

# Thorstein Veblen as a Mendelian Evolutionalist

## —On his Understanding of the Races in Europe—

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### I

Thorstein B. Veblen (1857-1929) is an illustrious scholar as the founder of Institutional Economics in the United States of America. John R. Commons (1862-1945) and Wesley C. Mitchell (1874-1948) following him, they lay the foundation for the development of this branch of Economics. Institutional Economics, came into being with the economic studies of Veblen, has been vigorously revalued in response to the crisis of the world economy that appeared after World War II. From then on, so many excellent research study results of Institutional Economics have been produced by capable researchers who belong to some well-known academic societies, toward the elucidation of the today's very unstable world system, that important results have appeared one after another both from home and abroad, to which we should pay attention. The various studies on the economic thoughts of Veblen, namely, they are (1) the study focusing on its diffusion; (2) the study describing background of his economic thoughts tracing his life in detail;<sup>1)</sup> (3) the study trying to grasp of his economic thoughts; and (4) the study containing the illustration of the economic methodology;<sup>2)</sup> and so on. The studies on his economic thoughts have been developing on the whole, with various differences, which are brought by the differences of each researcher's critical mind, in the interpretations of the economic thoughts of Veblen.

The trilogy among Veblen's many books<sup>3)</sup> is composed of *The Theory of*

*the Leisure Class* (1899), *The Theory of Business Enterprise* (1904), and *The Instinct of Workmanship and the State of the Industrial Arts* (1914), and all these have been translated into Japanese.<sup>4)</sup> When we try to understand the economic thoughts of Veblen properly, however, we can never say that no other book than those three is necessary. Besides those three we must place *Imperial Germany and the Industrial Revolution* (1915), for example, on the top as well, since this is the book whose importance is not to be ignored when we make perspective of the economic thoughts of Veblen in connexion with the debatements of his time. This book was published immediately after The First World War broke out, and after the war ended with the tragic results it fell into a hardship of out-of-print for a while. In this book, however, Veblen had certainly perceived the spirit of Third Reich with its evil schemes twenty years before its appearance. Moreover, he criticises the Peace Treaty and the International League which were yet to come, which enhances the value of this book all the more.<sup>5)</sup>

At any rate, the research purpose of Veblen in *Imperial Germany and the Industrial Revolution* is quite different from general purposes of the field of economic history. Therefore his researching method is rather uncommon here. In other words, his research purpose was “to explain why and how Germany with its dynastic political organization made such rapid strides in the machine technology as to outstrip the democratic English-speaking peoples from whom emanated the modern industrial process.”<sup>6)</sup> For this propose, Veblen goes far back into the life history of Western civilization, and reveals his knowledge of the various races in Europe, based on the latest research results of those days such as ethnology, anthropology, genetics, archaeology and historical study. This method he adopted is to try to compare the various powers which from the foundation of the development in the Western civilization by taking up some elements or aspects of the culture, and this research method of his makes it carry out perfectly purpose of this book

mentioned above. The research on “a comparison and correlation between the German case on the one hand and the English-speaking peoples on the other hand, considered as two distinct and somewhat divergent lines of the cultural development in modern times”<sup>7)</sup> is developed in the book by Veblen based on that purpose and method. Veblen stated in succession, “the ground on which the inquiry runs is that afforded by the economic, chiefly the industrial.”<sup>8)</sup>

By the way, the first edition of *Imperial Germany and the Industrial Revolution* was published from The Macmillan Company in 1915. This original Macmillan edition was republished with a title page replaced by B. W. Huesch in 1915. Ten years after Veblen died, the new and revised edition that was compiled especially by The Viking Press was published in 1939,<sup>9)</sup> and this edition includes the “Introduction” by Joseph Dorfman.<sup>10)</sup> After that, this book was reproduced as one of the series of Reprints of Economic Classics from Augustus M. Kelley Publisher in 1964, and it was published as paperback by Michigan University Press in 1966. *Imperial Germany and the Industrial Revolution* is included in the collected works of Veblen that were compiled after that. In addition, the revised editions of this book besides these different editions at the writer’s hand may have probably been published. Anyway whatever edition it is, no significant changes are found so far as the text by Veblen is concerned. Therefore, in this treatise, the writer examines Veblen’s knowledge of the different races in Europe on a basis of his economic thoughts basing on the Kelly’s edition which is familiar to the writer since school days, referring to the original Macmillan’s edition, B. W. Huesch’s edition and the Viking’s edition.

Now, there will probably be no one who has an objection to the influence of Darwinism on Veblen being remarkable; however, as far as the writer is convinced by reading *Imperial Germany and the Industrial Revolution* intensively, his acceptance of Darwinism is selective, and the writer would like to describe it in a slightly different way, that the influence of

Mendel is more decisive upon him. Unfortunately, though there are a lot of excellent researches about the economic thoughts of Veblen, until today the writer hasn't found a research result which refers to the fact stated above apparently. This is why the writer writes this thesis,<sup>11)</sup> to find some scholarly value there, along with making up for lack of the researches on *Imperial Germany and the Industrial Revolution*. It is needless to say that every work by Veblen is known for its complicated style, and *Imperial Germany and the Industrial Revolution* is not an exception. Moreover, the same tone of argument is repeated in his books from slightly different angles, and as a result the case is not rare in which his assertion is reinforced. From this point of view, therefore, paying attention to *The Theory of the Leisure Class* and *The Instinct of Workmanship and the State of the Industrial Arts*, the writer examines the issue.

As is generally known, *Imperial Germany and the Industrial Revolution* is composed of eight chapters, and in the new and revised edition of this book published after 1939 the “Preface” that Joseph Dorfman contributed came to be added to the page following the Veblen’s “Introduction.” Furthermore, five Supplementary Notes of great length like a full-scale thesis each — and exceptionally long footnotes are given to those — are appended at the end of the book, which are successful in making his viewpoints stand out by giving them convincing backgrounds for the writer rash development of arguments and the fragmentary conclusions in the text. So the writer decides to examine the Supplementary Notes I in *Imperial Germany and the Industrial Revolution*;<sup>12)</sup> in which a discussion of the types of the races in life history of the Western civilization, an examination of the nature of the German peoples as a mixed race, and an application and generalization of the mutation theory to the particular racial stocks in Europe and its generalization are tried. Then let the writer deal with these various points of his arguments in order of the text.

