

Notes

Introduction

- 1 W. Lippmann, *Public Opinion* (New York: Macmillan, 1947 [1922]), p. 26.
- 2 Lippmann, *Public Opinion* p. 24.
- 3 Indeed, I know of no historian of the peace of 1919 that has discussed Lippmann's 'opinion'.
- 4 For general studies of this phenomenon see: D. Wahrman, *The Making of the Modern Self* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004); C. Taylor, *Sources of the Self: The Making of Modern Identity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 459; H. S. Hughes, *Consciousness and Society: The Reorientation of European Social Thought 1890–1930* (London: MacGibbon & Kee, 1959), p. 66; C. E. Schorske, *Fin-de-siècle Vienna: Politics and culture* (New York: Vintage, 1981), p. 4; N. Rose, *Inventing Our Selves: Psychology, power and personhood* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); and J. Le Rider, *Modernity and Crises of Identity: Culture and society in fin-de-siècle Vienna*, trans. R. Morris (New York: Continuum, 1993). For a rare reference to its possible impact on the idea of the nation, see P. Mandler 'The Consciousness of Modernity? Liberalism and the English National Character, 1870–1940' in M. Daunton and B. Rieger (eds.), *Meanings of Modernity: Britain from the late-Victorian era to World War II* (Oxford: Berg, 2001), p. 134.
- 5 J. W. Burrow, *The Crisis of Reason: European thought 1848–1914* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000) pp. 84, 86; H. Taine, *History of English Literature*, trans. H. Van Laun (Edinburgh: Edmonston and Hughes, 1872).
- 6 W. Bagehot, *Physics and Politics; or Thoughts on the application of the principles of 'natural selection' and 'inheritance' to political society* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 1999), pp. 89, 137.
- 7 D. Cabane, 'Éducation et patriotisme', *La femme nouvelle* (1 October 1905), p. 794.
- 8 See C. J. Berry, *Hume, Hegel, and Human Nature* (Boston: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 1982), pp. 40, 97.
- 9 See for example, J. G. Fichte, *Addresses to the German Nation* (New York: Harper & Row, 1968 [1807]), and G. W. F. Hegel, *Lectures on the Philosophy of World History*, trans. H. B. Nisbet (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975 [1822–8]); and the comments on the anthropological aspect of Hegel's ideas in particular by E. C. Eze, *Race and the Enlightenment: A reader* (Cambridge: Blackwell, 1997).
- 10 P. J. Bowler, *The Mendelian Revolution: The emergence of hereditarian concepts in modern science and society* (London: The Athlone Press, 1989), p. 153.
- 11 This is usually contrasted with the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century, when the nation conjured up a new expansive humanism and, consequently, was taken up as the cause of democrats. Among the more important of existing studies of the idea of the nation in this period, each of which pursue this narrative, are E. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780: programme, myth, reality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); G. Eley and R. G. Suny, 'Introduction', in G. Eley and R. G. Suny (eds.), *Becoming National: A reader*, (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996); and A. D. Smith, *Nationalism: Theory, ideology, history* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2001).

- 12 For an elaboration of this idea see G. Sluga, 'Bodies, Souls, and Sovereignty: The Austro-Hungarian Empire and the Legitimacy of Nations', *Ethnicities* I (2001) 207–32.
- 13 F. S. Marston, *The Peace Conference of 1919: Organisation and procedure* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1981); L. Gelfand, *The Inquiry: American preparations for peace, 1917–1919* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963); M. Heffernan 'History, Geography and the French National Space: The Question of Alsace-Lorraine, 1914–1918', *Space & Polity* 5 1 (2001) 27–48; N. Smith, *American Empire: Roosevelt's geographer and the prelude to globalization* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003); J. M. Nielson, *American historians in war and peace: Patriotism, diplomacy, and the Paris Peace Conference, 1919* (Dubuque: Kendall/Hunt Pub. Com., 1994).
- 14 I focus particularly on those liberals who brought their concerns about individual autonomy, on the one hand, and the evils of exaggerated individualism, and the need for social responsibility, on the other, to the renovation of liberalism in the victor states, France, Britain and the United States of America.

Chapter 1 Science and the New National World Order, 1919

- 1 Speech before the US Congress, 8 January 1918 in which Wilson espoused 'the principle of justice to all peoples and nationalities', cited in A. S. Link (ed.), *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson*, vol. 45 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966–1994), p. 539.
- 2 Speech before the US Congress, 11 February 1918, cited in Link (ed.), *op.cit.*, vol. 46, pp. 320–1.
- 3 Gelfand, *The Inquiry*, p. 188.
- 4 *Ibid*, p. 158.
- 5 Cited and translated in American Association for International Conciliation *Documents Regarding the Peace Conference*, no. 139, New York, June 1919, p. 812.
- 6 Raymond Poincaré. *Welcoming Address at the Paris Peace Conference, 18 January 1919* http://www.firstworldwar.com/source/parispeaceconf_poincare.htm. Accessed 27 March 2006.
- 7 For more discussion of this point, see chapter 6.
- 8 Lippmann, *op.cit.*, p. 26.
- 9 *Ibid*, p. 146.
- 10 *Ibid*, pp. 214, 216, 379.
- 11 *Ibid*, p. 93.
- 12 *Ibid*, p. 311.
- 13 *Ibid*, p. 81.
- 14 *Ibid*, p. 145.
- 15 *Ibid*, pp. 93, 147, 176.
- 16 *Ibid*, p. 147.
- 17 *Ibid*, p. 146. For more discussion of this point about gender, see chapters 4 and 5.
- 18 P. G. Lauren, *Power and Prejudice: The politics and diplomacy of racial discrimination* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1988), p. 77.
- 19 L. Weiss, *Mémoires d'une Européenne, tome 1: 1893–1919* (Paris: Payot, 1968), p. 278.
- 20 Cited in Lauren, *op.cit.*, p. 77.

- 21 E. J. Dillon, *The Inside Story of the Peace Conference* (New York and London: Harper & Brothers, 1920), p. 4.
- 22 *Ibid.*, p. 6.
- 23 H. W. V. Temperley, *History of the Peace Conference of Paris*, vol. 1 (London: H. Frowde, 1920), p. 244.
- 24 [One Who Knows Them] *Makers of the New World*, (London and New York: Cassell, 1921), p. 161. See also A. Sharp, 'Some Relevant Historians – the Political Intelligence Department of the Foreign Office 1918–1920', *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, 34 (1989) 363.
- 25 'The Diary of Edith Benham', March 31, 1919, in Link (ed.), *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson*, vol. 56, p. 443.
- 26 Nielson, *American Historians in War and Peace*, p. 135.
- 27 Cited in A. Cobban, *National Self-Determination* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1945), p. 25.
- 28 Marston, *The Peace Conference of 1919*, p. 95.
- 29 On the institutional organisation of the peace process, see A. Toynbee, 'The main features in the landscape', in L. Riddell *et al.*, *The Treaty of Versailles and After* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1935), p. 49.
- 30 Marston, *op.cit.*, pp. 111, 117.
- 31 Temperley, *op.cit.*, vol. 1, p. 244.
- 32 Nicolson describes going to a meeting of the Big Four in President Wilson's private flat and finding the representatives of the new world order crawling about over the floor studying maps and discovering places they had never heard of before, of which they were going to decide the fate; H. Nicolson, *Peacemaking 1919* (London: Constable and Co., 1945), p. 112. See also J. Haslam, *The Vices of Integrity: E. H. Carr, 1892–1982* (London: Verso, 1999), p. 25. 'Lloyd George would pull apart the reports of the specialists and reach decisions with the other leaders that paid scant attention to the territorial and ethnic realities which lay behind the maps they spread out over the floor at their feet.'
- 33 Marston, *op.cit.*, p. 116.
- 34 Clive Day, Charles Seymour, Colonel Miles, Douglas Johnson, To: The Commissioners, Subject: Klagenfurt Basin, 27 May, 1919; 185.2132/1, American Commission to Negotiate Peace, RG 256, United States National Archive, College Park.
- 35 Public Record Office, London [PRO] Foreign Office [FO]608/58 126/2/6, 'Report on the Solution of the Teschen Question', April 2 1919, p. 129.
- 36 FO373/7 7/35, Handbooks prepared under the Direction of the Historical section of the FO., vol. 163, pp. 56, 59.
- 37 FO608/161 513/4/1, Nationality Questions, Hurst, April 9 1919, p. 62. Hurst was a member of the drafting commission assisting the Council of Four 'A question of principle on the subject of nationality has arisen', Hurst wrote to his masters, 'with regard to the Treaty of Peace as to which I should be glad of instructions.' He could not understand why, unlike German citizens, ethnic Austrians, Hungarians, and Bulgarians were not to be allowed to remain in the new Czecho-Slovakia unless they chose to be Czecho-Slovak.
- 38 FO608/161 513/4/1 'Nationality Questions.' p. 64.
- 39 See R. Albrecht-Carré, *Italy at the Peace Conference* (Hamden, Connecticut: Archon Books, 1966 [1938]), appendices; and G. Sluga, *The Problem of Trieste and the Italo-Yugoslav Border* (Albany: State University of New York, 2000), chapter 1. For examples of other national testimonials see, 'Statement by M. Chekri Ganem, Chief Representative of Central Syria Committee',

- February 17, 1919, 186.03101/38; 'The Ruthenian Party of Hungary: Memorial to the Allied and Associated Powers', August 1919, 864.014/15; all in American Commission to Negotiate Peace, RG 256.
- 40 Memorandum: 'About the deliverance of the Murakoz from the South Slav Occupation and the leaving of the same under the Supremacy of Hungary. Budapest, 3rd. October, 1919, In the name of the people of Murakoz.'; Paris Peace Conference, American Commission to Negotiate Peace, RG 256.
- 41 'Memorandum of the Bunyevac and Sokac inhabitants of the county of Báce-Bodrog/Bácska/ in the interest of leaving them to Hungary', Paris Peace Conference, American Commission to Negotiate Peace, RG 256.
- 42 'Memorandum concerning the state appertinence of the "Szepeesség"', Paris Peace Conference, American Commission to Negotiate Peace, RG 256.
- 43 Percy Loraine to Leeper, 12 November 1919, Paris Peace Conference. 864.014/18, American Commission To Negotiate Peace, RG 256.
- 44 The Ruthenian Party of Hungary Memorial to the Allied and Associated Powers, August 1919.
- 45 FO371/3558/192251, 'Austria-Hungary, 1919', Temperley note, 16/4/20; see also Memorandum of Conversations with Captain H. W. Temperley in London, April 16, and May 3, 1918. Document 992, M1107 *Inquiry Documents* (Special Reports and Studies) 1917–1919, RG 256, United States National Archive, College Park.
- 46 FO608/89, Toynbee note to Greek Claims to Lazistan District, 4 April 1919. See also J. T. Shotwell, *At the Paris Peace Conference* (New York: Macmillan, 1937), p. 186: Wednesday, February 19, 1919.
- 47 FO608/153 511/1/2, January 13 1919, Quai d'Orsay, 'Procedure of the Peace Discussions'.
- 48 See Seton-Watson Papers, School of Slavonic and Eastern European Studies, University of London, SEW/2/2/1, 1916–1920, *New Europe* 2/2/2, 'New Europe Society. Common knowledge of Boas' critique of 'The Primitive Mind' would suggest that the claim made by the historian Derek Heater, that mandates had their origins 'in the sensitivity of the liberal conscience about the exploitation of colonial peoples' particularly among Americans, is overly generous, see D. B. Heater, *National Self-Determination: Woodrow Wilson and his legacy* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1994), p. 89.
- 49 D. H. Miller, *The Drafting of the Covenant*, vol. 1 (New York: Putnam, 1928), p. 101.
- 50 Accentuating the relation between colonialist precedents and mandates, Seymour argued that Beer 'was able to bring to the attention of the President those aspects of the old colonial system which could be fitted into Wilson's personal philosophy in the light of twentieth century conditions.' C. Seymour & H. B. Whiteman (eds.), *Letters from the Paris Peace Conference* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965), p. xxix.
- 51 Beer also supported the idea of the League as an English-Speaking Union.
- 52 G. L. Beer, 'Middle Africa: The Economic Aspects of the Problem', in L. H. Gray (ed.), *African Questions at the Paris Peace Conference with Papers on Egypt, Mesopotamia, and the colonial settlement* (London: Dawsons, 1968 [1923]), p. 179.
- 53 W. R. Keylor, 'Versailles and International Diplomacy', in M. F. Boemeke, G. D. Feldman and E. Glaser (eds.), *The Treaty of Versailles: A reassessment after 75 years* (German Historical Institute, Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 494.
- 54 G. Beer, 'The German Colonies in Africa, written for the Inquiry, Feb. 1918', in Gray, *op.cit.*, Annex A.

- 55 Miller, *The Drafting of the Covenant*, vol. 3. Document 110; J. C. Smuts, *The League of Nations. A Practical Suggestion* (New York: Hodder and Stoughton, 1918), pp. 40, 50.
- 56 Smuts, *op.cit.*, p. 41.
- 57 Shotwell, *op.cit.*, p. 170: 'Monday, February 10, 1919. Morning'. In a conversation with Shotwell, Milner made clear the imperial framework he had in mind for the League of Nations model of mandates: 'Milner said that Britain had succeeded well where it had really tried hard in handling primitive peoples, but that was an entirely different job in colonial administration from the co-operation in government necessary where the people governed were of about the same grade of intelligence as their governors... . The strange paradox of their [British] success in colonial administration is not so inexplicable after all, for both by position and by racial prejudice they naturally take a position of aloofness and have an innate sense of their own superiority which primitive peoples readily recognize as a sign of leadership.'
- 58 Shotwell, *op.cit.*, p. 172.
- 59 FO509/1/1, 26 June 1919, 'Memorandum by Lord Milner, Mandates. Under Clause XIX of the Draft Covenant of the League of Nations, March 8 1919, p. 17. The draft Covenant of the League agreed upon by the British Empire and Dominions formalised three categories of trusteeship: i. 'peoples who were not sufficiently organised to govern themselves without assistance' (including Arabs); ii. 'the wholly uncivilised, such as the populations of tropical Africa'; iii. 'those which, owing to geographical or other reasons' could not be dealt with in the second category, such as Samoa, German South West Africa, where 'the laws and institutions of the community entrusted with the government would have to be applied.' See PRO: Cabinet Office [CAB] 21/217 War Cabinet, 4 June 1923, 'History of the British Empire delegation and its work in Paris during the peace conference', p. 116.
- 60 Shotwell, *op.cit.*, p. 142.
- 61 Keylor, *op.cit.*, p. 495.
- 62 David Magie Papers, Mudd Library, Princeton University, Box 1: 'Interview of Magie and Westerman with President Wilson on May 22, 1919'.
- 63 FO608/219, 'Proposed United States protectorate over Liberia', FO comment on Memo, Feb. 1919: 'Shortly stated the argument would appear to be that the United States Government should be given an opportunity of learning from actual experience that backward races must necessarily be controlled by some more highly civilised Power and, secondly, that equality of trade conditions should be instituted in all backward countries so controlled, including by implication those administered by the U.S. itself.'
- 64 FO608/240 Commission of the League of Nations, 8 Feb. 1919, 6th meeting, #134.
- 65 *Ibid.*
- 66 Nielson, *op.cit.*, p. 55.
- 67 Gelfand, *op.cit.*, p. 16.
- 68 Edward M. House Papers, Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library, Series 1, Box 70 folder 070 2324: Lippmann to House, August 1917.
- 69 Edward M. House Papers, Series 1, Box 70 folder 070 2324: Lippmann letter to House, September 1917, p. 2.
- 70 Edward M. House Papers, Series 1, Box 70 folder 2325; Memo on origin of the term 'Freedom of the Seas'; June 28 1918 Lippmann letter to House.

- 71 Gelfand, *op.cit.*, p. 49.
- 72 'Notes on the Inquiry, November 30, 1918', these words were attributed to Colonel House by Isaiah Bowman, Shotwell MSS, Columbia, cited in Gelfand, *op.cit.*, p. 352.
- 73 Others included Margaret Marsh, Bertha Ehlers, Nora Horney, Margaret Howe, Bertha Henderson, and Sibyl Baker.
- 74 Nielson, *op.cit.*, p. 59.
- 75 *Ibid*, p. 61.
- 76 Gelfand, *op.cit.*, p. 36.
- 77 Nielson, *op.cit.*, p. 56. For further discussion of the new history view of the national past, see D. Ross, *The Origins of American Social Science* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 273. Ian Tyrrell has nuanced the historical view of Turner's influence and of the national obsessions of the new historians in an important article, 'Making Nations/Making States: American Historians in the context of empire', *Journal of American History*, 86 (1999) 1015–44.
- 78 Geoffrey J. Martin, *The Life and Thought of Isaiah Bowman* (Hamden: Archon Books, 1980), p. 91.
- 79 M. Heffernan 'History, Geography and the French National Space: The Question of Alsace-Lorraine, 1914–18', *Space & Polity*, 5 (2001) 31.
- 80 Jacques Bariéty, 'Le "Comité d'études" du quai d'Orsay et la frontière Rhénane (1917–1919)' in C. Baechler and C. Fink (eds.), *The Establishment of European Frontiers after the Two World Wars* (Berne: Peter Lang, 1995).
- 81 This was left unfinished on his death in 1918.
- 82 Bariéty, *op.cit.*, p. 253. See also C. Benoist, *Souvenirs de Charles Benoist: tome III 1902–1933* (Paris: Plon, 1934), p. 324.
- 83 Martin, *op.cit.*, pp. 28, 93; J. Brunhès, *Human Geography: An attempt at a positive classification principles and examples*, I. Bowman and R. E. Dodge (eds.) (London, Calcutta, Sydney: George Harrap, 1920 [1910]).
- 84 Benoist, *op.cit.*, p. 326.
- 85 *Travaux du comité d'études 1917–1918*, 2 volumes (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1918–19).
- 86 Bibliothèque de sciences politiques, Paris, *Comité d'études (sur la préparation du dossier des futures négociations 1917–1919) Ordre du Jour procès verbaux des séances. Fol. 727. Séance 30 avril 1917*, 329.
- 87 *Comité d'études (sur la préparation du dossier des futures négociations 1917–1919) Ordre du Jour procès verbaux des séances. Fol. 727. Lavisse, Séance 30 avril 1917*.
- 88 Heffernan, *op.cit.*, p. 45.
- 89 *Ibid*, p. 36.
- 90 E. Lavisse, *Histoire de France contemporaine depuis la révolution jusqu'à la paix de 1919* (Paris: Hachette, 1922).
- 91 S. Citron, *Le mythe nation, l'histoire de France en question* (Paris: Études et Documentations Internationales, 1989), p. 166.
- 92 P. den Boer, *History as a Profession: The study of history in France, 1818–1914*, trans. A. J. Pomerans (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), pp. 177, 201.
- 93 See P. Carrard, *Poetics of the New History: French historical discourse from Braudel to Chartier* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), p. 18.
- 94 *Ligue international pour la défense du droit des peuples: Cahiers mensuels* (Paris: Siège de la Ligue, 1916).
- 95 R. Poincaré, 'Enquête sur l'esprit français', *La revue* (1898) 21.

