

Inquiry into the History of Eugenics at UCL – Final Report

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Thanks

It has been a privilege to lead this Inquiry into the History of Eugenics at UCL. I saw this as an act of service not just to UCL but also to the broader higher education sector. I have learnt a lot from those with whom I worked. I would like to express my sincere thanks and gratitude to those who freely gave their time to support the Inquiry. This includes first and foremost the Commission members, who accepted the invitation to serve UCL in this way, and the Inquiry Secretary, Ben Meunier who made sure all meetings were well organised and all information communicated in a timely manner.

The Commission is deeply appreciative of the time given by the Expert witnesses, who responded positively to our request for help. The absence in this Report of a reference to any material, statement or evidence submitted to the Inquiry should not be construed to mean that it has been overlooked.

Special thanks go to our Research Fellows, Dr Maria Kiladi and Monica Bernal Llanos, both of whom conducted original research for the Inquiry, delivering beyond expectations given the limited time. We were very lucky to find such committed researchers. We commissioned Dr Kiladi to create a 'Finders Aid', a guide to the many un-used resources at UCL on this topic. We also commissioned Monica Bernal Llanos to design and implement an innovative empirical survey and focus groups. These outputs will both be valuable resources for researchers in this field over the years to come. Our appreciation also goes to Professors Ann Phoenix and Joe Cain for supporting Monica and Maria as they conducted this work.

Finally, we are extremely grateful for the support extended to the Inquiry by UCL Catering, UCL Library Services (including Noel Caliste, Debs Furness, UCL Special Collections and Records), UCL Communications and Marketing (CAM) and UCL Media.

The broad dialogue prompted by this process is as valuable as the outcome: we hope that through the work of the Commission and its series of Town Hall meetings, members of the UCL community have developed a greater understanding of the history of eugenics at UCL and of the different perspectives within the institution. The Commission worked hard to balance competing views and we hope that this Report enables the dialogue to continue in a constructive manner.

*Professor Iyiola Solanke
on behalf of the UCL Inquiry into the History of Eugenics*

Executive summary

This report represents the first step in a process to create a framework of action at UCL to acknowledge and address its history of eugenics, as well as empower those who were its targets and may experience its impact during their education at UCL. This process is a collective responsibility – it is not just the task of those belonging to the targeted groups. It is not an academic paper – we hope to inspire others to contribute to the academy with scholarly works on the history of eugenics at UCL.

Our recommendations are to be formalised in a specific Action Plan, but individual elements should as far as possible be embedded in existing initiatives at UCL, such as the Race Equality Charter or the Disability Action Charter.

All new and existing staff should be made aware of the Action Plan, and all action – where-ever taken – should be supported and monitored by a small, fully resourced independent ‘Action & Implementation Group’ (AIG) drawn from the members of the Commission of Inquiry, that reports to Academic Board.

Goals

The goal of the recommendations is to promote the following:

1. Action that is strategic, targeted, practical and measurable.
2. Action that sets a new tone, resets relationships and creates a context for conversation on institutionalised racism, classism and ableism at UCL.
3. Action that creates a culture of caring alongside a statutory duty of care to restore the worthiness of the targets of eugenics.
4. Action that reflects UCL’s mission as ‘a diverse intellectual community, engaged with the wider world and committed to changing it for the better’, recognised for its ‘radical and critical thinking and its widespread influence’.

Principles

Six key principles underpin the Recommendations:

- a) Universities are public institutions that play a key role in social equality, equity and mobility. Provosts and Vice Chancellors need to manage them as such and take bold steps for the sake of social progress.
- b) The statutory duty of care upon universities must be accompanied by a culture of caring within them.
- c) UCL must confront its role in eugenics by understanding the past. This past should not be hidden but openly and critically discussed – it should be talked about more not less, in a way that restores agency, visibility and dignity to its targets.
- d) UCL must approach this history pro-actively, with sincerity, humility and honesty. This problematic history is to be used as a platform to centralise matters relating to equality, for example by taking steps to make ‘critical diversity literacy’¹ more visible and welcomed in teaching.
- e) The history of eugenics at UCL must be tackled using a multi-level approach that encompasses action at the individual, collective and environmental level.

¹ <https://vula.uct.ac.za/access/content/group/49399abf-1244-4e86-94d4-1e8955bf14d1/Diversity%20Literacy/Diversity%20Literacy/Syllabus%20%20Overview/Diversity%20Literacy.pdf>.

- f) Where possible, funds historically linked to eugenics should be used to cover the cost of implementing the recommendations made in this Report.

Recommendations

The following ten key recommendations are categorised into 3 themes corresponding to the terms of reference: UCL's current position on the teaching of eugenics; the dissemination of eugenics; and research into eugenics.

1. Teaching of the history of eugenics:

- a. A cross-Faculty Working Group comprising staff and students to be created to design ways to ensure that all UCL graduates know and understand the history of eugenics at UCL. Heads of Department to determine whether this will be a compulsory module for all 1st years.
- b. A UCL-education to include engagement with the critical histories of disciplines. UCL graduates are to be 'global citizens' engaged with the real world and familiar with the implications of scientific theories and practices on the real world, rather than as abstractions from society.
- c. As diverse communities make better decisions, UCL to ensure a pipeline of students and staff from BAME, disabled and low-income backgrounds at all levels and in all areas of activity and disciplines.
- d. UCL to undertake work to embed the teaching and learning of Britain and Empire in schools in the UK. This could be through paid posts in relevant UCL Centres such as the Sarah Parker Remond Centre for the Study of Racism and Racialisation.

2. Dissemination of eugenics:

- a. UCL to issue a meaningful and effective apology that acknowledge its complicity in eugenics and the harm and hurt caused by eugenics to people in BAME and targeted communities in the UK and elsewhere.
- b. UCL to re-name spaces and buildings which bear the name of eugenicists and to find ways to acknowledge this history so that it remains visible.

3. Study of the history of eugenics:

- a. UCL to devote resources to recruitment and retainment of BAME and disabled staff and decolonising the curricula in all departments, with an emphasis on classroom/teaching & research settings.
- b. UCL to conduct an audit of accessibility in relation to BAME and disability in teaching, Estates and pastoral support, building on the work of the Disabled Student Network Report.
- c. UCL to convene a symposium on the Race and Disability Gap Index (similar to the World Economic Forum Gender Gap Index).

These recommendations are to be implemented in a framework for action that has six pillars, each corresponding to a level of management in higher education: Module; Programme; Department; Faculty; Academic Board; University Council.

Introduction

...the general identity-values of a society may be fully entrenched nowhere, and yet they can cast some kind of shadow on the encounters everywhere in daily living.²

The concept of 'eugenics' was created in Britain by Francis Galton in the late 19th century to refer to the science of heredity. Some may argue that the ideas promoted by Galton and those he worked with still cast a shadow on everyday life in the 21st century and that persons suffering from discrimination live in the wake³ of the general identity-values promoted by eugenics.

Eugenics has cast a specific shadow on University College London (UCL).⁴ Established in 1826, UCL is acknowledged to be a world leading institution with clear global leadership in many research areas and a reputation which is valued by its staff and students. Although a very different place than it was in the 19th century, UCL is also historically associated with eugenics. This association is due to a financial endowment left by Francis Galton, who promoted the scientific study of inheritance.⁵ Money bequeathed by Galton was used to establish at UCL the first Chair in Eugenics and the first Department of Eugenics in the world. Through the financial donation of Galton to UCL, racism was allowed to be married to science and within UCL this link between science and racism was embraced.

This fact has in particular disturbed relations with UCL students and staff who are Black, Asian and Ethnic Minority (BAME). This is to be regretted because for many years UCL has invested in initiatives and activities to widen the participation of young people from these groups in its student body. Under Provost Michael Arthur, Equality, Diversity and Inclusion (EDI) was increased from a department of three staff to fourteen. Additionally, on campus, there were - and continue to be - lectures and events to bring the interests and concerns of BME students to the fore and core of UCL, such as activities on decolonising the University. Most recently, in September 2019 a new centre for the study of racism and the construction of race was established in the Institute of Advanced Studies. It received its name as UCL's 'Sarah Parker Remond Centre for the Study of Racism and Racialisation' in early 2020.⁶

This Inquiry is in one sense an indication of the success of UCL's efforts: UCL is now a diverse and vibrant community.⁷ It was the BAME students⁸ and staff who campaigned for this Inquiry when they discovered that an honorary lecturer had convened a 'London Conference on Intelligence'⁹ at UCL. This was the fourth time that such a conference had been 'secretly' organised at UCL – the first was

² Erwin Goffman (1990), *Stigma: Notes on A Spoiled Identity* (London: Penguin) 153.

³ Christina Sharpe (2016), *In the Wake: On Blackness and Being* (Durham: Duke University Press).

⁴ 'The Shadow of Eugenics' is also the title of a lecture given by Professor Robert Winston, Professor of Science and Society at Imperial College London on Feb 28, 2019. He discusses the influence of Galton's work on the race and sterilisation laws of the USA and the extermination policies of Nazi Germany.

⁵ Francis Galton (1869) *Hereditary Genius: an inquiry into its laws and consequences* (London: Macmillan).

⁶ Professor Paul Gilroy was appointed as the Founding Director. The centre will be staffed by an administrator and two Lecturers. It will foster research on race and racism and run its own MA programme.

⁷ Although the Inquiry into the History of Eugenics remains pertinent regardless of the number of BME students and staff, it is noteworthy that 53% of UCL students and 18% of UCL staff are from a Black, Asian or Minority Ethnic background. In 2019, 8% of students registered a disability as did 3.41% of UCL technicians, 14.12% of manual/ craft employees, 5.75% of staff in administration/ management support; 9.72% in NHS Related roles, 3.44% of teachers and TAs, 2.66% of researchers and 3.28% of academics.

⁸ Ayo Olatunji for example met with the Provost and members of the Race Equality Steering Group (RESG).

⁹ <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/news/2018/jan/ucl-statement-london-conference-intelligence-0>. The Inquiry was not mandated to investigate this Conference. It is mentioned solely to provide context.

in 2015.¹⁰ The invitation only Conference was designed to discuss research linking human intelligence and race. This topic harkened back to ideas of heritability, ideas that were first given intellectual legitimacy at UCL with the establishment of the abovementioned Galton Chair in Eugenics. This Chair, albeit renamed, continues to exist at UCL.

The realisation that meetings on intelligence and race were being held at UCL in the 21st century led to outrage on campus. It seriously undermined the trust of BAME students in UCL - a link was made between eugenics theories on race and intelligence on the one hand and the contemporary environment at UCL on the other, wherein some BAME, disabled and students from low-income families¹¹ experience shaming, harassment, disempowerment and disengagement in classrooms and around campus. Occurring in the midst of activism to decolonise UCL, it suggested a 'Janus-faced' institution, with one face promoting equality in line with its statutory duty of care¹² and the other a quiet acquiescence and ambivalence to UCL's historical role in eugenics and its consequences for those Galton theorised as being unworthy.

The Provost therefore established this Inquiry to excavate the history of eugenics at UCL so that it would no longer cast a shadow on UCL as it pursues its mission of internationalism and inclusion. The priority for the Inquiry is UCL students, as it is their well-being at UCL that is our focus. That said, UCL's goal is to create an aspirational environment for ALL of its students and staff. Diversity is UCL's strength: inclusion should be its passion and equity its goal.¹³ This Inquiry is therefore an opportunity to strengthen its commitment to equality and reset the relationship of trust between the institution and those who sincerely care for it despite being deeply disappointed in it. It should be seen as part of two ongoing processes: the institutional goal to widen participation and the determination of its BAME students - that UCL has worked so hard to attract – to enjoy the same sense of belonging as other students.

Why does UCL care about Eugenics?

A key scientific assumption of eugenics is the mistaken belief in the existence of distinct human races, which moreover exist in a hierarchy. Eugenics targeted specific groups - there are clear links between Galton's eugenics, imperialism and national socialism.¹⁴ The racist, classist and ableist ideas at its core are directly linked to atrocities against millions of people. The ideas of eugenics are visible in medicine, sociology, social policy, genetic science, law, archaeology and anthropology. Around the world, eugenics of one form or another is implicated in: compulsory sterilization;¹⁵ legislation on mental deficiency; immigration law and racist policies; the notion of natural intelligence; normalisation of segregation by race, ability and class. The eugenics world view also seeped into the

¹⁰ The first International Eugenics Conference was held at the University of London in 1912.