## II

As is well known, Veblen discusses the position and value of the leisure class as an economic factor of modern life in his *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, which is the very point of this work. The institution of leisure class is not only a determining factor of a social structure, but also has an influence on the human nature of every individual that composes the society. This causal relation shows that the mental component of the individuals who organize every society change along with cumulative changes in terms and conditions of life. According to Veblen, the differential or discriminative features of human nature revert more or less closely to a certain type of human natures fixed by their conforming to some degree to the conditions of the past which are different from the present ones, to the result that the stocks seem to have an inclination to fix;<sup>13)</sup> most of the races which should be recognized as the certain types with comparatively stable racial features are contained in the populations of the European culture, and each of those races doesn't exist as a rigid and unchangeable genetic mold of a particular, single and discriminate type, but rather they have survived in inherited tendencies of the race nowadays by producing a large variety of mutants. As Veblen states already in the 9th chapter of his *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, in the long term of selection process in the prehistorical and historical periods which are accompanied by the growth of culture, the variety of certain kinds which were included in the type of the race have produced several types and their mixed breeds.<sup>14)</sup> Based on that opinion already stated, Veblen says as follows referring to the German peoples in the 1st chapter of *Imperial Germany and the Industrial Revolution* based on such an opinion:<sup>15)</sup>

Like the populations of the neighboring countries, the German populations, too, is thoroughly and universally hybrid; and the hybrid mixture that goes to make up the German people is compounded out of the

same racial elements that enter into the composition of the European population at large. Its hybrid character is perhaps more pronounced than is the case in the countries lying farther south, but the difference in degree of hybridisation as between the German and their southern neighbors is not a serious one. On the other hand the case of the German is in this respect virtually identical with that of the peoples lying immediately to the east and west.<sup>16)</sup>

Then, Veblen added a detailed supplementary note of great length to illustrate the bases of his short passage as quoted above. This Supplementary Note could be evaluated as the very basis of his knowledge concerning the races which appears in not only *Imperial Germany and the Industrial Revolution*, but also in *The Theory of the Leisure Class* and in *The Instinct of Workmanship and the State of the Industrial Arts*, though it may not be impossible, therefore, to find the same consistent knowledge of the races as this S. N. shows, it will demand some endeavor.<sup>17)</sup>

For this reason, based on the contemporary results of these researches of ethnology, anthropology, genetics, archaeology and historical study and so on, Veblen presents his own knowledge of the races and their types in life history of the Western civilization at the beginning of the discussion, with depending on theory accepted by anthropologists to inquire the German people who are composed of populations of the mixed parentage. In other words, Veblen accepts the scheme of European races offered by William Z. Ripley and the other schemes of the races widely agreed by anthropologists, and he considers the European populations to be made up of three main racial stocks.

As for Ripley, his name is rather rare to be referred to as an economist today in our country, his work<sup>18)</sup> probably will tell us its level of the scholarly achievement being high. Anyway, returning to the main subject of our discussion, it is necessary for us to consider the three main racial stocks in Europe, which are the Mediterranean (dolicho-brunet), the Alpine

(brachycephalic-brunet) and the Northern (dolicho-blond). At this point, we will have to investigate his fundamental understanding of the racial stocks in Europe and their domain of livelihood. Veblen states as follows:

In rough outline, and so far as bears on the German population, these three main racial stocks are found to be distributed in three broad, overlapping bands which tend loosely to conform to parallels of latitude, in such a way that the area of greatest frequency for the Mediterranean race falls along the Mediterranean seaboard, while that of the Alpine runs across the middle of Europe, and the dolicho-blond is found chiefly in the north and more particularly in the seaboard region of the Baltic and North Sea. But in this geographic distribution of races no one of the three occupies any of these zones to the exclusion of either of the other two; this being particularly true of the tract of country occupied by the German people and their immediate neighbors. While each race is its strongest within the zone so indicated as its area of greatest frequency, each is also seen to be diffused through the other two zones, but more sparingly the farther outward from what may be called its home area. Of these three stocks it is safe to say that the dolicho-blond is the more closely confined to the region of its own latitude, at the same time that it also visibly tends to be confined, somewhat loosely, to the seaboard country — taking “seaboard” in a large and liberal sense.

It follows that the German population is made up in the main of the two races that center upon the middle and northern latitudes of Europe — the Alpine and Northern races — but by no means to the exclusion of the third — the Mediterranean race — which comes into this resulting hybrid mixture in such considerable force that it can not fairly be rated as a negligible or minor factor, even if it is present in a less obtrusive way and in smaller volume than either of the other two. Each of these three stocks, then, is diffused throughout the German area, as also through the territories occupied by those other peoples with whom the German are most frequently compared or contrasted; and there is no class or condition of men, and no

locality, either in Germany or in these neighboring countries, that does not contain a mixture of these races; but this racial mixture varies from place to place in respect of its average composition in such a way that, *e.g.*, the dolicho-blond is found in a decreasing proportion at each farther remove from the seaboard region of the Baltic and North Sea, while it virtually disappears on the Mediterranean seaboard. The brunets, therefore, preponderate in the south, while the blond stock is at its strongest in the north, where, as *e.g.*, on the Baltic seaboard, it may in given localities account for as much as one-half of the population. It may be remarked by way of parenthesis that there is quite commonly something of an inclination to overstate the prevalence of the blond stock in the north-German and Scandinavian region.

