

ADDITIONS, INTEGRATIONS, CORRECTIONS AND SUPPLEMENTS TO THE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF ARNOLD JOSEPH TOYNBEE*

By Teodoro Tagliaferri (University of Naples Federico II)

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Addition to Part I,
Works by Arnold J. Toynbee

1934

Arnold Joseph Toynbee, «*Pagan Worship*» of Nationalism. *The Nazi Ideal. Prof. Toynbee & Post-War Revolutions*, in «The Manchester Guardian», Friday, February 16, 1934, p. 18. Report of a lecture given by Toynbee at the Bedford College for Women on February 15, 1934.

* *A Bibliography of Arnold J. Toynbee*, compiled by S. Fiona Morton, with a Foreword by Veronica M. Toynbee, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1980.

THE NAZI IDEAL

by Arnold J. Toynbee

A new paganism was the common driving force behind the post-war revolutions, declared Professor Toynbee, lecturing on the German revolution at Bedford College for Women yesterday.

An «intellectual proletariat» had been the spearpoint of the revolutions not only in Germany but also in Italy, Japan, and Russia, he said. «The ideal of the Nazi revolution was the same as that of the Fascist revolution in Italy, the Communist revolution in Russia, and the militant revolution in Japan. It was a pagan worship of the totalitarian national State.

This neo-paganism is a genuine religion – hence its power», declared the Professor, «but it is also a very low religion – hence its danger. It has made these revolutionary entries into our post-war society because it has found a spiritual vacuum left by the recent widespread loss of faith in the higher religions which mankind has inherited from the past. The natural thirst for some spiritual ideal is so intense that human beings will eagerly welcome the coarsest and crudest ideal that can be offered to them rather than submit to the painfulness of living with none at all. This is the greatest challenge that Hitlerism presents to the German people and to the rest of mankind».

Professor Toynbee added that the Nazi revolution was Germany's attempt to catch up with her western neighbours who defeated her in the war. Its short aim was to recover equality of status with Great Britain and France; its long aim was to give Germany the national solidarity which France and Germany already possessed.

The Nazi revolution had carried into power the urban lower middle class, which came into power in France in 1789 and in England in 1832. This class had a reputation for being mild and helpless, but English experience since 1832 showed that it was really capable of effective political action, while French experience since 1789 showed it was capable of savagery. Since

1934 the German lower middle class had been ruined by inflation and crushed between capital and labour. Now it had violently asserted itself against both these classes.