

Articles

The Anglo-Saxons—Stoddard and Lovecraft: Ideas of Ethnic Superiority and the New England Counter-Revolution

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2021 Winner of the James Madison Award for
Excellence in Historical Scholarship

Howard Philips Lovecraft, the descendant of a long line of Anglo-Saxon New Englanders, published a short story entitled “The Street” in the *Wolverine*, a publication for amateur journalists, in 1920. Few of Lovecraft’s stories better capture Lovecraft’s Spenglerian cynicism, and yet “The Street” is rarely if ever mentioned or studied by Lovecraft’s fans and experts.¹

“The Street” details the rise and fall of an unnamed street in Boston. “There be those who say that things and places have souls,” the story begins, “and there be those who say they have not.”² The street in question does have a soul and a memory. The first men to set foot upon it wore

¹ “Spenglerian” is in reference to the work of German historian Oswald Spengler (1880-1936). Lovecraft was a fan of Spengler’s two-volume work, *The Decline of the West* (1918-1922), which argues for an organic and cyclical view of civilization. Like Spengler, Lovecraft believed that the twentieth century as an age of decay and decline.

² H.P. Lovecraft, *The Complete Fiction of H.P. Lovecraft* (New York: Chartwell Books, 2014): 70.

“conical hats” and “carried muskets or fowling pieces.”³ These men waved the “Old Flag” of British North America before pulling it down and replacing it with the Stars and Stripes of the American Republic. After the tumult of the Revolution, which began in Boston, the street returned to tranquility. It rested safe in the knowledge that its residents remained the steadfast Anglo-Saxons who had built it in the 17th century.

“The Street” takes a dark turn following the Entente victory in World War I. While the natives of the street raced off to war, the “degenerate subjects” of collapsing empires in Central and Eastern Europe began “flocking with dubious intent” to Boston.⁴ These immigrants with “swarthy, sinister faces with furtive eyes and odd features,” established such delinquent hotbeds as Petrovitch’s Bakery, the Rifkin School of Modern Economics, the Circle Social Club, and the Liberty Café.⁵ From these dens, the new arrivals sought to bring terrorism to Boston. At the apex of “The Street,” as the foreigners begin their preparations for revolution and the “olive drab” men of the US Army prepare to fight back, the titular street takes its revenge:

It was, indeed, an exceedingly singular happening; though after all a simple one. For without warning, in one of the small hours beyond midnight, all the ravages of the years and the storms and the worms came to a tremendous climax; and after the crash there was nothing left standing in The Street save two ancient chimneys and part of a stout brick wall.⁶

“The Street” is nothing less than a revenge story. Boston, for Lovecraft, embodied ancient New England—the land of

³ Lovecraft, *The Complete Fiction of H.P. Lovecraft*, 70.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 72.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 72-73.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 74.

English families, Anglo-Saxon customs and traditions, and a general conservatism. “The Street” therefore sees Anglo-Saxon New England destroy that which would destroy it, namely mass immigration from Central and Eastern Europe and the concomitant importation of socialist politics.

In a letter to fellow horror fiction writer Frank Belknap Long, Jr. on November 11, 1920, Lovecraft admitted that the Boston Police Strike inspired him to pen “The Street.” Lovecraft wrote, “the magnitude and significance of such an act appalled” him. The only solace he found came from the sight of State Guardsmen walking through Boston as “symbols of the strife that lies ahead in civilisation’s [*sic*] struggle with the monster of unrest and bolshevism.”⁷ Clearly, Lovecraft saw in the Boston Police Strike and subsequent rioting as an attempt to recreate the Bolshevik Revolution in New England. Such opinions placed Lovecraft, a loner and social outsider, well within the majority of Boston’s middle class citizenry.⁸

In his short life (1890-1937), Lovecraft lived as a virtual unknown. His short stories, all of which saw publication in cheap pulp magazines, had plenty of readers, but none of New England’s intellectuals (to say nothing of American intellectuals in general) either read his work or discussed it. Lovecraft had fans for sure, and many of these fans wrote gushing letters to him. Lovecraft in turn responded; Lovecraft was one of the most prolific letter writers of the twentieth century. It is these letters that give us insight into the personal opinions of the writer who is now considered the foremost practitioner of the “weird tale” in American literature.

In sum, Lovecraft was an arch-reactionary. He believed in Anglo-Saxon supremacism, stood against the

⁷ H.P. Lovecraft, letter to Frank Belknap Long, November 11, 1920.

⁸ Boston *Herald*, September 9, 1919, p. 12.

emancipation of slaves, and consistently voiced the opinion that the United States should not have rebelled against Great Britain.⁹ (Lovecraft's deep Anglophilia explains his use of British spelling and syntax.) Although a lifelong resident of the Northeast and a strong believer in the traditions of his native New England, Lovecraft supported the Confederacy and hung pictures of Confederate leaders on the walls of his home.¹⁰ By his own account, Lovecraft's love of Britain ran so deep that, in 1898 at the age of eight, he supported the American war against Spain because Spain "had anciently been England's foe, and whose Armada Drake had destroyed."¹¹

Writing in February 1923, Lovecraft argued, "democracy...is a false idol—a mere catchword and illusion of inferior classes, visionaries, and dying civilisations [*sic*]."¹² Lovecraft believed that the United States and Great Britain should reunite and erase the "lamentable split in 1775-83." Furthermore, Lovecraft supported an Anglophone world order to establish a new Roman Empire, which would include the United States rejoining Great Britain and adding the territories gained by the U.S. after the Spanish-American War to the greater British Empire.¹³ Throughout the 1920s and early 1930s, a time when Lovecraft produced the majority of his classic short stories, he lent support to Italian leader Benito Mussolini and his National Fascist Party (PNF).¹⁴ For him,

⁹ Gavin Callaghan, *H.P. Lovecraft's Dark Arcadia: The Satire, Symbolism and Contradiction* (Jefferson and London: McFarland & Company, Inc. Publishers, 2013): 7.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ H.P. Lovecraft, letter to Rheinart Kleiner, November 16, 1916.

¹² S.T. Joshi, *A Dreamer and a Visionary: H.P. Lovecraft in His Time* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2001): 184.

¹³ H.P. Lovecraft, letter to James F. Morton, February 10, 1923.