As has been indicated above, while these several racial stocks are diffused at large through the length and breadth of Europe, the diffusion of each tends at the same time to follow parallels of latitude, loosely, it is true, but still somewhat consistently. This applies more decisively to the dolicho-blond than to either of the other two, at the same time that this stock does not readily or permanently spread very far from the seaboard, or out of the climatic reach of the seaboard. It follows that the geographical distribution of the racial mixture that characterizes the German people takes the shape of a roughly oblong or rectangular region, confined on the west by the Atlantic and on the east, with a much less define frontier, by the limits of the eastward reach of the climatic area of the North Sea. This region lies approximately within the meridians of 10° west and 30° east of Greenwich. Its northern and southern frontiers are much less easy to define, depending greatly on the configuration of the land surface and on the reach of the Baltic-North Sea climatic area. In the most general way it is confined toward the south and southeast by the height of land that makes the watershed between the North Sea and the Mediterranean. On the north the (highly irregular) frontier may fairly be said to be determined by the same climatic dependence. It will be seen that the delimitation is essentially a climatic one and that the central and dominant factor in this climatic area is the Baltic-

North Sea littoral, with a cool, humid and equable meteorological character. The region in question lies (roughly) between, though its limits do not in any way coincide with, the parallels of 48° and 60° north latitude. So consequential a part does the seaboard climate play in determining the limits of this anthropological region that it might, again, be indicated in rough outline as the area covered by the sweep of a vector measuring some 12° to 15° latitude and pivoting in the neighborhood of Christiania or Stockholm; its sweep would then include the British Isles on the west and Petrograd on the east. Within this extensive tract the racial complexion of the population will be found to vary less through its length on any parallel so determined than across its width at any cross section. An exception to this general statement would perhaps be found in Russian territory, where such a cross section would probably show relatively little systematic variation; and the same general proposition is, on the other hand, well illustrated in German territory, where the difference in racial composition is greatly larger between north and south than it is between east and west.<sup>19)</sup>

Veblen accepts the theory of William Z. Ripley about the racial classification as described above, and he divides the European populations into three racial stocks of dolicho-brunet, brachycephalic-brunet and dolicho-blond. Joseph Deniker, who was a famous French anthropologist, already made such a classifying in detail. Meanwhile, Veblen estimates that those three racial stocks respectively have some deviation in their degree of the mixed parentage. In other words, Veblen has a standpoint that each of these three racial stocks in Europe contributes to the populations of the mixed parentage, and that they are almost scattered over the whole extent of Europe controlled by the natural conditions, to say nothing of the peoples in Germany and its neighboring areas.

By the way, such classification method of the race tried by Veblen is based on the biological characteristics, so-called racial characteristics such as head form, hair type, skin color and body height showing a remarkable

variation geographically, and this method is able to be traced back even to the research of Johann Friedrich Blumenbach in 1806, who classified the races only by the biological characteristics for the first time. Today, we share a common understanding that no precise distinctions of the race are possible or no accurate definitions of the race exist. Veblen, accepting the concept of evolutionary thought about the expressive characters which is derived from the theory of evolution by Charles Darwin, places this theoretical framework on the base of his own knowledge for a while. In other words, Veblen wanted to analyze the European peoples, so far a tool of his analysis he chose such features as head form, body height and color of hair which are only quantitative characters from the genetic point of view. It should be noticed that Veblen didn't intend at all to show the genetic system of the European peoples, which he did not require. Far from that, Veblen examined the biological classification of the European peoples in details from the viewpoint that peoples should be divided by the culture; which is totally different from the general idea of the race. Therefore the writer cannot but evaluate Veblen's argument, provided that it is based on his accountable reason stated above, though the argument gives a very old-fashioned impression. The writer evaluates Veblen's researching method because his purpose was not to establish a taxonomic system of classification of the races, but to prepare the backgrounds meticulously so as to prove the hybridity of the German peoples, that is, the Germans are of mixed parentage.

Anyway Veblen argues that some elements that make up the character of the races are determined through interactions of heredity and environment. Especially as for the colour variation of hair and skin, he seems to have considered them to be the results of natural selection taken under the specific climatic environment for a very long time. So the focus of his discussion may have been given exclusively to the problem of hybridity of those three racial stocks in Europe with taking natural conditions of Europe into account one

after another. Indeed the discussion of Veblen is developed over the domain of livelihood of those three racial stocks from an anthropologic point of view; therefore the writer would like to examine that in the following chapter.

### III

Veblen, in the 3rd chapter of *The Instinct of Workmanship and the State of the Industrial Arts* which he wrote in 1914, returns to the beginning of the Neolithic age as he examines the racial continuity or identity of the various races of North and Western Europe which is within the territory of Occidental Civilisation. His following assertion tells us the reason why he goes through such a process in research. By way of parenthesis, he states that “By and large, the mixture of races in north Europe has apparently not varied greatly since early Neolithic times, and the changes that have taken place are known with some confidence, in main.”<sup>20)</sup> As for the essence of his indication here, it is that heterogeneity of three main racial stocks in Europe isn’t so remarkable, but the Mediterranean and the Northern among those races have not only in bloodline but also in mental structure<sup>21)</sup> obviously very close relations. The mental structure of three main racial stocks in Europe is examined minutely in *The Theory of the Leisure Class* and *The Instinct of Workmanship and the State of the Industrial Arts*, and therefore it will not be inconvenience if the writer withholds his comments on this occasion. Anyway, as for this paper, the writer would like to begin an examination with the interesting discussion by Veblen over the domain of livelihood of three main racial stocks in Europe about the aspect of their racial hybridism. He states it as follows:

Some slight chance there will always be, of course, that through long continued natural selection among this hybrid population, under local conditions that have strongly favored a given one of these racial types as against its co-rivals, a so-called “pure line”<sup>22)</sup> may have been established, — effectually pure-bred in point of heredity though not of pedigree. Such

an episodic outcome of selective breeding might not unreasonably be looked for, *e.g.*, among the blonds of Finland, or among the brachycephalic-brunets of the Alps or the Tyrol, or again among the dolicho-brunets of Sicily or Sardinia. The irrelevancy of any such conceivable episodic “pure line,” as bearing on the question of race purity in any of the European nations, is sufficiently evident.