- 96 'Discours prononcé par M. Ernest Denis au dîner organisé par la Ligue en l'honneur de MM. Soderhjelm et Torngren', *Ligue internationale pour la défense du droit des peuples*, p. 373.
- 97 CAB/21/62 War Cabinet, Peace Terms Intelligence II. Zimmern and Toynbee, 13/2/17. See also D. L. George, *The Truth about the Peace Treaties*, vol. 1 (London: Victor Gollancz, 1938), pp. 31–50. Goldstein adds that '[w]here the PID was most successful was in determining various solutions to specific crises, which were then debated at cabinet level, with priorities or preferences being assigned'; E. Goldstein, 'The Foreign Office and Political Intelligence 1918–1920', *Review of International Studies*, 14 (1988) 275–88, 282.
- 98 CAB21/62 War Cabinet, 'Suggested body to consider the obvious factors regarding peace terms', 31.1.17.
- 99 These included Lord Hardinge (Viceroy in India from 1910, then Permanent Under-Secretary of the Foreign Office) and Sir William Tyrell (Foreign Office stalwart and Private Secretary to Sir Edward Grey, then Foreign Secretary).
- 100 According to Goldstein, 'the original purpose of what became the PID had been propaganda – though propaganda of an apparently academic and high-minded character'; Goldstein, *op.cit.*, pp. 275–88, 280; see also Sharp, *op.cit.*, p. 359.
- 101 In 1919 Toynbee took up the Chair of Byzantine and Modern Greek Language, Literature, and History at London University.
- 102 Post-war, Namier's approach to history was a clear example of the influence exerted by the social sciences and psychology on interpretations of the past, see chapter 6.
- 103 Major Douglas Johnson, N.A. To: Colonel E. M. House, London, May 1, 1918; Subject: Confidential Report on Arrangements made by the British Government for Collecting Data for the Peace Conference; Document 987, p. v, M1107, RG 256. See also A. Williams, *Failed Imagination? New World Order of the Twentieth Century* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998), p. 26; Williams argues that '[t]he most detailed preparation for the minutiae of the negotiating position of specific areas of the world, and especially of Europe, was done by what came to be called the "Historical Section" (transferred from the Admiralty in early 1918) and the Political Intelligence Department (PID), both in the Foreign Office.'
- 104 During the war, Prothero published *A Lasting Peace. A conversation between X (a neutral) and Y (an Englishman)*, in which he has 'Y' describe nationality as being 'to a group of human beings what individuality is to the individual. The sense of nationality is to a nation what self-consciousness is to a man', G. Prothero, *A Lasting Peace. A conversation between X (a neutral) and Y (an Englishman)* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1917).
- 105 Seton-Watson was a member of the Intelligence Bureau of the War Cabinet (1917) and the Enemy Propaganda Department (1918).
- 106 Johnson described Prothero as 'an honorary LL.D. of Harvard and Edinburgh, editor of the *Quarterly Review*, formerly professor of history at the University of Edinburgh, now chief of the Historical Section of the Foreign Office. Prothero also edited the guide to war publications and books on the war in 1917; Major Douglas Johnson, N. A. To: Colonel E. M. House, London, May 1, 1918; Subject: Confidential Report on Arrangements made by the British Government for Collecting Data for the Peace Conference; Document 987, p. v.

- 107 Jacques Bariéty has argued that because of its republican sympathies the *Comité* emphasised popular support in debatable regions for the more modern and egalitarian France, a sentiment embedded since the revolution; Bariéty, *op.cit.*, p. 253.
- 108 General Bourgeois and Christian Pfister, 'La vie publique en Alsace-Lorraine depuis 1871', in Comité national d'études sociales et politiques, *Enquête sur les buts de la guerre et les conditions d'une paix durable* (Paris: Comité national d'études sociales et politiques, 1916), p. 441.
- 109 The English-language version was published as E. Lavissee and C. Pfister, *The Question of Alsace-Lorraine* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1918).
- 110 *Comité d'études (sur la préparation du dossier des futures négociations 1917-1919) Ordre du Jour procès verbaux des séances. Fol. 727, Séance 14 mai and 2 juillet, 1917.*
- 111 D. Johnson, 'Memorandum of two conversations with H. W. C. Davis, of the War Trade Intelligence Department', April 23 and May 7, 1918, p. 3; Document 992, M1107, RG 256-3.
- 112 FO371/4355 PID (Peace Conference Series) 1918-19 War Office PC115 'Alsace-Lorraine' 'Notes on the Question of Alsace-Lorraine', 10 May 1918.
- 113 'A Preliminary Survey'; Document 893, M1107, RG 256.
- 114 'Memorandum Regarding the Organization of the Inquiry, Nov. 13, 1917', cited in Gelfand, *op.cit.*, p. 344.
- 115 The British only included Jews inconsistently, see R. J. Kerner and Charles Seymour, 'General Criticism of the British Government Racial Contour Map of Austria-Hungary'; Document 319, M1107, RG 256.
- 116 These same maps were included in Prothero's handbooks. Major Douglas Johnson, N. A. To: Colonel E. M. House, Subject: Confidential, Report on Arrangements made by the British Government for Collecting Data for the Peace Conference, p. 12.
- 117 Douglas Johnson, Memorandum of a Conversation with B. C. Wallis, at Hertford House, May 3, 1918, Document 992, M1107, RG 256.
- 118 Gelfand, *op.cit.*, 201; Kerner described '[t]he International Jews, who will now become still more German than they have been, wish to save Austria in order to save their securities and to exploit the Yugoslav territories'.
- 119 Jugo-Slavs, South Slavs, and Yugo-Slavs, were common and interchangeable appellations at this time; R. J. Kerner, 'Resumé of the Political movements among the Jugo-Slavs toward the federalization or dismemberment of Austria-Hungary' [subtitled "In explanation of the social and eco bases of nationalism"] March 25 1918, Document 310, M1107, RG 256.
- 120 A. K. Kuhn, 'Austria-Hungary', Document 324, M1107, RG 256.
- 121 Seymour to Bowman, January 15 1918, Box 9, General Correspondence, American Commission to Negotiate Peace, RG 256.
- 122 Charles Seymour, 'Report on Austria: Population Studies. Racial Distribution,' February 1, 1918, 1. (12); Document 504, M1107, RG 256.
- 123 Charles Seymour, 'Epitome of Reports on Just and Practical Boundaries within Austria-Hungary'; Document 514, M1107, RG 256.
- 124 *Ibid.* Seymour preferred to see Austria-Hungary federalised (on the American model) rather than dissected into constituent national bits, but concluded that it was 'impossible to discover such lines, which would be at the same time just and practical', and that language was an imprecise marker of identity and of frontiers; *Ibid.*, pp. 88-90.

- 125 Seymour to Bowman, January 15 1918, Box 9, General Correspondence, American Commission to Negotiate Peace, RG 256.
- 126 L. Dominican, *Frontiers of Language and Nationality in Europe* (New York: American Geographical Society, 1917), p. vii.
- 127 These themes were partly reinforced in the decision to use Madison Grant, the author of *The Passing of the Great Race* (1916), to formally recommend the book. Grant was also chairman of the New York Zoological Society, trustee of the American Museum of Natural History and the National Geographical Society. The flavour of Grant's eugenicism and racialism, and its relevance to Dominican's work, was clarified in his introduction. This explained that modern Europe was racially mixed and there was no such thing as a Latin, Germanic or Slavic race, indeed there was a 'lack of race consciousness in Europe', and as a result it was not useful as a test for nationality, M. Grant, 'Introduction', in Dominican, *op.cit.*, p. xvii.
- 128 Mezes to Lippmann, cited in Nielson, *op.cit.*, p. 75.
- 129 FO371/3476/56911 'Confidential Handbooks for the Peace Congress, Instructions to Historical Writers', March 30 1918.
- 130 'Test outline for any given problem area', Document 737, M1107, RG 256. See also FO371/3476/56911 'Confidential Handbooks for the Peace Congress, Instructions to Historical Writers', March 30 1918.
- 131 Comité national d'études sociales et politiques, *op.cit.*, p. 3.
- 132 J. Brunhès, *Comité d'études (sur la préparation du dossier des futures négociations 1917-1919) Ordre du Jour procès verbaux des séances. Fol. 727, Séance 8 juin 1918.*
- 133 MAE, Direction des Affaires Politiques et Commerciales, Series A. Paix, 220. A-1154-1A – Conditions de la Paix, États Unis, Rapports et Memoires sur l'Inquiry, décembre 1918, 'Notes d'Aubert sur les travaux de l'Inquiry et sur les solutions de paix américaines, 11 dic. 1918', p. 4.
- 134 Douglas Johnson, 'Memorandum of conversation with E. Denis'; Document 992, M1107, RG 256.
- 135 Douglas Johnson, 'Memorandum of conversation with Albert Thomas'; Document 992, M1107, RG 256. For his part Emile Boutroux described the real national sentiment and democratic spirit of the Serbians and the Romanians as deserving of Allied support. Douglas Johnson, 'Memorandum of conversation with Emile Boutroux'; Document 992, M1107, RG 256.
- 136 Brunhès, *Comité d'études (sur la préparation du dossier des futures négociations 1917-1919) Ordre du Jour procès verbaux des séances. Fol. 727, Séance 18 mars 1919*; Boyer believed that the Albanian language only contained 10 original words, and Fallex reminded them that Albanian independence was invented by Austria in order to exploit the Eastern question. For Paul Deschanel (President of the Chamber of Deputies, member of the French Academy; President of the Commission of External and Colonial Affairs, 1905-1909) there were limits to the rights of nationalities 'to govern themselves', and the Albanians were not fit to do so, while other nationalities, such as the Austrian Germans, posed too great a threat. Douglas Johnson, 'Memorandum of conversation with Paul Deschanel'; Document 992, M1107, RG 256.
- 137 J. T. Shotwell, 'Critique on the Preliminary Report on the Balkan Question', 6; Document 40, M1107, RG 256.
- 138 Gelfand, *op.cit.*, p. 246.
- 139 Howard Crosby Butler, 'Report on the Proposals for an Independent Arab State or States'; Document 79, M1107, RG 256.

- 140 Cited in Gelfand, *op.cit.*, p. 243.
- 141 Douglas Johnson, 'Memorandum of a conference with J. W. Headlam and A. J. Toynbee in the Oxford and Cambridge Club, London, April 30, 1918, p. 1; Document 992, M1107, RG 256. Johnson also remarked that 'Toynbee spoke rather critically of Lippmann's book on "World Problems", as betraying considerable self-assurance on the author's part.'
- 142 Douglas Johnson, 'Memorandum of conversation with Temperley', p. 2.
- 143 Howard Crosby Butler, 'Report on the Proposals for an Independent Arab State or States', p. 36; Document 79, M1107, RG 256.
- 144 James Shotwell, 'Critique on Report on Trieste and the Dalmatian Coast', Feb. 18, 1918, p. 1; Document 870, M1107, RG 256.
- 145 Lippmann to Seymour, June 7 1918, Box, 38, *General Correspondence*, M1107, RG 256.
- 146 Yale University Manuscripts and Archives. Walter Lippmann Papers, Group 326, Series I Selected Correspondence 1906–1930, Box 38 folder 1357, Seymour to Walter Lippmann, June 10 1918.
- 147 Walter Lippmann Papers, Series I, Box 38. folder 1357, Letter from Mezes to Lippman 16 Nov. 1918. See also J. T. Shotwell, 'Critique on the Preliminary Report on the Balkan Question', p. 6; Document 40, M1107, RG 256.
- 148 For Seymour, Slavs were the most vital on a scale of the 'Comparative Vitality of Races'. Seymour, 'Epitome of Reports on Just and Practical Boundaries within Austria-Hungary'.
- 149 Charles Seymour, 'Report on Austria: Population Studies. Racial Distribution, Feb. 1, 1918'.
- 150 FO371 3414 Political Turkey, Files. 1918, LBN and AJT, 'Jewish National Rights in Central Europe', 181911; 15/11/18, #167.
- 151 A. J. Toynbee, *Turkey: A past and future* (New York: G. H. Doran Co, 1917), p. 6, cited in I. Friedman, 'Arnold Toynbee: Pro-Arab or Pro-Zionist?', *Israel Studies*, 4 (1999) 80.
- 152 We have some evidence that at times these criteria were openly manipulated with propaganda aims in mind, as when the British Prime Minister Lloyd George instructed John Buchan to discredit the 'Turk' and the Ottoman empire: 'When you take in hand the question of Allied and Neutral propaganda, I am anxious you should pay special attention to the futility and iniquity of the Turk ... How the Turk, by his rule, made all the arts of industry and husbandry impossible, and how once rich lands have become a wilderness ... Emphasize his incapacity for good Government, his misrule, and above all, his massacres of all the industrious populations; his brutality ... in Armenia and Syria'; Friedman, *op.cit.*, p. 76.
- 153 See also Heffernan, *op.cit.*, p. 42. Martonne commented rather proudly on how useful the Committee's experts were at the conference, 'and how many of us are called to provide the notes that have played an important role in certain deliberations, or to take a personal part in the discussions of the different commissions'.
- 154 FO373/1 1/3 *Handbooks*, nos. 1, 2, 3. p. 57.
- 155 G. Prothero (ed.), *Peace Handbooks*, Great Britain Foreign Office Historical Section (London: H.M.S.O., 1920): no. 67 *China*, in Vol. XII, p. 109, and no. 61, *Arabia*, in Vol. XI, p. 10. The American delegation utilised the Inquiry reports, but, as Gelfand has pointed out they took only about half of the reports produced. The most important recommendations were brought together as the 'Black Book', and a companion red-bound volume on colonial

- matters. These books existed in a number of versions, but in general reflected the combination of altruism and stereotyping that afflicted Inquiry reports. Gelfand, *op.cit.*, p. 183.
- 156 See J. Keiger, 'Patriotism, Politics and Policy in the Foreign Ministry 1880–1914', in R. Tombs (ed.), *Nationhood and Nationalism in France: From Boulangism to the Great War, 1889–1918* (London, New York: Harper Collins Academic, 1991), p. 260. Boutmy's *Essai d'une psychologie politique du peuple anglais* (1901) had followed in the footsteps of his predecessor Taine in drawing on examples of English history and politics to show that 'for the English nation, external nature has been a school for initiative, activity, foresight, and self-control'. Boutmy's theoretical aim was to restore the importance of the physical environment and race to explanations of national psychology; E. Boutmy, *Essai d'une psychologie politique du peuple anglais au XIXe siècle* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1901), p. 9. See also his *Éléments d'une psychologie politique du peuple américain: La Nation-La Patrie-L'État-La Religion*.
- 157 Edward Mandell House, Edward Mandell House papers, 1885–1938 inclusive, MsGR466, HM236. Yale University Library, [also known as: Edward M. House diaries.] 466, III, p. 122: April 28, 1917. They also agreed that the outcome of the war would involve a settlement of Poland's boundaries, but were less certain about the national fate of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia, Romania, Hungary, and Austria, of cities such as Danzig, Constantinople, and Trieste, or any nationality cause that involved their own secret treaties in respect to the Adriatic region and the Middle East. CAB29/1, Committee of Imperial Defence, Peace, P Series, Vol. 1. October 1916: 'The Peace Settlement in Europe', Memo by Mr. Balfour', p. 7.
- 158 Gelfand, *op.cit.*, p. 329.
- 159 FO371/4356 PID (Peace Conference Series) PC. 150, 'Kurdistan, Dec. 14, 1918'.
- 160 S. P. Tillman, *Anglo-American Relations at the Paris Peace Conference of 1919* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961), p. 200.
- 161 FO502/1/1, The Irish Republic. Pamphlet on the Irish Race Convention in the US in 1919.
- 162 FO608/211 642/1/4, Self Determination for India, February 12 1919.
- 163 FO371/4355, P.I.D. 1918–19, P.C. 68, 'South Eastern Europe and the Balkans' (27/12/18, note to Paget's report), p. 3.
- 164 H. W. Temperley, cited in M. Burns, 'Disturbed spirits: Minority rights and new world order,' in S. F. Wells, Jr. (ed.), *New European Orders, 1919 and 1991* (Washington, D. C.: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 1996), p. 47.
- 165 Smith, *American Empire*, p. 143.