¹⁴ Conan the Barbarian creator Robert E. Howard often mocked Lovecraft's support for Mussolini during Italy's conquest of Abyssinia between 1935 and 1936. In one letter sent to Lovecraft on February 11, 1936, Howard characterized Mussolini as a "damned rogue" rather than

Mussolini represented a “repudiation of the ‘liberal’ pose and the ‘progress’ illusion” which limited “authoritative social and political control which alone produces things which make life worth living.”¹⁵ Later Lovecraft gave cautious support to Adolf Hitler, writing that although Hitler promoted “unscientific” and “extremist” views of Nordic supremacy, he supported the notion of keeping “Germany and United States...Nordic in blood and *wholly* Nordic in institutions.”¹⁶

For Lovecraft, politics came second to racial matters. For him, democracy and its entire works (i.e. socialism, bolshevism) had to be opposed because “it would retard the development of a handsome Nordic breed.”¹⁷ Lovecraft’s Nordicism echoes the work of fellow Anglo-Saxon supremacists Madison Grant and Lothrop Stoddard. In particular, Lovecraft’s worldview—a worldview that permeates almost all of his fiction—seems taken from three major works of the early twentieth century: Oswald Spengler’s *The Decline of the West* (*Der Untergang des Abendlandes*, 1918-1922), Grant’s *The Passing of the Great Race* (1916), and Stoddard’s *The Rising Tide of Color Against White World-Supremacy* (1920). These works enjoyed massive popularity for a time, with Stoddard and Grant’s monographs being both published by Charles Scribner’s Sons. Stoddard’s name even appears in F. Scott Fitzgerald’s *The Great Gatsby*,

a Caesar. In a letter to Lovecraft on May 13, 1936, Howard, in a roundabout way, compared Lovecraft to Mussolini’s other “rump-kissers” in America.

¹⁵ H.P. Lovecraft, letter to James F. Morton, February 10, 1923.

¹⁶ H.P. Lovecraft, letter to J. Vernon Shea, September 25, 1933.

¹⁷ H.P. Lovecraft, letter to James F. Morton, Jr., February 10, 1923.

albeit in a bastardized form.¹⁸ While Lovecraft spent his life in obscurity, the views he amplified did not.

Indeed, Lovecraft and Stoddard deserve the most attention. Both men came from the same New England milieu and had the same Anglo-Saxon blood. Both lived in New England during the “tribal twenties” when Yankee Protestants used federal and state laws to try and limit mass immigration from Catholic Europe, and most important of all, both wrote against what they perceived as the postwar radicalism of the American Northeast following the end of World War I.¹⁹ For this reason, both men deserve a closer look to see how they perceived radicalism and race in the U.S. and New England in particular, and how they spent years writing in favor of a counter-revolution—a counter-revolution against immigration, “bolshevism,” and democracy.

H.P. Lovecraft: Life and Thought

Howard Phillips Lovecraft came screaming into the world on August 20, 1890. When writing about his ancestry, Lovecraft got the big picture correct, but often fabricated (or misinterpreted) small details. Lovecraft came from pure English stock. The Lovecraft family had long resided in New England by the time of young Howard’s birth.²⁰ Lovecraft even mentioned his belief in a 1931 letter to Maurice W. Moe that one of his relations was the infamous Mary Dyer, the Quaker evangelist hung by Puritan Boston in 1660.²¹ For him, his own family

¹⁸ F. Scott Fitzgerald, *The Great Gatsby*, Ed. Michael Nowlin (Toronto: Broadview Press, 2007): 58.

¹⁹ For more information, see: Lynn Dumenil, “The Tribal Twenties: ‘Assimilated Catholics’ Response to Anti-Catholicism in the 1920s,” *Journal of American Ethnic History*, Vol. 11, No. 1 (Fall, 1991): 21-49.

²⁰ S.T. Joshi and David E. Schultz, *An H.P. Lovecraft Encyclopedia* (Westport and London: Greenwood Press, 2001): 153.

²¹ H.P. Lovecraft, letter to Maurice W. More, April 5, 1931.

primarily produced “mediocrity,” and yet Lovecraft had a habit of rhapsodizing about distant familial branches who became planter-gentlemen in Virginia or reverends and ship captains in Rhode Island.²²

Thomas, the first Lovecraft to reside in New England, lived a long life from 1745 to 1826. Rather than displaced nobility (which Lovecraft believed and repeated in letters), the Lovecraft clan came to New England and New York in the 18th century as middle-class natives of Devonshire.²³ The theme of degenerate nobility and familial decline would later become important elements in Lovecraft’s fiction, most notably in stories such as “The Lurking Fear” (1923), “The Shadow Over Innsmouth” (1931), “Arthur Jermyn” (1924), and “The Rats in the Walls” (1924).

Young Howard had even more reason to obsess over physical, mental, and material decline: Winfield Scott Lovecraft, his father, spent the last years of his life in a psychiatric hospital. The state committed the elder Lovecraft to the Butler Hospital on April 25, 1893. Winfield Lovecraft would die there on July 19, 1898. Many have long speculated that Winfield Lovecraft’s descent into madness stemmed from a case of tertiary syphilis.²⁴ Sarah Susan Phillips Lovecraft, H.P.’s mother, would ultimately be committed to Butler too before dying in May 1921. For the rest of his life, except for a handful of bleak and awful years living in Brooklyn with his wife Sonia Greene, Lovecraft would live with his aunts Lillian Clark and Annie Gamwell in Providence.

²² H.P. Lovecraft, letter to Maurice W. More, April 5, 1931.

²³ Joshi and Schultz, *An H.P. Lovecraft Encyclopedia*, 153.

²⁴ W. Scott Poole, *In the Mountains of Madness: The Life and Extraordinary Afterlife of H.P. Lovecraft* (Berkeley: Soft Skull Press, 2016): 44.

Other family problems exacerbated Lovecraft's adolescence, such as the death of his beloved grandfather, Whipple Van Buren Phillips. Grandfather Whipple's death in 1904 plunged the family into poverty, thus forcing Lovecraft to move down the socio-economic ladder. Around this time, Lovecraft began experiencing deep anxiety. The anxiety worsened after Lovecraft enrolled at Hope Street High School. As a student, Lovecraft experienced firsthand what he termed "the offscourings of Judea," and this created in him a repulsion for all things Jewish.²⁵ (The biggest irony of Lovecraft's life would come when he married Greene, a Ukrainian Jew.) Lovecraft failed to graduate, for a mental breakdown and recurring thoughts of suicide kept "Lovey" from attending school. He missed an entire year and never bothered to return.²⁶ Lovecraft's inability to complete high school meant that he could not follow his passion (astronomy) at Brown University. The fact that Lovecraft always lived close to the Brown campus possibly reminded him of his most acute failure on a daily basis.