For reason evident to all students of race distribution in Europe, the chance of such a selective working-out of a pure line is also much smaller as regards the blond stock than as regards the other two main races. The climatic tolerance of this type of man is much more restricted than that of either of the two brunets, and very greatly more restricted than that of the brachycephalic-brunet. While the blond does not survive, even in a dilute hybrid form, for many generations in the special habitat of the Alpine, the latter has apparently very little if any handicap as against the blond in that North Sea habitat in which alone the latter type [ brunets ]<sup>23)</sup> can permanently maintain itself. From this viability under varying climatic and topographic conditions on the part of the Alpine type, it follows that while the blond tends incontinently to disappear from among the brunet populations lying to the south, the brunet shows no tendency to disappear from among the blonds in the north. So it has come about that there is presumably no community, assuredly not within the limits of the German Empire or of the British Isles, that can safely be rated as more than half blond. What can be said in these premises is that, by and large, this hybrid population of Germany, or of the British Isles, is more blond towards the north and more brunet towards the south, but that in the aggregate the brunet elements will doubtless greatly outweigh the blond in both countries.

Before leaving this matter of European races and their hybrid offspring a further consideration may be in place, bearing on questions of the stability of national types. The theories of heredity currently held by the general body of biologists conceive of type of any given species to be invariable throughout the life-history of the species. So that under this rule of the stability of specific types no effectual change, no change

transmissible by inheritance, can come in so long as the race (species) endures. Transient changes of adaptation — “ecological” variations — are not excluded; but these changes are ephemeral only; they are only such changes as well not permanently alter the complement of hereditary traits that mark the type.

Hitherto anthropologists and ethnologists have not made up their account with this biological tenet; although they have long been in the habit of tacitly assuming such a stability of types for the races of mankind, in so far as their researches have turned on race identity over intervals of time or space, but with the (tacit and matter-of-course) infraction of this rule in all inquiries into the rise and derivation of any given race. Historians have, quite naturally, not been troubled with biological conceptions of this recondite order. That such has been the state of things on this head is doubtless due to the fact that the biologists themselves have come to a realization of the scope and bearing of this concept of invariable types only within last fifteen years, since Mendel’s experiments on hybrids have been known and their bearing on heredity and variation is coming to be appreciated.

Whatever laws of heredity may prove to hold for animals at large will necessarily hold for mankind. And, accepting what is commonly accepted among biologists on this head, it follows that the several racial stocks that go into the make-up of the European populations today are what they were in the beginning. Ever since these types of man extant in Europe today took their rise — in quaternary, or tertiary time perhaps — the complement of hereditary traits with which they are capable of endowing their offspring have not varied, for better or worse. So that no heritable amelioration or deterioration (with the exception of ephemeral fluctuations as spoken of above) has taken place in any of the races of Europe since these made their first settlement, presumably in the Neolithic age. In point of native gifts, therefore, the population of Christendom today is a faithful reproduction of its ancestry in the stone age.

Some slight special attention may here be given to the case of the

dolicho-blond stock and its origin and heredity, chiefly as a convenient illustrative instance of the position which this biological tenet of stability assigns any given race of men as regards their hereditary traits. This race is not known to have lived (except by transient excursions) outside of Europe, nor indeed in any permanent way outside the climatic reach of the Baltic-North Sea region; nor is it known ever to have lived in isolation from other races, the archaeological evidence running uniformly to the effect that the communities in which blonds have been found have had a mixed population. It is also not known, with any approach to certainty, to have lived in Europe earlier than late quaternary time, — perhaps not until at or near the close of the last period of glaciation. In archaeological chronology this would mean neolithic time.<sup>24)</sup>

As quoted above, Veblen goes back to Neolithic age, as he discusses the racial composition of three main racial stocks in Europe integrating the knowledge which may have been acquired from historical science, archaeology and geography, and so on. Then, he points out that the society in which a dolicho-blond race is found among the inhabitant is composed of a hybrid race. As for that recognition on which Veblen based his argument, he estimates that the crossbred have more possibility than the purebred to develop variants higher in their innate capacity and adaptability to the environment, under the law of heredity<sup>25)</sup> which was worked out of the results of the experiments in crossbreeding using peas as the material by Johann Gregor Mendel (1822-1884), who is the father of modern Genetics. Thus, the writer judges, Veblen formed his own orientation, which rejected the idea of the “genuine-blood” seen typically among German Nazis, basing on the estimated result which the hereditary laws of Mendel indicated, together with the comprehensive viewpoint obtained from other sciences. Therefore, Veblen can be said to have built up perfectly a theoretical foothold to explain that the developments of the machine technology in Germany should not be discussed

from relative merits of the race, from the industrial environment.<sup>26)</sup> As it will be clear soon hereafter, the discussion by Veblen is devoted exclusively to dolicho-blond of the three main racial stocks in Europe, and he applies mutation theory to the life history of the dolicho-blond race in order to make clear the racial character and mind structure of this race. So, the writer would like to examine his notable arguments in the final chapter of this lengthy disquisition.

#### IV

Veblen argues, by taking into consideration the latest knowledge in those days which archaeological discovery brought and biological laws — the type of a species remains unchanged, a new species grows only by abrupt mutation of the type of the species which existed before, that the following opinion can be estimated: that is to say, dolicho-blond race may have probably emerged due to the mutation of some group of the races that dwelled in this European district in the Neolithic age.<sup>27)</sup> However, whether the mutation theory is accepted or not, Veblen considers a dolicho-blond type in Europe be stable as a type of species. At this point, the writer would like to introduce the precise explanation by the late Professor Kimura Motoo who was the former director of National Institute of Genetics in Japan, and won a worldwide renown as the advocate of the theory of neutrality of molecular evolution. Kimura gives an account of the process in which the mutation theory got academic acceptance among biologists as follows:

Mutation means, in general, an emergent change in genetic materials, whose essential qualities has been made the clearest of all the evolutionary factors through the development of genetics; it is divided by traditional classification into “chromosomal mutation” and “genetic mutation.”<sup>28)</sup>