¹¹ A 'socio-economic' duty created in Section 1 of the Equality Act was never enforced. In February 2020 a public consultation begins in Wales to look at its implementation. See <https://www.cloisters.com/a-legal-duty-to-tackle-inequality-scotland-first-wales-next-england-when/>

¹² The 'public sector equality duty' (PSED) is found in Section 149 Equality Act 2010.

¹³ This phrase is taken from the EDI motto of St Bartholomew's Hospital in London.

¹⁴ Some argue for a clear distinction between the state enforced eugenics of national socialism and the individual choice offered by 21st century eugenics, as supported by the Human Genome Project in *From Chance to Choice* (2000).

¹⁵ In *Buck v Bell*, 143 Va. 310, 130 S.E. 516 (1925) the US Supreme Court sanctioned compulsory sterilisation of the 'feeble-minded' for the 'protection and health of the state.'

general public sphere through art¹⁶ and popular detective and science fiction.¹⁷ It would take time to carefully craft the narrative of how pervasively eugenics structured thinking and social organisation from the late 19th century onwards.¹⁸

This Inquiry into the history of eugenics at UCL is necessary because the naming of Chairs, prizes, buildings and spaces after Galton and his disciple Pearson strongly suggests that they and their ideas are celebrated at UCL. Any suggestion of celebration of these ideas creates an unwelcoming environment in which students and staff at UCL who identify as BAME, disabled or come from a low-income background are marginalised. As the explicit targets of eugenics, they continue to suffer the unspoken stigma of being labelled unworthy, unfit, un-intelligent and 'feeble-minded'. The imposition of stigma is described as 'the commonest form of violence used in democratic societies' and an effective form of social control:

'Stigmatisation is a highly sophisticated form of violence in so far as it is rarely associated with physical threats or attack. It can best be compared to those forms of psychological torture in which the victim is broken psychically and physically but left to all outward appearances unmarked.'¹⁹

Stigma perpetuates shaming and enables harassment²⁰ – such as never being called on in class, despite clearly raising your hand to answer a question. Shaming contributes to the higher drop-out rates and lower attainment of students in these groups.²¹

Shaming has no place in higher education. Students attend University for opportunity: they seek opportunity for learning to improve their world and their lives in it. They make an investment in themselves and expect the institution to deliver on that investment. Teaching therefore matters – both at the time that it is received and in the future. Painful and negative experiences at the undergraduate level remain with a student throughout their lives. Isolation during studies and disenfranchisement of groups of students can have long term consequences not only for the student but for higher education in general – a disenfranchised student is less likely to pursue a career in higher education. Negative experiences undermine attempts to diversify University staff - the numbers of black female²²/male professors and professional staff is less likely to increase if this does not change.

¹⁶ Debbie Challis (2013) *The Archaeology of Race: the Eugenic Ideas of Francis Galton and Flinders Petrie*. (London: Bloomsbury).

¹⁷ Claire Hanson (2012) *Eugenics, Literature, and Culture in Post-war Britain* (New York: Routledge)

¹⁸ One impressive work is Claire Hanson (see above).

¹⁹ R A Pinker (1971) *Social Theory and Social Policy* (London: Heinemann) 175

²⁰ In December 2018-February 2019, the EHRC launched a public inquiry into the prevalence and seriousness of racial harassment experienced by staff and students in publicly funded universities in England, Scotland and Wales. Results were published in 'Tackling racial harassment: Universities Challenged' (Oct 2019). 25% of students from minority ethnic backgrounds had experienced racial harassment within British universities (highest for 29% Black students and 27% Asian students). 1 in 3 staff reported racial harassment, and more likely to report on the frequency of micro-aggressive acts. Many staff and students reported on lack of confidence, feelings of isolation, anxiety, disengagement, conforming to 'be white', as much as reports on PTSD, suicidal thoughts and, leaving their studies or employment. In response to this report, Universities UK established an Advisory Group on Racial Harassment in Universities to develop guidelines for all Universities to tackle racial harassment.

²¹ <https://www.advance-he.ac.uk/guidance/equality-diversity-and-inclusion/student-recruitment-retention-and-attainment/degree-attainment-gaps>

²² See <https://blackfemaleprofessorsforum.org>. Also UCU/ Nicola Rollock (2019) 'Staying power: the career experiences and strategies of UK black female professors' at https://www.ucu.org.uk/media/10075/Staying-Power/pdf/UCU_Rollock_February_2019.pdf.

UCL's historical association with eugenics is therefore a matter for investigation and sober reflection. It is necessary so that UCL can reconcile its past with its current values and its future. Arguably, the lack of attention to this difficult history contributed to the creation of the discursive space for events such as a 'London Conference on Intelligence' to take place. A way must be found to have a sensible conversation on racism and white privilege, ableism, classism, hetero-normativity, and equity.

However, all institutions of higher education need to be alert to similar challenges. This is of fundamental importance to tackle the exclusion and disempowerment experienced by too many people in higher education and often replicated in society.

Terms of Reference

The Commission of Inquiry on the History of Eugenics at UCL was established in October 2018 with two key tasks: first to examine the study and teaching of eugenics. In relation to this we were asked to look at:

- UCL's historical role;
- The current status of study and teaching of eugenics at UCL; and
- The current benefit to UCL from financial instruments linked to eugenics

It should be noted that we were not asked to look at the history of eugenics in general but specifically the history of eugenics *at UCL*.

Having conducted this Inquiry, we were secondly asked to make recommendations on two specific areas:

- UCL's current position on the teaching, dissemination and study of eugenics and its inherent link to modern day racism
- Management of the naming of spaces and buildings after prominent eugenicists

We were not asked to make recommendations in relation to the financial instruments linked to eugenics but felt it sensible to do so. We think it would be reasonable - where possible - to use funds linked to eugenics to cover the cost of implementing the recommendations made in this Report.

The timeframe was short. We were initially asked to submit findings and recommendations by the end of July 2019. Given the enormity of the task we requested and were granted an extension of 6 months to December 2019.

Nonetheless given the constraints on time and resources, the Inquiry focused closely on Francis Galton - the earliest days of eugenics and the association between Francis Galton and UCL. We did not look in depth at the role of those working at UCL who were arguably more deeply involved with the teaching, research and dissemination of eugenics, such as Karl Pearson and others following him. Beyond outlining the evolution at UCL,²³ we also did not explore the relationship between eugenics and genetics. Thus our work is just a start: this Report is not intended to be comprehensive. Rather, we hope it will inspire a new generation of students and researchers of all levels across the range of disciplines in STEM and humanities to take up and pursue this topic. There is a wealth of resources available within UCL to explore the history of teaching and research of eugenics at the university critically, and the recommendations invite UCL to extend this work.

²³ See Part II.

The Inquiry focused on race²⁴, as per our terms of reference. However, as the work progressed it became apparent that ableism and classism were also core ideas in Galton's eugenics. While Commission members disagreed on the meaning and role of race in his eugenics, all agreed that at least these two other groups targeted in his writings – the disabled and the working class – should be included in the Inquiry. There is of course some overlap: BAME and disabled persons are over-represented in low-income households.²⁵ That said, we acknowledge that eugenics targeted many groups, and again invite others to illuminate the harm done by eugenics to the lives of these additional groups, for example persons with low socioeconomic status, travelling communities or sexual and religious minorities.

The idea of 'critical diversity literacy'²⁶ is offered to acknowledge the many groups targeted by eugenics. Critical diversity literacy has eight analytical criteria: 1) a recognition of the symbolic and material value of hegemonic identities, such as whiteness, masculinity, heterosexuality, able-bodiedness, middle-classness etc; 2) the unpacking of how these systems of privilege intersect, interlock co-construct and constitute each other; 3) the definition of oppressive systems such as racism as current social problems and not only historical legacy; 4) an understanding that social identities are learned and an outcome of social practices; 5) the possession of a diversity grammar and vocabulary that facilitates a discussion of race, racism and antiracism, and the parallel concepts employed in the analysis of other forms of oppression; 6) the ability to translate (interpret) coded hegemonic practices; 7) an analysis of the ways in that diversity hierarchies and institutional oppressions are mediated by class inequality and inflected in specific social contexts; and 8) an engagement with issues of transformation of these oppressive systems towards deepening democracy/social justice in all levels of social organisation.

Commission Members

The stakeholders for this Inquiry include the entirety of the UCL community - staff and students on all of its campuses and alumni around the world. The Commission included persons from a wide variety of disciplines, who could speak to different positions in the UCL community. We also heard from 'Expert Witnesses' and our discussions benefitted greatly from their contributions.

The composition of the Commission is set out below:

Chair: Iyiola Solanke (Law, University of Leeds)

Secretary: Benjamin Meunier (Library Services, UCL)

²⁴ Race is a social construct but is used without inverted commas in recognition of the reality of its impact on everyday life as in, for example, The Race Disparity Audit (<https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/race-disparity-audit>), the McGregor-Smith Review on race in the workplace (<https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/race-in-the-workplace-the-mcgregor-smith-review>) or the Lammy Review (https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/643001/lammy-review-final-report.pdf).

²⁵ Studies by the Equalities and Human Rights Commission show higher poverty in BAME families and lower University attendance rates. Research by the Joseph Roundtree Foundation found that 50% of people living in poverty in the UK are disabled or live in a household with a disabled person.

²⁶ <https://vula.uct.ac.za/access/content/group/49399abf-1244-4e86-94d4-1e8955bf14d1/Diversity%20Literacy/Diversity%20Literacy/Syllabus%20%20Overview/Diversity%20Literacy.pdf>. Steyn, M. 2010.

Members:

Students Union

- Black & Minority Ethnic Students Officer, UCL: Sandra Ogundele (2019 - 20), Samira Abdalla (2018-19)
- Women's Officer, UCL: Nilisha Vashist (2019-20); Abeni Olayinka (2018-19)
- Disability Officer, UCL (unpaid): Zohar Mendzelevski-Steinberg (invited to join in October 2019)

Professional Services

- Subhadra Das (UCL Culture)
- Marcia Jacks (Co-Chair, Race Equality Steering Group) (Women's Health, UCL)
- Fiona McClement (Head of Equalities & Diversity, UCL)
- Ash Talwar (Equalities & Diversity, UCL)

Research Fellows

- Monica Bernal Llanos (Empirical Researcher)
- Maria Kiladi (Archivist)

Academics

- Caroline Bressey (Geography, UCL)
- Joe Cain (Head, Science & Technology Studies, UCL)
- Tom Fearn (Statistical Science, UCL)
- Peter Fonagy (Psychology & Language, UCL)
- Tamar Garb (History of Art, IAS)
- Ann Phoenix (Psychosocial Studies, IoE)
- Mark Thomas (Evolutionary Genetics, UCL)
- Ijeoma Uchegbu (Provosts Race Envoy) (Pharmacy, UCL)

Methodology

Although UCL has a unique history in relation to eugenics, inquiries by educational institutions into their difficult histories have increased in recent years - UCL is one of many universities wrestling with a troubling institutional past. Within the UK, Glasgow University recently completed a study into its links with slavery.²⁷ Other institutions – such as Bristol,²⁸ Cambridge²⁹ and Nottingham³⁰ – are currently conducting inquiries into their own connections with the transatlantic slave trade. Beyond the UK, the Universities Studying Slavery Symposium in the USA³¹ is an initiative led by Virginia University to create a framework for educational institutions to come to terms with their foundations in and links to slavery. Current members of this Symposium from the UK include the University of Bristol, University of Glasgow, King's College London, University of Liverpool, University of Manchester, Liverpool John Moores and the University of Warwick. University College Cork, Ireland is also a member.

²⁷ https://www.gla.ac.uk/news/archiveofnews/2018/september/headline_607154_en.html

²⁸ <http://www.bristol.ac.uk/news/2019/october/professor-of-the-history-of-slavery-.html>

²⁹ <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/education-48097051>

³⁰ <https://thetab.com/uk/nottingham/2019/11/29/uon-and-trent-announce-investigation-of-its-links-to-transatlantic-slavery-46322>

³¹ <https://slavery.virginia.edu/universities-studying-slavery/>

The Commission of Inquiry had just one year to complete its work (in contrast to three years at Brown University and two years at Bristol University). We decided that we needed to trace the chronology of eugenics at UCL and canvass current opinion from across the UCL community. Given the available time and resources, our method of working included:

- a) Two Town Hall Meetings – 1 March 2019 (from which we developed questions for the expert witness and empirical survey), 11 October 2019 (presentation of interim findings).
- b) Expert Witnesses – 43 witnesses across a variety of fields were invited to submit ‘evidence’ to the Commission of Inquiry.
- c) Archival Research – a Research Fellow, Dr Maria Kiladi, was appointed to conduct research into the various records and collections held at UCL and elsewhere on eugenics.
- d) Empirical Research – a Research Fellow, Monica Bernal-Llanos, was appointed to conduct qualitative research at UCL. This included 14 lunch-hour face to face focus groups (facilitated in the UCL Bloomsbury campus between 24 July and 07 November 2019) and an online survey for UCL students, staff and alumni from 12 July to 31 October 2019.