Lovecraft channeled his depression into amateur journalism. Between 1915 and 1923, Lovecraft wrote, edited, and distributed his own journal entitled *The Conservative*. No publication provided more insight into Lovecraft's politics than *The Conservative*. In 1916, editor Lovecraft published an article by Henry Clapham McGavack called, "The American Proletariat Versus England." In it, McGavack stumped for the benefits of monarchism over democracy, writing, "It is a monarchy...which weighs but lightly on the taxpayer."²⁷ Lovecraft echoed these sentiments, often writing in his

²⁵ H.P. Lovecraft, letter to Rheinhart Kleiner, December 6, 1915.

²⁶ Donald Tyson, *The Dream World of H.P. Lovecraft: His Life, His Demons, His Universe* (Woodbury, MN: Llewellyn Publications, 2010): 45-46.

²⁷ Henry Clapham McGavack, "The American Proletariat Versus England," *The Conservative* (London: Arktos, 2013): 88.

letters about the superiority of the Plantagenet monarchy in view of modern democracy.²⁸

Overall, *The Conservative* made clear Lovecraft's overriding belief in the superiority of Anglo-Saxon civilization. During much of the journal's lifespan, World War I raged all across the world. Lovecraft felt compelled to fight on behalf of the Anglo-Saxon world, which he associated with the British Empire. Lovecraft similarly considered himself a loyal subject of the British king, not the American President Woodrow Wilson. Again, as with so much in Lovecraft's life, the Great War caused great distress. The reclusive militarist attempted to join the Rhode Island National Guard as a member of the Field Artillery after the U.S. declared war in April 1917, then tried to join the regular army. His mother managed to stymie the first attempt even after Lovecraft enlisted as a private in the 9th company of the Rhode Island National Guard, while the Army found the gaunt New Englander only fit for clerical work.²⁹ Such rejection convinced Lovecraft of his "entire uselessness in the world."³⁰

While Americans saw World War I as a war against German barbarism, Lovecraft "considered the Germans racially identical to the Anglo-Saxons."³¹ Lovecraft also saw Western history as the history of the Nordic race, with each "subdivision" (for example, Anglo-Saxon and Teutonic) contributing to the unique genius of European civilization.³² As such, Lovecraft, much like Stoddard at the same time, came to see World War I as a pointless

²⁸ H.P. Lovecraft, letter to James F. Morton, February 10, 1923.

²⁹ S.T. Joshi, *I am Providence: The Life and Times of H.P. Lovecraft, Vol. 1* (New York: Hippocampus Press, 2013): 222.

³⁰ H.P. Lovecraft, letter to Rheinart Kleiner, May 23, 1917.

³¹ Alex Kurtagic, Foreword, *The Conservative*, 16.

³² H.P. Lovecraft, letter to Rheinart Kleiner, December 6, 1915.

exercise in fratricide. Lovecraft's adherence to the pseudo-science of "Nordicism" came from his readings of Madison Grant. Grant, who lived in New York at the same time as Lovecraft (although in drastically different circumstances), popularized "Nordicism," which had its origins in the work of French aristocrat Arthur de Gobineau and British political philosopher Houston Stewart Chamberlain.³³

Grant's 1916 book, *The Passing of the Great Race Or, The Racial Basis of European History*, put forward the claim that Nordics, or the blue-eyed and fair-haired natives of Northern Europe, created European civilization, even including the Mediterranean empires of Athens and Rome. Grant's history presented a world of struggle between the Nordic race and all others. For instance, when the Nordics crossed the Rhine around 1000 B.C., Grant said, "they found the Mediterranean race in France everywhere overwhelmed by an Alpine population."³⁴ (By Alpine, Grant was referring to the sub-category of Caucasians whom nineteenth century writers believed migrated from Central Asia to the Alps and became the early Celtic peoples of Switzerland, Austria, France, and northern Italy.) For Grant and others of his ilk, human races existed in a constant state of battle, with the Nordics winning most of the time because of their innate superiority. Thus, for Grant, the rise and fall of civilizations depended upon the

³³ Arthur de Gobineau (1816-1882) was a French nobleman whose wrote *An Essay on the Inequality of the Human Races* in response to the multiple revolutions of 1848. In the essay, de Gobineau asserted that race is the most important factor in world history and insisted that the "Nordic" and "Aryan" race was superior to all others. Houston Stewart Chamberlain (1855-1927) was a British-born German philosopher whose major book, 1899's *The Foundations of the Nineteenth Century*, posits much the same beliefs as de Gobineau's work although Chamberlain is more overtly anti-Jewish. Both Gobineau and Chamberlain will influence the racial beliefs of the German National Socialists.

³⁴ Madison Grant, *The Passing of the Great Race Or, The Racial Basis of European History* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1916): 175.

amount of Nordic blood in their populations. Such ideals lasted long after 1916 and even after the Great War. Even Julius Evola, a philosopher of Traditionalism who enjoyed close links with Mussolini and the National Fascist Party, wrote following World War II that Nazi Germany had produced a “vulgarisation [*sic*] of Nordic traditions.”³⁵ For Evola, Nordicism equated to Romanism and the Roman Empire, which included the “Teutonic race.”³⁶ At no point did Evola, himself of Sicilian extraction, question the logic of Nordic supremacy.

Grant applied his Nordicism theory to the history of the United States. “The United States of America,” Grant wrote, “must be regarded racially as a European colony.” Furthermore, Grant wrote against the notion of a multi-ethnic America. Instead, “At the time of the Revolutionary War the settlers in the thirteen Colonies were not only purely Nordic, but also purely Teutonic, a very large majority being Anglo-Saxon.”³⁷ Both the North and South “were populated...by Englishmen of the purest Nordic type,” according to Grant.³⁸

Grant’s scholarship influenced not only Lovecraft’s worldview, but also the worldview of Stoddard. Similarly, it had a real impact on American domestic policy. Grant belonged to a pressure group that pushed for a more restrictive American immigration policy.³⁹ During World War I, the Immigration Act of 1917 was passed that required immigrants to undergo literacy tests. The federal

³⁵ Julius Evola, *The Metaphysics of War: Battle, Victory & Death in the World of Tradition* (London: Arktos, 2011): 32.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ Grant, *The Passing of the Great Race*, 74.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 75.

