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# Diplomarbeit

**Breeding better Americans**

**The Impact of Eugenics and Scientific Racism on 20<sup>th</sup> Century Social Politics in  
the US.**

Verfasser

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## Persönliche Erklärung

Ich erkläre hiermit, dass ich die vorliegende schriftliche Arbeit selbstständig verfertigt habe und dass die verwendete Literatur bzw. die verwendeten Quellen von mir korrekt und in nachprüfbarer Weise zitiert worden sind. Mir ist bewusst, dass ich bei einem Verstoß gegen diese Regeln mit Konsequenzen zu rechnen habe.

16. Jänner, 2012

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Datum

Marlene Scherf

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Marlene SCHERF

## Remarks

The purpose of this thesis is to provide an insight in the US Eugenics and Scientific Racism policy in the 20<sup>th</sup> century and discover a connection between them. I aim to base my argument on reliable sources. The objective of this thesis is to give a valuable insight into the topic of Scientific Racism and raise awareness about the fact that Scientific Racism is still a big issue in our society nowadays.

Certainly, with reference to the Holocaust we have a devastating historical past to keep in mind, but nevertheless there are issues such as Scientific Racism, which have to be clearly separated from these excruciating events in our history in order to maintain its own importance. Still there is a linkage to National Socialism as the US Eugenics Movement showed some interest and enthusiasm for the work of German racial hygiene. There are many countries, which suffered under different kinds of Scientific Racism such as Puerto Rico or South Africa during Apartheid. For my research I took a closer look at the situation in the US where the issue of Scientific Racism has been very difficult, as outlined above.

## Acknowledgements

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## Introduction

Scientific Racism is mostly known as a social and scientific phenomenon in the United States. In the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century American scientists spent millions of dollars on research in order to prove that certain groups of Americans are superior to others by birth. The research took different directions and soon found its way into US social politics: laws for compulsory (forced) Sterilization were enacted, in schools students were educated on how to find a good husband or wife for demographic reasons and of course the racial problem between the black and the white population intensified. The crucial point for studies on Scientific Racism was the Eugenics Movement with its early roots in the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

The compulsory Sterilization is just one example of how Scientific Racism made it into social politics. Compulsory Sterilization is also known as forced Sterilization which basically means that the procedure was performed without the agreement of the patient or to be more specific, in some cases an agreement was not necessary due to insufficient the physical or mental condition of the patient. The condition of the patient could have been diagnosed by a doctor, physician or for example by the State Eugenicist.

At the end of the 1950's a forced Sterilization law was enacted in 27 US States. It took a long time until the law disappeared again from the books. In 1981 Oregon was to be the last state, which performed a legal Sterilization.

Another issue, which was highly supported by the Eugenics Movement in the United States, was that of marriage. In the course of this movement "marriage laws" were enacted which had the purpose to prevent "inter-racial" marriages. In other words: They enacted laws to prohibit marriages between white and black people. The Eugenics research came to shocking results that supported the idea that inter-racial marriage and reproduction is prohibited. The outcomes of the scientific research as well as the argumentations of the scientists were very bizarre and not based on verifiable facts. An example of such conclusion presented by the movement is the argument that the intelligence quotient of African-American people is supposedly lower than that of the white and in order to compensate the lack of knowledge, black people have bigger genitals and a bigger sexual desire. Even though scientist presented those peculiar results, the social situation at that time served as a breeding ground for Scientific Racism; it was the basis for making such a development possible and turning it into a huge movement and consequently a problem for several decades.

## **1. Personal Approach and Motivation**

In the last years of my Political Science Studies, I was confronted with the History of the 20<sup>th</sup> century in Austria and the rest of Europe – especially the Second World War with its national socialist ideology of creating a hardworking, healthy and reliable society. With a European or even Austrian background one is confronted with the countries historical past and through that learns to understand the vast dimensions of the Holocaust and the ideology of the Nazis and what can happen if people abuse their power and authority.

In comparison, one will never find much information about the Eugenics Movement in South Africa during the Apartheid or the Scientific Racism in the US, unless one probes into the issue and its background. It is extremely shocking to discover the enormous strength and dispersal of the Eugenics Movement in the United States as well as to find that the laws were still effective after the United States joined the Second World War and helped ending it. The Eugenics Movement in the US reached its peak in the 1950's and 1960's.

