in 1925, Hrdlička was searching for candidates who will be appropriate for determination of 'Old Americans.' Moreover, the final chapter of this book introduced the topic of *The Future American Type*. There, Hrdlička sought for the answers of his unanswered questions. Firstly, he researched whether the human physics was able to stand physical changes since the first Southern European immigration. Secondly, he explored whether those new immigrants had any effect on Old Americans. He was still more immersed in investigation the topic of immigration. He concluded that the question of *Old American* is associated with more homogenous American type. Hrdlička stated that the future American type might be already well advanced in the groups of American descendants. He also added that there should be no bitter enmity towards white immigrants. Hrdlička's statement was rather controversial since he only included white, not all racial groups.⁸⁶

During the Immigration Act in 1924, Hrdlička's patriotism towards Southern and Eastern immigrants changed approach of his public discourse. Due to this fact, he was driven to apply his research and his work in order to rescue them. In a theoretical seminar for Young Men's Christian Association in 1922, Hrdlička drew attention to the issue of European immigrants by debasing the issue of non-European population. Many people

⁸⁴ Oppenheim, "Revisiting Hrdlička and Boas: Asymmetries of Race and Anti-Imperialism in Interwar Anthropology," 99-103.

⁸⁵ Moravian Museum, "Bibliography of Dr. Aleš Hrdlička," 50-54.

⁸⁶ Moravian Museum, "Bibliography of Dr. Aleš Hrdlička," 56-61.

took a view that he wilfully turned away from the other races but Hrdlička only presented himself as a scapegoat for Southern and Eastern society. After that lecture, people referred the raised acceptance of European white immigrants to reduction of Asian and black immigrants. Hrdlička was motivated by a deep desire for a smooth process of the white immigration over the next decades. He repeatedly argued that their arrival would have a positive outcome for American society.⁸⁷

As the Second World War drew nearer, Aleš Hrdlička became a fervent advocate of those he shielded from danger, European immigrants. He examined in contrast American nativism and National Socialism, known as Nazism. Hrdlička argued, “The prejudices that Native Americans hold against their non-native fellow citizens are comparable to the ‘trumped-up Aryanism of the Nazis’ and these are weakening the nation.” Regarding his words, it can be assumed that if America excluded their white brethren from Eastern and Southern Europe, American nation would be culpable as the Nazis, who harmed everything what they considered as abnormal. He stated that American society would commit cruel injustice, because those newly arrived people of European origin were members of white race as well.⁸⁸

4.5 Czechs as Gypsies

It could be seen even as ridiculous that once were Bohemians, inhabitants of the Czech country, associated with Gypsies. Surprisingly, Czechs were seen as unconventional individuals bearing a resemblance to Gypsies. It showed up that this reference was based probably on the term ‘Bohemian’, the French word for Gypsies. Regarding this fact, Gypsies were more times ignorantly supposed to come from Bohemia.⁸⁹

Hrdlička was convinced that for Czech immigrants in the United States was essential to share same moral and political values with Americans. Hrdlička wanted Czechs to become proud American citizens. He defended them in the press many times. In doing so, Hrdlička claimed that Czechs are respectable citizens and educated people. According to Hrdlička, Czech immigrants were prepared to become committed and loyal Americans. He argued that Czechoslovakia is not a foreign country to the United States.

⁸⁷ Montgomery, *Register to the Papers of Aleš Hrdlička*, 99-101.

⁸⁸ Shankar Vedantam, “Shades of Prejudice,” *New York Times*, January 18, 2010, <https://www.nytimes.com/2010/01/19/opinion/19vedantam.html>.

⁸⁹ *Dictionary of Races or Peoples*, Reports of the Immigration Commission, 61st Congress, Document No. 662 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1911), 30.

Additionally, he disseminated two important facts in order to support European immigration. Firstly, he mentioned that American president Woodrow Wilson and a lawyer Robert Lansing were liberators and supporters of the resurrection of Czechoslovakia. Secondly, a wife of the first Czechoslovak president Tomáš Garyk Masaryk was American origin. Other reasons Hrdlička argued with was that Czechoslovak legions were fighting alongside American legions in Siberia. Those argumentations were used by Hrdlička to support and defend his native home country in all circumstances.⁹⁰ Regarding above mentioned facts, Aleš Hrdlička denigrated some other races, however, his aim was to vindicate Czech immigrants and their place in the United States.

