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History 133 B

Source Exploration

How US Eugenics and Racial Policies Influenced the Nuremberg Laws of 1935 and

Early Nazi Identity and Racial Policy



Source of original German texts: Reichsbürgergesetz vom 15. September 1935, Reichsgesetzblatt, 1935, Part I, p. 1146 ff, und Erste Verordnung zum Reichsbürgergesetz vom 14. November 1935, Reichsgesetzblatt, 1935, Part I, p. 1333; Both are reprinted in Paul Meier Benneckenstein, ed., *Dokumente der deutschen Politik, Volume 3: Deutschlands Weg zur Freiheit 1935*, edited by Axel Friedrichs. Berlin, 1937, pp. 153-54, 157-58.

The following explores the basis of early Nazi policy concerning the United States' Racial Policies such as segregation, Jim Crow, and the eugenics movement. Specifically, I will explore the [Reich Citizenship Law of September 15, 1935](#), and the [First Regulation to the Reich Citizenship Law of November 14, 1935](#), which were both introduced and enacted by the Nazi

¹ "Wartime Jewish Émigrés," CSUN University Library, April 9, 2020, <https://library.csun.edu/SCA/Peek-in-the-Stacks/wartime-jewish-emigres>.

party in order to define what constituted a "citizen" in Nazi Germany and more consequently to isolate and strip the political rights of the Jewish community and Non-Aryans. Specifically I will be exploring the origins of the laws, and what influenced them to be enacted as well as the Nazi Party as a whole. I was able to find many digital versions, including the Library of Congress, as the United States Chief Counsel in the Nuremberg Trial used the bills for the Prosecution of Axis Criminality. The agents who are seen as the organizers and signers of the bill were the Reich Minister of the Interior Wilhelm Frick (1877-1946), the Deputy of the Führer Rudolf Hess (1894-1987), and most significantly, Adolf Hitler (1889-1945), the mass murderer, tyrant, and absolute dictator of Nazi Germany. His views towards racial policies were directly linked with his knowledge and admiration of US racism as well as the eugenics movement, in which he sought to expand and codify both programs into the heart of Nazi Germany.

The basis of the Nuremberg laws emphasized the exclusion and degradation of Jewish and non-Aryan Germans by barring them from civil service, marriage/sexual relations with Aryans, political rights, and legal rights, degrading them to second-class citizens. As we know, this hateful and exclusionary sentiment by the Nazis would only grow and spiral into further legislation, forced emigration, concentration of the Jewish and many non-Aryans, and eventually... the Holocaust. The Nuremberg Laws and other legislation enacted early on in the regime symbolized the ideology of the Reich, what the regime constituted as a "citizen" of the Reich, and what it meant for those whom it did not recognize as a part of the greater "Volk." What shocked me was that the inspiration of these ideals and legislation was in many ways directly influenced by the United States and its racial policy, as well as the eugenics movement (which had many of its greatest advocates and practitioners based in the United States).

According to James Q. Whitman, author of *Hitler's American Model* and Professor at Yale University, "In the 1930s, Nazi Germany and the American South had the appearance, in the words of two southern historians, of a "mirror image": these were two unapologetically racist regimes, unmatched in their pitilessness." This sentiment was powerful in Hitler, who, in the introduction of the third chapter in *Mein Kampf*, praised the United States as the one state that has made progress toward a primarily racial conception of citizenship by "excluding certain races from naturalization."² That is why Hitler praised the infamous Immigration Act of 1924 in *Mein*

² James Q Whitman, *Hitler's American Model: The United States and the Making of Nazi Race Law*. Princeton; Oxford: Princeton University Press. 2018.

Kampf as well, in which he would gain his own inspiration in modeling laws pertaining to immigration and citizenship based purely on racial merits.³ Hitler ideologically gelled well with the United States' Jim Crow and segregation. This is exemplified within the Nuremberg Laws, in which he sought to culminate his inspired racial ambitions by barring Jewish Germans from civil service, marriage and sexual relations with Aryans, as well as barring Jewish Germans and non-aryans from political rights and legal rights. These citizens were degraded to second-class citizens quite similar to African Americans and other racial minorities who likewise due to segregation and Jim Crow were barred from marrying Aryans, restricted and in many cases barred from civil service, as well being able to attain proper political and legal rights due to the dominating stronghold of white supremacy. As a parallel, Hitler and the Nazis sought to carry out this model, specifically with the Nuremberg Laws; to alienate, disenfranchise, and dominate Jewish Germans living in the Reich, and to propel and celebrate the Aryan identity. Jewish Germans became second-class citizens in their own nation, whose leaders repudiated their existence and sought to dominate them.