³⁹ Jonathan Peter Spiro, *Defending the Master Race: Conservation, Eugenics, and the Legacy of Madison Grant* (Lebanon, NH: University of Vermont Press, 2009): xii.

government introduced an immigrant quota system first in 1921, then, three years later, President Calvin Coolidge signed into law the Immigration Act of 1924, which extended the quotas of 1921 in favor of immigrants from Northern Europe.⁴⁰

As for Lovecraft, his letters are virtually silent on the matter of U.S. legislation, but it can be stated with near certainty that he supported immigration restrictions. Lovecraft's letters and fiction are filled with negative portrayals of Southern and Eastern European immigrants, to say nothing of Asian immigrants and African Americans. Lovecraft's venom proved most powerful during his years living in Brooklyn. In a 1925 letter to his Aunt Lillian, Lovecraft compared riding a subway car from the Bronx back to Brooklyn as being akin to being aboard "one of John Brown's Providence merchantmen on the middle passage [*sic*] from the Guinea coast to Antigua or the Barbadoes."⁴¹ In another missive, the author categorized New York's Jews as "either Carthaginians or squat yellow Mongoloids from Central Asia."⁴² In every way, Lovecraft found New York and the modernism it represented as atavistic and a threat to the New England way of life.⁴³

This formed the root of Lovecraft's politics—the fear that a separate culture, namely the ethnic stew of high-tech New York, would overrun the Anglo-Saxon splendor of New England. For him, artificiality defined New York, with its "purely artificial and affected" values.⁴⁴ New England, by contrast, formed "the life and growth of the Nordic, Anglo-American stream of civilization [*sic*]."⁴⁵

⁴⁰ Kurtagic, Foreword, *The Conservative*, 17.

⁴¹ H.P. Lovecraft, letter to Lillian D. Clark, July 6, 1925.

⁴² H.P. Lovecraft, letter to Lillian D. Clark, January 11, 1926.

⁴³ In the same January 11, 1926 letter to Aunt Lillian, Lovecraft spoke favorably of Providence's Portuguese Jewish population that had assimilated to "Aryan" culture.

⁴⁴ H.P. Lovecraft, letter to Donald Wandrei, February 10, 1927.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

Thus, Lovecraft saw his native soil as the final redoubt in the Northeast of true American culture. Although an atheist who despised religion and favored science, Lovecraft recognized the Protestant quality of America's founding stock and openly worried about the growth of Roman Catholic political power.⁴⁶

"The Street" is therefore a neat summation of Lovecraft's political ideology. Lovecraft identified with the New England of the Colonial period, not the New England of his own epoch. He was indeed a deep reactionary who supported Italian Fascism not because of its modernist totalitarianism or its open celebration of political violence, but rather because Lovecraft saw in it a strike against liberal democracy, staid Victorianism, and the *laissez-faire* ideal that supported importing millions of foreign workers into the United States between the Civil War and World War I. More than any other figure in American popular culture, Lovecraft represents the New England counter-revolution of the interwar years.

Lothrop Stoddard—Eternal Yankee

Like Lovecraft, Lothrop Stoddard's roots had long been nourished by New England soil. The Stoddard clan came to the New World alongside the Puritans. They established themselves in the Massachusetts Bay Colony around 1630. Born in wealthy Brookline, Massachusetts in 1883, Lothrop Stoddard came into a world of academics. His father, John Lawson Stoddard, graduated from Williams College and Yale Divinity School before becoming a successful travel writer and lecturer. Like Lovecraft, Stoddard celebrated his English and Yankee heritage.

⁴⁶ H.P. Lovecraft, letter to Lillian D. Clark, January 11, 1926.

Young Stoddard would go on to attend Harvard College and study law at Boston University. He ultimately earned his Ph.D. in History at Harvard in 1914. In January 1922, Stoddard became the president of Boston's Loyal Coalition, an organization that "reflected Yankees' larger anti-Catholic prejudice."⁴⁷ The Loyal Coalition, which had ties to the Ku Klux Klan, primarily concerned itself with upholding America's British heritage. The group's secretary, the New York-based historian Telfair Milton, summarized the group's goals by saying, "America must not become a land of many races and languages...but a land of one race—the American race, and of one language—the English language."⁴⁸ The Boston Yankees of the Loyal Coalition cared the most about growing Irish Catholic power in Boston. If Stoddard shared this concern, he rarely voiced it. Instead, Stoddard's chief concern lay in what he saw as the revolt of the "colored world" against European civilization.

At the very outset of his academic career, Stoddard saw what he termed the "color problem" as the defining crisis of American and European life. In *The French Revolution in San Domingo*, which stemmed from his Harvard dissertation, Stoddard prefaced his popular work by stating that, "The world-wide struggle between the primary races of mankind—the 'conflict of color...—bids fair to be the fundamental problem of the twentieth century."⁴⁹ This attitude colors Stoddard's reading of the Haitian revolt of the early 19th century, which Stoddard characterized as a "race war" and a producer of "social dissolution."⁵⁰

⁴⁷ Damien Murray, *Irish Nationalists in Boston: Catholicism and Conflict, 1900-1928* (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 2018): 243.

⁴⁸ Telfair Milton, *New Age Magazine*, November 1921, 517.

⁴⁹ T. Lothrop Stoddard, *The French Revolution in San Domingo* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1914): vii.

⁵⁰ *Ibid*, 98.

The “color problem” would remain the key aspect of Stoddard’s work. It serves as the central nexus for Stoddard’s writings on political economy, geopolitics, and nationalism. In his 1922 book *The Revolt Against Civilization*, Stoddard viewed the Bolshevik revolution and threat of Communism’s expansion in Europe as essentially an issue of competing ethnic and racial groups. What Stoddard termed the “ape-man”, or the “Under-man”, is but the offspring of inferior stock. As such, the “Under-man” sees little benefit in civilization (which, in Stoddard’s world, meant any society dominated by white “Nordics”), and the “Under-Man’s intrinsically lighter burdens feel heavier because of his innate incapacity.”⁵¹ Thus, in order to protect American civilization from the “Under-man,” Stoddard argued for a eugenic “perfecting of the race” which would raise the median and install a “neo-aristocracy” of the fittest at the top.⁵² As for the “Under-man,” their numbers would thin as “defective genes” would be slowly eliminated.⁵³

All of these notions, from the desirability of both “positive” and “negative” eugenics, to the threat of so-called “inferior stocks,” can be found in Stoddard’s most famous work: 1920’s *The Rising Tide of Color*. In this volume, Stoddard boiled down the post-World War I malaise of revolutions, labor strikes, and incessant warfare in the European colonies of Asia and Africa to a clash of competing races. *The Rising Tide of Color* took as its guiding mission the awakening of the “Nordic” race, which Stoddard hoped would liberate itself from both altruism and internationalism. Stoddard’s work is intended to be a

⁵¹ T. Lothrop Stoddard, *The Revolt Against Civilization: The Menace of the Underman* (Burlington, IA: Ostara Publications, 2012): 15.

⁵² *Ibid*, 155.