The results are presented below and in the appended Reports.

Part I: Background

Who was Francis Galton?

‘...in an important sense, there is only one complete unblushing male in America: a young, married, white, urban, northern, heterosexual protestant father of college education, fully employed, of good complexion, weight and height and a recent record in sports. Every American male tends to look out upon the world from this perspective, this constituting one sense in which one can speak of a common value system in America...’³²

Francis Galton was born into a wealthy and well-connected family of Quakers based in the Midlands.³³ The family made its fortune in ironmongery, gun-making and latterly banking. He is known for many things, such as his discovery of the principle of ‘regression to the mean’ as well as work on weather forecasting and the use of fingerprints in criminal investigations.³⁴ That work has been recognised, documented and celebrated.

Less well known and for many less cause for celebration is his work on eugenics. Although not himself American, Galton would probably agree with the social norm above identified by Erwin Goffman as the ideal of the ‘well bred’ man. Galton coined the word ‘eugenics’ to refer to the *science* of heredity to encapsulate the idea that abstract human traits such as intelligence are inherited by offspring from their parents. As he himself said,

“Eugenics deal with what is more valuable than money or lands, namely the heritage of a high character, capable brains, fine physique, and vigour; in short, with all that is most desirable for a family to possess as a birthright. It aims at the evolution and preservation of high races of men, and it as well deserves to be strictly enforced as a religious duty, as the Levirate law ever was.”

Galton’s aim was to develop scientific and statistical means as a practice to identify the mechanisms for ‘racial degeneration.’³⁵ His statistical approach to inheritance launched the science of biometrics - the precise measurement of biological attributes and characteristics, in particular intelligence - and inspired historically revered academics such as Pearson, Weldon and Bateman.

From his first publication in 1852 to his last in 1907 - Galton was developing and promoting eugenics. His key concern was racial degeneration and he drew up a hierarchy of races in his publication, *Hereditary Genius*.³⁶ His work between 1871 and 1910 included studies on three generations of lunatic cats, hereditary colour in horses, acquisition of mimetic forms in butterflies. A notable study from 1904 is on the ‘Distribution of successes and of natural ability among the kinsfolk of Fellows of the Royal Society’ conducted by means of a survey amongst members of the Royal Society.²⁷ Pursuit of the theory eugenics and the idea of heredity was the basis for his idea of ‘regression to the mean.’

³² Erwin Goffman (1990), *Stigma: Notes on A Spoiled Identity* (Penguin) 153.

³³ <http://galton.org/ancestry/index.htm>. In-marriage, especially amongst Quakers, is discussed by Adam Kuper in *Incest and Influence: The Private Life of Bourgeois England* (Harvard University Press, 2009).

³⁴ See the entry on Galton in the *Dictionary of National Bibliographies* for further details.

³⁵ Marius Turda (2010) ‘Race, Science and Eugenics in the 20th century’ in the *Oxford Handbook of the History of Eugenics* ed. Alison Bashford and Phillipa Levine. Also Spektorowski and Ireni-Sabon, 31ff.

³⁶ <http://galton.org/books/hereditary-genius/text/pdf/galton-1869-genius-v3.pdf>

In the simplistic world view promoted by eugenics, there were two groups: those who were worthy to have and to give life, and those who were not. Science was utilised to determine who fell into which group. While the world view of eugenics was very simple, tracing the influence and impact of this ideology and practice is not. Through public talks and academic lectures, research projects, journal articles and newspaper letters, Galton together with Pearson³¹ was able to disseminate his ideas across a range of discursive fields. Eugenics became a national and international movement that spread to America as well as Australia and other parts of Europe. Galton's work influenced the English School of Eugenics¹¹ which began and became embedded at UCL. Eugenics societies in various parts of the world influenced scientists, lawyers, activists and politicians to institute and legalise the practice of eugenics. This idea is perhaps more successful than we care and/or dare to admit: in one form or another, it has pervaded law, policy and practice in relation to immigration, family policy, welfare, health care and education.

What did Galton believe?

Galton developed a method of 'pedigree analysis' for his theory of heredity that used statistical techniques for the quantification of biological traits. These ideas were far-reaching and their emphasis on English superiority supported the imperialist goals of a nascent British Empire. The ideas were disseminated widely through a number of means, including the Eugenics Education Society, which conducted research and linked the specialist knowledge of academics with politicians developing social and welfare policy.³⁷

Given the remit of the Inquiry, the extracts below were selected to indicate how Galton and key supporters such as Pearson thought about heredity, intelligence and race as well as ability and class. Extracts on his strategy also illustrate why institutions of higher education such as UCL were so important to Galton.

General

Francis Galton, 'HEREDITARY TALENT AND CHARACTER', 1865 (first published in *Macmillan's Magazine*, 12, 157-166, 318-327)

Part I: "I find that talent is transmitted by inheritance in a very remarkable degree; that the mother has by no means the monopoly of its transmission; and that whole families of persons of talent are more common than those in which one member only is possessed of it. I justify my conclusions by the statistics I now proceed to adduce..."

Part II: "No one, I think, can doubt, from the facts and analogies I have brought forward, that, if talented men were mated with talented women, of the same mental and physical characters as themselves, generation after generation, we might produce a highly-bred human race, with no more tendency to revert to meaner ancestral types than is shown by our long-established breeds of race-horses and fox-hounds."

Francis Galton, *Hereditary Genius*, 1869: "I PROPOSE to show in this book that a man's natural abilities are derived by inheritance, under exactly the same limitations as are the form and physical features of the whole organic world."

Francis Galton, *Inquiries into the Human Faculty*, 1883 (p24): eugenics is "the science of improving stock, which is by no means confined to questions of judicious mating, but which...takes cognizance of all influences that tend in however remote a degree to give the more suitable races or strains of

³⁷ Claire Hanson (2012).

blood a better chance of prevailing speedily over the less suitable than they otherwise would have had.”

Francis Galton, The Possible Improvement of the Human Breed, 1901 (reprinted in Essays in Eugenics, p3): “Whether it be in character, disposition, energy, intellect, or physical power, we each receive at our birth a definite endowment, allegorised by the parable related in St. Matthew, some receiving many talents, others few; but each person being responsible for the profitable use of that which has been entrusted to him. *Distribution of Qualities in a Nation*. Experience shows that while talents are distributed in endless different degrees, the frequency of those different degrees follows certain statistical laws, of which the best known is the Normal Law of Frequency.”

Francis Galton, Eugenics: Its Definition, Scope and Aims in Nature, 1904 (reprinted Essays in Eugenics, 1909 (p35): “Eugenics is the science which deals with all influences which improve the inborn qualities of a race; also with those which develop them to the utmost advantage.”³⁸

Francis Galton, Restrictions in Marriage, year unknown (Essays in Eugenics, p49): “Eugenics deal with what is more valuable than money or lands, namely the heritage of a high character, capable brains, fine physique, and vigour; in short, with all that is most desirable for a family to possess as a birthright. It aims at the evolution and preservation of high races of men, and it as well deserves to be strictly enforced as a religious duty, as the Levirate law ever was.”

Francis Galton, Probability, the Foundation of Eugenics, The Herbert Spencer Lecture, Delivered on June 7th 1907, p13: “Eugenics seeks for quantitative results. It is not contented with vague words such as ‘much’ or ‘little’ but endeavours to determine ‘how much’ or ‘how little’ in precise and trustworthy figures.”

Francis Galton, Probability, the Foundation of Eugenics, The Herbert Spencer Lecture, Delivered on June 7th 1907, p29 – 30: “...it is reasonable to expect that it will be strongly exerted in favour of Eugenics when a sufficiency of evidence shall have been collected to make the truths on which it rests plain to all. That moment has not yet arrived. Enough is already known to those who have studied the question to leave no doubt in their minds about the general results, but not enough is quantitatively known to justify legislation or other action except in extreme cases. Continued studies will be required for some time to come, and the pace must not be hurried. When the desired fulness of information shall have been acquired then, and not till then, will be the fit moment to proclaim a 'Jehad,' or Holy War against customs and prejudices that impair the physical and moral qualities of our race.”³⁹

Karl Pearson, 1934: “... The climax culminated in Galton’s preaching of Eugenics, and his foundation of the Eugenics Professorship. Did I say “culminate”? No, that lies in the future, perhaps with Reichskanzler Hitler and his proposals to regenerate the German people. In Germany a vast experiment is in hand, and some of you may live to see its results. If it fails it will not be for want of enthusiasm, but rather because the Germans are only just starting the study of mathematical statistics in the modern sense.”⁴⁰

³⁸ <https://wellcomelibrary.org/collections/digital-collections/makers-of-modern-genetics/digitised-archives/eugenics-society/>

³⁹ <http://galton.org/books/probability-eugenics/galton-1907-probability-eugenics.pdf>

⁴⁰ Pearson on his collaboration with Galton. Speeches delivered at a dinner held in University College, London, in honour of Professor Karl Pearson, 23 April 1934. Privately printed at the University Press, Cambridge: 1934.

The Targets of Eugenics

Race & the 'Negro'

Francis Galton, 'Recent Expedition into the Interior of South-Western Africa' *The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London*, Vol. 22 (1852), p156: "I will now pass on to the distribution of tribes in this part of South Africa. Their history is not a little involved; but they may be enumerated thus: -1. The Ovampo are corn-growing tribes to the north, who, considered as blacks, are a highly civilized people, and one with strong local attachments, well ordered, honest, laborious, and neat, yet still with much of the negro in them. 2. The Damaras are a vagabond, lazy, thieving, pastoral race. 3. The Hottentots to the south are too well known to require further comment. 4. The Mationa Cafres to the east; and lastly, 5, the Bushman Hottentots and others, who lead a Bushman's life in the barren tracts, that separate these larger nations."⁴¹

Francis Galton, *Tropical South Africa*, London, 1853, p10: "A row of seven dirty, squalid natives came to meet us.... They had Hottentot features, but were of a darker colour, and a most ill-looking appearance; some had trousers, some coats of skin, and they clicked, and howled, and chattered, and behaved like baboons."⁴²

Francis Galton, *Hereditary Talent and Character.*, Originally published in *Macmillan's Magazine*, 12, 157-166, 318-327, 1865: "Take, for instance, the typical West African Negro. He is more unlike the Red man in his mind than in his body. Their characters are almost opposite, one to the other. The Red man has great patience great reticence, great; dignity, and no passion; the Negro has strong impulsive passions, and neither patience, reticence, nor dignity, He is warm-hearted, loving towards his master's children, and idolised by the children in return. He is eminently gregarious for he is always jabbering, quarrelling, tom-tom-ing, or dancing. He is remarkably domestic, and he is endowed with such constitutional vigour, and is so prolific, that his race is irrepressible. The Hindu, the Arab, the Mongol, the Teuton, and very many more, have each of them their peculiar characters. We have not space to analyse them on this occasion; but, whatever they are, they are transmitted, generation after generation, as truly as their physical forms."⁴³

Francis Galton, *Hereditary Talent and Character.*, Originally published in *Macmillan's Magazine*, 12, 157-166, 318-327, 1865: "Another difference, which may either be due to natural selection or to original difference of race, is the fact that savages seem incapable of progress after the first few years of their life. The average children of all races are much on a par. Occasionally, those of the lower races are more precocious than the Anglo-Saxons; as a brute beast of a few weeks old is certainly more apt and forward than a child of the same age. But, as the years go by, the higher races continue to progress, while the lower ones gradually stop. They remain children in mind, with the passions of grown men. Eminent genius commonly asserts itself in tender years, but it continues long to develop. The highest minds in the highest race seem to have been those who had the longest boyhood. It is not those who were little men in early youth who have succeeded."⁴⁴

Francis Galton, *Hereditary Genius*, 1869, p338: "Let us, then, compare the negro race with the Anglo-Saxon, with respect to those qualities alone which are capable of producing judges,

⁴¹ https://www.jstor.org/stable/1798208?seq=1#metadata_info_tab_contents

⁴² See also: Raymond E. Fancher, "Francis Galton's African ethnography and its role in the development of his psychology"; R. S. Cowan, 'Nature and nurture: The interplay of biology and politics in the work of Francis Galton', in W. C. Coleman and C. Limoges (eds.), *Studies in the history of biology*, Vol. 1, Baltimore, 1977.