As for genetics, it started a remarkable development at the beginning of this century [the 20th] with the re-discovery of Mendel’s laws by Hugo

De Vries et al., and it is said that it [the re-discovery] also solved the problem which troubled Darwin in that the laws of heredity were unknown. Darwin's theory and Mendel's genetics were not united at once, however.<sup>29)</sup>

Far from it, with the victory of the Mendelian School the number of biologists increased who had doubts about the Darwinian idea that evolution is raised by force of natural selection which works upon microscopic continuous variation. In place of that we have come to accept generally De Vries's mutation theory. According to his mutation theory, a new species is not formed by degrees under the action of natural selection, but it is born abruptly through an emergent change of genetic material. When this theory was put forward at the beginning of this century, it gained approval of many biologists.<sup>30)</sup>

We must not neglect the background that Veblen may have hastened writing of a book during the wartime in the academic environment that the mutation theory of Hugo De Vries was coming to be supported by many biologists. Needless to say that the book is nothing other than *Imperial Germany and the Industrial Revolution*. That is why Mendel's laws are applied carefully in explaining the result of hybridization, and Veblen reveals his viewpoint without reserve. In this connection, Veblen summarizes his knowledge obtained in this way under the heading (a) - (c) as follows:

Little — some say nothing — is known by direct observation of the rise of a new specific type or stock by mutation from another parent stock. The theory is held on grounds of unavoidable inference from evidence mainly supplies by observations of reversion to type among hybrids, which takes such a direction as to involve the necessary assumption of the stability of specific types. But even with the presence of the dolicho-blond in Europe, the acceptance of the dictum that specific types are stable — and that position appears to be unassailable — leaves the force of the argument at this point much the same as if the mutation theory were accepted. This argument, then, leads to the conclusion (a) that since this type of man makes

its appearance in Europe in early neolithic time and survives as an element of enduring and growing importance in the neolithic populations, it, or rather its hybrid offspring produced by crossing back on its parent or associate stock, must have been well suited by native gift to the conditions of life offered at the time. Its later, and permanent, restriction to the peculiar habitat offered by the Baltic seaboard argues further that this type (or its hybrids) was well adapted to the conditions of life, climatic and other, offered by that region. What these conditions were, as well as the manner in which this neolithic population met and took advantage of these conditions, is coming to be passably well known from the archæological evidence of life in the neolithic on the Baltic littoral. The eminently successful way in which that blond (hybrid) population made good its survival and multiplied under the given conditions argues further also, though less conclusively, that the type and its ordinary range of hybrid offspring were peculiarly suited to the manner of life adopted in so making good the survival of the type, and therefore presumably less well adapted to any other, widely different, manner of life. The run of evidence from other species of animals on the whole to go pretty consistently to the effect that each species is less well suited to survive under conditions widely different from those to which it may be said to be native. Most species suffer with any radical change of environment, many to the point of extinction. Specifically applied to this type of man this proposition would be formulated to the effect that the European blondhybrid is native to the neolithic culture and will thrive under the (widely different) conditions of civilized life only by tolerance and by force of assiduous training. The parallel offered by the domestic animals, particularly by trained animals, as contrasted with the same species in the wild state, is suggestive on this head. The European blond's (hybrid) state of nature, or wild state, would be the neolithic culture of Europe, rather than anything more primitive or anything more recent.

(b) Placed as the blond stock has been in early European time, in a tract of country occupied by a mixed population, this stock can from the outset have survived only by way of crossbreeding with the other race or

racés with which it has been associated. This proposition takes on an added degree of force and definition if the blond is recognized as a mutant type, arisen in Europe as suggested above. In such a case the stock that so arises by mutation is born into a community made up of its parent stock, and it will have no chance of breeding except by crossing back on the parent stock. A degree of reflection on the known distribution of races, far and near, will leave little doubt that what is here said of the special case of the dolicho-blond applies with more or less cogency to the case of any other race, whether in Europe or elsewhere; and in every case the acceptance of the mutation theory, with the consequent definite recognition of the stability of racial types, will further enforce this proposition and give a sharper definition to the conception of “race” as distinct from “people.”

(c) What was taken place in the domestication of animals and their adaptation by selective breeding to their special uses and the special conditions of life under domestication suggests a line of argument that might seem applicable to the several nationalities of Europe, and here specially applicable to the German population. The domestic animals are commonly held to be, in the main, of hybrid derivation. Selective breeding extending over long intervals of time has been directed to certain fairly definite ends, and therefore to the production in each case of a certain fairly definite range of hereditary traits; with the result that certain artificial races have been established, showing in each case a certain, passably well-defined, racial character. These artificial races of hybrid derivation are passably stable — breed true approximately — so long as they enjoy the selective surveillance and degree of isolation that has given them their characteristic type. Latterly, by strict and intelligent selection, it has proved possible to establish new racial types of this artificial kind within a relatively short series of generations. But these types so established by selective breeding are stable only in a provisional sense. When these artificial races escape from domestication they will commonly either revert in the direction of one or another of their ancestral types (as, *e.g.*, in the case of the mustang — broncho, cayuse — of Spanish-Arab derivation, which appears when run

wild to have made appreciable progress in the direction of the type of *Equus przewalskii*) or they presently disappear (as, *e.g.*, commonly happens with the domestic fowl escaped from domestication), with or without concomitant loss of their characteristic marks.<sup>31)</sup>

In sum, Veblen considers that a certain hereditary people type is supposed to be brought about if analogy stated above given by domestic animals is applied to the German peoples in recent years who have created the inhabitant of mixed parentage consistently by the selective effect.

Such a national race would then be of a provisionally stable type, in a manner and degree comparable with the stability of type characters found in the artificial races of animals, as, *e.g.*, in the various breeds of hens or geese. The several nations or peoples of Europe would then, on this view, be fairly regarded as hybrid races which have been selectively bred into a passably, but effectually, uniform type — uniform in respect of the characters required by this cultural scheme — which will stand so long as the selective conditions out of which it has arisen may continue in force.