⁵³ *Ibid*.

scholarly call to action. Its popularity certainly highlighted the fact that Stoddard's views found a receptive audience. Indeed, his 1927 work, *Re-Forging America* (which will be discussed later), reads like a victory lap for a man who feels vindicated.⁵⁴

Stoddard's work fit into a larger network of New England-based academics who saw eugenics, Nordic supremacy, and Progressivism as part of a thoroughly rational worldview supported by modern science.⁵⁵ The racial theories of *The Rising Tide of Color* must be understood as the logical byproduct of 20th-century Progressivism and its focus on science as the cure-all for socio-political maladies. While Lovecraft and Stoddard shared the same biases and the same Anglophilia, they differed slightly in that Lovecraft championed reactionary politics, whereas Stoddard saw himself as something of a Progressive. In the end, both men sought the same outcomes, however.

American Intellectuals and the Growth of Eugenics

Robert Vitalis, the author of *White World Order, Black Politics*, makes it clear that the conclusions found in *The Rising Tide of Color* remain mainstream. Although the

⁵⁴ Stoddard's cheery mood likely had much to do with the passing of the Immigration Act in 1924.

⁵⁵ Progressivism, while hard to define, in this context refers to the Progressive movement of the early 20th century. Synonymous with figures like Wisconsin Senator Robert M. La Follette, President Theodore Roosevelt, and public intellectuals like Jane Addams and Herbert Croly of the *New Republic*, Progressivism and the Progressive era was a large movement in support of anti-corruption in government, new and more scientific methods of administration, the creation of antitrust laws to break monopolies, and greater direct democracy across the United States. Also part of the Progressivism was a belief in the superiority of technocrats and the intellectual class. Many Progressives during the early twentieth century supported eugenics on racial grounds by arguing for maintaining the Anglo-Saxon identity of the United States.

language may have changed, Vitalis sees *The Rising Tide of Color* as not only one of the first examinations of American “soft power,” but also as the precursor to a whole minor industry of “intellectual middlemen” who “shaped the discipline and, not coincidentally, the policies of successive U.S. administrations.”⁵⁶ In Vitalis’ eyes, Stoddard, who wrote his dissertation under the direction of Archibald Cary Coolidge, the founding editor of *Foreign Affairs*, is the little remembered forefather to Joseph Nye, Jr., David Hackett Fischer, and Samuel P. Huntington, the latter of whom, as the author of *The Clash of Civilizations*, Vitalis sees as Stoddard’s equal in terms of “sensationalism.”⁵⁷

Much of this undoubtedly comes from the fact that Stoddard represented a generation of Harvard graduates who applied racial science to American foreign policy. As recounted in Matthew Frye Jacobson’s *Whiteness of a Different Color*, the Harvard class of 1889 is often conceived of as the original source of the American eugenics movement. Specifically, graduates of 1889 included “some of the key figures of the Immigration Restriction League—Charles Warren in addition to [Prescott F.] Hall and [Robert DeCourcy] Ward.”⁵⁸ Both Madison Grant and Lothrop Stoddard would join this cause too.

By the 1910s, Jacobson argues that the men of 1889 “would not only embrace the term ‘eugenics’ and the science it represented—that is, the *biological* engineering

⁵⁶ Robert Vitalis, *White World Order, Black Power Politics: The Birth of American International Relations* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2015): 4-5.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 4.

⁵⁸ Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 1998): 77.

of the body politic—but would couch the entire discussion of the immigration question in a language of ‘desirables’ versus ‘useless’ races...”⁵⁹ Stoddard studied under these men and applied their theories to his own work. In this regard, *The Rising Tide of Color* is a conservative work insofar as it generally agrees with the academic temper (especially at Harvard) of its time.

The theories of Grant and the intellectuals of the New South also informed Stoddard at the time of the composition of *The Rising Tide of Color*. Grant introduced Stoddard’s book. In it, Grant not only reaffirms Stoddard’s positions, but he also frantically posits that, “The great hope of the future in America lies in the realization of the working class that competition of the Nordic with the alien is fatal, whether the latter be the lowly immigrant from southern or eastern Europe or whether he be the more obviously dangerous Oriental...”⁶⁰ A desire for Nordic racial solidarity, as opposed to Marxist class solidarity, animated the work of both Grant and Stoddard. In essence, both men had a sort of scholarly symbiosis, where Stoddard utilized Grant’s racial maps of Europe and Asia, and Grant used Stoddard’s geopolitical warnings during his time as the Secretary of the New York Zoological Society.

Stoddard echoed Grant’s fear of Nordic decline in *Re-Forging America*. Much like *The Rising Tide of Color*, *Re-Forging America* saw surmounting the “color problem” as being central to a healthy America. Like Grant, Stoddard viewed American history through the prism of race, writing that America, “from the very outset” enjoyed a saturation of “Anglo-Saxon civilization.”⁶¹ Stoddard saw this Nordic strain as being the most important aspect of America’s

⁵⁹ Jacobson, 77.

⁶⁰ Maddison Grant, Introduction to *The Rising Tide of Color: The Threat Against White World Supremacy* by T. Lothrop Stoddard (Burlington, IA: Ostara Publications, 2012): xiv.

⁶¹ T. Lothrop Stoddard, *Re-Forging America: The Story of Our Nationhood* (Burlington, IA: Ostara Publications, 2010): 2.

identity and culture. As such, like the decline of Nordic civilization in Asia and Southern Europe, Stoddard decried the mass exodus of the American Loyalists following the Revolutionary War, for those individuals represented a “superior group” of “prominence and high achievement.”⁶² America’s loss of so many courageous men willing “to fight and suffer for an ideal” became Canada’s gain, as the sons of American Loyalists provide “the finest element in the Canadian population.”⁶³ Lovecraft, the last Loyalist in New England, agreed.

Increasing the number of Nordic Americans provided the driving purpose in both *The Passing of the Great Race* and *Re-Forging America*. Similarly, both texts, although written by lifetime Northerners, display the ideology of what author Natalie J. Ring terms the “New South spokesmen.”⁶⁴ Unlike “racial demagogues” or other firebrand and populist proselytizers of racial caricatures like the “lustful Negro buck” or the “knife-wielding Negro,” the intellectuals of the New South used contemporary science and sociology to support their belief “in the inherent inferiority of southern blacks.”⁶⁵ In writing for mostly Northern publications such as the Boston *Independent*, New South intellectuals like Wallace Putnam Reed argued that the racial hierarchies of the South could not last forever. Perpetual segregation, which the “racial demagogues” promoted, blinded white men in the South to the desirability of Northern methods of economy, especially industrial capitalism. The South’s problem could

⁶² Stoddard, *Re-Forging America*, 17.

⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴ Natalie J. Ring, *The Problem South: Region, Empire, and the New Liberal State, 1880-1930* (Athens, GA: The University of Georgia Press, 2012): 26.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

only be overcome when “the increasing white population outnumbered blacks by three to one.”⁶⁶ Once achieved, this whiter South would then develop into a commercial powerhouse.

As can be seen by this brief overview, much of Stoddard’s work simply expanded upon ideas already in wide circulation in the North and, to a lesser extent, the South. *The Rising Tide of Color* is notable for its sense of urgency, but as a scholarly text, it merely added a specifically American dimension to both Grant’s racial history of the world and Oswald Spengler’s theory of the declining Western (or “Faustian”) world.⁶⁷ Stoddard, Lovecraft, and Spengler stood united in their pessimism about modernism and liberalism’s ability to weaken Nordic vitality, and therefore wreck precarious civilization.

Beating Back the Tide

World War I propelled Stoddard to write his most famous work. On the first page, Stoddard unequivocally stated that, “Since 1914 the world has been convulsed by the most terrible war in recorded history.”⁶⁸ World War I, which Stoddard called “primarily a struggle between the white peoples,” had already bequeathed a poisonous legacy to the white world by 1920.⁶⁹ Specifically, despite the

⁶⁶ Ring, 26.

⁶⁷ Spengler’s *The Decline of the West* greatly influenced the Conservative Revolutionary movement in Weimar Germany. Stoddard’s work also found a receptive audience among right-wing intellectuals in Germany, and as such, Stoddard was invited to study Nazi Germany as a reporter. His account, entitled *Into the Darkness*, provides a mostly positive view on the Nazi eugenics program. Although he agreed in spirit with Berlin’s policy of strict anti-Semitism, *Into the Darkness* occasionally highlights the fact that Stoddard was uncomfortable with the blunt, populist nature of the Nazi policy towards the Jews.

⁶⁸ Stoddard, *The Rising Tide of Color*, 1.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

severe bloodletting of the trenches, “the war’s results has been a further whittling down of the areas standing outside white condominium.”⁷⁰

Built into this imperialist growth were the seeds of white Europe’s destruction, for, as Stoddard saw it, “the unstable and transitory character of even the most imposing political phenomena” remains often hidden, especially to triumphant victors.⁷¹ In true Spenglerian fashion, Stoddard wrote that the passing “political phenomena” is worldwide white supremacy, which, thanks to European imperialism, collided violently with the more numerous peoples of Asia, Africa, and the Middle East.

This conflict between “two racially contrasted worlds” of “22,000,000 square miles for the whites and 31,000,000 square miles for the colored races” is imbued with alarmist language and Stoddard’s belief that the decline of European imperial powers would require a white world prepared for not only direct conflict, but the slow war of migration and demographic displacement.⁷² To this end, Stoddard’s first rhetorical move was an appeal to history.

As a trained historian, such an effort should not be surprising. However, for someone writing to a specifically American audience, and as someone who spent the majority of his career focused on the history of America and the Western Hemisphere, Stoddard emphasized the rising tide of color in Asia first. Compared to what he calls the “Yellow Man’s Land” and the “Brown Man’s Land,” the “Red Man’s Land” and the pockets of black numerical dominance in the American South are given the smallest amount of attention. Furthermore, in outlining the threat to

⁷⁰ Stoddard, *The Rising Tide of Color*, 1.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 2.

⁷² *Ibid.*

“White World Supremacy,” Stoddard conflated history, geography, and biology, thereby coloring his assertions not only with social Darwinism (especially the notion of the “survival of the fittest”), but also with the ancient theory that each race has been bred to adapt to certain climates.⁷³

In “The Yellow Man’s Land,” the first of the threat zones, Stoddard breezily summarized the Far East as a “group of kindred stocks usually termed Mongolian.”⁷⁴ This concentrated racial identity, with its core centered in China and Chinese history, provided the bulwark of the Asian threat to white dominance. Namely, besides the nomadic Huns, Mongols, and Tatars, most Asians had had little to no contact with the white world. This isolation (which lasted until the age of European empires) made Asians, in Stoddard’s eyes, less likely or willing to consent to European or American rule in the Pacific. The relatively recent “opening” of the Far East to European and American commerce had, Stoddard writes, been a “forcible dragging of reluctant races into the full stream of world affairs.”⁷⁵ In response, “the yellow races, forced into the world-arena, proceeded to adapt themselves to their new political environment and to learn the correct methods of survival under the strenuous conditions which there prevailed.”⁷⁶

This is not a story of harmonious assimilation. Rather, Stoddard saw this begrudging acceptance of European and American economics and political culture as a deliberate attempt to subvert white authority in Asia. Namely, Stoddard warned his readers that the two great

⁷³ It should be noted that Stoddard, like Grant and others, believed that Nordic superiority stems in large part from their biological adaptations to cold and/or temperate climates. Stoddard believed that this adaptation influenced behavioral and cultural patterns (i.e., Nordics are “temperate” and chaste because of their connections to the climate zone of Northern and Northwestern Europe).

⁷⁴ Stoddard, *The Rising Tide of Color*, 10.

⁷⁵ *Ibid*, 11.

⁷⁶ *Ibid*.

powers of the Far East—Japan and China—would use both their natural adaptations and the technological advancements made by the white world to violently usurp white power not only in colonial Asia, but also in such places as California and Australia.

In the case of Japan, Stoddard highlighted the Russo-Japanese War (a conflict that receives more attention than World War I in *The Rising Tide of Color*) as the clearest indication of Asian attitudes towards whites in Europe and North America. Despite voices of warning against “Japan’s expansionist tendencies,” much of the white world stood aghast when the Japanese completely routed the Tsar’s armies in 1905.⁷⁷ Now, with Pandora’s Box forcibly pried open, Stoddard warned that Japan’s interest in preventing “all further white encroachment in the Far East by the establishment of a Far Eastern Monroe Doctrine based on Japanese predominance” was but a smokescreen for greater Japanese hegemony in the Pacific, including Hawaii, American Samoa, and even America’s West Coast.⁷⁸ In a moment of sharp irony, Stoddard criticized Japanese political leaders and intellectuals for using notions of racial superiority to legitimize their rule in Asia. The Japanese, according to Stoddard, will always seek hegemony in the Far East because their recent exposure to white technocrat culture had made them feel their previous impotency on the world stage all the more painfully.⁷⁹

Although Stoddard did not recognize it, his view of Japan neatly overlapped with the views of Clarence H. Poe, the North Carolina-born editor of *The Progressive Farmer*. Like Stoddard, Poe, an arch Progressive, located Japan’s

⁷⁷ Stoddard, *The Rising Tide of Color*, 12.