Furthermore, Hitler's and Nazi ideology also stemmed from the eugenics movement (particularly in the United States) and its most prominent individuals. Political scientist Lothrop Stoddard was a vital example of a white nationalist and racist who advocated for eugenics and white supremacy. He had a massive impact on the Nazi party with his ideals on race and eugenics over many decades as his book, "*The Revolt Against Civilization: The Menace of the Under-man*" (1922)⁴ introduced the term "Untermensch" into Nazi conceptions of race.⁵ The term itself had a gradual rise in usage and popularity pertaining to German literature after Stoddard's usage in 1922, before reaching even greater usage after the Nazis' rise to power.⁶ Perhaps Stoddard's most significant influence on the Nazi regime's ideology can be seen in Alfred Rosenberg's 1930 book, *The Myth Of The Twentieth Century*. His book *The Myth Of The Twentieth Century* is considered one of the most significant and infamous pieces of literature

³ James Q Whitman, *Hitler's American Model: The United States and the Making of Nazi Race Law*. Princeton; Oxford: Princeton University Press. 2018.

⁴ Lothrop Stoddard. *The Revolt against Civilization; the Menace of the under Man*. New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1923.)

⁵ "Lothrop Stoddard," Wikipedia, February 14, 2024, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lothrop_Stoddard.

⁶ Google Books Ngram Viewer, Google Books, accessed March 5, 2024, https://books.google.com/ngrams/graph?content=%28Untermensch%2B%2A%2B10%29%2CUntermensch%3Ager_2019&year_start=1880&year_end=2019&corpus=en-2019&smoothing=3.

produced on Nazi ideology and racial theory. In it, Rosenberg emphasizes his hatred for what he deemed "subhuman" races, particularly the Jewish race. He calls for the elimination of the subhuman races and cites several racial theories, policies, and theorists. Here, we see "Untermensch" and Stoddard brought up as expressing his hatred for Bolshevism and Judaism. He combines both the former and latter to emphasize the destruction of the racially superior "Nordic Russian", who was destroyed in the Russian Revolution of 1917 and infiltrated by communist and Jewish influences, he emphasized both as the most significant threats to German society. He states, "The demonry of this blood directed itself instinctively against everything which outwardly still had some honest effect, looked manly and Nordic, like a living reproach against a type of man whom Lothrop Stoddard rightly described as the underman."⁷ He continues his emphasis on a purely racial state. He cites his influences in the United States' racial policies and its racial theorists/eugenicists, in Stoddard and Madison Grant stating, "It can proceed with youthful strength to set up the new idea of the racial state, such as some awakened Americans have already apprehended, like Grant and Stoddard. They saw the necessity for the expulsion and resettlement of the Blacks and the Yellow men, the handing over of east Asiatic possessions to Japan, the working toward a Black colonization in central Africa, and the resettlement of the Jews to a region where this entire group can find a place."⁸ Overall the book served as a fundamental understanding of what truly consisted of the Nazi regime's ideology and how the regime would carry out racial policies, including vast antisemitism, the superiority of the Aryan race, the inferiority of "lesser" races, and the need for the suppression and elimination of the threats to the German people. These would become highlights of the Nuremberg Laws of 1935 and the Nazi regime. In particular, he claims that Jewish influences contributed to the destruction of many societies and the German loss in World War I, so it was imperative to oppress and eliminate them to create the perfect and utmost pure German nation. *The Myth of the Twentieth Century* is referred to as "one of its most important pseudo-intellectual texts after Hitler's Mein Kampf."⁹ With hindsight, it is extremely telling of what Nazi truly consisted of Nazi ideology in its earliest period and how that ideology would progress toward early policies, specifically, the Nuremberg Laws. Lothrop Stoddard saw civilization based on race and heredity, which the Nazi

⁷ Alfred Rosenberg , *The Myth Of Twentieth Century, An Evaluation of the Spiritual-Intellectual Confrontations of Our Age* (Donauwörth, 1930).