I was appalled by the fact that scientists in the United States argued in a similar way the Nazis did. At the very beginning of my research a “calculation” by William Shockley, a co-Nobel Prize winner who thought of a “Sterilization Bonus Plan” caught my attention, as it reminded me of the calculation assignments and tasks in German school books during the Second World War. Shockley's research was based on the argument that the average IQ of black people is lower than the IQ of white people. The plan was supposed to work by proposing to pay “intellectually inferior” people if they agreed to be sterilized, hoping that [If] a bonus rate of \$1000 for each point below 100 IQ, \$30 000 [were] put in trust for a 70 IQ moron of twenty child potential, it might return \$250 000 to taxpayers in reduced costs of mental retardati on care. (Kühl, 2002, p.7)

When critics asserted that his plans were reminiscent of Hitler's race policies, he argued that “The lesson to be learnt from Nazi history is the value of free speech, not that Eugenics is intolerable.” (Kühl, 2002, p.7)

### **1.1 Topic of Research and methodological Approach**

The thesis should give the reader the opportunity to gain insight into the historical outline towards the development of the Eugenics Movement in the US as well as providing a general overview on the topic. In the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the Eugenic Movement hit its peaking point in the

US and was considered to be a wide-spread movement which found its origin in numerous publications. Just to name a few, it is important to mention Francis Galton and Charles Davenport. The movement did not stop to strive forward and soon its ideas reached universities, education facilities and publications as well ideas were made transparent. An essential vocal point of this thesis is also to focus on the movement's fast development, associated effects and reasons for it.

On the one hand, the background of the analysis is the relatively extensive knowledge regarding Eugenic Movement in the context of cruelties and inhumanities of World War II. Yet, on the other hand it also tries to portray how the Eugenic Movement, its consequent measures and legislative execution in other parts of the world developed. To point out some of these developments, it is important to mention the sterilization programs in Puerto Rico and cruelties during the Apartheid regime in South Africa. Consequently, the main question out of this thesis is how it was humanly possible that a movement, which is contempting for human beings and offensive towards human rights, keeps and stays nearly unnoticed in the US. Also because it was a movement which cannot be legally based and be justified through it. With regards to this question, the paper undertakes to outline motivational queues during this period of time and sheds light onto the fact that the so called "Improvement of Human Kind" did not always follow what the law predicts to be right or wrong.

The main area of research was targeted towards the US with special attention on the Forced Sterilization programs or the sterilization laws, those of which experienced a peak time in the first half of the 20th century. With this regard a lot of correlations to the national socialistic legislation and certain similar habits during the war can be drawn as the concept of humiliation is the same, namely "denounce and incapacitate". It is without a doubt to say that both are not comparable with one another, but nonetheless they are equally shocking.

In the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the US was a striving nation serving as a role model of development, a nation which was not oppressed by dictatorship or suffered draw backs on developments.

The scope of the problems and questions assessed in the thesis were compiled on the basis of literature analysis. Current and contemporary literature of the 20<sup>th</sup> century was taking into consideration, so the tenor of the movement predominating could be caught. Likewise it was also important to showcase the development of US Social Policies which were used in this rather "dark" chapter of the US social policies.

## **1.2 Structural outline of thesis**

First and foremost, the thesis tries to start by manufacturing a historical overview of the development of the Eugenics Movements, pinpointing also on the origins of a movement which began long before the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The fear of the “unkown” was enhanced also by the variety of different traditions, customs and simply because they look differently and had different assets about themselves, they were feared by the public. They were assessed with features like not being smart enough, criminals or even violent.

Another part of the thesis gives a historical overview, talks about their most important ambassadors and their ideas. But it also points out, that research under the patronage of prestige institutions made it possible to survive monetarily and contributed to increasing popularity by the broad public and policy makers.

The main part is dedicated to the making of legislation based on the ideas of Scientific Racism. Special attention is based here on the obligation sterilization programs in individual Federal States of the US. This part also gives example of victims who experiences Scientific Racism and it tells their story.

Concluding, the thesis focuses on the over sloshing of the ideas of Scientific Racism into the range of the Education. Ideas, above all those, which describe the „good new generation“, became partially integrated into the curriculum to show young people purposefully the consequences of a possible poor selection of partners. Similarities with the Nazi regime are inevitable and form part of the conclusion as well.