⁷⁸ *Ibid*, 18.

⁷⁹ *Ibid*, 24.

previous insignificance on the world stage to its allegiance to agriculture and an “Asian version of preindustrial republicanism.”⁸⁰ “Old Japan,” like the “Old South”, failed because it resisted commercial trade and capitalist enterprise for so long. Although Poe did not share Stoddard’s fear of a rising Japanese behemoth, he nevertheless agreed that Japan’s geopolitical power in the early 20th century only existed because of white imperialism, primarily economic imperialism.

Where Poe and Stoddard deviate is over the issue of capitalism. For Poe, capitalism’s expansion in Asia and in the American South equaled a positive development. For Stoddard, capitalism became just one of the many gifts to Asia that would soon be used as a weapon against the white world. In this instance, the Chinese were characterized as the greatest threat, for “the Chinaman brings with him a working capacity which simply appalls his competitors.”⁸¹ Because the Chinese “can work under conditions that would kill a man of a less hardy race,” profit-blind businessmen in America proved all too willing to hire Chinese “coolies” as cheap labor.⁸² Stoddard used the same arguments against Chinese immigration as the labor movement and American socialists.⁸³ Barely two generations before the publication of *The Rising Tide of Color*, hundreds of white laborers in California had rioted against foreign workers, especially the Chinese, who they described as ““a modification of the negro’.”⁸⁴

For these workers, the growth of the Chinese population in California threatened “working-class

⁸⁰ Ring, 106.

⁸¹ Stoddard, *The Rising Tide of Color*, 17.

⁸² *Ibid*, 17-18.

⁸³ Stoddard abhorred both of these groups. In *The Revolt Against Civilization*, he spends a great deal of time characterizing labor unionism and left-wing politics as the expressions of the genetically violent “Under-man.”

⁸⁴ Jacobson, 54.

entitlement based on race” and “their privileged status as producers in a producers’ republic.”⁸⁵ Similarly, for socialists like Jack London, who typically depicted his working class heroes with terms like “English” “blue-eyed,” “flaxen haired,” and “Anglo-Saxon,” the “yellow peril” of Chinese immigration halted unionization efforts and maintained the low wages preferred by the capitalist class.⁸⁶ The connections between Stoddard’s right-leaning eugenics program and racial history and the decidedly non-Marxian socialism of men like London and science fiction writer H.G. Wells (a noted supporter of eugenics) did not seem odd at the time. Rather, these men, along with the “non-entity” Lovecraft and the popular Grant, formed an intellectual movement of sorts dedicated to science, efficiency, production, and the continued strength of European civilization.

The Rising Tide of Color meant to appeal to all Nordics (and most whites) regardless of class. In writing about the threat of Asian military and economic power, Stoddard’s book rang the alarm bells, but for the reader who fancied himself a member of the Nordic race, Stoddard’s words also appealed to vanity. This is the potent duality of *The Rising Tide of Color*—it both terrifies and empowers. This duality reached its highest levels of potency when Stoddard discusses the Far East and the rising imperial power of Japan.

In “Brown Man’s Land,” Stoddard directly contrasted North Africa and the Middle East with the Far East. Specifically, unlike Japan, China, and Korea, “the brown world is nearly everywhere exposed to foreign

⁸⁵ Jacobson, 54.

⁸⁶ Alexander Saxton, *The Indispensable Enemy: Labor and the Anti-Chinese Movement in California* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1995): 281

influences and has undergone an infinite series of evolutionary modifications.”⁸⁷ However, despite generalizing that “this is no...brown culture,” Stoddard emphatically stated, “there is a fundamental comity between the brown peoples.”⁸⁸

The Islamic religion formed the core of this comity. Although “professed by only one-fifth of the inhabitants” of the “brown world,” Stoddard saw Islam’s “warlike vigor” as one of the key rallying points for anti-white sentiment in the Middle East and North Africa.⁸⁹ More importantly, Islam provided the inspiration for “the brown renaissance” for the coming war between Europe and the Islamic world. Islam’s history, much like Grant’s history of the Nordic race, is described as cyclical. At first, Stoddard wrote that Islam’s fury “impressed men’s minds” with conquests stretching from “France to China.” Then, after centuries of bloody proselytization, “Islam seemed plunged in the stupor of senile decay.”⁹⁰ The “Golden Age” of the Abbasid Caliphate⁹¹ retreated and “the dry husks of empty formalism and soulless ritual” opened up a void in the soul of the religion.⁹² During this lethargy, the great powers of Europe managed to first weaken the Ottoman Empire and its central, Sunni caliphate, then began taking Islamic territory all across Asia and Africa.

In typical Stoddard fashion, he presented this history of European dominance as a false front. Underneath all of this white Christian conquest sits the “Mohammedan

⁸⁷ Stoddard, *The Rising Tide of Color*, 32.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 32-34.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 34.

⁹¹ An interesting note: Lovecraft so admired the culture and literature of the Abbasid epoch that, as a child, he created the penname Abdul Alhazred in order to write poetry. Later, Lovecraft would make Abdul Alhazred, aka the “Mad Arab,” the author of the cursed tome, the *Necronomicon*.

⁹² Stoddard, *The Rising Tide of Color*, 34.

Revival.”⁹³ This revival began during the 18th century in what would become Saudi Arabia. Its key figure, the puritanical “Abdel Wahab,” created a following, known as the “Wahabees,” whose religious fervor saw the Middle East and North Africa’s “increasing subjugation to the Christian West” as the incentive for a new *jihād*.⁹⁴ Frighteningly for Stoddard’s audience, the then recent conflagration in Europe had not gone unnoticed by the Islamic East. Stoddard quoted the Egyptian scholar Yahya Sidky, the Western-educated Islamist who lovingly wrote about Europe’s self-induced immolation between 1914 and 1918. With religious reverence, Sidky saw another world war on the horizon and wrote, “The future is God’s, and nothing is lasting save His Will!”⁹⁵

Stoddard’s prescience about the growing power of fundamentalist Islam, coupled with his correct view that Japan would eventually try to establish itself as the supreme power of Asia, is one of the reasons why *The Rising Tide of Color* continues to be read and studied, especially by political writers and those interested in geopolitics. However, even though much of Stoddard’s views on Islam took inspiration not only from the British Liberal politician and Catholic reactionary Hilaire Belloc, but he also gleaned more than a little bit from the fictional works of men like John Buchan and the very real machinations of the Germans during the war, *The Rising Tide of Color* is frequently seen as the race-crazed ramblings of a degreed conspiracy theorist.⁹⁶

⁹³ Stoddard, *The Rising Tide of Color*, 34.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 37.