Several considerations come in to disable this line of argument as applies to any European nation, and specifically as regards the population of Germany. Man is a slow-breeding animal, some thirty years being conventionally given to one generation; the length of time required to effect the definition of such a hybrid type as is contemplated would therefore be very considerable, even if the selective breeding for type were carried out under the strictest conceivable control and with the most intelligent and unwavering aim. But the selective action in the case is nothing more exacting than a relatively lax and shifty differential advantage in favor of such individuals as conform with exceptional facility to a given traditional manner of life and system of opinions and ideals. At the same time the system of institutions that is supposed to work this selective adaptation is engaged in an incontinent process of change, such as to change the conditions of life unremittingly, and therefore progressively to vary the

ground of selective breeding by that much. These changes in the cultural situation have been going forward at a visibly rapid rate in modern times, particularly as regards those technological factors that directly affect the material conditions of life; and it is necessarily these material conditions that will have the strictest and most immediate selective effect on the population.

It would be only under the (presumably) stable or slowchanging conditions of prehistoric times that this population could conceivably have been exposed to sufficiently active selective forces through a sufficient series of generations to give rise to a selectively established hybrid type of the kind in question; and assuming that such a national type had been achieved in prehistoric times, it must in any case have gone to pieces in the succeeding turmoil of the barbarian invasions and the troublous times that have made up the later history of the peoples about the Baltic and North Sea.<sup>32)</sup>

Veblen gets the following conclusion, and the supplementary note of a great length is finally finished.

So also it is a matter of common notoriety that immigrants of pure-bred German, Slavic, or British extraction who settle in America, or in any of the other north-European colonies, lose their distinctive national character in two or three generations; that is to say, just so soon as they outlived the traditional views, prejudices, habits and ideals brought from home; which goes to show that none of these nationalities, or others that might be named, have worked out a national type of hybrids. Whether the matter is taken from the side of current everyday observation or from that of European race-history, the outcome appears to be the same: there is no hereditary difference between, *e.g.*, the British, The German and Slavic population — say of Great Russia — when these are considered as aggregates. Each varies by wider differences within itself than the average difference between one and another.<sup>33)</sup>

According to Veblen, it is around in the stage of primitive savage culture that the European populations of three main racial stocks, that is, the Mediterranean (dolicho-brunet), the Alpine (brachycephalic-brunet) and the Northern (dolicho-blond) started their life history. Though the actual conditions of the stage of this primitive savage culture may not be clear, it is certain that it contains in itself biologically long enough time for traces of evolution to be recognized, and while three main racial stocks in Europe may have been exposed to the change caused by mutation during that long period, the mutant which appeared in the last turn is the Northern (dolicho-blond), and it is estimated that it appeared in the early stages of Neolithic. Therefore, so far as this reasoning is acceptable, it can be supposed that the types of the modern European races are determined by the variants of the Northern, the Mediterranean and the Alpine. Then it may be allowable even to consider that whose innate predispositions as a race are greatly different from those of another race. Biological diversity may be probably shown about inborn gifts and the inventive ideas for technical progress corresponding to the degree of their mixed parentage, at the same time they may produce extensive variations of individuals. The German peoples are not the exception of this case, either. Because the German peoples, having inborn predispositions as a hybrid race, as polymorphic variations which may be caused are accumulated, a remarkable difference in the state of the technology and possibilities will be brought to them at some point in sequence of the cultural evolution. Indeed the fact that the Industrial Revolution was brought under imperialism regime has marked Germany as a different state from England. Veblen reached the conclusion in the end, that the national characters of the German did not create their national type of the mixed parentage. The German peoples were a hybrid race from their beginning.

Besides, Veblen values the recognition about the relationship between heredity and variation in reaching this conclusion, and in fact he gets this

conclusion from the result of the experiments by Mendel. As we can gather easily from his assertions which have been quoted at length, Mendel's theory of heredity heavily a series of discussions by Veblen. Therefore, it is unacceptable to place Veblen strictly only in the category of a Darwinian, even if it is proper to admit the influence of the idea of Darwin's theory of evolution upon him. Rather, we will be able to find the innegligible element as a Mendelian evolutionist in the fragments of the ideas of Veblen. The reason why a student doesn't notice or ignores what is stated above is that Veblen unifies skillfully cardinal points of Mendelian theory with Darwinian theory, and that his opinion about the races hasn't been studied seriously by the large majority of students. The fact that fragments of the ideas of Veblen are redolent of Mendelian theory in those days when Darwinism was being forced to change by Mendelism. As pointed out already, *Imperial Germany and the Industrial Revolution* was written at that time.

In the meantime, as for Veblen's understanding of the dilatory evolution of nature, there is no doubt that he got it from Charles Darwin. This well known scholarly consensus is clear in Veblen's fundamental standpoint to recognize an economic society as a cumulative process of evolution. That becomes very clearer when he studies causal relations among the various elements to compose a society with rejecting teleonomy. In explaining the type of the race from the viewpoint of mutation, however, Veblen bases on the genetic study by Mendel. Needless to say, an unexpected change means the change which occurs within the range of eternal time in biological meaning, and therefore it is different from the social change which achieves dramatic chops or "leap" in some cases. Thus, even if Veblen can be recognized as Darwinian who accepted positively Mendelian theory, an epistemological standpoint in his theory of social changes will still remain to be explained. It is true that there is an epistemological standpoint that Hegelian dialectic is applicable to Veblen's theory of social changes, which may be appropriate; yet

that kind of argument is developed with using only Darwinian theory of evolution as a useful theoretical device. If the theory of evolution by Darwin is a useful theoretical device to escape from the teleonomic nature that Hegelian dialectic includes, then the theory of the mutation by Mendel will be qualified to be put on the same position as such device. But, it seems to the writer that Mendel's theory of mutation can replace with the dialectic of Hegel in the part which will play in the explanation of his theory of social changes.