⁸ Alfrd Rosenberg , *The Myth Of Twentieth Century*.

⁹ Richard J. Evans, "The Devil's Diary Review – the Mind of Alfred Rosenberg, Hitler's 'Chief Ideologue,'" *The Guardian*, May 5, 2016,

party would use as a basis of national policy. Stoddard theorized that as society progressed and grew, there would be what he defined as an evolving “underclass” that would hamper and burden the greater society at hand. In his mind, the purely white class would have to take severe action against this underclass, particularly through reproduction. His solution was sterilization programs, immigration restrictions, and birth control to stop the spread of this underclass.¹⁰

When Stoddard visited and stayed in Nazi Germany between 1939 and 1940, he was received very well and got to meet with very high-ranking members of the Nazi Party for all the work he had done, as well as inspiring Nazi race ideology as noted in his own 1940 book *Into the Darkness*.¹¹ His emphasis on preventing those he constituted "inferior" from reproducing would also become the basis of the Nazi regime in their euthanasia and sterilization programs.

Nevertheless, this is no surprise as Hitler's library was found with many books and texts relating to the US eugenics movement. Hitler particularly upheld *The Passing of the Great Race* by Madison Grant. This book emphasized white supremacy, eugenics movements, and the white genocide conspiracy to save the Nordic race against "inferior" races. According to Grant, these "inferior" races could never adapt or assimilate into the society of the United States¹² (with the pretext of white supremacy). Hitler admired this book so much that he referred to it as his bible, as noted in Paul Offit's article "The Loathsome American Book That Inspired Hitler," and would make it an essential reading in Germany.¹³ Offit explores the many links between the American eugenics movement (specifically the literature that derived from it) and Hitler, as well as the Nazi party as a whole. The article does a great job of exploring the connection and revealing how deeply ingrained the Eugenics movement was in the Nazi Party. Rudolf Hess, Hitler's deputy Führer and one of three signers of the Nuremberg Laws, stated, "National Socialism is nothing but applied biology," in reference to the backlash the regime faced in the wake of the racist laws.¹⁴

When regarding Nazi identity through legislation and what was the precursor to the Nuremberg Laws, U.S racism and its impact through legislation cannot be understated. This

¹⁰ Lothrop Stoddard. *The Revolt against Civilization; the Menace of the under Man*. New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1923

¹¹ Lothrop Stoddard. In *A Eugenics Court, Into the Darkness*. 1940.

¹² Madison Grant, *The Passing of the Great Race or the Racial Basis of European History*. Eastford, Ct: Martino Fine Books.1916

¹³ Paul A. Offit, "The Loathsome American Book That Inspired Hitler," *The Daily Beast*, August 27, 2017, <https://www.thedailybeast.com/the-loathsome-american-book-that-inspired-hitler>.

¹⁴ Paul A. Offit, "The Loathsome American Book That Inspired Hitler," *The Daily Beast*, August 27, 2017, <https://www.thedailybeast.com/the-loathsome-american-book-that-inspired-hitler>.

sentiment is deeply noted in Becky Little's article "How Jim Crow inspired the Nazis."¹⁵ Nazi Race laws were in many ways directly influenced by the United States, especially Jim Crow Era laws in disenfranchising and oppressing Black Americans. However, the treatment of Native Americans was also an inspiration for Nazi ideology. Similar to Jewish people in Germany, Native Americans had been integral to the United States. They had been settled for thousands of years in the Americas (obviously, Germany as an entity has existed since 1871, but Jewish settlement in the lands of Central Europe has dated back over one thousand years at the very least. Nevertheless, the oppression and subjugation of both groups directly modeled what the Nazis implemented to oppress racial minorities that did not make up the Aryan composite. Jews and eventually other minorities were banned from civil service, segregation, marrying Aryans, as well as the expulsion of Jewish people and other "undesirables" from government, military, and other essential positions directly modeled what had been done to Black Americans during Jim Crow. Arguably, the most influential of the United States' policies can be seen in "Lebensraum," or an expansion of land exclusively for German Aryans, which saw the expulsion, murder, and enslavement of Jewish people, Slavic peoples, and other races deemed inferior. Manifest Destiny would directly influence this policy of forced removal and, in many ways, the absolute destruction of the power of Native Americans had left by the mid-nineteenth century. We see a mirror image of racism, and it pertains to the Nuremberg laws specifically because it allowed the Nazis to distinguish who was and who was not a Jew. It also created barriers through alienation and segregation, barring Jews and other minorities from marrying Aryans and vice versa. This was based on the barring of interracial marriage (pertaining to people of color marrying White Americans) in the United States, which lasted from when the Supreme Court deemed barring interracial marriage "constitutional" in the 1880s,¹⁶ but had its roots in the Virginia slave codes, in which those of "African descent" were barred from marrying Anglo-Americans during the 1660s and 1670s. The attempted destruction and subjugation the