⁴³ <https://psychclassics.yorku.ca/Galton/talent.htm>

⁴⁴ <https://psychclassics.yorku.ca/Galton/talent.htm>

statesmen, commanders, men of literature and science, poets, artists, and divines. If the negro race in America had been affected by no social disabilities, a comparison of their achievements with those of the whites in their several branches of intellectual effort, having regard to the total number of their respective populations, would give the necessary information. As matters stand, we must be content with much rougher data.

First, the negro race has occasionally, but very rarely, produced such men as Toussaint l'Ouverture, who are of our class F; that is to say, its X, or its total classes above G, appear to correspond with our F, showing a difference of not less than two grades between the black and white races, and it may be more.

Secondly, the negro race is by no means wholly deficient in men capable of becoming good factors, thriving merchants, and otherwise considerably raised above the average of whites—that is to say, it cannot unfrequently supply men corresponding to our class C, or even D. It will be recollected that C implies a selection of 1 in 16, or somewhat more than the natural abilities possessed by average foremen of common juries, and that D is as 1 in 64—a degree of ability that is sure to make a man successful in life. In short, classes E and F of the negro may roughly be considered as the equivalent of our C and D—a result which again points to the conclusion, that the average intellectual standard of the negro race is some two grades below our own.

Thirdly, we may compare, but with much caution, the relative position of negroes in their native country with that of the travellers who visit them. The latter, no doubt, bring with them the knowledge current in civilized lands, but that is an advantage of less importance than we are apt to suppose. A native chief has as good an education in the art of ruling men, as can be desired; he is continually exercised in personal government, and usually maintains his place by the ascendancy of his character, shown every day over his subjects and rivals. A traveller in wild countries also fills, to a certain degree, the position of a commander, and has to confront native chiefs at every inhabited place. The result is familiar enough—the white traveller almost invariably holds his own in their presence. It is seldom that we hear of a white traveller meeting with a black chief whom he feels to be the better man. I have often discussed this subject with competent persons, and can only recall a few cases of the inferiority of the white man,—certainly not more than might be ascribed to an average actual difference of three grades, of which one may be due to the relative demerits of native education, and the remaining two to a difference in natural gifts.

Fourthly, the number among the negroes of those whom we should call half-witted men, is very large. Every book alluding to negro servants in America is full of instances. I was myself much impressed by this fact during my travels in Africa. The mistakes the negroes made in their own matters, were so childish, stupid, and simpleton-like, as frequently to make me ashamed of my own species, I do not think it any exaggeration to say, that their *c* is as low as our *e*, which would be a difference of two grades, as before. I have no information as to actual idiocy among the negroes—I mean, of course, of that class of idiocy which is not due to disease. The Australian type is at least one grade below the African negro.”

Francis Galton, ‘Hereditary Improvement’ in *Frasers Magazine* 7, No. 37, 1873: 116: ‘I look upon race as far more important than nurture. Race has a double effect, it creates better and more intelligent individuals, and these become more competent than their predecessors to make laws and customs, whose effects shall favourably react on their own health and on the nurture of their children.’⁴⁵

⁴⁵ <http://galton.org/essays/1870-1879/galton-1873-frazers-mag-hereditary-improvement.pdf>

Francis Galton, 'Hereditary Improvement' in *Frasers Magazine* 7, No. 37, 1873: 129-30: 'There will be numerous and most annoying cases of reversion in the first and even in the second generation, but when the third generation of selected men has been reached, the race will begin to bear offspring of distinctly purer blood than in the first and after five or six generations, reversion to an inferior type will be rare.'

Francis Galton, 'Inquiries into Human Faculty and its Development', 1883: 'Whenever a low race is preserved under conditions of life that exact a high level of efficiency, it must be subjected to rigorous selection. The few best specimens of that race can alone be allowed to become parents, and not many of their descendants can be allowed to live. On the other hand; if a higher race be substituted for the low one, all this terrible misery disappears. The most merciful form of what I ventured to call "eugenics" would consist in watching for the indications of superior strains or races, and in so favoring them that their progeny shall outnumber and gradually replace that of the old one.'

Francis Galton *Anthropometry Health Exhibition Guide*, 1884: '[...] the British nation is partly blend, partly a mosaic of very distinct types [...] the short, black-haired ancient British race unit[ing] imperfectly with the tall fair-haired Danish or Scandinavian [...] Their union resembles what druggists call an emulsion, that is, a mixture of oil and water, so well shaken together that they form an apparently homogenous substance; but their combination is not durable [...] types are stable, but the forms of their mongrel offspring are not'

Karl Pearson, Letter to Flinders Petrie, August 1895 (cited in Challis, 2016): 'This list shows your Libyans very near the bottom in both cases. I do not lay much stress on position of ancient British, Gauls, Scandinavians and Swiss (Pitt dwellers) as I have only been able to get the measurements of a very few skulls, but the general result seems to indicate a fairly close relationship to the Egyptians and singularly low place on a scale which appears to conform somewhat to the scale of civilisation of modern race, i.e. German near the top and aboriginal near the bottom.'

Francis Galton, *Eugenics: Its Definition, Scope and Aims in Nature*, 1904 (reprinted *Essays in Eugenics*, 1909, p39: But while most barbarous races disappear, some, like the negro, do not. It may therefore be expected that types of our race will be found to exist which can be highly civilised without losing fertility; nay, they may become more fertile under artificial conditions, as is the case with many domestic animals."

Karl Pearson, *The Academic Aspect of the Science of National Eugenics* (1911), p5: 'We understand by a racial character, one which is the product of many centuries of selection, one which passes from generation to generation, and one which is not fundamentally modified if a child be born to the race in India, Canada or Australia. We are looking, therefore, at the range of qualities fixed by selection and transmitted by heredity...'⁴⁶

Karl Pearson, *The Academic Aspect of the Science of National Eugenics* (1911), p7: 'we find that the effect of nurture is on the average hardly one-fifth to one-tenth that of heredity.'

The Poor

Francis Galton, *Hereditary Genius*, 1869: "It is a maxim of Malthus that the period of marriage ought to be delayed in order that the earth may not be overcrowded by a population for whom there is no place at the great table of nature. If this doctrine influenced all classes alike, I should have nothing to say about it here, one way or another, for it would hardly affect the discussions in

⁴⁶ <https://archive.org/details/academicaspectof00pear/page/4>

this book; but, as it is put forward as a rule of conduct for the prudent part of mankind to follow, whilst the imprudent are necessarily left free to disregard it, I have no hesitation in saying that it is a most pernicious rule of conduct in its bearing upon race. Its effect would be such as to cause the race of the prudent to fall, after a few centuries, into an almost incredible inferiority of numbers to that of the imprudent, and it is therefore calculated to bring utter ruin upon the breed of any country where the doctrine prevailed. I protest against the abler races being encouraged to withdraw in this way from the struggle for existence. It may seem monstrous that the weak should be crowded out by the strong, but it is still more monstrous that the races best fitted to play their part on the stage of life, should be crowded out by the incompetent, the ailing, and the desponding."⁴⁷

Francis Galton, The Possible Improvement of the Human Breed, 1901 (reprinted in Essays in Eugenics, p11): *"The Worth of Children-* The brains of the nation lie in the higher of our classes. If such people as would be classed W or X could be distinguishable as children and procurable by money in order to be reared as English- men, it would be a cheap bargain for the nation to buy them at the rate of many hundred or some thousands of pounds per head. Dr. Farr, the eminent statistician, endeavoured to estimate the money worth of an average baby born to the wife of an Essex labourer and thenceforward living during the usual time and in the ordinary way of his class. Dr. Farr, with accomplished actuarial skill, capitalised the value at the child's birth of two classes of events, the one the cost of maintenance while a child and when helpless through old age, the other its earnings as boy and man. On balancing the two sides of the account the value of the baby was found to be five pounds. On a similar principle, the worth of an X-class baby would be reckoned in thousands of pounds. Some such "talented" folk fail, but most succeed, and many succeed greatly. They found great industries, establish vast undertakings, increase the wealth of multitudes and amass large fortunes for themselves. Others, whether they be rich or poor, are the guides and light of the nation, raising its tone, enlightening its difficulties and imposing its ideals. The great gain that England received through the immigration of the Huguenots would be insignificant to what she would derive from an annual addition of a few hundred children of the classes W and X. I have tried, but not yet succeeded to my satisfaction, to make an approximate estimate of the worth of a child at birth according to the class he is destined to occupy when adult. It is an eminently important subject for future investigators, for the amount of care and cost that might profitably be expended in improving the race clearly depends on its result."⁴⁸

Francis Galton, The Possible Improvement of the Human Breed, 1901 (reprinted in Essays in Eugenics, p24): *Augmentation of Favoured Stock.-*The possibility of improving the race of a nation depends on the power of increasing the productivity of the best stock. This is far more important than that of repressing the productivity of the worst. They both raise the average, the latter by reducing the undesirables, the former by increasing those who will become the lights of the nation. It is therefore all important to prove that favour to selected individuals might so increase their productivity as to warrant the expenditure in money and care that would be necessitated. An enthusiasm to improve the race would probably express itself by granting diplomas to a select class of young men and women, by encouraging their intermarriages, by hastening the time of marriage of women of that high class, and by provision for rearing children healthily. The means that might be employed to compass these ends are dowries, especially for those to whom moderate sums are important, assured help in emergencies during the early years of married life, healthy homes, the pressure of public opinion, honours, and above all the introduction of motives of religious or quasi-

⁴⁷ *Hereditary Genius*, p375-6

⁴⁸ <https://scholarworks.iupui.edu/bitstream/handle/1805/1004/Essays%20in%20Eugenics%20-%20Galton%20-%20Part%201.pdf;jsessionid=55FEEF3A0150EED4A10A21BC140D2856?sequence=1>, p11-12

religious character. Indeed, an enthusiasm to improve the race is so noble in its aim that it might well give rise to the sense of a religious obligation.

Francis Galton, *The Possible Improvement of the Human Breed, 1901* (reprinted in *Essays in Eugenics*, p8-11): “His class B consists of very poor persons who subsist on casual earnings, many of whom are inevitably poor from shiftlessness, idleness or drink. The numbers in this and the A class combined closely correspond with those in t and all below t. Class C are supported by intermittent earnings; they are a hard-working people, but have a very bad character for improvidence and shiftlessness. In Class D the earnings are regular, but at the low rate of twenty-one shillings or less a week, so none of them rise above poverty, though none are very poor. D and C together correspond to the whole of s combined with the lower fifth of r. The next class, E, is the largest of any, and comprises all those with regular standard earnings of twenty-two to thirty shillings a week. This class is the recognised field for all forms of co-operation and combination; in short for trades unions. It corresponds to the upper four-fifths of r, combined with the lower four-fifths of R. It is therefore essentially the mediocre class, standing as far below the highest in civic worth as it stands above the lowest class with its criminals and semi-criminals. Next above this large mass of mediocrity comes the honourable class F, which consists of better paid artisans and foremen. These are able to provide adequately for old age, and their sons become clerks and so forth. G is the lower middle class of shop-keepers, small employers, clerks and sub-ordinate professional men, who as a rule are hard-working, energetic and sober. F and G combined correspond to the upper fifth of R and the whole of S, and are, therefore, a counterpart to D and C. All above G are put together by Mr. Booth into one class H, which corresponds to our T, U, V and above, and is the counterpart of his two lowermost classes, A and B. So far, then, as these figures go, civic worth is distributed in fair approximation to the normal law of frequency. We also see that the classes t, u, v and below are undesirables.”

Galton's Strategy

Francis Galton, *Francis Galton, Eugenics: Its Definition, Scope and Aims in Nature, 1904* (reprinted *Essays in Eugenics, 1909*, p42: “...3 stages to be passed through before eugenics can be widely practiced. First, it must be made familiar as an academic question, until its exact importance has been understood and accepted as a fact. Secondly, it must be recognized as a subject the practical development of which is in near prospect, and requires serious consideration. Thirdly, it must be introduced into the national conscience, like a new religion. It has, indeed, strong claims to become an orthodox religious tenet of the future, for eugenics cooperates with the workings of nature by ensuring that humanity shall be represented by *the fittest races*...I see no impossibility in eugenics becoming a religious dogma...