⁹⁶ Buchan’s novel *Greenmantle* (1916) is about the British intelligence services trying to stop a German-backed plan to use a religious fanatic to inspire a general Muslim uprising across the world. At the

Therefore, it is not untrue to say that *The Rising Tide of Color* is the secret book that many modern intellectuals keep hidden in their closets. Because of its obvious racialism, few public figures are likely to state that Stoddard's work influenced them. Furthermore, although *The Rising Tide of Color* clearly informed Huntington's *The Clash of Civilizations* and the political theory of "Culturalism," its reputation in the academy is, to paraphrase Bret Easton Ellis, less than zero.⁹⁷

Be that as it may, in reading and re-reading *The Rising Tide of Color*, it's clear that Stoddard had a keen sense of history and politics. Stoddard also understood that human beings are rarely rational and can be easily united by base common denominators (religion, race). In this way, Stoddard, as a commentator on the post-colonial world, should be discussed. Although Stoddard, unlike French author Jean Raspail and his 1973 novel *The Camp of the Saints*, did not foresee the political turbulence of mass Muslim migration to Europe or decades of interventionist

Halbmondlager ("Half Moon Camp") outside of Berlin, Muslim POWs were given religious texts, plenty of study time, good food, and even had the first ever mosque erected on German soil for their exclusive use. The reason for all of this was that Kaiser Wilhelm II, along with the diplomat and "Orientalist" Max von Oppenheim, believed that a propaganda campaign could inspire *jihad* among Britain and France's Muslim subjects. For more information, see Florence Waters, "Germany's grand First World War jihad experiment," *The Daily Telegraph*, 10 Aug 2014. For his part, Belloc, an Anglo-French Catholic in deeply Protestant England, wrote of "The Great and Enduring Heresy of Mohammed" in his book *The Great Heresies*. Belloc believed that in the 20th century, "Christendom" would have to fight a new war against a resurgent Islam.

⁹⁷ "Culturalism" is a sociological belief coined by Florian Znaniecki. For Culturalists, culture is the central organizing principle of human societies. Culturalists largely agree with Stoddard, although they place "culture" above race.

wars in the Middle East, he did see the dangers of Wahhabism and political Islam before many others.⁹⁸

Of course, Stoddard's keen observations are often pulled down by his overarching racialism and attempts to scientifically argue for a renewed racial consciousness among whites in the West. In his later sections, "The Ebbing Tide of White" and "The Deluge On the Dikes," Stoddard repeatedly hammered home his belief that increased radicalism among non-whites would only be prevented through the abandonment of European empires and the re-forging of Nordic bonds, especially the bonds between the more "vitalist" nations of America, Canada, South Africa, and Australia. If this is not accomplished, Stoddard, in quoting Grant, dourly surmised, "the type of native American of colonial descent will become extinct as the Athenian of the age of Pericles and the Vikings of the days of Rollo."⁹⁹

For Stoddard, this fear of extinction that underlays much of *The Rising Tide of Color* had a personal resonance. As he wrote, "the evil effects of even white

⁹⁸ In *The Camp of the Saints*, a thoroughly secular and social democratic Europe is inundated with refugees from Calcutta, India. These migrants are depicted as being uninterested in assimilation, while the governments of Europe and North America (barring Switzerland) prove unwilling to send the migrants back. By the novel's end, the wealthy classes of New York and Paris are forced by the government to marry Indian and Pakistani women and men, while one inebriated Soviet border guard stands in the way of a massive group of Chinese immigrants. In modern Europe, the advanced and secular states of France, Belgium, Germany, Great Britain, and others are struggling to assimilate millions of Middle Eastern immigrants, many of whom subscribe to Wahhabism, which is the key ideological foundation of Al-Qaeda, ISIS, and other terrorist organizations. For more information, see Yousaf Butt, "How Saudi Wahhabism Is the Fountainhead of Islamist Terrorism," *The Huffington Post*, January 10, 2015.

⁹⁹ Stoddard, *The Rising Tide of Color*, 154.

immigration has, in my opinion, been necessary in order to get a proper perspective for viewing the problem of colored immigration.”¹⁰⁰ Furthermore, when Stoddard observed “the damage wrought in America...by the coming of persons who, after all, belong mostly to the branches of the white race and who nearly possess the basic ideals of white civilization,” he fears for the passing of America’s Nordic inheritance (i.e., its English roots and the cultural and political supremacy of English Protestants in American life).¹⁰¹

This fear provided the most important context behind *The Rising Tide of Color*. As the son of well-educated New Englanders with deep roots stretching all the way back to the Puritan founding of the town of Hingham, Massachusetts, Stoddard felt that his America had been lost in the late 19th century thanks to the large influx of immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe. Much like Lovecraft, who decried race mixing and the loss of Yankee dominance in 20th-century America, Stoddard thought the only way to save America would be to increase its native stock of English-speaking Protestants from the British Isles.¹⁰²

As such, when he set down to compose *Re-Forging America* in the wake of President Calvin Coolidge (a fellow New Englander with blood ties to the Puritan founders of Watertown, Massachusetts) and the 1924 Immigration Act, the almost defeatist mood of *The Rising Tide of Color* gave way to tempered jubilation. During the 1920s, Stoddard’s combination of social conservatism and Progressive scientism held great power, especially in educated New England. Therefore, Stoddard and Lovecraft remain today as the dual archetype of the New England counter-

¹⁰⁰ Stoddard, *The Rising Tide of Color*, 154.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰² Cameron McWhirter, *Red Summer: The Summer of 1919 and the Awakening of Black America* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 2011): 63.

revolution that began in 1919. Mass immigration to New England's cities and factory towns, the First World War, the Boston Police Strike, and the revolutionary moment of the summer of 1919, forced both men to articulate a thoroughgoing opposition to liberal modernism. They stood opposed to Wall Street and the ethos of New York City, and they stood for the culture of Anglo-America, which saw its greatest flowering in New England. More than any other writers or thinkers of the interwar years, Stoddard and Lovecraft provided a true alternative to the political horse-trading of the "tribal twenties." They visualized a Nordic America in a sea of political degeneration. For a time they found their desires satisfied with the passage of the Immigration Act of 1924. This legislation—the apex of New England's counter-revolution and a victory for the ideology shared by Stoddard, Lovecraft, and Grant—would last all way until the passage of the Hart-Celler Act of 1965.