¹⁵ Becky Little, "How the Nazis Were Inspired by Jim Crow," History.com, August 17, 2017, <https://www.history.com/news/how-the-nazis-were-inspired-by-jim-crow>.

¹⁶ Madeo, "May 5, 1943: To Prevent Interracial Marriage, CA Requires Marriage Licenses Indicate Race," calendar.eji.org, accessed February 13, 2024, <https://calendar.eji.org/racial-injustice/may/5>.

United States had initiated for decades of racial minorities was directly used as a model for Adolf Hitler and the Nazis in persecuting Jewish and non-aryan citizens. Most telling in my research is how much influence Lothrop Stoddard, U.S racial policies, and theorists held in constructing a blueprint for how the Nazis would conduct their regime and racial policies. The constant Nazi inspiration and citation to American racial policies and movements cannot be ignored when accounting for the Nuremberg Laws and the foundation of early Nazi policies and identity.

Annotated Bibliography In Chronological order

- Stoddard, Lothrop. *The Revolt against Civilization; the Menace of the under Man*. New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1923.: In this work, he theorized that as society progressed and grew, there would be what he defined as an evolving underclass that would hamper and burden the greater society at hand in his mind the purely white class and action would have to be taken against them. His solution is sterilization programs, immigration restrictions, and birth control to stop the spread of this underclass.
- Hitler, Adolf. *Mein Kampf*. Translated by Ralph Manheim. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1925.
- Rosenberg , Alfred. *The Myth Of Twentieth Century, An Evaluation of the Spiritual-Intellectual Confrontations of Our Age* . Donauwörth, 1930.
- Stoddard, Lothrop. 1940. *In A Eugenics Court, Into the Darkness*.
- Whitman, James Q. "Of Corporatism, Fascism, and the First New Deal." *The American Journal of Comparative Law* 39, no. 4 (1991): 747–78. <https://doi.org/10.2307/840740>.
- Friedlander, Henry. *The Origins of Nazi Genocide: From Euthanasia to the Final Solution*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995:

This book shows the evolution of Nazi ideology regarding the elimination of those who did not make up the German national community in Hitler's eyes, between Euthanasia of mentally/physically unwell people to the holocaust and the final solution. We see an evolution in the barbarity and evil which constituted Nazi ideology in this regard. The secret of euthanasia/sterilization developed into the outright expulsion of all races, which did not make up the German-Aryan national composite.

