

durch Spontanmutation," *Zeitschrift für Krebsforschung* 54 (1944): 12-14. Henschke noted the resistance in the medical community to the idea that only mutagens (*mutationsauslösende Faktoren*) could cause cancer, and that all carcinogens—e.g., X-rays, radium, ultraviolet irradiation—caused mutations (p. 15). Henschke correctly perceived that cancer was not weeded out in the course of evolutionary history, since it tended to affect only persons past the age of reproduction. He also noted, though, that evolution was possible only through mutation, so cancer was in this sense the unfortunate consequence (*Opfer*) of the possibility of evolution (p. 23).

7. Karl Heinrich Bauer and Felix von Mikulicz-Radecki, *Die Praxis der Sterilisierungsoperationen* (Leipzig: J. A. Barth, 1936). American occupation authorities in 1945 named Bauer Rektor of the University of Heidelberg. On the 1968 accusations of Nazi collaboration, see Christian Pross, "Nazi Doctors, German Medicine, and Historical Truth," in Annas and Grodin, *Nazi Doctors*, pp. 41 and 49 n. 31.

8. Karl Heinrich Bauer, *Mutationstheorie der Geschwulst-Entstehung* (Berlin: Springer, 1928).

9. Othmar Freiherr von Verschuer, *Leitfaden der Rassenhygiene* (Leipzig: Georg Thieme, 1941), p. 158. Albert Dietrich of Tübingen also followed Bauer in asserting that all mutagens are carcinogens: "Alle positiv mutationserzeugenden, strahlenden Energien sind aber zugleich krebserzeugend (K. H. Bauer)"; see his "Der Stand der Krebsforschung," in *Krebsbehandlung und Krebsbekämpfung*, ed. Landesausschuss für Krebsbekämpfung in Bremen (Berlin: Urban & Schwarzenberg, 1938), p. 15.

10. Max Schüller, "Gibt es eine Prädisposition für Krebs und worin besteht sie?" *Archiv für Rassen- und Gesellschaftsbiologie* 1 (1904): 831. Schüller himself regarded the differences as not yet proven to be racial in origins.

11. Germany's most important racial hygiene journal in 1904 reported the commonly held belief that "the white race is particularly predisposed to cancer" and that "some colored races, some of the Negro populations of Africa, for example, are entirely free of cancer and immune to it" (*ibid.*, p. 825). Schüller maintained that recent immigrants to a country were more likely to contract cancer than persons native to that country (p. 826), a view consistent with germ theories popular at the time.

12. Ukrainian women were apparently more than four times as likely to die of genital cancer as were Jewish women living in the Ukraine; Ukrainian Jews were also only half as likely to die of breast cancer. See Arkadii M. Merkow, "Zur vergleichenden Charakteristik der Krebsaffektion der wesentlichsten nationalen und sozialen Gruppen der Stadtbevölkerung der Ukraine," *Zeitschrift für Krebsforschung* 34 (1931): 285-98.

13. Gerhard Wagner, "Unser Reichsärztführer Spricht," *Ziel und Weg* 5 (1935): 432-33; Theobald Lang, "Die Belastung des Judentums mit Geistig-Auffälligen," *Nationalsozialistische Monatshefte* 3 (1932): 23-30; Walter Gross, "Die Familie," *Informationsdienst*, no. 58 (September 20, 1938). For a provocative critique and review, especially of pre-Nazi literature, see Sander L. Gilman, *The Jew's Body* (London: Routledge, 1992).

14. Sander L. Gilman, *Freud, Race, and Gender* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), p. 172.

15. Wagner, "Unser Reichsärztführer spricht," *Ziel und Weg* 5 (1935): 432; compare Walter Schottky, ed., *Rasse und Krankheit* (Munich: Lehmann, 1936), and Wilhelm Hildebrandt, *Rassenmischung und Krankheit: Ein Versuch* (Stuttgart: Hippokrates, 1935).

16. The best review of bias in cancer reporting is probably still Clemmesen's *Statistical Studies*, pp. 1-34.

17. Hoffman, *Mortality from Cancer*, pp. 15-16, 129. Not everyone regarded blacks as less susceptible: a professor of physiology and medical jurisprudence in the Medical College of South Carolina at Charleston in 1892 wrote: "If we look again to the accepted etiology of carcinoma of the womb we should undoubtedly consider the colored people as specially liable to it. When we remember the unbridled licentiousness of this people, their profligacy, the attendant traumatism about the cervix in women who have borne many children, we surely find conditions that, to say the least, could scarcely be supposed to render the black race exempt." See Middleton Michel, "Carcinoma Uteri in the Negro," *Medical News* 11 (1892): 402.

18. Alfredo Niceforo, "Cancer in Relation to Race in Europe," in *Report of the International Conference on Cancer* (Bristol: J. Wright & Sons, 1928), p. 502; Eugene Pittard, "Can We Ignore the Race Problem in Connection with Cancer?" in the same volume, pp. 503-7.

19. Hermann Stahr, "Vom Lungenkrebs," *Monatsschrift für Krebsbekämpfung* 5 (1938): 212.

20. Arthur Purdy Stout, "Tumors of the Neuromyo-Arterial Glomus," *American Journal of Cancer* 24 (1935): 255-72.

21. Gilman, *Freud*, pp. 170-73. Adolf Theilhaber was one of the first to show that uterine cancer was relatively rare among Jewish women; see his "Zur Lehre von der Entstehung der Uterustumoren," *Münchener medizinische Wochenschrift* 56 (1909): 1272-73. Adolf's son, Felix, the Zionist author of the Jewish *Untergangstheorie* who also studied uterine cancer, fled Germany in 1935. The best review of cancer among European Jews prior to the Nazi period is probably Sigismund Peller, "Über Krebssterblichkeit der Juden," *Zeitschrift für Krebsforschung* 34 (1931): 128-47. Peller was a Viennese Jew who left for Palestine with his wife in 1934; see his *Not in My Time*.

22. Lenz, *Menschliche Erblchkeitslehre*, pp. 264 ff.

23. Sigmund Rascher, "Denkschrift," May 1, 1939, BDC; Wolfgang Benz, "Dr. med. Sigmund Rascher: Eine Karriere," *Dachauer Hefte* 4 (1988): 193-94. The meeting described in Rascher's memorandum took place on April 24, 1939. In addition to the rat plan, Himmler apparently wanted Rascher to find out whether cancer rates in the remote villages of Memel, in eastern Prussia, were lower than elsewhere. Himmler was also interested in whether chemical fertilizers could cause cancer, especially whether the fertilizers commonly used on grass could be tied to cancers among cows. Rascher was supposed to contact local veterinary surgeons, Nazi farm leaders, and church leaders to determine local cancer rates; he was also supposed to investigate how much