Chapter 2 The Principle of Nationality, 1914–1919

- 1 See A. J. Mayer, *Politics and Diplomacy of Peacemaking* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1968), and Heater, *op.cit.*
- 2 Princeton University Library, Robert Lansing Papers, Series I Official Papers, Box 2: 'Letter to Wilson, May 19, 1918' and 'Memorandum on the policy of the United States in relation to the nationalities included within the Austro-Hungarian Empire, June 24, 1918.'
- 3 *Diary of Colonel E. M. House*, August 5, 1918, p. 199.

- 4 J. Breuilley, *Nationalism and the State* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1982), p. 373.
- 5 R. Lansing, *The Peace Negotiations, a Personal Narrative* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1921), p. 97.
- 6 T. Masaryk, *The Making of a State: Memories and observations, 1914–1918* (1927), cited in Heater, *op.cit.*, p. 107.
- 7 Cited in Heater, *op.cit.*, pp. 20, 24.
- 8 'Notes d'Aubert sur les travaux de l'Inquiry et sur les solutions de paix américaines: 11 déc. 1918', p. 8.
- 9 'Diary of Edith Benham' in Link ed., *op.cit.*, January 14, 1919, pp. 54–61.
- 10 Heater, *op.cit.*, p. 29. Some historians have sought the origins of the status of nationality in the wartime aims of British radicals, others in 'the interplay between American and British reflection'. See L. W. Martin, *Peace without Victory* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1958), Tilman, *op.cit.*, Gelfand, *op.cit.*, p. 3; Nielson, *op.cit.*, p. 57.
- 11 See Seton-Watson Papers, Correspondence between Nicolson and Seton-Watson in 1918 and after, and with Holland Rose in 1916. For more on Seton-Watson and the Habsburg empire see, Sluga, 'Bodies, Souls and Sovereignty: The Austro-Hungarian Empire and the legitimacy of nations'. For an account of the interwar influence of the New Europe, see L. Passerini, *Europe in Love, Love in Europe: Imagination and politics between the wars* (New York: New York University Press, 1999), p. 53.
- 12 Seton-Watson Papers, SEW/2/1/1, *European Review*.
- 13 Editorial, 'The Fate of Austria', *The New Europe*, (1917) 225.
- 14 Editorial, 'Europe and the nonEuropean world', *The New Europe* (1917) 323.
- 15 *Ibid.*
- 16 R. Muir, *National Self-Government: Its growth and principles* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1918) p. 4.
- 17 R. Muir, *The Character of the British Empire* (London: Constable, 1917), p. 9; R. Muir with S. Hodgson (ed.), *An Autobiography and Some Essays* (London: Lund Humphries and Co., 1943), p. 108.
- 18 Muir with Hodgson (ed.), *op.cit.*, p. 110.
- 19 Muir, 'Introduction', in E. Rignano, *The War and the Settlement: An Italian view*, trans. A. M. Sanderson Furniss (London: Council for the Study of International Relations, 1917).
- 20 Muir, in Rignano, *The War and the Settlement*, p. 18.
- 21 See U. Singh Mehta, *Liberalism and Empire: A study in nineteenth-century British liberal thought* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999).
- 22 Bevan also wrote on Indian nationalism, and translated important contemporary German works.
- 23 E. Bevan, 'India: Self-determination and the British Commonwealth', *The New Europe*, 67 (1918), p. 39.
- 24 K. J. Calder, *Britain and the Origins of the New Europe: 1914–1918* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), p. 18. Walter Lippmann Papers, Series I, Box 30, Folder 1113, 'Letter to Walter Lippmann in Paris from Seton-Watson', 25 November 1918.
- 25 G. Martel, 'From Round Table to New Europe: Some intellectual origins of the Institute of International Affairs', in A. Bosco and C. Navari (eds.), *Chatham House and British Foreign Policy, 1991–1945: The Royal Institute of International Affairs during the inter-war period* (London: Lothian Foundation, 1994), p. 24.

- 26 See Seton-Watson Papers, SEW/2/2/1 *New Europe* and SEW/2/2 'New Europe Society'.
- 27 'I was thrilled to realise,' Muir recorded in a brief memoir, 'how all the great movements in modern history – nationalism, internationalism, the growth of popular self-government and the expansion of European influence over the non-European world – seemed to have come to a culminating point in the war.' Muir with Hodgson (ed.), *op.cit.*, p. 108.
- 28 A. Toynbee, *Nationality and the War* (London: J. M. Dent, 1915), p. 16.
- 29 Bodleian Library, Oxford, Toynbee Papers, Box 39, Letter to his Uncle Paget, dated 20 April 1915. Toynbee was particularly interested in the theories of Bergson and Tarde at this stage, see: W. H. McNeill, *Arnold J. Toynbee: A life* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), pp. 76, 267, and K. W. Thompson, *Toynbee's Philosophy of World History and Politics* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1985), p. 221.
- 30 C. Brewin, 'Arnold Toynbee, Chatham House, and research in a global context', in D. Long and P. Wilson (eds.), *Thinkers of The Twenty Years' Crisis: Inter-war idealism reassessed* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), p. 294.
- 31 H. Bergson, *The Meaning of the War: Life and matter in conflict* (London: T. F. Unwin, 1915), pp. 18–47, and M. Antliff, *Inventing Bergson: Cultural politics and the Parisian avant-garde* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), p. 105.
- 32 G. Tarde, *Études de psychologie sociale* (Paris: Giard & Brière, 1898), p. 1.
- 33 Tarde, *op.cit.*, pp. 47, 51, 295: 'Si les divers moi étaient aussi hétérogènes qu'on le suppose quelquefois, ... comment pourraient-ils s'associer, former un nous? ... La psychologie collective, donc, la psychologie *inter-cérébrale*, renferme des éléments, transmissibles et communicables d'une conscience à d'autres, ... pour former des forces et des quantités vraiment sociales, courants d'opinion ou entraînements de passion populaire, énergie tenace des traditions ou des coutumes nationales.'
- 34 Toynbee, *Nationality and War*, p. 56.
- 35 *Ibid*, pp. 13, 20.
- 36 A. Toynbee, *The New Europe: Some essays in reconstruction* (London: Dent, 1916), pp. 17, 20.
- 37 *Ibid*, p. 62.
- 38 *Ibid*, p. 49.
- 39 Paul Rich has argued, '[t]he Victorian notion of 'advanced' and 'backward' had been initially applied to the question of individual and family behaviour as a biological metaphor derived from Darwinian notions of 'fitness'; P. B. Rich, *Race and Empire in British Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), p. 21.
- 40 Toynbee, *The New Europe*, pp. 16, 63, 73.
- 41 J. Holland Rose, *Nationality in Modern History* (London: Rivington, 1916), p. iv.
- 42 Rose, *op.cit.*, p. 137.
- 43 *Ibid*, p. 148.
- 44 *Ibid*, p. 137.
- 45 H. Weinroth, 'Radicalism and Nationalism: An increasingly unstable equation', in A. J. A. Morris (ed.), *Edwardian Radicalism, 1900–1914: Some aspects of British radicalism* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1974), p. 219.
- 46 L. W. Martin, *op.cit.*, p. 74. Kenneth Calder has distinguished the liberal nationalism of 'the New Europeans' from the pacifism and internationalism of the UDC.; K. J. Calder, *Britain and the Origins of the New Europe: 1914–1918* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), p. 6.

- 47 H. Swanwick, *Builders of Peace, Being Ten Years History of the Union of Democratic Control* (London: Swarthmore Press, 1924), p. 56.
- 48 Cited in Martel, 'From Round Table to New Europe', p. 25.
- 49 N. Angell, *The Fruits of Victory* (London: Collins, 1921), pp. xiv, 209, 254.
- 50 I. Zangwill, 'War-Shock', in *U.D.C.*, 2 (1917) 79.
- 51 I. Cooper Willis, 'Freedom in Wartime', *Foreign Affairs*, 2 (October 1917) 2-3.
- 52 B. Russell, 'National Independence and Internationalism', *Atlantic Monthly*, (1917) 622-3.
- 53 R. Monk, *Bertrand Russell: The spirit of solitude* (London: Vintage, 1997), p. 372. Similarly, Charles Roden Buxton argued that the nationality principle was 'merely another form of the democratic principle', that could not be transplanted easily onto the different terrain of India, Egypt and Persia. C. Roden Buxton, 'Nationality', in C. Roden Buxton and G. Lowes Dickinson ed., *Towards a Lasting Settlement* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1915), p. 40.
- 54 Monk, *op.cit.*, pp. 372, 382.
- 55 B. Russell, *War, the Offspring of Fear* (London: U. D. C., 1914).
- 56 I. Zangwill, 'Palestine regained', *The International Review*, 69 (New Series 6) (1919) 451.
- 57 I. Zangwill, *The Principle of Nationalities* (London: Watts, 1917).
- 58 *Ibid*, p. 32.
- 59 *Ibid*, p. 53.
- 60 Martel, 'From Round Table to New Europe', p. 23. G. Murray with J. Smith and A. Toynbee (eds.), *An Unfinished Autobiography* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1960). See G. Murray, 'The Herd Instinct and the War', in *The International Crisis in Its Ethical and Psychological Aspects: lectures delivered in February and March, 1915, by Eleanor M. Sidgwick [and others], under the scheme for imperial studies in the University of London, at Bedford college for women* (London, New York: H. Milford, 1915).
- 61 S. Brown, 'The Herd Instinct', *Journal of Abnormal Psychology and Social Psychology*, 16 (1921) 234.
- 62 Postwar, Murray (like Bergson) was an influential member of the League of Nation's Organisation for International Intellectual Cooperation.
- 63 G. Murray, 'National Ideals; Conscious and Unconscious', *The International Journal of Ethics*, (1900) 160.
- 64 Cited in Martel, 'From Round Table to New Europe', p. 23.
- 65 Murray, 'The Herd Instinct and the War', pp. 31, 33.
- 66 As Gordon Martel explains, 'it was Murray who was to serve as a vital link between Wellington House and the British liberal-intellectual community in the propaganda side of the war effort.' According to Martel, 'Murray was prepared to embrace imperialism if it could be fused with liberalism.' Martel, 'From Round Table to New Europe', pp. 21, 32.
- 67 G. Murray, 'The League of Nations and the Democratic Idea' in *The League of Nations*, Viscount Grey (ed.) (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1918), p. 126.
- 68 H. D. Oakeley, 'The Idea of a General Will', in L. Creighton (ed.), *The International Crisis: The theory of the State: lectures delivered in February and March, 1916, at Bedford College for Women* (London and New York: H. Milford and Oxford University Press, 1916), pp. 145, 147, 155. Murray's views of nationality were in broad agreement with those of the New Europeans, see G. Murray, 'Self-Determination of Nationalities', *Journal of the British Institute of International Affairs* 1 (1922) 6-13.
- 69 Martel, 'From Round Table to New Europe', p. 24.

- 70 Cited in Martel, 'From *Round Table* to *New Europe*', p. 1.
- 71 A. E. Zimmern, 'Nationality and Government' (1915) in A. E. Zimmern, *Nationality and Government, with Other Wartime Essays* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1918), p. 54. Both Zimmern and Toynbee found inspiration in Graham Wallas' *Human Nature in Politics*, in R. W. Seton-Watson's championship of nationalist causes in Central and Eastern Europe, and in Gilbert Murray's liberalism. For a useful description of Zimmern's political ideas, see H. Hanak, *Great Britain and Austria-Hungary during the First World War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962).
- 72 A. E. Zimmern, 'True and False Nationalism' in Zimmern, *Nationality and Government*, p. 74.
- 73 Zimmern, 'True and False Nationalism', p. 84: 'National sentiment is intimate: whether it be mainly compounded of influences of heredity (as in Europe), or of environment, as in the older Americans, or whether it be something newly acquired and deliberately cherished as among the new arrivals, it is something that goes deep down into the very recesses of the being. ... The nationality of a European and the nationality of a recent American may perhaps be compared to a man's relations to his parents and his relation to his wife. Both sentiments are intimate; both can be legitimately compared, in the sphere of personal relations, to the sense of nationality in the wider sphere of corporate relations. But the one is hereditary, the other is elective. The European and the older American are born into their nation; the recent American has chosen his nationality and attached himself to it as to a wife. And, as parentage and marriage both go to make up a complete personality, so nationality, even among members of the older nations, will not be complete without an element of election and deliberation, or, to use a more appropriate term which the war brought home to so many, re-dedication', p. 85.
- 74 A. E. Zimmern, 'The Passing of Nationality', in Zimmern, *Nationality and Government*, p. 87.
- 75 *Ibid*, p. 87.
- 76 Zimmern, 'Nationality and Government', p. 54: 'In the world, as it is today, as educated India is discovering, consciousness of nationality is essential to individual self-respect, as self-respect is essential to right living'.
- 77 *Ibid*, p. 57.
- 78 A. E. Zimmern, 'Review of Race and Nationality by John Oakesmith', *The International Review*, 2 (1919) 201–2.
- 79 A. E. Zimmern, 'German Culture and the British Commonwealth' (1914), in Zimmern, *Nationality and Government*, p. 21: 'Cut a section through mankind, and in every layer there will be British citizens, living under the jurisdiction of British law.'
- 80 Zimmern cited in Martel, 'From *Round Table* to *New Europe*', p. 18.
- 81 Zimmern, 'The Passing of Nationality', p. 81.
- 82 Zimmern, 'Nationality and Government', p. 50.
- 83 G. Wallas, *The Great Society: A psychological analysis* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1914), p. 10. A socialist and Fabian, Wallas was concerned with rethinking the model of human nature implicit in political theory, and contemplating how individual psychologies might be alterable. He happily synthesised the ideas of Darwin, James, Trotter, and G. Stanley Hall. See M. J. Wiener, *Between Two Worlds: The political thought of Graham Wallas* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), pp. 43, 73, 86.
- 84 Wiener, *op.cit.*, p. 90.

- 85 From 'Comment on J. A. Thomson's "The Sociological Appeal to Biology", delivered 14 March 1906 before the Sociological Society', cited in Wiener, *op.cit.*, p. 88.
- 86 Walter Lippmann Papers, Series I, Box 2, Walter Lippmann to Graham Wallas, Letter October 30 1912. Lippmann's preference was for Freudian psychology (unlike Wallas), as he declared in this same letter: 'I went back and read some of James with a curious sense that the world must have been very young in the '80s!'. See also C. T. Wellborn, *Twentieth Century Pilgrimage: Walter Lippmann and the public philosophy* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1969), p. 48.
- 87 Martel, 'From *Round Table* to *New Europe*', p. 60.
- 88 W. Lippmann, 'Patriotism in the rough', *The New Republic* (16 October 1915) 277-8.
- 89 Walter Lippmann Papers, Series I, Box 35 Folder 1323: Lippmann to Zimmern, June 7 1915, 'You do not quite make strong enough your opposition to the over-nationalized groups. I should have liked for instance to have it made clearer where nationalism ceases to be worth cultivating. Is every little language worth reviving? Ought we to advocate Gaelic revivals in Ireland and dialect revivals all over India, etc.? Ought we to be sympathetic only to the larger and simpler groupings?'. Zimmern replied, 'I regard the European variety, which sets up the National State as its ideal, as a passing phase, and an anachronism at that. ... Granted that political nationalism is an anachronism one need not be afraid of smaller national movements. It is not for you and me to say whether Gaelic is worth reviving. If your people understood what nationality was you would not be so alarmed at the U. S. Germans. ... I have never felt less English than since the war began.' Zimmern to Lippmann, 23 June 1915.
- 90 Walter Lippmann Papers, Series I, Box 2, Folder 66, Correspondence with Norman Angell, January 18 1917.
- 91 The OPP's key figures were Jan Van Beek en Donce and Paul Otlet (Secretary-General of the Union of International Associations in Brussels), and its professed aim was to study questions about individual and national rights. W. F. Kuehl, *Seeking World Order: The United States and international organization to 1920* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1969), p. 218. See also E. Balch, *Approaches to the Great Settlement* (New York: American Union against Militarism, 1918), pp. 242-3.
- 92 In May 1917, *The Nation* began carrying *War and Peace* as a supplement. It advertised the publications of Le Bon as well as L. T. Hobhouse, and published UDC and New European writings, including the reflections of Russell, Hobson, Morel, and Toynbee.
- 93 'Self-determination', (no author cited), *War and Peace - The Nation Supplement*, (1918) 253.
- 94 As a result, OPP member Starr Jordan, President of Stanford University and Chief Director of the World Peace Foundation, wrote that national rights were only relevant in homogeneous civilised areas, designated civilised by virtue of racial status. Jordan, a member of the Immigration Restriction League of Boston since the mid-1890s believed the sources of decline in the US were 'emigration of its stronger stock', 'immigration of inferior stock,' and 'war killing off the more virile strains.' D. S. Jordan, 'Biological effects of race movements', *Popular Science Monthly*, 87 (1915) 267-70.
- 95 Prof. William I. Thomas, University of Chicago on 'Nationalism and the Creation of Values', MAE, Série A. Paix t.6 Fragments: U.S. Conference