- *TOWARD A SOCIOLOGY OF THE HOLOCAUST*, by GERALD E. MARKLE, HENRY FRIEDLANDER, DORIT BADER WHITEMAN, LEON WELICZKER WELLS, and ADAM STARKOPF. *Contemporary Jewry* 17, no. 1 (1996): 145–48.
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/23451108>.
- Kevles, Daniel J. 1999. “Eugenics and Human Rights.” *BMJ* 319 (7207): 435–38.
<https://doi.org/10.1136/bmj.319.7207.435>.
Nazi eugenics, in many ways, is based on American Eugenics, as the movement of eugenics rapidly stormed the populace of American eugenics who deserved to live in the Third Reich. As Americans had sterilized mentally and physically unwell people as well as, in many cases, racial minorities, the Nazis followed this model in sterilizing people with mental and physical disorders such as those suffering epilepsy, schizophrenia, manic depression, insanity, "mental-feeble-mindedness," as well as people who were part of the LGBTQ+ community. Hitler and the Nazis marveled over American eugenics, as Mein Kampf stated. "The demand that defective people be prevented from propagating equally defective offspring is a demand of clearest reason and, if systematically executed, represents the most humane act of mankind."¹⁷
- Weir, Christine. “‘White Man’s Burden’, ‘White Man’s Privilege’: Christian Humanism and Racial Determinism in Oceania, 1890-1930.” In *Foreign Bodies: Oceania and the Science of Race 1750-1940*, edited by Bronwen Douglas and Chris Ballard, 283–304. ANU Press, 2008.
- ALLEN, GARLAND E. “‘Culling the Herd’: Eugenics and the Conservation Movement in the United States, 1900-1940.” *Journal of the History of Biology* 46, no. 1 (2013): 31–72. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/42628761>.
- Gur-Arie, Rachel. “Eugenical Sterilization in the United States (1922), by Harry H. Laughlin.” Edited by Patsy Ciardullo. *Embryo Project Encyclopedia*, August 12, 2015. <https://embryo.asu.edu/pages/eugenical-sterilization-united-states-1922-harry-h-laughlin.>
Laughlin was a significant eugenicist and educator and served as the superintendent of the Eugenics Record Office from its inception in 1910 to its closure in 1939. His policies were based on ideals of strictly limiting immigration and the unfit.

¹⁷Hitler 1889-1945 and Ralph Manheim, *Mein Kampf*. Boston, Houghton Mifflin company, 1925.

- Evans, Richard J. “The Devil’s Diary Review – the Mind of Alfred Rosenberg, Hitler’s ‘Chief Ideologue.’” *The Guardian*, May 5, 2016.
<https://www.theguardian.com/books/2016/may/05/devils-diary-alfred-rosenberg-nazi-germany-review>.
- Whitman, James Q. *Hitler’s American model: The United States and the making of Nazi race law*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2017. Whitman explores how US Values and racism influenced Hitler in how he conceived and would implement a racialized society. The emphasis is on how, in Hitler's eyes, the United States' racism was not only impactful in the legacy of oppression but also in how it defined what a citizen was. It racially categorized what a citizen was and excluded who was not, in the sense of naturalization regarding the consistent basis of protection and implementation of political rights and physical rights regarding minorities, especially black Americans during Jim Crow. This sentiment, according to Whitman, was emphasized by Hitler in Mein Kampf and would become the basis of the Nazi Regime, in who constituted a part of the national community and who did not, as well as what to do with those who did not make up the composite of the Nazi national community.
- Little, Becky. 2017. “How the Nazis Were Inspired by Jim Crow.” *HISTORY*. August 16, 2017. <https://www.history.com/news/how-the-nazis-were-inspired-by-jim-crow>. : Nazi Race laws were in many ways directly influenced by the United States, especially Jim Crow Era laws in disenfranchising and oppressing Black Americans. However, the treatment of Native Americans was also an inspiration for Nazi ideology, similar to Jewish people; Native Americans had been integral to America. They had been settled for thousands of years in the Americas (obviously, Germany as an entity has existed since 1871, but Jewish settlement in the lands of Central Europe has dated back over one thousand years at the very least. Nevertheless, the model of oppression and subjugation of both groups directly modeled what the Nazis implemented to oppress racial minorities that did not make up the Aryan composite. Banning from civil service, segregation, barring marriage between Aryans and non-Aryans, as well as the expulsion of Jewish people and other "undesirables" from government, military, and other essential positions, directly modeled what had been done to Black Americans during Jim Crow. Arguably, the most influential of American policies can be seen in "Lebensraum," or an expansion

of land exclusively for German Aryans, which saw the expulsion, murder, and enslavement of Jewish people, Slavic peoples, and other races seemed inferior. Manifest Destiny would directly influence this policy of American forced removal and, in many ways, the destruction of the power of native American entities.

- Offit, Paul A. “The Loathsome American Book That Inspired Hitler.” *The Daily Beast*, August 27, 2017. Accessed January 18, 2024.

<https://www.thedailybeast.com/the-loathsome-american-book-that-inspired-hitler>.: How the US Eugenics movement and specifically Madison Grant’s book *The Passing of the Great Race* became Hitler’s “bible”. The book’s key points on white supremacy and the race being under threat became an essential reading and an ideal within the Nazi higher ups.