Karl Pearson, *The Life, Letters, and Labours of Francis Galton (1924)*, iiii. 412: “We must remember that Galton had set before himself in the last years of his life a definite plan of eugenics propagandism. He wanted to appeal to men of science through his foundation of a Eugenics Laboratory; he had definitely approached separate groups like the Anthropologists in his Huxley Lecture and the Sociologists in his lecture before their Society and in his subsequent essays, he had appealed to the academic world in his Herbert Spencer Lecture at Oxford, and to the world that reads popular quarterlies in his Eugenics Education Society. But there are strata of the community which cannot be caught even by these processes. For these he consented to be interviewed, and for the still less reachable section who read novels and only look at the picture pages of newspapers, he wrote what they needed, a tale, his ‘Kantsaywhere’. His scheme for proselytism was a comprehensive one, but I think Galton knew his public better than most men.”

Galton's Will

As seen above, bequeathing money to a leading academic institution such as UCL was an integral part of Galton's strategy to popularise eugenics and normalise social engineering according to its principles. In accepting this money, UCL accepted his goals and undertook to pursue them according to his vision:

"I DEVISE AND BEQUEATH all the residue of my estate and effects both real and personal unto the University of London for the establishment and endowment of a Professorship at the said University to be known as "The Galton Professorship of Eugenics" with a laboratory or office and library attached thereto AND I DECLARE that the duty of the Professor who for the time being shall hold the said Professorship shall be to pursue the study and further the knowledge of National Eugenics that is of the agencies under social control that may improve or impair the racial faculties of future generations physically and mentally AND for this purpose I DESIRE that the University shall out of the income of the above endowment, provide the salaries of the Professor and of such assistants as the Senate may think necessary and that the Professor shall do the following acts and things namely

- 1) Collect materials bearing on Eugenic
- 2) Discuss such materials and draw conclusions
- 3) Form a Central Office to provide information under appropriate restrictions to private individuals and to public authorities concerning the laws of inheritance in man and to urge the conclusions as to social conduct which follow from such laws
- 4) Extend the knowledge of Eugenics by all or any of the following means namely (a) Professional instruction (b) Occasional publications (c) Occasional public lectures (d) Experimental or observational work which may throw light on Eugenic problems.

He shall also submit from time to time reports of the work done to the Authorities of the said University.

AND I DECLARE that the receipt of the Principal for the time being of the said University shall be a sufficient discharge for any moneys payable to the said University under this my Will and shall effectually exonerate my Executors from seeing to the application thereof AND I ALSO DECLARE that the said University shall be at liberty to apply either the capital or income of the said moneys for any of the purposes aforesaid but it is my hope that the University will see fit to preserve the capital thereof wholly or almost wholly intact not encroaching materially upon it for cost of building fittings or library Also that the University will supply the laboratory or office at such place as its Senate shall from time to time determine but preferably in the first instance in proximity to the Biometric Laboratory I state these hopes on the chance of their having a moral effect upon the future decisions of the Senate of the University but they are not intended to have any legally binding effect whatever upon, the freedom of their action AND I HEREBY DECLARE that it shall be lawful for the Senate of the said University if they shall think fit so to do to postpone the election of the first or any subsequent Professor of Eugenics for a period of not exceeding four years from the date of my death or from the date of the occurrence of any vacancy in the office as the case may be AND I DESIRE that in the meantime and until the appointment of the first Professor the Senate shall out of and by means of the income of my residuary estate make such arrangements as may be necessary to ensure the continuance without interruption and the extension of the work in connection with Eugenics initiated by me and now carried on on my behalf at University College and that during any subsequent vacancy in the Professorship the Senate shall out of and by means of the said income

make such arrangements as may be necessary to ensure the continuance without interruption of the work being carried on for the time being at the Eugenics Laboratory of the said University AND I HEREBY DECLARE it to be my wish but I do not impose it as an obligation that on the appointment of the first Professor the post shall be offered to Professor Karl Pearson and on such conditions as will give him liberty to continue his Biometric Laboratory now established at University College AND in all other respects I confirm my said Will IN WITNESS whereof I have hereunto set my hand this twenty fifth day of May One thousand nine hundred and nine.

Part II: Research Findings

UCL's historical role in the study and research of eugenics

Galton, 'Inquiries into Human Faculty and its Development' (Preface, 2nd edn, 1907:

- *"...the book has by no means ceased to live, for it continues to be quoted from and sought for [...] it became the starting-point of that recent movement in favour of National Eugenics [...] which is recognised by the University of London, and has its home in University College.'*

Karl Pearson, *The Academic Aspect of the Science of National Eugenics* (1911):

- 'the twentieth century will not only be remarkable as witnessing the full acceptance of national eugenics as an academic study...you will say it is a long way from our small beginnings in Gower St to practically influencing legislation.'

Francis Galton was a man of money and influence. He was neither enrolled to study nor employed by University College London (UCL). However, UCL together with the University of London (UoL)⁴⁹ played a key role in enabling teaching and research to develop and disseminate eugenics and the theory of heredity.

Galton chaired the Anthropometric Committee of the British Association for the Advancement of Science between 1878 and 1883. In 1883, celebrated UCL alumnus Alexander Graham Bell published his *Memoir upon the Formation of a Deaf Variety of the Human Race*, looking at ways to save public money by, for example, discouraging marriage between deaf people. In 1884, Galton established his first Anthropometric Laboratory at the International Health Exhibition in London. The Laboratory was the birthplace of large-scale phrenology – Galton developed various measures to ascertain, for example, the 'face' of criminality. Karl Pearson was also first employed by UCL in 1884. He would become the first Professor of Eugenics as set out in Galton's will. Pearson worked with Galton and fellow Professor Walter Weldon to promote eugenics and heredity.

In the extract above Galton mentions both University College London (UCL) and the University of London (UoL). One historical question is whether the money was bequeathed to UCL or UoL. Reports found in the archives at the University of London illustrate that decisions regarding Departments of UCL took place at the University of London, although financial accounts show that the two institutions were separate: they had different accounts, different governing bodies, with UCL consistently reporting back to the University of London on decisions made by its Council. There was a degree of control over UCL by the University of London; however, the same applies to the other colleges participating in the University of London (which was designed as an umbrella organization authorizing activities at the level of the participating Colleges). In 1933, the year that Karl Pearson retired, UCL argued that as it already submitted detailed accounts, it made no sense to also submit a separate report for the two Departments funded through Galton's will (the Department of Applied Statistics and Eugenics was divided when Pearson retired – see timeline below). This appears to have been accepted by the Senate.

Galton's money was important to the institutionalisation of eugenics at UCL. As illustrated below, his were not the only funds to support this work. The study of eugenics was also not limited to UCL - the work of Galton and other eugenicists was disseminated throughout the UK - three other anthropometric laboratories were established in Trinity College Dublin, Eton College and the University of Cambridge. Globally, eugenics was present in Latin America and Portugal as well as

⁴⁹ UCL was a co-founder of UoL with Kings College London.

across Europe, the USA and Canada. The time-line below however focuses only on the path of eugenics at UCL from the appointment of Karl Pearson to the creation of what is now GEE:

1884: Pearson appointed Professor of Applied Mathematics and Mechanics at UCL. Director of a 'Biometric Laboratory' within the Department of Mathematics at UCL.

1885: Pearson establishes a 'Men and Women's Club' for the purpose of frank discussion of the relations between men and women.⁵⁰

1890: Walter Weldon appointed Professor of Zoology at UCL.

1901: Pearson and Weldon found a UCL journal, *Biometrika*, focusing on research applying modern statistical and biometrical methods to questions of biology and heredity.

1903: Pearson takes over leadership of the Biometric Laboratory at UCL, which is funded by the Worshipful Company of Drapers (at least until 1933 by which time the income was £1,000 per annum).

1904: A 'Eugenics Laboratory' is suggested by Galton to the University of London. Galton donates money for this. UoL creates a committee of Galton, Pearson, Halford Mackinder (LSE Director), Sir Edward Busk (UCL lawyer in UoL Senate). UoL finds rooms for the Francis Galton (later National) Eugenics Laboratory/ Eugenics Records Office at UoL.

1907: Pearson becomes Director of the UoL 'Galton Laboratory of National Eugenics', set up with Galton's funds of £1000. The money provides for a Francis Galton Research Fellow, a Francis Galton Scholar and a Computer.⁵¹ The Laboratory moves from its rented accommodation in Gower Street to the South Wing of UCL, where it remains until 1920.

1907: UCL incorporated into UoL⁵². Eugenics Education Society founded (1926 = renamed the Eugenics Society);

1911: Death of Francis Galton. He bequeaths £40,000 to UoL for the creation of "The Galton Professorship of Eugenics" to continue the work of the Galton Laboratory.

Creation of Francis Galton Chair in National Eugenics at UCL.

Karl Pearson becomes the first Galton Professor of Eugenics (1911-33).

1912: International Eugenics Conference held at the University of London

1913: Merger of the UoL Galton Laboratory with the UCL Department of Applied Statistics and Biometric Laboratory approved by Senate to create the first Department of Applied Statistics and Eugenics at UCL, bringing together the study of eugenics and statistics.

Starting with a subvention of £200 from both institutions reported in 1913-14 accounts, income for the new Department remained around £200 and £240 a year, rising to £2,289 in 1933 for UCL, out of the College's general Funds, with UoL offering a further £1,600. The London County Council was also

⁵⁰ Bernard J. Norton, 'Karl Pearson and Statistics', *Social Studies of Science*, Vol. 8, No. 1, Theme Issue: Sociology of Mathematics (Feb., 1978), pp. 3-34.

<https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/284855.pdf?refreqid=excelsior%3A1b391dded6bde72777217726d3df2181>

⁵¹ At this time still a human being rather than a machine.

⁵² Kings College London and University College London were the two founding Colleges of the University of London, an independent entity created to examine candidates and award degrees. UCL's incorporation into the University of London was delayed due to concern with its non-religious entrance requirements.

involved in funding the Department, offering a grant for a Medical Officer (who, at 1932 when the grant appears, was probably Percy Stocks) of a further £1,000.

1919 - 20: The **Department of Applied Statistics and Eugenics** moves into a new building on the North-West front of UCL.

1925: UCL launches a second journal, *The Annals of Eugenics*, founded by Karl Pearson. Pearson becomes its first Editor. The journal's original subtitle had been "a journal for the scientific study of racial problems". Under Fisher the subtitle became a journal 'devoted to the genetic study of human populations' and under Penrose a 'journal of human genetics'. Penrose eventually changed the name in 1954 (see below).

Examples of research:

- Karl Pearson (1925) *Annals of Eugenics*, Vol. 1, pp. 5-127 : 'The problem of alien immigration into Great Britain, illustrated by an examination of Russian and Polish Jewish Children' (with Margaret Moul)
- Karl Pearson (1926) *Biometrika*, Vol. 18, p 105-117: 'On the Coefficient of Racial Likeness'
- Karl Pearson (1928) *Biometrika*, Vol. 20A, 294-300: 'The application of the coefficient of Racial likeness to test the character of samples' (comparisons between Chinese and Indian cranial series)
- Karl Pearson (1928) *Biometrika*, Vol. 20A, 389-400: 'On the importance of the type silhouette for racial characterisation in Anthropology' (with Ida McLearn and G M Morant) [comparisons between types given for men and women English students and West African negroes]

1933: Karl Pearson Retires. Senate decision taken to separate research and teaching of statistics and eugenics into two departments:

Egon Pearson, Karl Pearson's son, becomes Director of the Statistics Department;
R A Fisher (1933 – 43) becomes Galton Professor and Director of the Department of Eugenics (which holds the Galton Laboratory and conducts teaching and research in Biometry).

1935: Fisher creates a blood grouping department in the Galton Laboratory/ Dept of Eugenics with a Rockefeller Foundation grant.

1937: Weldon Chair of Biometry created, funded by money bequeathed by Weldon's widow. JBS Haldane becomes first incumbent.

1945: Lionel S. Penrose becomes Galton Professor of Eugenics (1945-65).

1954: Penrose renames the *Annals of Eugenics* the 'Annals of Human Genetics'

1963: Penrose renames the Galton Professor of Eugenics the Galton Professor of Human Genetics. It is unclear if the focus of research in the department also changes.