- 1916/17, Washington DC, Conference of Oppressed or Dependent Nationalities, 11/12/16. For more discussion of Thomas' scientific work on nationality, see chapter 3.
- 96 Zimmern, *Nationality and Government*, p. xii.
- 97 Its organiser was the sociologist L. T. Hobhouse, the first professor of Sociology in England (1907), at University of London, and whose *Mind in Evolution* (1901) referred to the great changes that had occurred in 'comparative psychology' and showed that the mind was 'the essential driving force in all evolutionary change'; L. T. Hobhouse, 'Preface to the 2nd edition', *Mind in Evolution*, (London: Macmillan, 1915 [1901]), pp. ix, x.
- 98 M. Hanna, *The Mobilization of Intellect: French scholars and writers during the Great War* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996), pp. 74–5.
- 99 Buisson was Director of Primary Education, Sorbonne Professor of Pedagogical Science, Radical Party Deputy for the Seine, and eventually a Nobel Peace Prize Winner.
- 100 F. Buisson, 'France and the League of Nations: Wilson's Programme as Interpreted by the French Groups of the Left', *The International Review*, 64 (1919) 19.
- 101 *Le Congrès de 1916 de la Ligue de l'homme: compte rendu sténographique 1er et 2me novembre 1916* (Paris: Ligue des droits de l'homme et du citoyen, 1917), p. 3.
- 102 T. Ruysen, *The Principle of Nationality* (New York: American Association for International Conciliation, 1916), p. 25.
- 103 J. M. Baldwin, 'France and the War', *Sociological Review*, 8 (1915) 72.
- 104 E. Baie, *L'épopée Flamande: histoire de la sensibilité collective* (Paris: Félix Alcan, 1917), p. lxxiv.
- 105 E. Baie (ed.), *Le droit des nationalités: consultation de MM. Émile Boutroux, Carton de Wiart, L. Luzzatti, (et al)*, (Paris: Félix Alcan, 1915), p. 15.
- 106 *Ibid*, p. 102.
- 107 E. Boutroux, 'Les nations', in Baie (ed.), *Le droit des nationalités*, p. 26.
- 108 For more on Bagehot, see chapter 3.
- 109 R. Johannet, *Le principe des nationalités* (Paris: Nouvelle Librairie Nationale, 1918) pp. xxxi, 237.
- 110 *Ibid*.
- 111 *Ibid*, p. 256.
- 112 *Ibid*, pp. xxv, 212.
- 113 *Ibid*, p. 407.
- 114 *Ibid*, p. 70. For more on Fouillée, see chapter 3.
- 115 *Ibid*, pp. 389, 405.
- 116 *Ibid*, p. 424.
- 117 J. T. Kloppenberg, *Uncertain Victory: Social democracy and progressivism in European and American thought, 1870–1920* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), p. 175.
- 118 Martel, 'From Round Table to New Europe', p. 27.
- 119 Bergson was adamant that these underdeveloped populations were the 'oriental masses', *Papiers d'agents Henri Bergson (PA-AP 207)*, t. 3, 2^{ème} mission aux USA; mars–juillet 1918 (4/7/18).
- 120 H. Bergson, Gifford Lecture on 'The Problem of Personality', *Mélanges* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1972), Lecture VIII, 1065; see also Bergson, interview with A. Beveridge, typescript, 'What is Back of the War' in Correspondence and Notebooks, Vol. 2, 1914, p. 5, Albert Beveridge Papers, Library of Congress.

- 121 G. Le Bon, *The Psychology of the Great War* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1916), pp. 41, 45, 48.
- 122 G. Richards, 'Race', *Racism and Psychology: Towards a reflexive history* (New York: Routledge, 1997), p. 25.
- 123 MAE, (PA-AP 335), Papiers d'agent Briand, t. 24; Le Bon à Briand, 8/9/14, my translation.
- 124 Le Bon, *The Psychology of the Great War*, p. 146.
- 125 *Ibid*, p. 48.
- 126 *Ibid*, p. 146.
- 127 Heffernan, *op.cit.*, p. 30.
- 128 See for example, E. Greene Balch, *Our Slavic Fellow Citizens* (New York: Charities Publication Committee, 1910).
- 129 Thomas' innovative study *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America* (1918), claimed to show that Polish-American society was 'slowly evolving from Polonism to Americanism' as a group phenomenon. D. Ross, *The Origins of American Social Science* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 352.
- 130 W. B. Pillsbury, *The Psychology of Nationality and Internationalism* (New York: Appleton, 1919), p. 150.
- 131 *Ibid*, p. 150.
- 132 'Notes d'Aubert sur les travaux de l'Inquiry et sur les solutions de paix américaines. 11 déc. 1918.', p. 8.
- 133 A preamble to the 'Declaration of the Rights of Nationalities' described nationalities as 'natural facts, due to biological, geographic and historical factors.' Conférence des nationalités organisée par l'Union des nationalités à l'École des hautes études sociales de Paris les 26–27 juin 1915. The declaration insisted, however, that European and non-European ('Oriental') races had the same claim to individual, if not collective, rights, p. 74.
- 134 FO395/242 74932 PID, memo Congress of Oppressed Nationalities, Appendix, April, 25, 1918.
- 135 Andrew Williams has argued that 'British and French official policy from late 1916 on was to try and manipulate Wilson's ideas into a form that would suit their national interests. In this they were in the short run successful; in the longer term they were forced to accept his initial logic', Williams, *op.cit.*, p. 35.
- 136 J. Dewey, 'The Principle of Nationality', *Menorah's Journal*, 3 (1917) 203–8, republished in *John Dewey, the Middle Works 1899–1924*, J. A. Boydston (ed.) (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1983), pp. 286–7.
- 137 J. M. Baldwin in C. W. Murchison *et al.* (eds.), *A History of Psychology in Autobiography*, vol. 1 (Worcester: Clark University Press, 1930), p. 27. During the war, Baldwin authored *The Super-State* (Herbert Spencer Lecture, Oxford, 1916), *French and American Ideals* (1914), *France and the War* (1916), *American Neutrality* (1916).

Chapter 3 Psychology, Race, and the Nation Question, 1870–1914

- 1 J. Ward, 'Psychology', *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th edn. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1911), p. 598.
- 2 Psychology at this time stood for a tangle of methodologies – drawn from philosophy, medicine, souls, ethics, telepathy, sensations, and neuro-physiology – and sub-fields, including analytic, genetic, comparative, experimental, pathological,

- individual, and ethnic. The first issue of the French *Bulletin de l'Institut psychique*, later the *Bulletin de l'Institut général psychologique* (1900), edited by Pierre Janet, the French expert on hypnotism and hysteria, counted philosophers, psychologists, spiritualists, anthropologists, criminologists, and general philanthropists from across Europe and the Atlantic amongst its contributors. Prior to the *Bulletin's* appearance the *American Journal of Psychology* (1887) and the *Psychological Review* (1894), had been established. The editor of the *British Journal of Psychology* (1904), James Ward, affirmed the importance of promoting 'Psychology in all its branches'; *The British Journal of Psychology* 1 (1904). Joseph Jastrow, chair of psychology at the University of Wisconsin from 1888 to 1923, the first secretary of the American Psychological Association, and its president in 1900, recalls in his professional autobiography that the developments in psychology during this time were 'so rapid and in such varied directions that those who stood in the center of the movement at times failed to sense rightly the changing perspective of interests and problems.' [J. Jastrow in Murchison, ed., *op.cit.*, p. 143.] Even as psychology took on the status of an independent discipline, its methods and agendas were characteristically 'porous', and 'influenced by ... everything from consumer demand for personal advice to the quest for a philosophically grounded pantheism'; G. Eghigian, 'Review of C. D. Green, M. Shore, and T. Teo (eds.), *The Transformation of Psychology: Influences of 19th century philosophy, technology, and natural science*' in *Journal of the History of the Behavioural Sciences*, 38 (2001) 420. For further discussion see G. Richards, *Putting Psychology in its Place: An introduction from a critical historical perspective* (London, New York: Routledge, 1996); G. Richards, *Mental Machinery: The origins and consequences of psychological ideas, Pt. 1: 1600–1850* (London: Athlone Press, 1992); W. R. Woodward and M. G. Ash (eds.), *The Problematic Science: Psychology in nineteenth century thought* (New York: Praeger, 1982); C. E. Buxton (ed.), *Points of View in the Modern History of Psychology* (Orlando: Academic Press, 1985); K. Arens, *Structures of Knowing: Psychologies of the nineteenth century* (Dordrecht, Boston: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1989); J. Brozek and L. J. Pongratz (eds.), *Historiography of Modern Psychology* (Toronto: C. J. Hogrefe, 1980), and J. Brozek, 'History of Psychology: Diversity of Approaches and Uses', *Transactions of the New York Academy of Sciences*, 31 (1969) 115–27; N. Rose, 'Assembling the Modern Self', in R. Porter, *Rewriting the Self: Histories from the Renaissance to the present* (London: Routledge, 1997); N. Rose, *Inventing Our Selves: Psychology, power and personhood* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); K. Danziger, *Naming the Mind: How psychology found its language* (London: Sage Publications, 1997).
- 3 E. Renan, 'Qu'est-ce qu'une nation?', in *Idem, Qu'est-ce qu'une nation? et autres essais politiques* J. Roman (ed.) (Paris: Agora Pocket, 1992), p. 54.
 - 4 E. Renan, *L'Avenir de la science – pensées de 1848* (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1890), pp. vii, ix. Renan proposed that the psychology of the uncivilised races would reveal the secrets of human nature and of evolution, Renan, *L'Avenir de la science*, p. 174.
 - 5 Ribot was awarded the Chair in 1888. See S. Nicholas and A. Charvillat, 'Introducing Psychology as an Academic Discipline in France: Théodule Ribot and the Collège de France (1888–1901)', *Journal of the History of the Behavioural Sciences*, 37(2001) 143–64, and D. C. J. Lee, *Ernest Renan: In the shadow of faith* (London: Duckworth, 1996), p. 248, for more on Renan's awareness of the new psychology.
 - 6 R. Théodule, *Maladies de la volonté* (1884), cited in R. Nye, *The Origins of Crowd Psychology: Gustave Le Bon and the crisis of mass democracy in the Third Republic* (London, Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1975), p. 31.

- 7 From *Principles of Psychology* (1855), cited in R. Smith, *The Norton History of the Human Sciences* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1997), p. 462.
- 8 L. Otis, *Organic Memory: History and the body in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994), p. 7.
- 9 T. Todorov, *On Human Diversity: Nationalism, racism and exoticism in French thought* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993), p. 157. For more orthodox renderings of Renan as a constructivist see in particular, G. Eley and R. Suny, 'Introduction', in G. Eley and R. Suny (eds.), *Becoming National: A reader* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996).
- 10 Smith, *The Norton History of the Human Sciences*, p. 392.
- 11 In *Race and Nationality* (1919), the English writer John Oakesmith referred disapprovingly to a popular vogue for employing 'the highly controversial term "soul"', as if it were 'the best means of expressing what is meant by the character of a nation.' J. Oakesmith, *Race and Nationality: An inquiry into the growth of patriotism* (London: William Heinemann, 1919), pp. 20–1. Oakesmith's critique was supplemented with an idealisation of the British empire's own plurality grounded in the idea of its historically-determined Anglo-Saxon cultural core. See also W. McDougall in Murchison *et al.* (ed.), *op.cit.*, p. 208.
- 12 See, for example, W. Wundt, *Lectures on Human And Animal Psychology* (London: S. Sonnenschein & Co., 1894), p. 393, and J. R. Angell, 'The influence of Darwin on Psychology', *Psychological Review*, 16 (1909) 152. See also C. Darwin, *Origin of Species*, vol. 1 (New York: D. Appleton and company, 1892), p. 321.
- 13 T. Ribot, *L'hérédité: Étude psychologique sur ses phénomènes, ses lois, ses causes, ses conséquences* (Paris: Librairie Philosophique de Ladrange, 1873); Nye, *op.cit.*, p. 32.
- 14 M. Hawkins, *Social Darwinism in European and American Thought, 1860–1945: Nature as model and nature as threat* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 81.
- 15 W. Bagehot (ed.) R. Kimball, *Physics and Politics: Or thoughts on the application of the principles of 'natural selection' and 'inheritance' to political society* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 1999), p. 21.
- 16 *Ibid*, pp. 35, 89, 130.
- 17 J. Burrow, *The Crisis of Reason: European thought 1848–1914* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), p. 165. The classic study of the scientific and cultural significance of the unconscious in this period is H. Ellenberger, *The Discovery of the Unconscious: The history and evolution of dynamic psychiatry* (London: Allen Lane, 1970).
- 18 Bagehot, *op.cit.*, p. 137. Thus, according to Bagehot, an English immigrant might live 'in the same climate as the Australian or Tasmanian [by which he meant the indigenous Aboriginal groups], but he has not become like those races; nor will a thousand years, in most respects, make him like them', *ibid*, p. 78. Similarly the experience of the English in India showed 'that a highly civilised race may fail in producing a rapidly excellent effect on a less civilised race, because it [the civilised race] is too good and too different.' *Ibid*, p. 129.
- 19 *Ibid*, pp. 79, 80. During an earlier pre-historic race-making period 'the Negro, or the red man, or the European' were made. But during the historic nation-making period distinctions between groups such as 'Spartan and Athenian, or between Scotchman and Englishman' flourished. Bagehot believed that the role of historians, statisticians, biologists, and anthropologists was to gather 'data' 'for a science of society whose sure indications will enable us deliberately to guide the further evolution of the nation towards the highest ideal of a nation that we can conceive.'
- 20 Todorov, *op.cit.*, pp. 107, 159.

- 21 From 'What is a nation?', trans. M. Thom, in Eley and Suny, *op.cit.*, p. 52.
- 22 The history of psychology in this period and its relationship to race-thinking is a story that has only just begun to be told, see for example Graham Richards' *Race Psychology* and *Putting Psychology in its Place*. Richards covers forms of collective and individual psychology that were not referred to as race psychology specifically, and that I include in this analysis of nation psychology. On the general significance of race in this period, see I. Hannaford, *Race: The History of an Idea in the West* (Washington: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 1996), pp. 275, 323, 327. See also C. Liauzu, *Race et civilisation: l'autre dans la culture occidentale, anthologie historique* (Paris: Syros, 1992), pp. 108–10.
- 23 Here I am also thinking of Frederick Hertz, who argued that psychological understanding of 'the development and role of ... traditions, ideals and mental dispositions' was critical to the development of 'a more scientific and systematic treatment of the problems of national character' in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, F. Hertz, *Nationality in History and Politics: A study of the psychology and sociology of national sentiment and character* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1944), p. 39.
- 24 One of the best discussions of the ideological dimensions of developments in psychology, and their implications for liberalism is R. Nye, *Anti-Democratic Sources of Elite Theory: Pareto, Mosca, Michels* (London, Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1977), p. 9.
- 25 Ribot, *English Psychology*, p. 12.
- 26 *Ibid*, pp. 12, 17.
- 27 *Ibid*, p. 328. Otis, *op.cit.*, pp. 96–7.
- 28 Editors, *Revue de psychologie sociale*, 1 (1907) 1–2.
- 29 Nye regards the heyday of collective psychology as dating from the 1890s, *Anti-Democratic Sources of Elite Theory*, pp. 9–11.
- 30 McDougall began his career in Britain, where he was a co-founder of the British Psychological Society and the *British Journal of Psychology*. McDougall described himself as representative of 'that blend of the Mediterranean and Nordic races which has produced the English people.' McDougall in Murchison ed., *op.cit.*, p. 211. For more on McDougall, see chapter 6 of this book.
- 31 W. McDougall, *Introduction to Social Psychology*, 23rd edn. (London: Methuen, 1936), p. 29. See also R. Smith, *op.cit.*, pp. 757–8.
- 32 The idea of imitation of course has a long heritage. In this period, its incorporation into the scientific study of psychology was accompanied by an emphasis on the role of élites in the process of imitation. For a discussion of this trend, see Nye, *Anti-Democratic Sources of Elite Theory, passim*.
- 33 McDougall, *The Group Mind*, p. 297.
- 34 W. I. Thomas, 'The Psychology of Race-Prejudice', *American Journal of Sociology*, 9 (1904); see also Hannaford, *op.cit.*, p. 341, and G. Stocking, *Race, Evolution and Culture* (New York: The Free Press, 1986), pp. 250–8. Stocking argues that Thomas' views change considerably over this period, as he came to reject physiological determinism and neo-Lamarckism.
- 35 Yale University, Sterling Library, *Inquiry Papers* Group 8 Series III Box 16. Folder 236 Nationalism/Thomas; typescript copy of paper 'Nationalism, individualization of function and the creation of Values' by W. I. Thomas.
- 36 For a discussion of the significance of the naturalisation of race-prejudice in the progressive view of American national identity see G. M. Fredrickson, *The Black Image in the White Mind: the debate on Afro-American character and destiny, 1817–1914* (New York: Harper & Row, 1971), p. 283ff.