- TheUntoldPast. “The Vengeful Execution of Alfred Rosenberg - Hitler’s Art Thief/Theorist.” YouTube, December 2, 2021.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qpckTRmMSyw>.

- Wikipedia Contributors. “Racial Policy of Nazi Germany.” Wikipedia. Wikimedia Foundation. December 16, 2018.

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Racial_policy_of_Nazi_Germany.

Manifest Destiny was seen as a direct inspiration for the expansion of German territory under the Nazi regime known as Lebensraum. Hitler and Himmler were both massive fans of the conquest of the Old West By American forces, which saw the murder and removal as well as the destruction of countless Native American lives. In the same model of divide and conquer, as well as forced expulsion/murder of "undesired" occupants of lands they were conquering American forces had done in the infamous American Indian Wars, Hitler and the Nazis implemented the same treatment with Jews and Slavs in the conquest of East Europe. The goal was as Americans “Americanized” the wild west with an emphasis on Anglo-Saxon values as superior, so would the Nazis “Germanize” (not sure if this is a word) conquered lands in the east, just as they had in mainland Germany, with an emphasis on the superiority of Germanic identity. In the article, it even stated,

"Nazi leaders routinely referred to Eastern Europe as "East Germany" or they referred to it as the "Wild East," and sometimes, they referred to its inhabitants as "Indians."¹⁸

- Wikipedia Contributors. "Lothrop Stoddard." Wikipedia. Wikimedia Foundation. September 13, 2019. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lothrop_Stoddard.

According to the page, "Stoddard's work influenced the Nazi government of Germany. His book *The Revolt Against Civilization: The Menace of the Under-man* (1922) introduced the term Untermensch (the German translation of "Under-man").

- "Harry H. Laughlin." 2022. Wikipedia. September 5, 2022.

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Harry_H._Laughlin.

Laughlin had a significant impact on Nazi Germany's eugenics laws. According to the Wikipedia page, his eugenics models were the basis of the Law for the Prevention of Hereditarily Diseased Offspring in 1933, in which between 35,000 and 80,000 people were sterilized in the first year alone. He was even awarded an honorary degree by the University of Heidelberg in 1936 for his work on behalf of the science of "racial cleansing."

- "Lothrop Stoddard: 'In a Eugenics Court.'" *American Witnesses and the Third Reich*. Accessed January 17, 2024.

<https://perspectives.ushmm.org/item/lothrop-stoddard-in-a-eugenics-court>.)

Stoddard was a white nationalist, political scientist, and racist who advocated for eugenics and white supremacy. He would have a massive impact on the Nazi party with his ideals on race and eugenics. Stoddard saw civilization based on race and heredity, which the Nazi party would use as a basis of national policy known as interment. His emphasis on preventing what he constituted "inferior" from reproducing would also become the basis of the Nazi regime in their euthanasia and sterilization programs.

- "Nazi Eugenics." Wikipedia, January 30, 2024.

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nazi_eugenics

The German and US eugenics movements were similar; the German movement was more centralized and contained fewer diverse ideas than the American movement. The German movement catered to eliminating those who did not fit the Nazi model of what constituted

¹⁸ "Racial Policy of Nazi Germany," Wikipedia, February 5, 2024, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Racial_policy_of_Nazi_Germany.

the National community. However, the influence of US eugenics on the Nazi regime cannot be denied as, according to the page, California eugenicists in the 1930s constantly sent literature on eugenics and sterilization to German medical professionals and scientists. Even eugenics researchers such as Harry Laughlin not only believed but boasted that the 1935 Nuremberg Laws were based on models of eugenics such as his, which was the (model eugenic sterilization laws)

- Madeo. “May 5, 1943: To Prevent Interracial Marriage, CA Requires Marriage Licenses Indicate Race.” calendar.eji.org. Accessed February 13, 2024.
<https://calendar.eji.org/racial-injustice/may/5> .
- “Google Books Ngram Viewer.” Google Books. Accessed March 5, 2024.
https://books.google.com/ngrams/graph?content=%28Untermensch%2B%2A%2B10%29%2CUntermensch%3Ager_2019&year_start=1880&year_end=2019&corpus=en-2019&smoothing=3.