A file on anonymous donations (GO 464, 29977) from the Records Office gives further insight into finances used to support the Galton Lab under Penrose. From the late 1950s and early 1960s, funding came from organisations such as the Rockefeller Foundation (donating \$43,500 for 5 years from January 1961 for Eugenics, Biometry and Genetics, for Research in Human Genetics). A string of anonymous donations (of £250 each year) was also provided on a yearly basis from 1955 to 1961 by the Charities Aid Fund, specifically given for 'purchase of apparatus or books, travelling expenses of research workers, remuneration for technical assistance'. In this file the University of London's significance for UCL also becomes clear, as UCL is cited as 'not allowed to accept the donation(s) unless they are approved by the University of London'.

1965: Harry Harris (1965-1976) – becomes Galton Professor of Human Genetics, Head of the Department of Human Genetics and Biometry and Galton Laboratory Director. Harris was Honorary Director of the Medical Research Council Human Biochemical Genetics Unit and brings this unit with him to the Galton Laboratory (the unit was closed in 2000).

1976: Elizabeth (Bette) Robson (1976-1994) becomes Galton Professor of Human Genetics.

1994: Chair un-occupied (1994 – 2009)

2009: Nicholas Wood (2009-present) becomes Galton Professor of Human Genetics.

2013: Galton Laboratory incorporated into the new Department of Genetics, Evolution and Environment at UCL.

Expert Witnesses were asked how they became aware of the history of eugenics at UCL and whether knowledge of this history affected their perception of UCL. We discovered that there is no common level of awareness at UCL on the relationship of the institution with Galton and eugenics. This history was well known by some, who had come across it during their studies or work at UCL and elsewhere; others had chanced upon the knowledge of UCL's role, perhaps through an exhibition, talk or seminars organised by Debbie Challis, Subhadra Das, Steve Jones, Adam Rutherford, Nathaniel Tobias Coleman, or during the Rhodes Must Fall campaign. Many remain unaware.

Likewise, there is no common response to this information: some were taught to revere Galton, Pearson and Fisher as leaders in the discipline - Galton was described as the 'father' of qualitative genetics into the late Sixties. Others either accepted the history for what it was and were unaffected, or discarded it as discredited science and felt that Galton as an individual did not represent UCL as an institution. However, for some the knowledge of the impact of eugenics on life and death was deeply disturbing and traumatising – it had a dramatic effect upon their view of UCL and made them feel as if they did not belong there.

There was some disappointment at the lack of an institutional approach, in particular that a more pro-active response was absent after the commemoration of the Galton Centenary in 2011. The failure of institutional engagement was seen to 'codify racism' and illustrate the UCL was not doing its job. This failure suggests an institutional ambivalence and/ or complacency towards the history of eugenics at UCL and perhaps explains how a context could come into being where multiple 'Conferences on Intelligence' could be organised in the 21st century.

There was significant difference between the UCL community⁵³ and the general public⁵⁴ on the question of an apology:

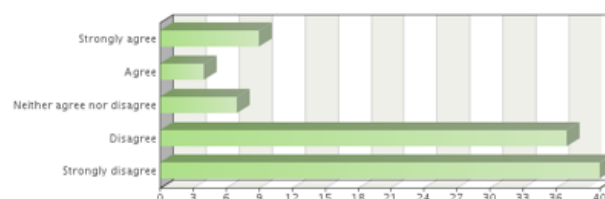
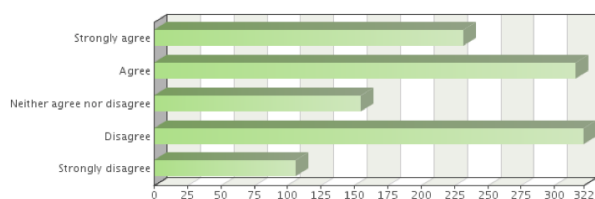
⁵³ 1111 respondents.

⁵⁴ 98 respondents.

Internal UCL Survey

Survey for members of the public

Q24(22): UCL should view its role in the history of eugenics in its historical context. Knowledge production constantly changes and need not be apologised for



Recommendations

1. UCL should issue an effective public apology acknowledging its complicity in the institutionalisation of eugenics and making a long-term commitment to providing a safe and constructive environment in which the historicization and critique of eugenics can be undertaken, especially by BAME, disabled and other targeted groups.
2. To redress past complicity, UCL must critically engage with this institutional history, in a way that ensures all UCL staff and students are exposed to it and have multiple opportunities to learn about it. One suggestion might be institution of an annual lunchtime lecture on critical engagement with eugenics.
3. All Departments should devise action to determine how they will deal with this history of eugenics at UCL. For example, department webpages should include appropriate material on eugenics. Heads of Departments should be required to submit a clear plan of action to undertake this to the regular oversight mechanisms at UCL as well as the body established to oversee and monitor implementation of these recommendations.
4. UCL to determine a pro-active institutional way to foster research in this area at the level of doctoral and post-doctoral study, including in cross-Faculty work, and to find resources for this. This could be achieved through investment in additional staffing in the Sarah Parker Remond Centre.
5. In order to disrupt the 'normativity' promoted by eugenics, UCL to establish and invest in a 'Pipeline to Promotion' scheme to improve BAME and disabled representation in senior levels of academic staff and professional services. This scheme should begin with an announcement by the Provost of a) an immediate review into BAME staff retention and b) a review to identify BAME or disabled staff members who have been at same level for more than 5 years.
6. UCL to use all of the equality data and evidence it possesses to design practical and effective interventions across UCL (REC data, the Report of SU Disability Officer etc) and invest in the development of robust measures for disadvantaged socio-economic groups.
7. UCL to convene a symposium on the Race and Disability Gap Index (similar to the World Economic Forum Gender Gap Index).

The current status of the study and teaching of the history of eugenics at UCL

Eugenics *per se* is not taught anywhere at UCL today. Nonetheless, the College continues to be affected by these ideas: their presence is felt in the names of spaces and positions after Galton, as well as Pearson, Petrie and Bell. It is therefore positive that there is teaching connected to the history of eugenics across all faculties - this includes aspects of what some argue to be 'contemporary eugenics' in genetics, to critical race work and postcolonial methodologies.

Such teaching can be found in departments such as Psychology, GEE, Biology, Clinical Sciences, Medicine as well as Science and Technology, History and the Institute of Education.⁵⁵ Other departments, such as Anthropology, may have taught it in the past. The history of eugenics is not taught at all in Statistics, where the emphasis is on quantitative vocational education. In addition, there are BA and MA modules across UCL and the Institute of Education (IoE) that focus on the context of eugenics. These include modules in the School of History, Anthropology, American Studies, Modern Languages and Literature and History of Art.⁵⁶ The Commission did not seek to undertake a complete survey of current teaching at UCL, but courses brought to our attention will be available on the commission website.

Teaching about eugenics does not only take place in the classroom but in non-academic publications and other activities around campus. An example of institutional ambivalence towards eugenics is evident in a UCL Library Services publication on Galton from 2011 uncritically entitled 'An Enquiring mind'. The 'World of UCL' publications also contain only very short sections on eugenics, written in a way that appears to distance UCL from eugenics and avoid engagement with it.

A critical approach to eugenics has been taken in the curation of exhibitions at UCL, for example during the 'Galton Centenary' in 2011.⁵⁷ One example is "Typecast: The work of Francis Galton and Flinders Petrie" curated by Debbie Challis, which was on display at the Petrie Museum.⁵⁸ A second more recent example is 'Bricks and Mortals'⁵⁹ curated by Subhadra Das. As stated on its website:

"Bricks + Mortals turns the buildings of UCL Bloomsbury Campus into an exhibition, uncovering a history hidden in plain sight. Walk this self-directed route to discover the pivotal role UCL played in establishing the science of eugenics. As at many universities, the buildings on the main campus of UCL, in the heart of London's Bloomsbury district, are

⁵⁵ Eg. BIOL1003 (Introduction to Genetics) - mandatory for all Bioscience students (@ 500); BIOL0010 (Introduction to Human Genetics); in Psychology, around 180 Year 1 students are introduced to Galton's work and are often shocked to learn of the roots of psychology; Prof Marsha Morgan's BSc Clinical Sciences course includes a 2 hour lecture specifically on the history of eugenics; and in the School of Medicine - Dr Shane Minogue offers 'Genetics, Development and Cancer' as a 2nd year medical student module.

⁵⁶ Eg. HIST0362 Britain and Decolonisation since 1945, HIST0389 Colonialism in Sub-Saharan Africa; ANTH0029 The Anthropology of Nationalism, Ethnicity and Race; AMER0013 The Caribbean from the Haitian Revolution to the Cuban Revolution; AMER0027 Histories of Exclusion: Race and Ethnicity in Latin America; ELCS0061 Black Europe; GERM0057 Black Germany; HART0128 Race/Place: Erotic/Exotic: difference and desire in modernist and contemporary art. There are likely to be others not included in this list.

⁵⁷ <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/news/2011/mar/legacies-galton-centenary-programme-ucl>

⁵⁸ A Paper on the exhibition can be accessed here: <https://discovery.ucl.ac.uk/id/eprint/1457061/>. For further review see: <https://museumofthemind.org.uk/blog/galtons-asylum-photos-typecast-at-ucl>

⁵⁹ <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/culture/projects/bricks-mortals>

named for famous historical figures. In most cases, these building names commemorate the notable contributions of academics at the University. Amongst these are the Galton Lecture Theatre, the Pearson Building and the Petrie Museum. The contributions Francis Galton, Karl Pearson and Flinders Petrie made to biometrics, genetics, statistics and archaeology are well known in those fields and beyond. What is less well known is their contribution to developing, establishing and legitimising the science of eugenics. Eugenics – the science of improving human populations through selective breeding – is generally associated with the Nazis, but in fact has its roots in Britain. It had its roots at UCL. The story of these origins is seldom told. *Bricks and Mortals* sets out to tell that story. By incorporating the characters that UCL buildings are named after and exploring their relationships and research, the exhibition uncovers a history hidden in plain sight. The exhibition and podcast – which takes the form of a walking tour – describe how eugenics developed from its origins in Victorian Britain through to the progressive political movements of the 20th Century, and examines the impact of these ideas on our lives in the 21st.”

Beyond exhibitions, the critical race theory project ‘dismantling the masters house’⁶⁰ led by Nathaniel Tobias Coleman, has brought a critical lens to bear on eugenics, through its examination of white supremacy in general. #DTMH is described as

“...a community of academics, administrative staff and students at UCL, committed to righting racialised wrongs in our workplace and in the wider world. We owe the phrase ‘The Master’s House’ to Audre Lorde and we understand The Master’s House to consist in an intersection of power structures, in, as bell hooks puts it, Imperialist White Supremacist Capitalist Patriarchy. Central to this analysis is how these different manifestations of domination are accumulated to construct Whiteness – which has been and continues to be the primary vehicle of domination for the British Empire, and its legacies. Through scholarly comment, public events, and social media, #DTMH interrogates both Whiteness and Anglocentrism in the academy, while presenting alternatives from among the diversity of voices which make up UCL, London, and the globe.

Our community aims to uncover the past contributions made by UCL to the study of , racialisation and unjust racialised hierarchy, with a view to unpacking the legacies of these contributions, not least the continuing role of our research into National Eugenics. Today, persons racialised as black are underrepresented at UCL, particularly as professors, and the White Dominated curriculum offered to students reflects this racialised imbalance. Going forward, we seek to put right these racialised wrongs, both by winning the Equality Charter Mark, for our good institutional practice here at UCL, and by establishing an unprecedented postgraduate programme, underpinned by a supportive community of researchers, offering a radical and critical analysis of , for the benefit of London, Britain, and Britain’s former Empire”

Dr. Amali Lokugamage, Hope Chow and others have also run conferences and publish research to decolonize the medical curriculum.

Expert witnesses were asked how UCL should approach its historical role in the teaching and research of eugenics in the future. Most agreed that the history should be acknowledged and displayed, not to glorify eugenics but to illustrate how horrendous it was. Silence could be interpreted as approval of eugenics and doing nothing could undermine the institution and its scholarship. It was felt that UCL should use its collections and archives more in classroom teaching as

⁶⁰ <http://www.dtmh.ucl.ac.uk>

well as have a display/ exhibition, demonstrating how scientifically unsound eugenics was in a creative way. The need to be honest was emphasised. Teaching young people about eugenics was especially important as was linking science to its wider context. As put by one focus group participant:

“Maths is not separate from politics. Maths is not an isolated objective little bubble. It affects everything else that that research is doing and how it will be implemented and how it will inform policy. And if the researchers at the very top are not engaged with the history, they will not know what they're contributing to.”