Leaving that question aside, Veblen tried to give a good explanation of the social changes from the industrial environments focusing on the German peoples compared with the English-speaking peoples. Then, in the process of that discussion, Veblen displayed specifically his historical perspective of history with the knowledge of the race. Thus, Veblen with being based on a certain recognition, he found two spheres of influences a little different from each other which made a cultural development in the European world of his time, and he prepared thread of an argument to aim at comparative study of those spheres, that is cultural study from a racial, geographical, climatic, historical, political, juristically and economical viewpoints, to understand their interrelations. To close this argument, the writer dares to declare Veblen to be a Darwinian who received the baptism of Mendelism from his own motive.

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(2<sup>nd</sup>, August 2002)

## NOTES

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- 1) *e. g.* Joseph Dorfman, *Thorstein Veblen and his America* (New York: The Viking Press, 1934).
  - 2) Sasaki Akira, *Keizaigaku no Houhouron: Veblen to Marx* (Tokyo: Toyo-Keizai Shinpo-Sha, 1967).

- 3) Veblen wrote ten brilliant books in his lifetime. The list is as follows:

*The Theory of the Leisure Class: An Economic Study of Institutions* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1899); *The Theory of Business Enterprise* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1904); *The Instinct of Workmanship and the State of the Industrial Arts* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1914); *Imperial Germany and the Industrial Revolution* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1915); *An Inquiry into the Nature of Peace and the Terms of Its Perpetuation* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1917); *The Higher Learning in America: A Memorandum on the Conduct of Universities of Business Man* (New York: B. W. Huebsch, 1918); *The Place of Science in Modern Civilisation and Other Essays* (New York: B. W. Huebsch, 1919); *The Vested Interests and the Common Man: "The Modern Point of View and the New Order"* (New York: B. W. Huebsch, 1919); *The Engineers and the Price System* (New York: B. W. Huebsch, 1921); *Absentee Ownership and Business Enterprise in Recent Time: The Case of America* (New York: B. W. Huebsch, 1923).

- 4) I should name the next two books as translations into Japanese of Veblen's books which were published comparatively recently.

Matsuo Hiroshi, *Veblen Keizaiteki Bunmeiron : Shokunin-waza Honnou to Sangyo Gijutsu no Hatten* (Kyoto: Minerva Syobou, 1997); Taka Tetsuo, *Yukan-Kaikyu no Riron* (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobou, 1998).

The latter, by the way, is the translation of *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, of which three kinds of translations have already existed. Those 3 translations in the publishing order are as follows. — Ouno Shinzou, *Yukan-Kaikyu-Ron* (Tokyo: Heiritsusha, 1924); Kugai Saburou, *Sekai Dai Shisou Zenshu: Yukan-Kaikyu-Ron* (Tokyo: Kawade Syobou, 1959); Obara Keishi, *Yukan-Kaikyu no Riron* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1961).

Obara Keishi's translation has won an established reputation, and this edition is from time to time reprinted by Iwanami Shoten as a pocket-book. Taka Tetsuo's edition is proposed to make up for the deficiency of Obara's edition, basing on the latest research results on Veblen's economic thoughts.

- 5) Joseph Dorfman, "Introduction" to *Imperial Germany and the Industrial Revolution* by Thorstein Veblen (New York: Augustus M. Kelley Bookseller,

1964), p. xii.

- 6) *Ibid.*, p. xviii.
- 7) Thorstein Veblen, *Imperial Germany and the Industrial Revolution* (New York : Augustus M. Kelley Bookseller, 1964), p. v.
- 8) *Ibid.*, p. v.
- 9) No remarkable change from the original is recognized in this new edition though the misprints were corrected and some terms were modified by Veblen himself. The additional element that we should pay attention to in this new edition is probably the “Preface” which Joseph Dorfman wrote.
- 10) Some typographical errors are still seen this new reprinted edition, but they are easy to detect and we don’t have to be afraid of misreading. But all the remarks produced by the sagacious brain which is to be called a crucible of scholarship, even one paragraph, carry some pieces of Veblen’s ideas and have subtle implications. To add to this, the cases are not a few where his sentence is hard to interpret with only applying the principles of grammar to it. Furthermore, a pleonastic tendency exists that is seen in the expression of “rising up of the land,” for example, instead of saying “mountain range.”
- 11) The original of this thesis was written in Japanese and published officially in The Teikyo Journal of Education, No.24. 1999 (Department of Education), entitled “Thorstein Veblen no Yōroppa-Jinshu ni tsuite no Chiken.” But, because the forth chapter of this thesis written in English contains a variously renewed assertion, it will have the qualification to get an opportunity to be published officially as a different thesis.
- 12) In writing this paper, the writer refers to the following books in detail: Oka Masao, Egami Namio, Inoue Kouji, *Minzoku to wa Nanika* (Tokyo: Yamakawa Shuppansha, 1993); Inoue Kouji, *Yōroppa-Bunmei no Genkei* (Tokyo: Yamakawa Shuppansha, 1993); Kimura Motoo, *Seibutsu Shinka wo Kangaeru* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1996).
- 13) Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (New York : Augustus M. Kelley, Bookseller, 1975), pp. 213-214.
- 14) This opinion isn’t limited to *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, but also seen in *The Instinct of Workmanship and the State of the Industrial Arts* and in

*Imperial Germany and the Industrial Revolution*, which certifies the consistency of Veblen's viewpoint.