Hrdlička was a proud representative of his national country. He became the first curator of physical anthropology of the National Museum in the United States, currently known as the Smithsonian Institution National Museum of Natural History. Hrdlička was also called as Founding Father of Physical Anthropology. He founded the American Journal of Physical Anthropology. He participated, together with archaeologist Edgar Lee Hewett, in the Panama California Exposition. He helped to construct the exhibitions “The Physical Exposition of Man,” “The Evolution of Culture,” and “The Native Races of America.” The aim of those representative exhibits was to show that white and non-white people could be divided into various races with some degree of scientific accuracy. Those three galleries exhibited humankind as a higher version of animals subdivided into some racial categories. What made these exhibits so impressive and striking was not only Hrdlička’s racial classification but its demonstration of future human evolution, with its potential regulation. In epitome, Aleš Hrdlička pointed out that physical anthropology could control evolutionary racial change in the future. Nevertheless, the newspaper’s contributor James Wilkinson argued that the exhibition in California would have the inevitable results of favouring ‘the survival of the fittest race’ and deterioration of the other races. Even through the fact, Hrdlička’s exhibits won a prize and reached the public, many took the view that the goal of his exhibition was to show the possibility for achieving racial perfection. Regarding this fact, Hrdlička is maligned today by numerous Native Americans for digging up the graves of their predecessors.⁹¹

⁹⁰ Viktor Palivec, *Kdo je Aleš Hrdlička*, 25-29.

⁹¹ Robert W. Rydell, *All the World’s a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876-1916* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 219-223.

CONCLUSION

The aim of this thesis was to point out the history of American radicalism and its influence on the American racial system. This thesis proved that scientific racism, extreme Nativism and numerous fanatic movements had a considerable impact on the racial hierarchy in the United between 1890 and 1940. The scientific theories of Herbert Spencer and Charles Darwin were used to prove that some whites were physically and mentally better equipped than others. In the 1880s, the attempt of Social Darwinists acquired a false veneer of respectability among white Americans. Some political leaders, such as Walter Bagehot, used Spencer's theory of 'survival of the fittest' to justify military expenditures and as a strategic scientific weapon to prove American exceptionalism. The intention of Eugenics was to improve human races through heredity and sterilization of the unfit. Thus, their effort was to purify American society by a selection process and controlled sexual reproduction. In the twentieth century, a radical racist movement, the Ku Klux Klan, comprising almost five million members, valued white supremacy and had an anti-immigrant approach. Furthermore, its proponents proclaimed Nativism in order to spread unethical values. The existence of such fanatical movements affected the approach of Americans towards immigrants. Shortly after, a strong anti-immigrant sentiment appeared in the United States. Even through their apparent whiteness, Polish, Italians and others were seen as racially inferior. Thus, racial identity and whiteness played an important role in the establishment of a racial system in America. In 1918, the members of the Immigration Restriction League claimed that immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe are illiterates and criminals. According to the Emergency Quota Act from 1921, immigrants from North Europe had a better chance to be admitted into the United States than non-Europeans and those from Eastern and Southern Europe. This thesis proved that some racial groups were racially differentiated from white Americans. Psychological and ideological mechanisms were applied to reinforce the racial hierarchy, and thus, the identity of whiteness was enforced.

Czechoslovak American anthropologist Aleš Hrdlička established an antiracist discourse. He declared that racial distinction is more a social myth than a biological term. Hrdlička identified the ability of humans to mix culturally and biologically as a determination of the theory of single man origin. He also challenged the phenomena of White America, and he was convinced that racial distinctions could be wiped out of American society. However, many people misinterpreted his work and associated him with

the Eugenics movement. He was blamed as a supporter of white supremacy, regarding his research on miscegenation as a means to improve blacks. During the immigration restriction processes, Hrdlička as Czechoslovak patriot, sought to classify European immigrants. In doing so, he pushed some races down, namely blacks and Asians, to elevate others. Nevertheless, Hrdlička's work was emotionally driven, and he possessed the combination of qualities- a capacity for doing an extremely good piece of work, cold-blooded exactness of research and a visual imagination of the human highest order. Hrdlička's major goal was not to prove the inferiority of non-whites; thus, he was no scientific racist. Influenced by the fact that he himself was an immigrant from Eastern Europe, he believed that everybody was worthy of the political and cultural rights inherent in U.S. citizenship.

Hrdlička's case also reflects the danger of scientific bias, which influenced the public appraisal of Hrdlička and his work. Contemporary scientists should be aware of social biases targeting their work. The concealment of racist undertones in public policy or movements, as in the case of extremist Nativism or Eugenics, gave rise to the categorization of human beings within a social hierarchy. Moreover, the concept of whiteness played a key role in the identification of racial superiority and inferiority.

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