A need for pluralism in relation to Galton’s ideas was highlighted – there should be as much awareness of Galton’s ‘beauty map’ for women and his ‘face of a criminal’ as of his weather map – as the many proponents of eugenics - teaching on eugenics should go beyond Galton to include others who promoted these ideas. The future approach to teaching should be holistic rather than partial as at present.

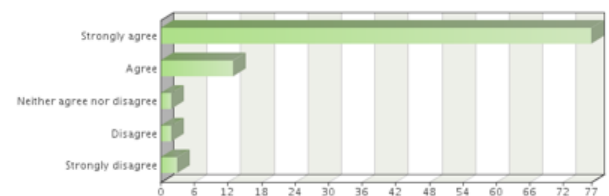
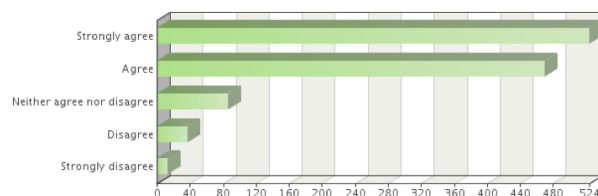
A strong point was made that UCL must show both institutional responsibility and also leadership. It has the responsibility to illuminate the link between the ‘normality’ promoted by Galton’s eugenics and the discrimination and exclusion experienced today by those outside of that normality, eg. BAME students and disabled persons such as members of the deaf community. The adherence to this normality created what some felt was a hostile environment.

The results of the empirical survey show that this was the one area with some overlap in opinions of the UCL Community and the general public:

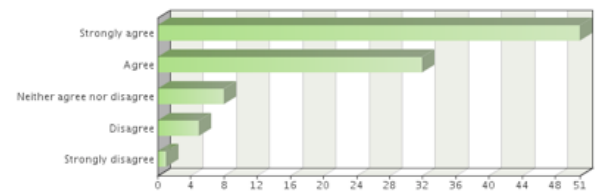
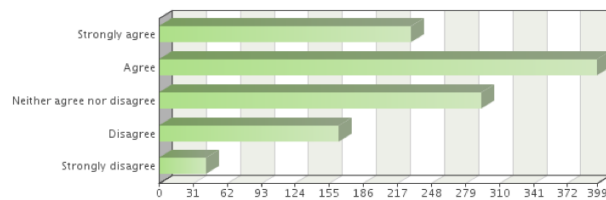
Internal UCL Survey⁶¹

Survey for members of the public⁶²

Q25(23): UCL was involved in knowledge production that was aligned to racism and needs to be honest about this



Q27(25): All UCL graduates should know about the history of eugenics at UCL



Recommendations

1. According to research, diverse communities make better decisions.⁶³ To ensure diversity in scholarship and Faculty, UCL must make more effort to recruit and retain staff and

⁶¹ 1111 respondents.

⁶² 97 respondents.

⁶³ <https://www.forbes.com/sites/eriklarson/2017/09/21/new-research-diversity-inclusion-better-decision-making-at-work/>

students from BAME, disabled and other targeted groups in all fields across all subjects at all levels (a 'pipeline'). One way to do this is through provision of research scholarships for students from BAME, disabled and other groups who were the targets of eugenics.

2. UCL can be and has been an unwelcoming environment for students and staff belonging to groups targeted by eugenics. To mitigate this all UCL spaces and procedures must be brought up to the highest standards of rigour, accessibility and wellbeing. Specific suggestions made to the Commission included:
 - a. Ensuring that microphones in lecture theatres always work;
 - b. Investment in the improvement of race and disability awareness training for all staff;
 - c. Drafting promotions criteria that are accessible eg attending international conferences can be difficult if disabled;
 - d. Making available access to on-campus support and well-being services but also external psychological services, particularly to deal with micro-aggression and depression linked to experiences at UCL;
 - e. Redesign of the 'Exit' form to ask for more specific information on reasons for withdrawal or dropping out, monitor and review this exit data;
 - f. Creation of an Independent UCL Misconduct Committee to a) oversee a review of current systems for anonymous reporting and mediation b) consider ways to strengthen initiatives such as "Full Stop" and "Report and Support" c) ensure students are enabled to deliver complaints safely; and d) develop a system whereby Heads of Department are made responsible for acting upon an accumulation of complaints.
3. All UCL students to be encouraged to value critical engagement with the history of the methodologies they are studying and intend to apply. UCL students to graduate as 'global citizens'⁶⁴ engaged with the real world and familiar with the implications of scientific theories and practices on the real world, rather than as abstractions from society.
4. Problematic histories like eugenics must be taught more, from critical perspectives, using the resources and expertise at UCL – all students and staff must be exposed to the history of eugenics and the consequences for its targets. Teaching and discussion of the history of eugenics to be clearly signposted so that as far as is possible a safe and inclusive space exists for debate and discussion. Heads of Departments are to be made responsible for ensuring, through their Teaching and Learning committees, that sensitive material is taught in a non-offensive and fair way.

⁶⁴ Also known in the USA as 'citizen scientists' which differs from UCL's 'citizen science' ("the active involvement of non-professional scientists in research" – see <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/library/open-science/citizen-science>). Citizen scientists are defined as 'leaders in their various communities. Through prolonged engagement in significant activities, they contribute to improving the lives of all. This can include public service, volunteerism, board membership and other strategic roles often not directly associated with day-to-day work...' Examples include being a long-term volunteer for community programs; being active in a political party; participating in religious ministries; volunteering for a non-profit organization; fundraising for a charity. See Jessica Daniels, 'What Is An APA Citizen Psychologist?' at <https://www.apa.org/about/governance/citizen-psychologist/>. See also S. Bryn Austin at <https://www.aedweb.org/blogs/s-bryn-austin/2019/07/11/taking-our-place-at-the-table-as-citizen-scientist>.

5. An all-Faculty Working Group comprising staff and students to be created to design ways to ensure that all UCL graduates know and understand the history of eugenics at UCL. Heads of Department are to determine whether this will be a compulsory module for all 1st years. The Working Group is to include experts from all disciplines including archives and curation so as to encourage engagement in a variety of forms including visual (exhibitions), oral (performance) and written (poetry, articles). There should be permanent outreach of some kind.⁶⁵
6. All Departments at UCL are to immediately consider how to incorporate critical diversity teaching on the history of eugenics into their curriculum - Heads of Departments are to set out a clear plan of action. The 'AIG' created to oversee these recommendations is to establish an online pool of such teaching material to support this.
7. UCL to embed the teaching and learning of Britain and Empire⁶⁶ in schools in the UK. This could be through a number of paid posts in relevant UCL Centres such as the Sarah Parker Remond Centre for the Study of Racism and Racialisation.
8. UCL to improve the ability for investigation of its institutional history through a) investment in enabling those from BAME, disabled and other groups targeted by eugenics to become experts in this area and b) investment in its archives and collections, library and museums.
9. The Committee on UCL Museums to be tasked with critically and creatively working with the collections related to eugenics at UCL, UoL and elsewhere to develop an exhibition in a publicly accessible space. To ensure both transparency and engagement, the Committee on Museums must include as decision-makers persons from BAME and disabled groups targeted by eugenics not just in UCL but also beyond it.

⁶⁵ For examples of such teaching materials see www.facinghistory.org.

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<https://www.runnymedetrust.org/uploads/images/TIDE%20&%20%20Runnymede%20Teaching%20Migration%20report%204.7.19.pdf>

The current benefit to UCL from financial instruments linked to eugenics

Prior to 2007 there were three separate endowment funds in existence with direct links to Sir Francis Galton. These were merged into two in 2007. The two funds respectively have a value of £283, 532 (Galton Professorship) and £541,554 (Eugenics Publication Fund), as outlined below:

1. Galton Professorship of Eugenics (Expendable endowment) – award number 156402

This was the original income from Francis Galton. He bequeathed £40,000 being the residue of his estate to UoL in 1911 to establish a “Professorship of Eugenics”, with a laboratory and library attached thereto - “The Professorship shall be to pursue the study and further the knowledge of National Eugenics that is agencies under social control that may improve or impair the racial faculties of future generations physically and mentally.”

This fund has generated income in the range of £6,500 - £7,000 annually. The value of the endowment as at 31 July 2018 stood at £283,532, comprising £263,563 capital and £ 19,969 accumulated income.

UCL’s financial records go back as far as 1999. There is no indication the department made any spend against the fund since that time. The accumulated income generated during that period has been added to the capital from time to time.

2. Galton Endowment –

This was originally held as an Expendable endowment. No historical records have been located for this fund. It was merged with the Eugenics Publication Fund (see below) and converted to a Non-endowed fund as part of the review of endowment funds required by the 2007 SORP.

There was no recorded spend against the Galton Endowment prior to transfer in 2008; the value of the Galton Endowment at the time of transfer was £13,692.

3. Eugenics Publication Fund – award number 156962 (now also incorporating the Galton Endowment)

This was originally held as an Expendable Endowment. The fund dates back to 1950 and was established to receive proceeds from the sale of various Eugenics publications.

The fund was converted to a Non-endowed fund and merged with the balance of the Galton Endowment as part of the 2007 SORP review process.

The fund had a balance of £5,000 in 1949; this had grown to £20,000 in 1970. Since then, the Fund has grown in value substantially, presumably through re-investment of accumulated income. The value of the Fund as at 31 July 2018 stood at £541,554 and generates approximately £11,500 in income annually.

There has been occasional expenditure against the fund over the years, most recently in 2016/17 when £15,500 was utilised for the purchase of computer equipment and to meet the cost of overseas travel.

Recommendations

1. UCL should undertake the re-purposing of the funds linked to Galton's will – can the doctrine of *cy pres*⁶⁷ apply?

“When a settlor establishes a charitable trust and the charitable purpose identified by the settlor becomes impracticable or impossible to achieve, courts may apply the doctrine of *cy pres*, or equitable reformation, to modify the purpose of the trust. For example, imagine that in 1940 a donor created a trust for the treatment of polio in Maryland. Once polio was eradicated in the United States, should the trust fail and be returned to the settlor’s heirs or devisees? Or should it be used for another charitable purpose, and if so, which one? To fighting polio overseas, for example, or to another similarly devastating childhood illness in Maryland? Although many nineteenth-century American courts rejected *cy pres* as impermissible governmental control of donor property, after 1900 it quickly spread with the explosion of charitable trusts in the wake of the Gilded Age. Application of *cy pres* involves difficult questions of the determination of donor intent in light of changed circumstances and the role of societal interests in modifying charitable trusts.”

2. If this money is re-purposed, we recommend that in line with the long-term commitment to providing a safe and constructive environment in which the historicization and critique of eugenics can be undertaken, especially by BAME and disabled students and researchers, UCL to use these funds for:
 - a. an expansion of opportunities at UCL for those targeted by Eugenics. This might include scholarships, Library Fellowships, lectureships or research programmes, employment of a full-time employee in the Students Union for disabled students, creation of accessible funds (for example hiring BSL interpreters at events) or funding for Student Liberation Officers, scholarships for BAME students, or PhDs in Race Studies;
 - b. a commitment to contribute to the budget required to fund the Sarah Parker Remond Centre for the Study of Racism and Racialisation for at least ten years. This would be a form of reparation through an acknowledgement of the extreme underfunding of research and work undertaken by one group of people disadvantaged by eugenics over generations.

⁶⁷ *cy pres* (pronounced ‘see pray’) has its origins in medieval English property law and comes from the old Norman French phrase, “*cy pres comme possible*,” or as close as possible.

Management of naming of spaces and buildings after prominent eugenicists

‘Objects in our public spaces are meant to do something. Your body is supposed to act in relationship to those objects, that is part of the power of them.’ (Professor Jalane Schmidt, U. of Virginia)

Names are chosen as an expression and celebration of a history. Renaming is an emotive topic⁶⁸ – there are both benign and vested interests. Unsurprisingly, discussions on this topic gave rise to a spectrum of emotions. Fears of erasure were expressed - that a removal of names might result in amnesia and history being swept under the carpet. It was acknowledged that re-naming would not address the deeper issues and by itself would not be enough. Just changing the name will not feel like a victory for those students who have expressed deep feelings of hurt at UCL events on decolonising the university. Re-naming should not be done in isolation of other actions - education was, for example, also essential. However, re-naming was recognised as an opportunity to ‘re-balance’ and re-present rather than erase – naming indicates a choice about who should be recognised. For example, more buildings could be named after BME, women and disabled persons – at present there is no building at UCL named after a black⁶⁹ or disabled person and only one is named after a woman.