- 37 W. C. Coupland, 'Introduction', in D. H. Tuke (ed.), *Dictionary of Psychological Medicine: Giving the definition, etymology and synonyms of the terms used in medical psychology with the symptoms, treatment and pathology of insanity and the law of lunacy in Great Britain and Ireland*, vol. 1 (London: J. A. Churchill, 1892), p. 30. The first issue of *Psiche* (1912) singled out Ethnic Psychology as a separate category of study alongside collective, social and character psychologies. For a further discussion of 'ethnopsychology' see Gilman, *Freud, Race and Gender*, pp. 27–9.
- 38 Otis, *op.cit.*, p. 95. See also A. Kuper, 'Psychology and Anthropology: The British experience', *History of the Human Sciences*, 3 (1990), 397–413; G. Stocking, *Victorian Anthropology* (New York: The Free Press, 1987), pp. 287–9; and also P. Rich, 'The Long Victorian Sunset: Anthropology, eugenics, and race in Britain, c1900–48', *Patterns of Prejudice*, 18 (1984) 4.
- 39 D. G. Brinton, *Races and Peoples: Lectures on the science of ethnography* (Philadelphia: David McKay, 1890), p. 51. See also D. G. Brinton, *An Ethnologist's View of History: An address before the Annual Meeting of the New Jersey Historical Society, at Trenton New Jersey, January 28, 1896* (Philadelphia: New Jersey Historical Society, 1896), p. 18.
- 40 Brinton, *Races and Peoples*, p. 94; Borrowing from the French zoologist-cum-ethnologist Jean de Quatrefages, Brinton described nations as the products of 'like physio-geographical conditions prevailing over a given area inhabited for many generations by the same peoples' that 'have impressed upon them certain traits, physical and psychical, which have become hereditary and continue indefinitely, even under changed conditions of existence.' See, J. L. Quatrefages, *Histoire générale des races humaines* (Paris: A. Hennuyer, 1886–89).
- 41 C. Le Tourneau, *La psychologie ethnique* (Paris: Schleicher Frères, 1901), p. vii.
- 42 *Ibid*, pp. 53, 64.
- 43 G. Le Bon, *The Psychology of Peoples* (London: T. Fisher, 1898), pp. xvii, 5. This book was based on a series of essays in the *Revue scientifique* entitled 'Ethnographie: Rôle du caractère dans la vie des peuples'. It has appeared in 17 French editions, and been translated into 16 foreign languages. Nye has categorised Le Bon's psychology of peoples as a version of racial typology, Nye, *Origins of Crowd Psychology*, p. 52. See also Morris Ginsberg, *The Psychology of Society*, 9th edn. (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1964 [1921]), p. 60.
- 44 *Ibid*, p. xv.
- 45 Le Bon, *The Psychology of Peoples*, pp. 7–8, 34–5.
- 46 *Ibid*, pp. 37, 53; and Nye, *Origins of Crowd Psychology*, p. 49.
- 47 *Ibid*, pp. xviii, 7.
- 48 'The psychological crowd', Le Bon claimed, 'is a provisional being formed of heterogeneous elements, which for a moment are combined, exactly as the cells which constitute a living body form by their reunion a new being which displays characteristics very different from those possessed by each of the cells singly.' G. Le Bon, *The Crowd: A study of the popular mind* (London: Fisher Unwin, 1910 [1896]), p. 30.
- 49 Nye, *Origins of Crowd Psychology*, p. 62. Those sentiments were most fully preserved amongst the 'masses', who, as a result, controlled '[t]he destinies of nations'. Le Bon, *The Crowd*, p. 15.
- 50 Le Bon, *The Crowd*, p. 97. See also Catherine Rouvier, *Les idées politiques de Gustave Le Bon* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1986), pp. 97–100.
- 51 A. Fouillée, *Esquisse psychologique des peuples européens*, 3rd edn. (Paris: Félix Alcan, 1903), pp. xix, 107, 137.

- 52 *Ibid*, p. 77. See also A. Fouillée, 'Le caractère des races humaines et l'avenir de la race blanche', *Revue des deux mondes*, 124 (1894) and *Tempérament et caractère selon les individus, les sexes et les races*, 3rd edn. (Paris: Félix Alcan, 1901), p. 117.
- 53 A. Fouillée, 'Race from the Sociological Standpoint', in G. Spiller (ed.), *Papers on Inter-racial Problems Communicated to the First Universal Races Congress held at the University of London, July 26–29, 1911* (London: P. S. King and Son, 1911), p. 24. On the doctrine of *idées-forces*, see Kloppenberg, *op.cit.*, p. 35, and Logue, *op.cit.*, p. 132.
- 54 Fouillée, *Esquisse psychologique des peuples européens*, p. 18; Hannaford, *op.cit.*, p. 338.
- 55 For more on this influence see Baldwin in Murchison, *op.cit.*, pp. 5ff.
- 56 First published in 1860, this journal's intellectual reach extended across the borders of the German states to, among other places, France, Britain, and North America.
- 57 R. Smith, *op.cit.*, p. 349.
- 58 A. A. Goldenweiser, 'Folk-psychology', *Psychological Bulletin*, 9 (1912) 373–80, 378.
- 59 W. Wundt, *Elemente der Völkerpsychologie: Grundlinien einer psychologischen Entwicklung der Menschheit* (Leipzig: Kröner, 1912). For a thorough discussion of the relationship of this work to Wundt's experimental psychology, and their interdependence, see Otis, *op.cit.*, pp. 108–12.
- 60 A. A. Goldenweiser, 'Special reviews: *Elemente der Völkerpsychologie: Grundlinien einer psychologischen Entwicklung der Menschheit*, Wilhelm Wundt. Leipzig: Kröner, 1912,' *Psychological Bulletin*, 11 (1914) 387.
- 61 W. Wundt, *Völkerpsychologie: eine Untersuchung der Entwicklungsgesetze von Sprache, Mythos und Sitte*, vol. 1 (Leipzig: W. Englemann, 1911), pp. 9–15, and Otis, *Organic Memory*, p. 109.
- 62 This was the American anthropologist A. A. Goldenweiser. He also argued that in this instance Wundt was working more in the capacity of a cultural historian than a psychologist. Goldenweiser, 'Special reviews', 391. The American psychologist James Mark Baldwin described in his autobiography the influence of Wundt's folk psychology on his own conception of cultural heredity: 'Social heritage' and/or 'tradition' were the 'the body of acquisitions resulting, in each generation, from the progressive integration and re-absorption by each individual of all the transmitted culture.' Baldwin in Murchison *et al.* (ed.), *op.cit.*, p. 5ff. Freud's *Totem and Taboo* was also significantly influenced by Wundt, see Otis, *op.cit.*, p. 108.
- 63 Otis, *op.cit.*, p. 98.
- 64 *Ibid*, pp. 98, 107.
- 65 Roger Smith explains that Wundt thought of instincts – even social instincts – as inherited mental structures, and 'considered that these structures have been affected by the experience and history of particular peoples, and in this context he referred to the *Volksgeist*.'; R. Smith, *op.cit.*, p. 762.
- 66 G. W. Stocking (ed.), *Malinowski, Rivers, Benedict, and Others: Essays on culture and personality* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1986), p. 5.
- 67 Ward, 'Psychology', p. 598.
- 68 The transition in scientific investigations of human difference was not only from an emphasis on physical race to psychological race, but also, as the psychology historian Jaap van Ginneken has described, from 'a strictly physiological emphasis on race toward a more psychological emphasis on nationhood';

- J. Van Ginneken, *Crowds, Psychology and Politics, 1871–1899* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p. 135.
- 69 Liauzu, *op.cit.*, p. 110.
- 70 J. Roman, 'L'introduction', in Renan, *op.cit.*, p. 21.
- 71 Renan, 'Qu'est-ce qu'une nation?', p. 43.
- 72 Pillsbury, *op.cit.*, p. 150: He added, 'This low state of intelligence is not transmitted to the offspring as measurements of their children in the schools show no such prevalence of mental defectiveness.' See also R. S. Woodworth, 'Comparative sociology of races', *The Psychological Bulletin*, 13 (1916) 388. Nancy Stepan dates the explosion in intelligence testing to the period 1900–1930, *The Idea of Race in Science: Great Britain, 1800–1960* (London: Macmillan, 1982), p. 131.
- 73 Rich, *Race and Empire in British Politics*, p. 18 and G. Villa, 'La Psicologia e le scienze sociali', *Psiche: Rivista di studi psicologici*, 2 (1913) 109.
- 74 G. Sergi, *Atti del V Congresso Internazionale di Psicologia* (Rome: Forzani, 1906), p. 48; G. Cesare Ferrari, 'Fifth International Congress of Psychology', *Bulletin de l'Institut général psychologique*, 5 (1905) 500–1.
- 75 M. Prince, 'A World Consciousness and Future Peace', *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, 11 (1917) 287. Prince was the author of *The Dissociation of a Personality* (1905) and founder of the *Journal of Abnormal Psychology* in 1906. He was trained as a neurologist, but his interest in the subconscious and personality led him to experiment with hypnosis.
- 76 Pillsbury, *op.cit.*, p. 164.
- 77 C. Burt, 'The Inheritance of Mental Characters', *Eugenics Review*, 4 (1912) 168–200, 134. Burt connected economic disadvantage with genetic disadvantage, and despite the controversy surrounding his elitist findings, he had an illustrious career, and was the first psychologist to be knighted.
- 78 D. J. Singal, 'Towards a Definition of American Modernism', *American Quarterly: Special issue, Modernist culture in America*, 39 (1987) 7–26.
- 79 I take the term 'liberal environmentalist' from Fredrickson, *The Black Image in the White Mind*, pp. 330–2.
- 80 M. Whiton Calkins, 'Limits of Genetic and Comparative Psychology', *British Journal of Psychology*, 1 (1904) 265.
- 81 Baldwin in Murchison ed., *op.cit.*, p. 5. See also G. H. Mead, 'Social Psychology as Counterpart to Physiological Psychology', *Psychological Bulletin*, 6 (1909) 402: 'that an organized intelligence in the form of a self could arise only over against other selves that must exist in consciousness as immediately as the subject self.'
- 82 M. Mauss and E. Durkheim, 'Note sur la notion de civilisation' *Année sociologique*, 12 (1913), pp. 46–50. Reprinted in M. Mauss, *Œuvres, 2. Représentations collectives et diversité des civilisations* (Paris: Les Éditions de Minuit, 1969), pp. 451–5.
- 83 See chapter 2.
- 84 J. Finot, *Race Prejudice*, trans. F. Wade-Evans (London: Mensomyne, 1969 [1902]), p. 179.
- 85 C. M. Hill, 'Voluntary organisations, a proposed study of social psychology', *Psychological Bulletin*, 4 (1907) 375.
- 86 These included *Social psychology: An outline and source book* (1908), and *The Principles of Sociology* (1920).
- 87 D. L. Herzberg, 'Thinking Through War: The social thought of Richard T. Ely, John R. Commons, and Edward A. Ross during the First World War', *Journal of the History of the Behavioural Sciences*, 37 (2001) 135.

- 88 E. A. Ross, 'The Present Problems of Social Psychology', *The American Journal of Sociology*, 10 (1905) 468; Herzberg, 'Thinking Through War', p. 135.
- 89 Ross, 'The Present Problems of Social Psychology', p. 468.
- 90 *Ibid.*, p. 468.
- 91 *Ibid.*, p. 470.
- 92 G. Le Bon, *Enseignements psychologiques de la guerre européenne* (Paris: Flammarion, 1915), pp. 45, 146.
- 93 See S. Freud, *Totem and Taboo: Some points of agreement between the mental lives of savages and neurotics*, trans. J. Strachey (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1950 [1913]), p. 64. In the early years of the twentieth century, Freud's *Totem and Taboo* with its evocations of the unconscious as 'the realm of the wild, brutish instincts that cannot find permissible outlets, derive from earlier stages of the individual and of mankind, and find expression in passion, dreams, and mental illness' provided a firm grounding for the possibility and significance of a collective psychology prone to national formations and its hereditary basis, Ellenberger, *op.cit.*, p. 277.
- 94 C. Jung, *Psychology of the Unconscious*, trans. B. M. Hinkle (London: Kegan Hall, 1919), p. 31. See also C. Douglas, 'The Historical Context of Analytical Psychology' in P. Young-Eisendrath and T. Dawson (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Jung* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 22. Jung used as his evidence 'culture', as illustrated in the abundant anthropological literature on 'primitive man', and the mythologies of Hindoos, Egyptians, Greeks, as he found them in James Frazer's *Golden Bough* and other sources. Jung, *Psychology of the Unconscious*, pp. 34, 199. For all their differences, Hughes has pointed out that *Totem and Taboo* 'with its story of the slaying of the primeval father, was almost as fanciful as Jung's speculations; in assuming a universal sense of guilt, it implied the inheritance of collective memory traces. Indeed, Freud wrote quite specifically of a "collective mind". In what respect, the uninitiated might wonder, was this different from Jung's "collective unconscious"?. Hughes, *op.cit.*, p. 124.
- 95 R. S. Woodworth, 'National Psychology', *Psychological Bulletin*, 9 (1912) 397–9. Woodworth was reviewing two specific books, Maurice A. Low's *The American People* (1911), which he thought particularly good, and A. L. André's *Ética Española* (1910).
- 96 R. Smith, *op.cit.*, p. 758.
- 97 J. R. Angell, *Chapters from Modern Psychology* (New York: Longmans Green and Co., 1921), pp. 236–67.
- 98 See D. Cohen, 'Who was who? Race and Jews in turn-of-the-century Britain', *Journal of British Studies*, 41 (2002) 460–83.
- 99 Pillsbury, *op.cit.*, pp. 20–1.
- 100 D. Cabane, 'Education et patriotisme', *La femme nouvelle* (1905) 794.
- 101 W. Trotter 'Psychological Factors in Social Transmission', 'The Tutelage of Races', and 'Herd Instinct and its Bearing on the Psychology of Civilised Man', *The Sociological Review*, 1 (1908) 227–48, and 'Sociological Application of the Psychology of Herd Instinct', *The Sociological Review*, 2 (1909) 36–54. The idea of herd instinct was taken up in a broad range of wartime writing, including the popular and polemical literature produced by John Buchan and Ian Fleming.
- 102 W. Trotter, *Instincts of the Herd in Peace and War* (London: Oxford University Press, 1953 [1916]), p. 115, R. Smith, *op.cit.*, p. 759, and L. Snyder, *The Meaning of Nationalism* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1954), p. 89.

- 103 Trotter was the son-in-law of the Ernest Jones, and Freud's physician during his English exile.
- 104 Fouillée's influence on the idea of the nation never came close to matching that of Le Bon (or for that matter Renan). To begin with Fouillée died of a debilitating illness in 1912, relatively early in his career, while Le Bon lived on until 1931, by which time he was 90 years old.
- 105 Nye, *The Origins of Crowd Psychology*, pp. 84, 86.
- 106 The prominent essayist Geoffrey Faber explained that crowd psychology had increasingly come into favour since the outbreak of war because it explained nationality in its 'crude embryonic form – shapeless and unprincipled'; G. Faber, 'The War and Personality in Nations', *Fortnightly Review*, CIII (1915), pp. 538–46.
- 107 Nye, *The Origins of Crowd Psychology*, p. 88.
- 108 As Bernard Porter has shown, Hobson presented Le Bon's *Psychology of Peoples* as evidence that 'races could only absorb some characteristics of alien civilisations, and these only very gradually', yet, 'deeply marked characters of historic race, physical and psychical' tended 'to express themselves firmly and constantly in widely divergent types of civilization', Porter, *Critics of Empire*, pp. 181, 183.
- 109 Hobson argued that popular assumptions about human nature were fundamentally flawed and had been challenged by 'modern economics, politics, and psychology', see J. A. Hobson, 'Character and Society', in P. L. Parker (ed.), *Character and Life: A symposium by Alfred Russell Wallace, John A. Hobson, Walter Crane, Harold Begbie, Emil Reich* (London: Williams and Northgate, 1912), p. 71.
- 110 N. Angell, *The Great Illusion: A study of the relation of military power in nations to their economic and social advantage* (New York: Arno, 1972 [1909]).
- 111 *Ibid*, p. 100.
- 112 W. Lippmann, *Drift and Mastery: An attempt to diagnose the current unrest* (New York: Macmillan, 1914), p. 318. Lippmann wrote that, 'Men's desires are not something barbaric which the intellect must shun ... the great triumph of modern psychology is its growing capacity for penetrating to the desires that govern our thought'; *Ibid*, p. 316.
- 113 C. E. Schorske, *Fin-de-siècle Vienna: Politics and culture* (London: Vintage, 1981), p. 4.