- 15) This opinion isn't seen characteristically in *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, but the intellectual viewpoint, which is presumed, is consistent in *The Instinct of Workmanship and the State of the Industrial Arts* of Veblen and *Imperial Germany and the Industrial Revolution* as well.
- 16) Thorstein Veblen, *Imperial Germany and the Industrial Revolution* (New York: Augustus M. Kelley, Bookseller, 1964), p. 7.
- 17) The opinion of Veblen about the race is being discussed in the following theses. — Thorstein Veblen, "The Mutation Theory and the Blond Race," in *The Place of Science in Modern Civilisation and Other Essays* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1961), pp. 457-476; Thorstein Veblen, "The Blond Race and the Aryan Culture," in *The Place of Science in Modern Civilisation and Other Essays* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1961), pp. 477-496.
- 18) See, William Z. Ripley, *Railroads: Rates and Regulation* (New York: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1912).
- 19) Thorstein Veblen, *Imperial Germany and the Industrial Revolution* (New York: Augustus M. Kelley, Bookseller, 1964), pp. 281-284.
- 20) Let's take a glance at the interesting explanation by Veblen about the mind structure of the Mediterranean race and the Blond race, as his interesting explanation is taken up comparatively in detail in *The Instinct of Workmanship and the State of the Industrial Arts*.

“But through it all the suggestion insinuates itself that the latest, or youngest, of the three main European stocks, the blond, has more rather than less of the pugnacious and predatory temper than the other two, and that this stock made its way to the front in spite of, if not by force of these traits. The advantage of the blond as a fighter seems to have been due in part to an adventurous and pugnacious temper, but also in part to a superior physique, — superior for the purpose of fighting hand to hand or with the implements chiefly used in warfare and piracy down to a date within the nineteenth century. The same physical traits of mass, stature and katabolism will likewise have been of great advantage in the quest of a livelihood under the conditions that prevailed in the North-sea region,

the habitat of the dolicho-blond, in the stone age. Something to the same effect is true of the spiritual traits which are said to characterize the blond, — a certain canny temerity and unrest.” (Thorstein Veblen, *The Instinct of Workmanship and the State of the Industrial Arts* [New York : The Macmillan Company, 1914] , p. 122.)

Moreover, Veblen points it out as follows; “The dolicho-blond type showing more of the characteristics of the predatory temperament — or at least more of the violent disposition — than the brachycephalic-brunette type, and especially more than the Mediterranean.” (Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class* [New York: Augustus M. Kelley, Bookseller, 1965], p. 217.)

- 21) Thorstein Veblen, *The Instinct of Workmanship and the State of the Industrial Arts* (New York : The Macmillan Company, 1914), p. 114.
- 22) Veblen draws the reader’s attention to the fact that “Pure line” is a borrowed term from the usage of Wilhelm Ludwig Johannsen in his *Elemente der exakten Erblichkeitslehre* (1909) and that this term is not used in precisely in the sense which Johannsen assigns to it. (Thorstein Veblen, *Imperial Germany and the Industrial Revolution* [New York: Augustus M. Kelley, Bookseller, 1964], p. 284.)
- 23) A term shown in [ ] in the context is the descriptive phrase which the writer added.
- 24) Thorstein Veblen, *Imperial Germany and the Industrial Revolution* (New York: Augustus M. Kelley, Bookseller, 1964), pp. 284-287.
- 25) Mendel made a remarkable contribution to genetics as seen in having supposed the factor, i.e. chromosome, by which heredity is controlled for characters of all sorts. And Veblen can be said to have grasped exactly a part of the contribution in explaining Mendel’s laws. For your information Veblen expatiates Mendel’s laws.

“It is evident that under the Mendelian rules held to govern matters of heredity in hybrids it follows that the cross offspring of two (or three) distinct specific types may vary by approximately as many permutations as the number of viable combinations possible between the double (or treble) range of determinants, or ‘factors,’ comprised in their double (or treble) ancestry. That is to say, while

the pure-bred representatives of a given specific type may vary within the narrow limits of the type, through varying stress on the several determinants comprised in the type constitution during the growth of the final individual (zygote); it is on the other hand contained in the premises that the cross-bred individual may vary not only by consequence of such differences of stress during its growth (what may be called variation in initially acquired characters) but also (what may be called variation in hereditary characters) by a number of new combination of characters coming in from the two (or three) sides of his double (or treble) ancestry and amounting approximately to the square (or cube) — 1 of the number of determinants comprised in the type constitution, — barring such combinations, more numerous the more divergent the two (or three) parent types, as may not be viable, and provided always that the final generation in question is sufficiently numerous to provide scope for so extensive a variation. The extreme variants in such a case may easily go beyond the extreme range of either parent type in any given direction, owing to the fact that a given determinant coming in front one side may be fortified or inhibited (perhaps more easily the latter) by a determinant coming in from the other side and affecting the same group of tissues.”(*Ibid.*, pp. 9-10.)

- 26) I will have to give a little more detail of the approach to the inquiry of the German case that Veblen adopted in *Imperial Germany and the Industrial Revolution*. He refers to this approach as follows.

“If an inquiry into the case of Germany is to profit the ends of theoretical generalization bearing on the study of human institutions, their nature and causes, it is necessary to discriminate between those factors in the case are of a stable and enduring character and those that are variable, and at the same time it is necessary to take thought of what factors are peculiar to the case of the German peoples and what others are common to them and to their neighbors with whom their case will necessarily be compared. It happens that these two lines of discrimination in great part coincide. In respect of the stable characteristics of race heredity the German people do not differ in any sensible or consistent manner from the neighboring peoples; whereas in the character of their past habituation — in their cultural scheme — as well as in respect of the circumstances to which they have

latterly been exposed, their case is at least in some degree peculiar. It is in the matter of received habits of thought — use and wont — and in the conditions that have further shaped their scheme of use and wont in the recent past, that the population of this country differs from the population of Europe at large.”(*Ibid.*, pp. 5-6.)

27) *Ibid.*, p. 287.

The sentence quoted here is given a footnote, in which Veblen asks to refer to “The Mutation Theory and the Blond Race,” in *The Journal of Race Development*, April 1913.

28) Kimura Motoo, *Seibutsu Shinka wo Kangaeru* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1996), p. 99. [Translation mine]

29) *Ibid.*, p. 26. [Translation mine]

30) *Ibid.*, pp. 28-29. [Translation mine]

31) Thorstein Veblen, *op. cit.*, pp. 287-289.

32) *Ibid.*, pp. 290-291.

33) *Ibid.*, p. 291.