Expert Witnesses were asked whether action should be taken in relation to the names of prizes, spaces and Chairs named after eugenicists. As with the data below, the responses were very varied and ranged from ‘we should stop naming places after dead white guys’ and ‘privileged white guys do not have to be celebrated’ to ‘UCL will be a laughing stock if it re-names any spaces’ and ‘no-one would care.’ Yet it was also pointed out that some students felt distress at sitting through lectures and exams in rooms celebrating eugenics. Thus, if there are groups for whom the names are uncomfortable, the names should be removed. This is indeed what happened in the 1960s – the name of the ‘Galton Chair on Eugenics’ became so uncomfortable for those in the department that it was changed.

Name changes are common – GEE has changed its name many times. There was surprise that some names had been adopted relatively recently: the Galton Lecture Theatre was renamed as such as recently as 2000, after limited thought or discussion.⁷⁰ The key variable to re-naming seemed to be who wanted the name to be changed: persons in positions of privilege and power can just change the name but the non-privileged have to fight to do so. A strong point was made that UCL aims to be recognised as a global university but ‘a room named after a clearly racist historical figure does not sit well with these aims.’ It was asserted that naming buildings after Galton and other eugenicists was tacit approval of them and what they stood for.

⁶⁸ <https://yaledailynews.com/blog/2019/09/03/witt-slouching-back-to-calhoun/>

⁶⁹ Just before this Report was completed, the UCL Centre for the Study of Race and Racism was renamed the ‘Sarah Parker Remond Centre for the Study of Racism and Racialisation’ after a female African American abolitionist who studied nursing at London University in the 1860s. This is the first UCL centre/space to be named after a black woman.

⁷⁰ The same applies to the Petrie and Galton Collections – they were given these names very recently. It should be noted that Statistical Science has no objection to losing the name and renaming in accordance with UCL’s naming policy.

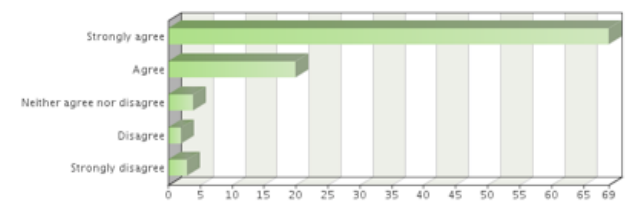
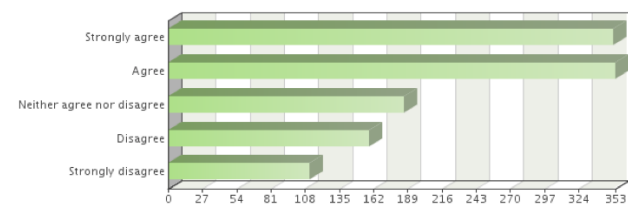
Some regret was expressed about the potential loss of name of the Galton Chair in particular – it was described as a ‘marker of UCL’s history of success and esteem’. Yet, there was fear that the name of Galton might negatively impact the ‘branding’ of UCL - Galton bequeathed money to UCL/ UoL specifically to advance the agenda of eugenics. One suggestion was that instead of re-naming the buildings, UCL should provide information on whoever the building is named after via, for example, a podcast for students to listen to, or an annual lecture for all new students. One approach could be to retain the names but ensure critical engagement with the fact that such persons are celebrated.

The graphs below present and compare results from the empirical surveys on specific questions related to the naming of spaces after prominent eugenicists such as Francis Galton:

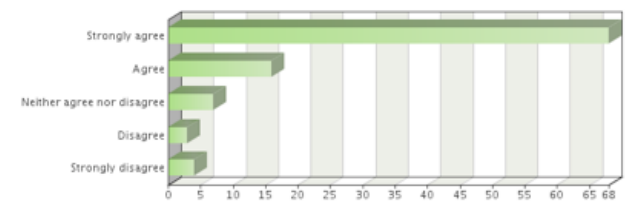
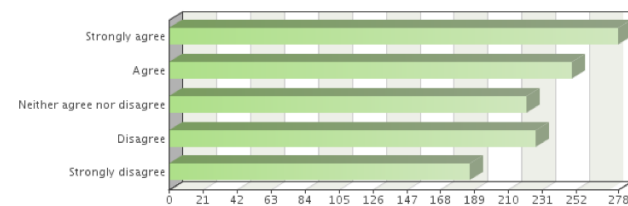
Internal UCL Survey⁷¹

Survey for members of the public⁷²

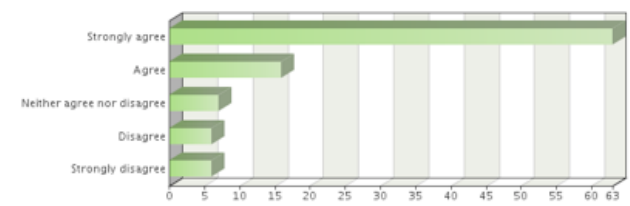
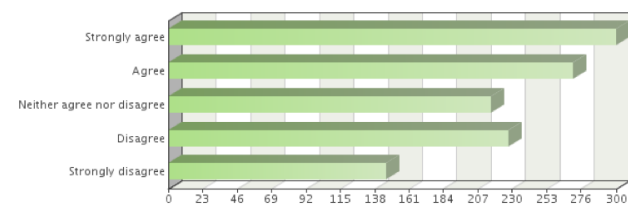
Q14(12): I am concerned that some buildings in UCL are named after prominent eugenicists



Q15(13): I find disturbing the idea of entering a space or a building named after prominent eugenicists



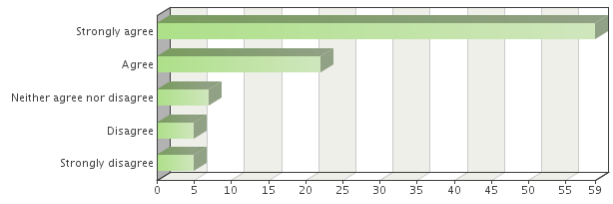
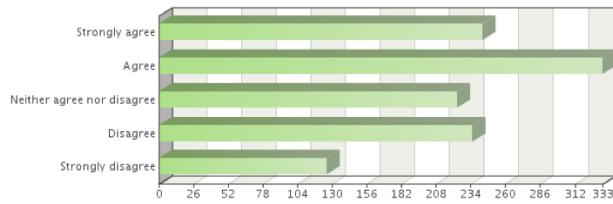
Q16(14): UCL cannot be a global university while celebrating Galton, Pearson and Petrie



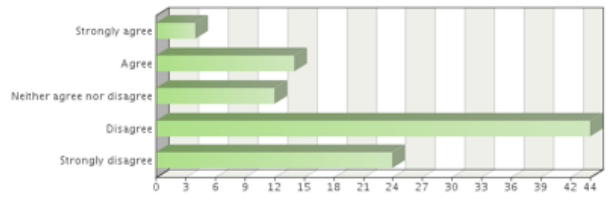
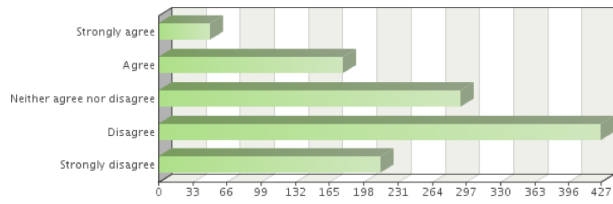
⁷¹ 1111 respondents.

⁷² 98 respondents.

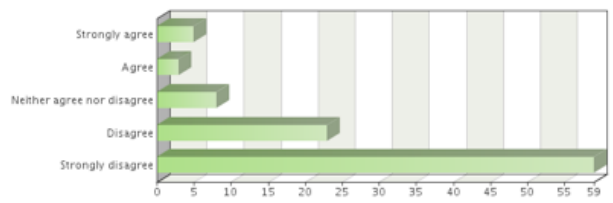
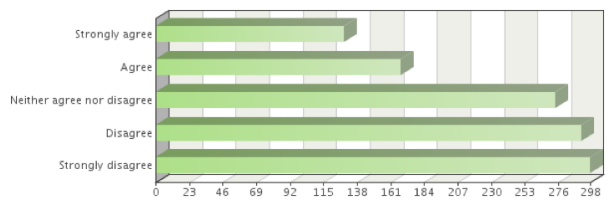
Q17(15): Retaining the names of Galton, Pearson and Petrie honours eugenics



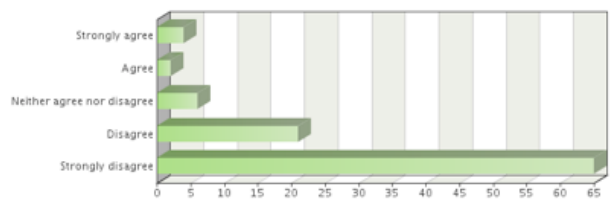
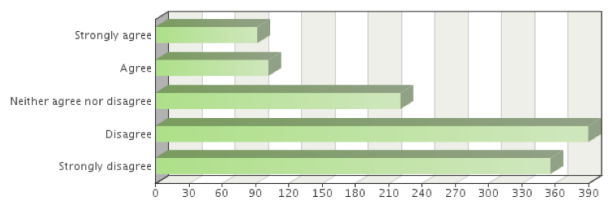
Q18(16): Removing the names of Galton, Pearson and Petrie would be a sufficient measure to address the concerns about the legacy of eugenics at UCL



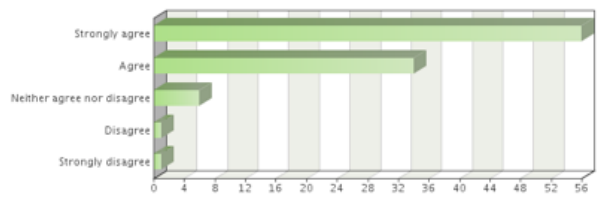
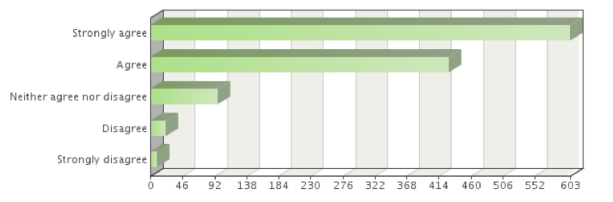
Q19(17): The names of these spaces and buildings should be kept



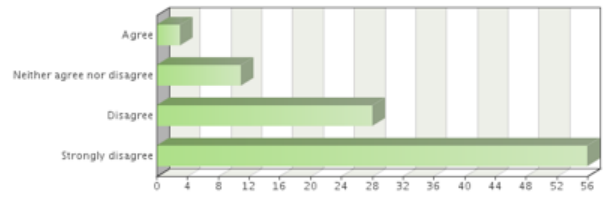
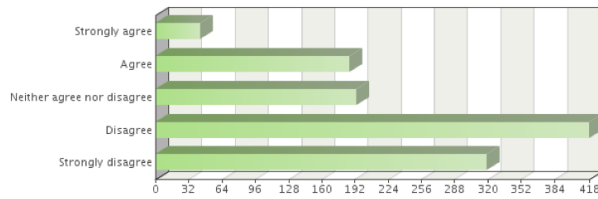
Q20(18): Removing the names of Galton, Pearson and Petrie would be an act of scientific vandalism



Q21(19): Whether the names are kept or removed, they should be presented in such a way that future generations are made aware of the history of eugenics at UCL



Q22(20): I have no particular views one way or another about whether buildings and rooms should be renamed



Recommendations

1. UCL to conduct a comprehensive inquiry into all names used within the UCL estate and declare its intention to adopt an ethical system that emphasises inclusivity in future naming. UCL should consider whether all the names of its buildings and spaces are consistent with its values and mission as well as appropriate for the 21st century.
2. UCL to rename the following: the Pearson Building, the Galton Chair (in negotiation with the incumbent) and the Galton Lecture Theatre - these should lose their current names as soon as possible (de-named). Renaming should be considered under the new “Naming or Renaming” policy. A plaque or board to be created, explaining the reason for the name change.