Chapter 4 The Gendered Self and Political Nations, 1870–1914

- 1 Finot, *Race Prejudice*, p. 182.
- 2 See B. Caine and G. Sluga, *Gendering European History* (London: Leicester University Press, 2000), chapters 4 and 6.
- 3 See J. Finot 'La psychologie de la femme', *La revue*, 11 (1911) 577–96.
- 4 Richards, *Putting Psychology in Its Place*, pp. 151–2.
- 5 H. T. Woolley, 'Psychological Literature: A review of the recent literature on the psychology of sex', *Psychological Bulletin*, 7 (1910) 341.
- 6 S. Sleeth Mosedale, 'Science Corrupted: Victorian biologists consider "the woman question"', *Journal of the History of Biology*, 11 (1978) 5.
- 7 C. Lombroso and W. Ferrero, *The Female Offender* (New York: Philosophical Press, 1958 [1893]); For more discussion of Lombroso, see also C. Battersby,

- Gender and Genius: Towards a feminist aesthetics* (London: Women's Press, 1989), pp. 171–2.
- 8 C. Le Tourneau, 'La femme à travers les âges', *Revue de l'École Anthropologique de Paris*, 11 (1901) 286.
 - 9 G. Le Bon, 'Ethnographie: Rôle du caractère dans la vie des peuples', *Revue scientifique*, 2 (1894) 38.
 - 10 W. I. Thomas, 'The Mind of Woman and the Lower Races', *The American Journal of Sociology*, 7 (1907) 469. See also W. I. Thomas, *Sex and Society: Studies in the social psychology of sex* (Boston: Gorham, 1907), p. 51. Thomas admired Darwin's anthropological images of parading sexuality, and was also not averse to drawing on truisms, such as Alexander Pope's eighteenth century 'hard saying' that 'Women have no characters at all', *Ibid*, p. 238.
 - 11 Cited in C. E. Russett, *Sexual Science: The Victorian construction of womanhood* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989), p. 41. Russett argues that Darwin was loathe to draw dogmatic conclusions regarding women's natural role or capacities from these assumptions, p. 101.
 - 12 Echoing Schopenhauer's view that men had direct mastery over themselves, women only indirect mastery, which they often tried to exert through their physical influence over men, Nietzsche maintained that '[w]hatever women write about woman, we may in the end reserve a healthy suspicion whether woman really *wants* enlightenment about herself – whether she *can* will it'. See E. Kennedy, 'Nietzsche: Women as Untermensch', in E. Kennedy and S. Mendus (eds.), *Women in Western Political Philosophy: Kant to Nietzsche* (Brighton: Wheatsheaf Books, 1987), p. 197; Battersby, *op.cit.*, p. 167.
 - 13 Battersby, *op.cit.*, p. 175.
 - 14 See for example, G. Romanes, 'Mental Differences between Men and Women', *The Nineteenth Century*, 21 (1887) 663. Russett regards these men as 'the core of the scientific consideration of sex differences in psychology', Russett, *op.cit.*, p. 42.
 - 15 H. Bergson, 'The Problem of Personality: University of Edinburgh, Gifford Lectures (1914)', in H. Bergson, *Mélanges*, A. Robinet (ed.) (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1972), pp. 1055, 1065. Bergson thought that nationality could be acquired 'par un effort de libre volonté', but was as ambiguous about the limits of this free will when it came to women as he was unambiguous about its inapplicability among non-European peoples.
 - 16 Rose, *Inventing Our Selves*, p. 6. Richards argues that '[o]ne difficulty in focusing on "Psychology and Gender" as a specific topic is that discipline and subject-matter levels are fused even more than usual'; Richards, *Putting Psychology in Its Place*, p. 151.
 - 17 J. Le Rider, *Modernity and Crises of Identity: Culture and society in fin-de-siècle Vienna* (Cambridge: Polity, 1993), p. 118.
 - 18 For Alfred Adler, the individual will to power was equivalent to 'the desire to be a man'. Cited in Le Rider, *op.cit.*, p. 118. Christine Battersby situates Jung firmly in the 'Aristotelian tradition', Battersby, *op.cit.*, p. 71. On psychoanalysis see A. Levy, *Other Women: The writing of class, race and gender, 1832–1898* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), p. 108.
 - 19 S. A. Shields, 'Functionalism, Darwinism, and the Psychology of Women', *American Psychologist*, 30 (1975) 742.
 - 20 L. Duffin, 'Prisoners of Progress: Women and evolution', in S. Delamont and L. Duffin (eds.), *The Nineteenth Century Woman: Her cultural and physical world* (London: Croom Helm, 1978), pp. 63, 74.

- 21 *Ibid*, p. 76; See also Shields, 'Functionalism, Darwinism, and the Psychology of Women', p. 742.
- 22 E. Jones, 'War and Individual Psychology', *The Sociological Review*, 8 (1915) 173.
- 23 O. Bauer, *The Question of Nationalities and Social Democracy*, trans. J. O'Donnell (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000 [1908]), pp. 123, 308. When he thought of his nation, Bauer recalled 'my familiar homeland, the parental house, the first childhood games, my old schoolmaster, the girl whose kiss once made me happy.'
- 24 See Caine and Sluga, *op.cit.*, chapters 3 and 5.
- 25 See B. Bicknell, 'The Nationality of Married Women', *Grotius Papers: Problems of peace and war*, 20 (1935) 498.
- 26 I. Hull, *Sexuality, State, and Civil Society in Germany, 1700–1815* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996), p. 410.
- 27 For more discussion of this earlier period and the significance of the later nineteenth century, see G. Sluga, 'Identity, Gender, and the History of European Nationalisms', *Nations and Nationalisms*, 4 (1998) 87–111.
- 28 Brinton, *Races and Peoples*, p. 58.
- 29 H. Marion, *Psychologie de la femme* (Paris: Colin, 1900), pp. 14, 22, 296.
- 30 Finot, 'La psychologie de la femme', p. 584.
- 31 H. Munsterberg, *The Americans* (London: Williams and Norgate, 1905), p. 583.
- 32 *Ibid*, p. 586.
- 33 Nye, *The Origins of Crowd Psychology*, p. 50.
- 34 Le Bon, *Psychology of Peoples*, 16.
- 35 J. A. Hobson, 'The Sex War', in Hobson, *A Modern Outlook*, p. 142.
- 36 *Ibid*, p. 142. For general discussions of this concern in British and French contexts, see B. Caine, *Victorian Feminists* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), chapter 7; K. M. Offen, 'Exploring the Sexual Politics of Republican Nationalism', in Tombs (ed.), *Nationhood and Nationalism in France*.
- 37 Hobson, 'The Alarm of Motherhood', in Hobson, *A Modern Outlook*, pp. 126, 132. On the similarities in European attitudes towards national degeneration and policies of reproduction in the early twentieth century see M. S. Quine, *Population Politics in Twentieth Century Europe: Fascist dictatorships and liberal democracies* (London: Routledge, 1996).
- 38 Woolley, *op.cit.*, 342. C. W. Saleeby's volume *Woman and Womanhood* (1912) proposed that 'women must indeed give themselves up for the community and the future ... the right fulfilment of Nature's purpose is one with the right fulfilment of their own destiny. There is no antinomy.', cited in Duffin, *op.cit.*, p. 274.
- 39 B. von Suttner, *Memoirs of Bertha von Suttner: The records of an eventful life* (Boston: Ginn, 1910), p. 328.
- 40 E. Key, 'Love and Marriage, 1904', cited in S. G. Bell and K. M. Offen (eds.), *Women, the Family and Freedom: The debate in documents* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1983), p. 198.
- 41 H. Swanwick, *Future of the Women's Movement* (London: Bell, 1913), p. 51. Swanwick refers to Liberals here specifically as the antagonists of the British Labour Party, of which she was a member; Swanwick also argued that there were mental links between the colonised peoples of India and Ireland and women, see J. Vellacott, 'Feminist Consciousness and the First World War', *History Workshop Journal*, 23 (1987) 85–6.
- 42 K. Anthony, *Feminism in Germany and Scandinavia* (New York: Holt, 1915), p. 230. This image of women without a country was further popularised by Virginia Woolf in her *Three Guineas* (London: Hogarth, 1938).

- 43 Russett, *op.cit.*, p. 14.
- 44 Le Rider, *op.cit.*, pp. 40, 44.
- 45 P. Joyce, *Democratic Subjects: The self and the social in nineteenth-century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 17. Cynthia Eagle Russett describes the anxieties provoked in Victorian England 'by the encroachment of science on that bastion of human distinctiveness, the mind ... [which] at worst threatened to annihilate the human soul.' Russett, *op.cit.*, pp. 196–7. The cultural theorist Stuart Hall has argued it was no longer possible (as it had been in Enlightenment thought) for the self to be thought of as something that can 'reflect and know completely its own identity since it is formed not only in the line of the practice of other structures and discourses, but also in a complex relationship with unconscious life.' S. Hall, 'Ethnicity: Identity and difference', in Eley and Suny (eds.), *Becoming National*, pp. 339–40.
- 46 W. James, 'The Self', in W. James, *Essays in Psychology* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983), p. 128.
- 47 W. James, 'Person and Personality', in *Johnson's Universal Cyclopedia* (1895) reprinted in James, *Essays in Psychology*, pp. 318–20.
- 48 J. Goldstein, 'The Advent of Psychological Modernism in France: An alternative narrative', in Ross (ed.), *Modernist Impulses in the Human Sciences*, p. 190.
- 49 See for example James' description of the individual self that was the object of this philosophical inquiry in gendered terms. It was the male subject's relation to his property, family and wife, which delimited the parameters of his selves and his masculine personality, and were offered as evidence of that masculine personality's agency, James, 'The Self', *Essays in Psychology*, p. 125.
- 50 According to Joan Wallach Scott, Le Bon viewed the crowd as a 'teeming, homogeneous feminine mass, [in which] men lost not only their reasoning capabilities but their very selves. This loss of self was equated with a loss of masculinity'; Scott, *op.cit.*, p. 131. See also Pick, 'Freud's Group Psychology', p. 57. As Ellen Herman has remarked, 'Le Bon pointed to the unreason and intolerance of collective behaviour and mass attitudes as *the* hallmark of contemporary society and as alarming threats to civilization.' *The Romance of American Psychology: Political culture in the age of experts* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), p. 23. In a different example, the historian Sander Gilman has argued that by rendering female sexuality as 'the sphere less accessible to science', 'Freud was able in his scientific writing to efface his own anxiety (which he expressed in private) about the limitations ascribed to the mind and character of the Jewish male', Gilman, *Freud, Race and Gender*, p. 37.
- 51 E. Showalter, *The Female Malady: Women, madness and English culture, 1830–1980* (London: Virago, 1985), p. 106; M. Micale, 'Hysteria male/Hysteria female: Reflections on comparative gender construction in 19th century France and Britain', in M. Benjamin (ed.), *Science and Sensibility: Gender and scientific enquiry, 1780–1945* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991). Micale's study of the reception in Europe of Charcot's redefinition of hysteria as a male as well as female propensity shows that the resistance of English psychologists to this theory before the First World War was based on their portrayal of male hysteria as a non-British infliction.
- 52 Havelock Ellis questioned the assumptions of male superiority in psychology, in H. Ellis, 'The Mental Differences of Men and Women', *Essays in War-time: Further studies in the task of social hygiene* (Freeport, NY: Books for Libraries, 1969 [1917]). Ellis associated the Nietzschean image of a 'deep' desiring personality with woman, who, he claimed, had a 'deeper, more primitive, more

- elusive' self, 'more complex than man': Levy, *op.cit.*, p. 119. See also G. Richards, *Putting Psychology in its Place: An introduction from a critical historical perspective* (London: Routledge, 1996), pp. 155–6.
- 53 Scott, *op.cit.*, p. 128.
- 54 W. Susman, "'Personality" and the Making of Twentieth-Century Culture', in J. Higham and P. K. Conkin (eds.), *New Directions in American Intellectual History* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1979), p. 363. Roger Smith has shown how in British and American psychology the idea of personality was used in spiritualistic and psychic studies 'to refer to what makes for the wholeness of an individual, the wholeness that believers held persists after bodily death', Smith, *op.cit.*, p. 600. By contrast Kurt Danziger argues that the premise underlying the new concept of personality was 'the belief that human conduct is the expression of some essence within the individual, an essence that remains the same irrespective of the conditions under which the conduct occurs and is observed.' *Naming the Mind: How psychology found its language* (London: Sage, 1997), p. 128.
- 55 Janet cited in Daniel N. Robinson, *An Intellectual History of Psychology* (New York: Macmillan, 1976), p. 320.
- 56 James thought of 'a man' as having 'as many social selves as there are individuals who recognise him and carry an image of him in their mind', McDougall claimed less subtly, and somewhat circuitously, that 'the normal human personality is an integrated system of monads' 'each monad being in its own sphere a unitary soul, and the whole a hierarchical system in which subordinate monads were controlled by a supreme monad, myself'. W. McDougall, *An Introduction to Social Psychology*, 23rd edn. (London: Methuen, 1936), pp. 224–6. He also proposed that the evolution of the mind of the race and of the individual involved the increasing ability to control instincts through will, 'towards complete self-determination, and realisation of the "self"'. In England such ideas were spread by the Society for Psychical Research, which counted amongst its most active members not only McDougall, but Arthur Balfour, and Gilbert Murray.
- 57 F. Myers cited in J. Oppenheim, *The Other World: Spiritualism and psychical research in England, 1850–1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), p. 256.
- 58 Stocking, *Malinowski, Rivers, Benedict, and Others*, p. 5. "'Culture and personality" was not without its own stereotyping potential, and its political implications in fact varied depending on the relative weight given to the particularistic/pluralistic and universalistic/assimilationist potential of cultural determinism in different ideological contexts.' This concept could be pursued further in an examination of the Austrian Karl Renner's 'personality principle', although it is beyond the scope of the material I am dealing with in this book. See N. Stargardt, 'Origins of the constructivist theory of the nation', in S. Periwal (ed.), *Notions of Nationalism* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 1995).
- 59 Showalter, *op.cit.*, p. 106.
- 60 H. Maudsley, *Body and Will: Being an essay concerning will in its metaphysical, physiological and pathological aspects* (London: Kegan Paul, 1883), p. 154.
- 61 'Volition', Ribot explained in his *Maladies de la volonté* (1884), 'is not an event coming from no one knows where; it drives its roots into the depths of the unconscious and beyond the individual into the species and the race. It comes not from above, but from below; it is a sublimation of the lower instincts.' Cited in Nye, *The Origins of Crowd Psychology*, p. 31.

- 62 *Ibid*, pp. 165, 173. See also A. Rabinbach, *The Human Motor: Energy, fatigue, and the origins of modernity* (New York: Basic Books, 1990), pp. 43, 165.
- 63 Le Bon, *Psychology of the Great War*, p. 45.
- 64 Le Bon, 'Ethnographie: Rôle du caractère dans la vie des peuples', 78.
- 65 *Ibid*, 37.
- 66 McDougall, *The Group Mind*, p. 157 and McDougall, 'The Will of the Nation', *Sociological Review*, 5 (1912) 89–104.
- 67 McDougall, *The Group Mind*, pp. 160–1.
- 68 *Ibid*, p. 296.
- 69 See Snyder, *The Meaning of Nationalism*, p. 89 and McDougall, *An Introduction to Social Psychology*, pp. 224–6.
- 70 See A. Fouillée, *La liberté et le déterminisme*, 3rd edn. (Paris: Alcan, 1890), pp. viii, 2; Fouillée, *Esquisse psychologique des peuples européens*, p. 74; and A. Fouillée, *Psychologie du peuple français*, 2nd ed. (Paris: Alcan, 1898), pp. 13, 477.
- 71 Bergson, *The Meaning of the War*, pp. 18–47. Antliff, *Inventing Bergson*, p. 105. One of Henri Bergson's admiring reviewers, the conservative English politician Arthur Balfour, explained that Bergson's 'élan vital' showed that 'not reason, but instinct, brings us into the closest touch, the directest (sic) relation with what is most real in the Universe'. Consciousness, by contrast, was merely 'a more or less fantastic commentary on an unconscious, perhaps unknowable, but felt text'. A. Balfour, '1911', in W. M. Short (ed.), *The Mind of Arthur James Balfour: Selections from his non-political writings, speeches and addresses 1879–1917* (New York: George H. Doran, 1918), p. 56.
- 72 Freeden, *op.cit.*, p. 115. Freeden argues that for liberals biological theory bridged the gap between science and ethics.
- 73 Although the precise nature of Barrès' national thought has evaded categorisation, Sternhell suggests that there are significant points of continuity between Barrès' determinist thought and Renan and Taine's understanding of the nation as physiologically rooted in its past, so that all three need to be considered as fundamentally conservative in their political outlook.
- 74 Cited in Z. Sternhell, *Maurice Barrès et le nationalisme français* (Paris: Fayard, 2000 [1972]), p. 315; Barrès also referred to 'decerebration' [*décérébrée*] to evoke both the physiological image of the removal of the brain and the more figurative notion of depriving an entity of its intelligence and reason. One historian has described the dissociated self as 'la désorientation et la tension de la conscience dissociée, l'abîme de la différenciation entre sujet et objet', Ruthard Stablein, 'Dissociation du sujet et culte du moi: La réception de la décadence Barrésienne par Hugo von Hofmannsthal et Hermann Bahr', in F. Latraverse and W. Moser (eds.), *Vienne au tournant du siècle* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1988), p. 221.
- 75 See for example C. Hayes, *The Historical Evolution of Modern Nationalism* (New York: Macmillan, 1948), p. 189.
- 76 M. Barrès, 'L'affaire Dreyfus', in *idem*, *Scènes et doctrines du nationalisme* (Paris: Plon-Nourrit, 1925), p. 37.
- 77 Sternhell, *Maurice Barrès et le nationalisme français*, p. 56; Linda Clark describes Soury as an archivist-cum-physiologist who believed in the existence of separate Aryan and Semitic races for biological reasons. She contrasts Soury's interest in races with Barrès' emphasis on cultural heritage rather than biology. L. Clark, *Social Darwinism in France* (Alabama: University of Alabama Press, 1984).
- 78 Soury, 'Le système nerveux central', cited in Sternhell, *Maurice Barrès et le nationalisme français*, p. 289.
- 79 Barrès, 'L'affaire Dreyfus', pp. 67, 189.

- 80 Sternhell, *Maurice Barrès et le nationalisme français*, p. 17.
- 81 Barrès, 'Nationalisme, déterminisme', in Barrès, *Scènes et doctrines du nationalisme*, p. 9.
- 82 Barrès, 'L'affaire Dreyfus', p. 115.
- 83 *Ibid*, p. 114. On Barrès' view, interestingly, the unconscious was the realm of stability and control. Consciousness was unreliable and incoherent.
- 84 Barrès, '1899', in R. Girardet (ed.), *Le nationalisme français: anthologie 1871–1914* (Paris: Seuil, 1983), p. 185.
- 85 Barrès, 'Nationalisme, déterminisme', p. 10.
- 86 *Ibid*, p. 10 and Sternhell, *Maurice Barrès et le nationalisme français*, p. 90.
- 87 A. Greaves, *Maurice Barrès* (Boston: Twayne, 1978), p. 36.
- 88 J. Foyard, 'Images de la femme chez Barrès', in A. Guyaux, J. Jurt and R. Kopp (eds.), *Barrès, une tradition dans la modernité* (Paris: Champion, 1991), p. 89. Foyard adds that 'woman' renders the same services as a session with the psychoanalyst, as a vehicle for the man's introspection, Foyard, 'Images de la femme chez Barrès', p. 82.
- 89 E. S. Apter, *Continental Drift: From national characters to virtual subjects* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), p. 27.
- 90 *Ibid*, p. 27.
- 91 L. Constable, "'Ce bazaar intellectuel": Maurice Barrès, Decadent Masters, and Nationalist Pupils', in L. Constable, D. Denisoff, and M. Potolsky (eds.), *Perennial Decay: On the aesthetics and politics of decadence* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), p. 303.
- 92 M. C. Bancquart, 'La Jeanne d'Arc de Barrès', in Guyaux, Jurt and Kopp (eds.), *Barrès, une tradition dans la modernité*, p. 13. My translation.
- 93 N. A. Thorsen, *The Political Thought of Woodrow Wilson, 1875–1910* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), p. 3.
- 94 *Ibid*, p. 13.
- 95 *Ibid*, p. 102.
- 96 *Ibid*, p. 234.
- 97 *Ibid*, pp. 99–100.
- 98 W. Wilson, 'The Ideals of America,' *Atlantic Monthly*, 88 (1902) 734.
- 99 *Ibid*, 728, 730.
- 100 *Ibid*, 728. See also H. Notter, *The Origins of the Foreign Policy of Woodrow Wilson* (New York: Russell and Russell, 1965 [1937]), pp. 48, 75.
- 101 Cited in Thorsen, *The Political Thought of Woodrow Wilson*, p. 176
- 102 *Ibid*, p. 223.
- 103 Stocking discusses the importance of the implicit Lamarckism in Wilson's views, in Stocking, *Race, Evolution, and Culture*, p. 253.
- 104 Thorsen, *op.cit.*, p. 36.
- 105 *Ibid*, p. 112.
- 106 *Ibid*, pp. 162, 168.
- 107 *Ibid*, p. 170.
- 108 *Ibid*, pp. 38, 40.
- 109 Cited in Thorsen, *op.cit.*, p. 103.
- 110 Woodrow Wilson, 'The Variety and Unity of History: Address delivered at St. Louis Universal Exposition, September 20, 1904', in Link (ed.), *op.cit.* vol. 15, p. 480.
- 111 Wilson, 'The Ideals of America,' *Atlantic Monthly*, xc, December (1902), 732. Wilson's equivalence between military adventure, patriotism, and nationality was clarified in an address on 'Civic Patriotism' in which Wilson pinned down

- patriotism as an instinct with the strongest feeling, but not merely sentiment, and as a principle of action, an energy of character. 'A News report of an address on Civic patriotism: December 3 1903', in Link (ed.), vol. 15, p. 61.
- 112 Wilson, 'The Ideals of America', 728.
- 113 'Democracy and Efficiency: March 1901', pp. 289–99, reprinted in R. Stannard Baker and W. E. Dodd (eds.), *The Public Papers of Woodrow Wilson, College and State: Educational, literary and political papers (1875–1913)* (New York: Kraus, 1970 [1927]), p. 414.
- 114 Wilson, 'The Ideals of America', 728.
- 115 For a fuller exposition of this article, see J. Hansen, *The Lost Promise of Patriotism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003).
- 116 Thorsen, *op.cit.*, p. 61.
- 117 R. M. Saunders, *In Search of Woodrow Wilson* (Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1998), pp. 6, 35.
- 118 Thorsen, *op.cit.*, p. 113.
- 119 While acknowledging Nietzschean, Jamesian and Freudian conceptualisations of the unconscious, Lippmann believed that civilisation was all about mastery, of 'the substitution of conscious intention for unconscious striving'; the 'disciplined imagination alone' he argued, 'can say, "I will"', see Lippmann, *Drift and Mastery*, pp. 202, 205–269, 323. See also W. Lippmann, *The Stakes of Diplomacy* (New York: Holt, 1915).
- 120 Lippmann, *Drift and Mastery*, p. 318.
- 121 Of course states in the United States had already introduced suffrage for women. See F. Llewellyn-Jones, 'The Nationality of Married Women', *Grotius Papers: Problems of peace and war*, 15 (1930) 133. On the French discussion of married women's nationality see M. Sauteraud, *Du maintien de la nationalité de la femme française qui épouse un étranger* (Paris: Tenin, 1919); H. Le Noble, *La nationalité de la femme mariée* (Paris: Librairie de Droit Usuel, 1921); and Llewellyn-Jones, 'The Nationality of Married Women', 134, and for a more recent account, C. Lewis Bredbenner, *A Nationality of her Own: Women, marriage, and the law of citizenship* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998).

Chapter 5 Gender and the Apogee of Nationalism, 1914–1919

- 1 A. Maude Royden, *Women and the Sovereign State* (London: Headley Bros., 1917), p. 63.
- 2 'Secretary's notes of a conversation held in M. Pichon's Room at the Quai d'Orsay, Paris, on Thursday, 13th February 1919 at 3.00pm present Wilson, Lansing, Balfour, Clemenceau, Orlando, Sonnino, Matsui', 180.03101/38, American Commission to Negotiate Peace, RG 256.
- 3 Shotwell, *At the Paris Peace Conference*, p. 179.
- 4 For Wilson's views of female suffrage see C. McFarland and E. Nevin, 'The reluctant reformer: Woodrow Wilson and woman suffrage, 1913–1920', *The Rocky Mountain Social Science Journal*, 11 (1974) 33–43.
- 5 For a discussion of a similar theme in the postwar from a different perspective, see Marilyn Lake, 'From Self-Determination via Protection to Equality via Non-Discrimination: Defining Women's Rights at the League of Nations and the United Nations', in P. Grimshaw, K. Holmes and M. Lake (eds.), *Women's Rights and Human Rights: International historical perspectives* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001).

- 6 S. Wambaugh, *Plebiscites since the World War: With a collection of official documents*, vol. 1 (Washington: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1933), p. 477.
- 7 A. Zimmern, 'The International Settlement and Small Nationalities' (1919), in *The Prospects of Democracy, and Other Essays* (New York: Books for Libraries Press, 1968 [1929]), p. 117.
- 8 Swanwick, *The War and its Effect upon Women*, p. 4.
- 9 *Ibid*, p. 5.
- 10 During the war, Swanwick helped pioneer the League of Nations Society.
- 11 E. Key, *War, Peace and the Future*, trans. H. Norberg (New York: The Knickerbocker Press, 1916), p. 140.
- 12 *Ibid*, pp. 135–6.
- 13 *Ibid*, p. 246. Key added that the extent of women's wartime effort in support of the national cause was proof that the vote would do little of itself to encourage the exercise of a feminine will that was the expression of a cultivated self: 'even if woman gains the vote, its value for human evolution depends on woman's making herself free from passionate nationalism to which she during the war has succumbed just as much as man.'
- 14 Anthony, *op.cit.*, p. 251.
- 15 Key, *op.cit.*, p. 142.
- 16 *Ibid*, p. iv.
- 17 *Ibid*, p. 59. The image of a feminine soul-culture is reminiscent of Freud's identification of femininity with Eros as the antidote to masculine individualism. It also evokes Jane Addams' idea of 'the nourishing of human life' as a moral alternative to war and the desire for adventure associated with masculinity. According to Linda Schott, Addams expressed her vision of cultural pluralism in terms of a 'will for "self-surrender" or "self-forgetting"', see her 'Jane Addams and William James on Alternatives to War', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 54 (1993) 243.
- 18 Swanwick, *The War and its Effect upon Women*, p. 23.
- 19 Key, *op.cit.*, p. 241. Key propitiously cited Swanwick's work in support of her own arguments. But not all feminists were supporters of Key's version of maternalism. Anthony thought of Key as the 'wise fool' of the feminist movement and used the example of Key's popularity among German feminists to illustrate the differences between Anglo-American and Teuto-Scandinavian feminism, the former associated with 'political liberty,' the latter with 'moral autonomy', Anthony, *op.cit.*, p. 3. Havelock Ellis by contrast referred to Key as 'a woman whose personality is one of the chief moral forces of our time', see H. Ellis, 'Introduction' in E. Key, *Love and Marriage*, trans. A. G. Chater (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1911), p. xv.
- 20 G. Baumer cited in U. Frevert, *Women in German History: From bourgeois emancipation to sexual liberation*, trans. S. McKinnon-Evans (Oxford: Terry Bond and Barbara Nordern; New York: Berg, 1989), p. 151.
- 21 J. Addams, E. G. Balch, and A. Hamilton, *Women at the Hague: the International Congress of Women and its results* (New York: Garland, 1972), p. 124. Addams was a publicist for the new psychology, and its application to social problems. In *Jane Addams and the Liberal Tradition* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1980), p. 93, Daniel Levine discusses the psychological assumptions underlying her thought, including the idea of instincts as innate drives that had to be sated in some way before they became destructive.

- 22 Addams, *Women at the Hague*, pp. 129–30.
- 23 H. Swanwick, *I Have Been Young* (London: Gollancz, 1935), p. 259. After a wartime visit by Addams to London, Swanwick was drawn into the creation of a British section of the Women's League. Her publications in this period recall those of Emily Balch and Addams, both for their commitment to internationalism, and for their validation of women's political role in safeguarding racial instincts and 'race survival'. See Swanwick, *The War and its Effects upon Women*, p. 142.
- 24 E. Greene Balch, 'The Time for Making Peace', in Addams, *Women at the Hague*, p. 122.
- 25 New York Public Library, New York, Schwimmer-Lloyd Collection, 1852–1980, Rosika Schwimmer Papers A465 Subject File 464 International Congress of Women, The Hague 1914, letter from E. Pethick Lawrence to Schwimmer, 25 August 1914.
- 26 M. Degen, *The History of the Woman's Peace Party* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University, 1939), Appendix F.
- 27 Woman's Peace Party pamphlet n.d., in the Rosika Schwimmer Papers.
- 28 Key did not attend the congress but sent a supporting telegram which was read out; Balch, 'Journey and Impressions of the Congress' in Addams, *Women at the Hague*, p. 13. A few women attended the peace in individual capacities. The American educationalist Fannie Fern Andrews, for example, had links to the Women's Suffrage Alliance and the International Council of Women and had been at the Organisation for Permanent Peace's Hague conference.
- 29 Microfilm of The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom Papers, 1915–1978 (Microfilm Corporation of America, 1983), Reel 35: Rosika Schwimmer, 'To Mme Duchêne, The Hague', 28/9/1917.
- 30 Swanwick, *The War and Its Effect Upon Women*, p. 30.
- 31 Other women in the UDC included Mrs Phillip Snowden, Mrs Charles Trevelyan, Lady Margaret Sackville and Mrs Morel.
- 32 This Mme Leper was probably Émile Arnaud, the founder of the first French association for the League of Nations and president of the International League for Peace and Liberty. *Archives Nationales*, Fonds Divers, Séries Modernes et Contemporaines F/7/13146 (Société des Nations), 24/10/17 and 31/10/17, meetings of the Ligue pour une Société des Nations at Bld St. Michel, restaurant.
- 33 *Ibid.* 'féminisme intégral' evoked the title of a feminist newspaper published during this same period by Mme Remember.
- 34 *Bulletin des droits de l'homme* 15 août 1918, discussion re: Société des Nations, 450, Manuscrits Jeanne Melin Brochures Boîte 25, Fonds Bouglé, Bibliothèque historique de la ville de Paris.
- 35 Hersant, 'Congrès de l'Humanité', *Féminisme Intégral*, juillet 2, 1919, p. 2.
- 36 Buxton (ed.), *Towards a Lasting Settlement*, p. 52.
- 37 C. Buxton, *Memorandum on Territorial Claims and Self-Determination* (London: Union of Democratic Control, 1919) Pamphlet 29a, p. 74. He also argued that '[t]he determination to use certain members of the State as mere conveniences to the others has induced us to use women as though they were bodies only, without souls...And the result of this violation is a disease which threatens the race itself.' pp. 141–2.
- 38 R. W. Seton-Watson, 'Elsie Inglis', *The New Europe*, December–January (1917–1918).
- 39 Letter from E. M. Inglis to R. W. Seton-Watson dated 3 May, 'Correspondence with Elsie Inglis (1914–1917)', SEW/17/10/9, Seton-Watson Papers.
- 40 Gilbert Murray Papers, Bodleian Library, Oxford, Letter from Fawcett to Gilbert Murray, 1916, Reel 32, fol 91. Swanwick urged the UDC to gain the cooperation

of the British National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies (NUWSS, associated with the IWSA) but much to her chagrin, the gesture was rejected by Fawcett, who stalled the NUWSS' suffrage campaign in consideration of the patriotic responsibilities of wartime.

- 41 Document 881 To A. Clark, Hotel Majestic Paris, 12 January 1919, in W. K. Hancock and J. Van der Poel (eds.), *Selections from the Smuts Papers*, vol. 4 (Berkeley: California University Press, 1966), p. 39.
- 42 Document 906 To A. Clark, 12 Feb. 1919, in Hancock and Van der Poel, *op.cit.*, p. 68.
- 43 'Women at the Peace Conference', *Jus Sufraggi*, March (1919), 71–2.
- 44 P. Snowden, 'Two International Conferences at Berne', *Jus Sufraggi*, March (1919) 73–4.
- 45 Schwimmer Papers, A115, Berne Conference, January 29–February 8 1919.
- 46 Degen, *op.cit.*, p. 217.
- 47 *Ibid.*, p. 225.
- 48 See L. Rupp, *Worlds of Women: The Making of an International Women's Movement* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), p. 213.
- 49 Microfilm Papers of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Reel 1: 'Resolutions for Women's Education'. The Women's League supported Irish independence under pressure from the Irishwomen's International League.
- 50 Microfilm Papers of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Reel 18: 'International Congress of Women', May 1919, 'Resolutions to be presented to the Peace Conference of the Powers in Paris'.
- 51 C. Macmillan, 'Deputation to the Peace Conference', *Towards Peace and Freedom*, (1919) 17–19.
- 52 The delegation included Jane Addams, Charlotte Despard and Chrystal Macmillan, Gabrielle Duchêne, Rosa Genoni, and Clara Ragaz, see M. M. Randall, 'Introduction', *Women at the Hague*.
- 53 Degen, *op.cit.*, p. 237.
- 54 FO608/149; 489/2/1, International Council of Women in its relation to the Peace Conference – ICW letter signed by Countess Aberdeen to Hankey, January 28 1919.
- 55 Wilson to Millicent Garrett Fawcett, Feb. 14 1919, Link (ed.), *op.cit.*, vol. 55.
- 56 D. H. Miller, *My Diary* (1924), vol. vii, Document 744, Conseil international des femmes, 'Memorial of the Women', 10 April 1919.
- 57 This was the same demand Melin had put before the League for the Rights of Man. My translation.
- 58 F. F. Andrews, *Memory Pages of My Life* (Boston: Talisman Press, 1948), p. 116.
- 59 Miller, *My Diary*: Thursday, April 10th, 1919.
- 60 'Secretary's notes of a conversation held in M. Pichon's Room at the Quai d'Orsay, Paris, on 11th March 1919', 180.03101/38, American Commission to Negotiate Peace, RG 256.
- 61 The British and French records of peace yield the same examples of these representations as the American archives.
- 62 Miller, *The Drafting of the Covenant*, vol. 1, p. 348, and vol. 2, p. 537.
- 63 League of Nations Archives, Geneva, Women's Questions, Section 23: R1356 23/289/289, C. Drexel, 'Women's Part in the League of Nations, Article 1 For London Times', p. 5.
- 64 Rupp, *op.cit.*, p. 211.
- 65 Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College, Harvard, Fannie Fern Andrews Papers, A 95 Box 18, Folder 263.

- 66 See Pamphlet: *Proceedings of the Conferences of Delegates of Allied Societies for a League of Nations, Paris, Jan. 26–Feb. 3 1919 and London, March 11–13 1919* (New York: League to Enforce Peace, n.d.).
- 67 League of Nations Archives, Geneva, Women's Questions, Sections 23: R1356, International Women's Suffrage Alliance, 'Letter to Council of the League of Nations', 18/2/21.
- 68 League of Nations Archives, Geneva, Women's Questions, Section 23: R1356 'Comitato Internazionale Femminile per Una Pace Durevole', n.d.
- 69 League of Nations Archives, Geneva, Women's Questions, Section 23: R6 1/1102/248 'The London International Woman Suffrage Alliance to the Council of the League', February 1921.
- 70 K. Jayawardena, *Feminism and Nationalism in the Third World* (London: Zed Books, 1986, p. 52).
- 71 Helena Swanwick, *Women's International League: Coloured troops in Europe*, May 1920.
- 72 Miller, 26 Feb. 1919. Telegrams from Polk to Miller and Scott, February 25 1919; and Outgoing Dispatch, from Miller and Scott to Woolsey; 184.83/29, American Commission to Negotiate Peace, RG 256.
- 73 Wambaugh, *op.cit.*, p. 477.
- 74 League of Nations Archives, Geneva, Women's Questions, Section 23: R1356 23/99/84 'Informal Interview with Sir Eric Drummond, 21/7/1919' with Mrs. Ogilvie Gordon; Mrs Corbett Ashby; Miss Fraser; Mrs Ross; Mrs Swanwick.
- 75 Maria Matilda Ogilvie was one of the first female geologists. She had studied at UCL.
- 76 MAE, Société des Nations. I-M Protection des femmes et des enfants, t. 1709. 'Note de M. Bourgeois sur la question de la Réglementation de la prostitution', 1922, pp. 60–2.
- 77 L. S. Woolf, *The Framework of a Lasting Peace* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1917), p. 13.
- 78 FO608/240 Peace Conference British Delegation 1919, Sir Eyre Crowe, 'Memorandum on Compulsory Arbitration', 9 January 1919, p. 13.
- 79 H. Nicolson, *Peacemaking 1919* (London: Constable and Co., 1945), p. 26.
- 80 M. Lake, 'Mission Impossible: How men gave birth to the Australian nation – Nationalism, gender and other seminal acts', *Gender and History*, 4 (1992) 312.
- 81 Swartz, *The Union of Democratic Control*, pp. 57–8.
- 82 George, *The Truth about Peace Treaties*, p. 258.
- 83 *Diary of Colonel E. M. House*, 21 November 1915, p. 296.
- 84 Papers of Colonel E. M. House, Group 466, Box 118, Folder 4159, N. Whitehouse, 1917. After the war, Whitehouse went as part of an American delegation to Switzerland where she acted as Director of Public Information, gathering intelligence for the peace process.
- 85 Edward Krehbiel, 'Proposal for a plebiscite in Alsace Lorraine', Doc. 321, American Commission to Negotiate Peace, RG 256 p. 8. Krehbiel was professor of European History at Stanford; his major assignments with the Inquiry concerned possible plebiscites in Western Europe. Gelfand, *op.cit.*, pp. 53–4.
- 86 Shotwell, 'Proposal for a plebiscite in Alsace Lorraine', Doc. 321, American Commission to Negotiate Peace, RG 256 p. 8.
- 87 Dr. Phil. Lucy Hoesch-Ernst, 'Die neue Missions des Weibes', [The new mission of the female] *Die Frau im Staat* I, iv, juni 1919: 'within real internationalism...a deep personal love for and closeness to the fatherland can continue to exist – just like an important statesman is also capable of being a good family man...

I want to because I speak as a Psychologist (here) to women, approach the subject of the psychology of women compared to the psychology of men.' [trans. L. Stewart]

- 88 National Council of French Women, 17 February 1919, 861.1151/1 and National Council (sic) of Women of Hungary, 185.313/4, American Commission to Negotiate Peace, RG 256; H. W. Steed, 'Lecture, Kings College, 8 December 1917 to London County Council teachers', *New Europe*, December, 1917, p. 359.
- 89 This Bolshevik taint foiled Schwimmer's post-war attempts to gain American nationality, even though she was a long time resident in the United States.
- 90 *Bulletin of the American Commission to Negotiate Peace*, March 1, 1919.
- 91 Microfilm of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom Papers, 1915–1978, Reel 17: 'Report of the Feminist Committee', Resolution 7, 1919,
- 92 Degen, *op.cit.*, p. 328.

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- 1 See Lauren, *op.cit.* and Gelfand, *op.cit.* for more on the racism of the peacemakers.
- 2 Even the German government got into the act, enlisting on their side Max Weber, who in the last year of his life forewent his professional scepticism and threw his expertise into the fight for German national interests, collaborating on a 'professional memorandum' against the surrender of Germany's eastern territories; W. J. Mommsen, 'Max Weber and the Peace treaty of Versailles', in M. F. Boemeke, G. D. Feldman and E. Glaser (eds.), *The Treaty of Versailles: A reassessment after 75 years* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).
- 3 Cited in A. Marwick, *The Nature of History* (London: Macmillan, 1970), p. 53, and A. Mayer, 'Historical thought and American Foreign Policy in the Era of the First World War', in F. L. Loewenheim (ed.), *The Historian and the Diplomat: The role of history and historians in American foreign policy* (Delhi: Sterling Publishers, 1968), p. 86.
- 4 Shotwell, *At the Paris Peace Conference*, p. 186.
- 5 FO800/430, Toynbee, Draft, no heading, December 1917, p. 7.
- 6 *Diary of Colonel E. M. House*, April 25, 1918, p. 111.
- 7 *Diary of Dr. Grayson*, March 9 1919, in Link (ed.), *op.cit.*, vol. 55, p. 471.
- 8 Papiers d'agents Philippe Berthelot (PA-AP) Propagandes Etats-Unies et Canada, Nov. 1915–1916. Aubert despaired that Americans were all pacifists who did not understand hate and were not interested in the past; 'Notes d'Aubert sur les travaux de l'Inquiry et sur les solutions de paix américaines. 11 déc. 1918.', p. 17, my translations.
- 9 CAB24, Committee of Imperial Defence, Peace, 'P' Series papers 35–117. Vol. II. doc. 39, War Cabinet: Our Policy at the Peace Conference (Note by Gen Smuts), 3/12/18, p. 35.
- 10 Toynbee Papers, Box 83, Norman Brailsford to Toynbee, 16 August 1919.
- 11 Ross, 'Modernist Social Sciences in the Land of the New/Old', p. 173.
- 12 N. Smith, *op.cit.*, p. 171.
- 13 FO608/30 *British delegation, correspondence and papers relating to South and South Eastern Europe (Political): Albania, Austria, Aegean Islands, Armistice with Turkey, Banat, Balkans, Bessarabia, Boundaries, 1919*: Noel Buxton, *Outlines of a Balkan Settlement*, May 16 1919. Comments, Buxton p. 372.
- 14 Zangwill, 'The Voice of Jerusalem', 1921, cited in Keylor, *op.cit.*, p. 47. See also his comments on February 1919, cited in J. B. Schechtman, *Postwar Population*

- Transfers in Europe 1945* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1955), p. 23.
- 15 75 per cent of the Bulgarian Greek minority were to move to Greece, and 40 per cent of the Bulgarian minority in Greece transferred to Bulgaria; Schechtman, *op.cit.*, p. 23.
 - 16 189,916 Greeks (Orthodox) were to be sent to Greece, added to the million it was estimated had already left Turkey, and 355,635 Turks (Moslem) were to go to Turkey.
 - 17 From 1918 Turner acted as an advisor to the Inquiry through the National Board for Historical Services.
 - 18 Nielsen, *op.cit.*, p. 139
 - 19 Cited in Miller, *The Drafting of the Covenant*, vol. 1, p. 462.
 - 20 C. Seignobos, 'La méthode psychologique en sociologie', *Journal de psychologie*, 17 (1920) 496–514.
 - 21 W. McDougall, *The Group Mind: A sketch of the principles of collective psychology with some attempt to apply them to the interpretation of national life* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1920), pp. 98, 100.
 - 22 By this time McDougall had subjected himself to self-analysis with Jung, and 'was not convinced of the latter's theory that the racial origins of patients can be discovered by the particular symbolism of their dreams.' Jung had convinced him, however, that Freud's theory was really about Jews or 'true of the Jewish race'; McDougall in Murchison, (ed.), *op.cit.*
 - 23 McDougall, *The Group Mind*, p. 101. Apart from his own instinct theory, the definitional framework McDougall had in mind included Renan's description of the nation as 'a soul, a spiritual principle', Le Bon's *Psychology of the Crowd*, and Ramsay Muir's claim that nationalism is one of most powerful factors in modern history.
 - 24 Examples of this interest in British, North American, and French writing include J. H. Parsons, *Mind and the Nation: A précis of applied psychology* (London: Bale & Co., 1918); M. P. Follett, *The New State: Group organization the solution of popular government* (New York: Longmans, 1920); G. P. Gooch and G. Lowes Dickinson, *Nationalism* (New York: The Swarthmore Press, 1920); G. Murray, 'The Problem of Nationality', *The Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society*, 20 (1920) 257; S. Herbert, *Nationality and its Problems* (London: Methuen, 1920); T. Masaryk, *The Making of a State* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1927); L. Le Fur, *Races, nationalités, états* (Paris: Alcan, 1922).
 - 25 Lippmann, *Public Opinion*, p. 75.
 - 26 McDougall, *The Group Mind*, pp. 98 and 100. See also W. McDougall, *National Welfare and National Decay* (London: Methuen, 1921).
 - 27 McDougall, *The Group Mind*, p. 118. By contrast McDougall's attribution to the United States of an exceptional capacity to evolve advanced national consciousness and homogeneity out of heterogeneous elements, which it derived from in the character of its original English settlers, resonated the late nineteenth century thought of Wilson.
 - 28 M. Mauss, 'La Nation', (1920) in *Oeuvres 3*. Mauss was a supporter of the League of Nations, and the vice-president of the French Psychology Society in 1923. V. Karady, 'L'introduction', in Mauss, *Oeuvres 2* (Paris: Minuit, 1969), p. xxxvii. Karady notes that Mauss had been invited by a political friend to undertake work 'sur le trace de nouvelles frontières d'un pays européen'.
 - 29 Mauss, 'La Nation et l'internationalisme', from *The Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society*, 20 (1920), reprinted in *Oeuvres 3. Cohésions sociales et divisions de la socio-*

- logie (Paris, Éditions du Minuit, 1968), p. 629. Cf. M. Mauss, 'Typologie des races et des peuples' (1901) in Mauss, *Œuvres* 3.
- 30 In his famous critique of the peace, John Maynard Keynes, a key figure on the Supreme Economic Council at Paris until 7 June 1919, when he resigned, wrote that understanding what happened during the peace process required a consideration of character and psychology: 'to suggest to the President that the [Versailles] treaty was an abandonment of his profession was to touch on the raw a Freudian complex. It was a subject intolerable to discuss, and every subconscious instinct plotted to defeat its further exploration.' J. M. Keynes, *The Economic Consequences of the Peace* (Cambridge University Press, 1971) p. 3. After the peace, Wilson's loyal press secretary the journalist Ray Stannard Baker speculated on a similar basis, but to quite different ends, that his employer's vigour, his bearing up, might be explained by 'the mysterious formula for unlocking the hidden energies, about which Professor William James wrote so persuasively in his essay on the "Energies of Men"'. R. Stannard Baker, *What Wilson did at Paris* (New York: Doubleday, Page and Co., 1919), p. 90.
- 31 A. J. Toynbee, *The World after the Peace Conference: Being an epilogue to the 'History of the Peace Conference of Paris', and a prologue to the 'Survey of International Affairs, 1920-1923'* (London: Oxford University Press, 1926), p. 61 ff.
- 32 *Ibid*, p. 64.
- 33 L. B. S. Namier, 'The Downfall of the Habsburg Monarchy, in Temperley, A *History of the Peace Conference of Paris*, pp. 59, 70, 90. Namier of course had read and translated Freud before the war while at the LSE.
- 34 L. B. S. Namier, *Avenues of History* (London: H. Hamilton, 1952), pp. 3, 4, 20.
- 35 C. Hayes, *Essays on Nationalism* (New York: Russell and Russell, 1926), p. 6. He was citing A. van Gennep, *Traité comparatif des nationalités, t. 1* (Paris: Payot, 1922), pp. 12-13. Hayes thought that the psychological and emotional, rather than historical and political, form of nationalism had prevailed in the twentieth century, or at least as much as he had lived of it.
- 36 *Ibid*, p. 247.
- 37 R. Suny, 'History', in A. Motyl (ed.), *Encyclopaedia of Nationalism vol. 1* (London: Academic Press, 2000), p. 27 and R. Girardet, *Nationalismes et nation* (Bruxelles: Editions Complexe, 1996) confirm the place of English language texts such as those by Carr, Hayes, Kohn, Snyder, in this intellectual history. By this time too, Norman Angell had shifted his focus to nationalism. Angell warned that analogies between nations and persons were false, and preferred to think of national identities as fluid and subject to trans-national communication and interests. Yet he too thought about nationalism in terms of the force of instincts, in this case gregariousness; Angell, *The Fruits of Victory*, pp. xiv, 209, 254.
- 38 C. Hayes, *The Historical Evolution of Modern Nationalism* (New York: Macmillan, 1948), pp. v, 292. Hippolyte Taine, Hayes complained, had confused biological races with linguistic groups, while Barrès had developed a theory of nationalism as psychological determinism, p. 189.
- 39 H. Kohn, *The Idea of Nationalism: A Study in its origins and background* (New York: Macmillan, 1945), p. 4.
- 40 *Ibid*, pp. 10-11.
- 41 Snyder, *The Meaning of Nationalism*, p. 174.
- 42 *Ibid*, pp. 12-13.
- 43 Snyder argued that previously scholars had thought of people all over the world as basically the same. His appreciation of the history of the study of the nation did not recede far enough into the nineteenth century to make him aware of the

echoes in his own claims of the views of nineteenth century theorists such as Théodule Ribot, or even John Stuart Mill.

- 44 *Ibid*, p. 86.
- 45 *Ibid*, p. 54, cf. p. 71.
- 46 *Ibid*, p. 174.
- 47 *Ibid*, p. 50.
- 48 *Ibid*, p. 69.
- 49 *Ibid*, p. 71.
- 50 Keynes, *op.cit.*, p. 20. Keynes used this description to attack Clemenceau's national chauvinism.
- 51 My own list of examples of this legacy would include Montserrat Guibernau's statement that nationalism is 'a psychological phenomenon involving felt needs and disposition, in contrast to the nation-state, which is an institutional one', M. Guibernau, *Nationalisms: The nation-state and nationalism in the twentieth century* (Cambridge: Polity, 1996), p. 44; James Kellas' claim that '[a]n integrated theory of the politics of nationalism and ethnicity must begin with human nature, for there is strong evidence that innate and instinctive forces are at work in ethnic identification and ethnocentric behaviour.' J. Kellas, *The Politics of Nationalism and Ethnicity* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1991), p. 160. Kellas adds that social psychology reveals that at the heart of the relationship between ethnocentrism and human instincts (as he sees it) are the instinctive biological and linguistic divisions which create strong feelings of group loyalty. p. 61; Similarly, Derek Heater's account of national self-determination, which condemns the fallacy of the assumption that 'a cultural entity, a nation, has the need, the right even, to be a political entity, a state', while it affirms the view that human beings 'have a psychological need to adhere to a group which shares certain traditions and mores', Heater, *National Self-Determination*, p. 210.
- 52 A. Finlayson, 'Psychology, Psychoanalysis and Theories of Nationalism', *Nations and nationalism* 4 (1998) 145; see also Suny, 'Why We Hate You: the Passions of National Identity and Ethnic Violence', Berkeley Program in Soviet and Post-Soviet Studies Working Paper (University of California, Berkeley) 2004, p. 22. In a similar vein, Anthony D. Smith, the extraordinarily prolific theorist of the nation, offers as his examples of this implicit adoption of psychological theorising Elie Kedourie's conception of nationalism as an extension of the 'need to belong', Walker Connor's ethnic perennialism, which renders nationalism a fundamentally non-rational phenomenon with its core in mass psychology, the idea of class *ressentiment* in Liah Greenfeld's work, and Benedict Anderson's emphasis on the social imaginary as the field of national identification. Smith has also singled out late nineteenth century crowd psychology as one of four major streams of influence on the classical modernist paradigm of nationalism, (the other three are Marx, Weber, and Durkheim). Importantly, Smith is critical of this 'paradigm'. Smith adds that '[i]t would be difficult to point to particular theorists of national identity and nationalism who have made explicit use of the crowd psychology of Le Bon or the herd instinct of Trotter, or even the analyses of Simmel, Mead, Adorno or later theories of Freud. ... On the other hand many of their insights have permeated the thinking of recent scholars of nationalism.' Smith, *Nationalism and Modernism*, p. 12.
- 53 See the telling examples cited by Cathie Carmichael in the chapter on 'Ethnopsychology' in C. Carmichael, *Ethnic Cleansing in the Balkans: Nationalism and the destruction of tradition* (New York: Routledge, 2003).
- 54 See Steel, *op.cit.*, pp. 154–5.

- 55 See for example the work of Z. Eisenstein, *Hatreds: Racialized and sexualized conflicts in the twenty first century* (New York: Routledge, 1996), and the work of Alenka Puhar, and Sabrina Ramet.
- 56 See Le Rider, *op.cit.*
- 57 As Lippmann's biographer notes, this did not put him above anti-Semitism.
- 58 *Ibid*, p. 148.
- 59 *Ibid*, p. 16.
- 60 S. Freud, 'Dissection of the Personality', in *New Introductory Lectures on Psychoanalysis*, vol. 2 (London: Penguin, 1973), p. 112.
- 61 D. Pick, 'Freud's *Group Psychology* and the History of the Crowd', *History Workshop Journal* 40 (1995) 160.
- 62 See S. Freud, and W. Bullitt, *Thomas Woodrow Wilson: Thirty-eighth president of the United States, a psychological study* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1967). For a useful discussion of the ideas and production of this text see P. Gay, *Freud: A life for our time* (New York: Norton, 1988), pp. 553–62.
- 63 See P. Ferris, *Dr. Freud: A Life* (London: Sinclair-Stevenson, 1997), p. 354.
- 64 Verdery describes this process as 'how the homology between the nation and the individual becomes internalised and is assimilated by the individual, entering his or her "inside"; K. Verdery, 'Whither "Nation" and "Nationalism"', in Balakrishnan, *op.cit.*, p. 229.
- 65 D. Wahrman, *The Making of the Modern Self* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004).
- 66 P. Snowden, *A Political Pilgrim in Europe* (New York: G. H. Doran Co., 1921), p. 55.
- 67 N. Rose, 'Calculable Minds and Manageable Individuals', *History of the Human Sciences*, 1 (1988) 187.
- 68 The controversy that surrounded women travelling internationally is a story that comes out of the League of Nations archive and is still waiting to be told; for an approximation, see G. Sluga, 'Female and National Self-Determination: A Gender Re-Reading of the "Apogee of Nationalism"', *Nations and Nationalisms*, 6 (2000) 495–521.
- 69 We could also add that the government of the United States – the epitome of liberal states and the main political force behind that principle – responded to the exigencies of the new national world order by implementing an overtly xenophobic immigration policy.
- 70 See for example Sluga, *The Problem of Trieste and the Italo-Yugoslav Border*, chapters 4 and 5.

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