The relevance of this work with reference to research in the field of political science is justified by the fact that “Scientific Racism” which is considered to be a special form of racism originating out of biological research. The ideas of biology and genetics were skillfully connected with one another and introduced into the legislative rule-making of the US, with a special linkage of two areas which are seemingly different and incoherent from each other.

## **2. Main Terms**

### **2.1 Scientific Racism**

Scientific Racism is composed of the two words racism and science. “Racism” developed

from race which is a biological term used to classify flora and fauna. The term “race” is also used for the classification of human beings. The official UNESCO statement on defining “race” is as follows:

“Scientists have reached general agreements in recognizing that mankind is one: that all men belong to the same species, *Homo sapiens*. It is further generally agreed among scientists that all men are probably derived from the same common stock; and that such differences exist between different groups of mankind are due to the operation of evolutionary factors of differentiation such as isolation, the drift and random fixation of the material particles which control heredity (the genes), changes in the structure of these particles, hybridization, and natural selection. In these ways groups have arisen of varying stability and degree of differentiation which have been classified in different ways for different purposes. [...]” (UNESCO, 2011)

Racism defines the prejudice that members of one race are superior to members of other races. It creates a degrading hierarchy and transports negative images and prejudices. The UNESCO claims in a statement of 1967:

“Racism falsely claims that there is a scientific basis for arranging groups hierarchically in terms of psychological and cultural characteristics that are immutable and innate. In this way it seeks to make existing differences appear inviolable as a means of permanently maintaining current relations between groups.” (Kühl, *The Nazi Connection*, 2002, p.3)

Scientific Racism seeks to find scientific solutions to justify racism. A number of examples will be provided in the course of this thesis.

## 2.2 Eugenics

The term Eugenics has its roots in ancient Greek. The syllable “eu” stands for synonyms such as good, well, nice etc. It implies positive characteristics. The second part of the word “genics” has its roots in the word “genos” which means born, species and gender. By putting these words together the construction you receive is “a well born”. Even though the explanation of the term is not problematic in itself, it becomes difficult when connected with the ideas it stands for and its implications. In the 20<sup>th</sup> century, scientists aspired to create a strong and healthy human race with a method known as “Eugenics”, which became the

scientific solution for all kinds of socioeconomic issues and later on even the excuse to perform methods such as forced Sterilizations.

Eugenics turned out to be brutal and disrespectful to human beings. It changed its form several times and was used under various terms. During National Socialism it was called “Rassenhygiene”. In many European and South American countries, as well as in the United States, Eugenics was practiced under the cloak of compulsory Sterilizations. The development in the United States is certainly a strong example, where not only the reproduction of people was more or less under supervision, but Eugenicist ideas were always present due to America’s history with slavery. Even in the mid 1900’s and even after the unbelievable cruelty of World War II, there were trails of Eugenics visible in US society – for instance concerning education in school – as mentioned before.

### 2.3 Compulsory Sterilization

Compulsory Sterilization will be one of the main topics in this paper. The term stands for Sterilization on male or females without their consent in the frame of US Sterilization programs. Some US states prepared a legal basis for the program or enacted laws but the term compulsory Sterilization or also forced Sterilization stands also for all the cases where Sterilizations had been performed without the knowledge of the patients. The US Sterilization Programs affected different groups in society: mentally or physically disabled people but also poor and uneducated people as well as those who were diagnosed with one of these symptoms.

## 3 Development of Eugenics in History

*“Today, it is argued, that Eugenics is back but in individual, not state sponsored form. People can choose the sex of their child, or choose to abort a fetus with a certain disability, or select an embryo without a detected defect or disability. One day they may be able to choose a more intelligent, musical, athletic or attractive genome for their child or to add or subtract genes. If so – and assuming the techniques used can be safe – there*

*are no individual victims from such practices. (Witowski, 2008)”*

The human society is aspiring to make the best out of everything. It seems to be in the human nature: Fastest cars, best jobs, smartest children.

The Eugenics Movement can be traced far back to ancient history. In archaic Sparta for example, it was not unusual for a father to decide over life and death of a newborn child. Children were often killed right after birth if they had deformities or physical disabilities. Philosophers such as Plato had own ideas of a functional society. In his work “Politeia” he describes how a city and its society should interact with each other in order to create entity. Plato believed that a marriage between man and woman should be arranged by the state and furthermore meet certain criteria.

### **3.1 Developments in Britain**

Regarding the history of Eugenics, it is vital to mention Great Britain during the 15<sup>th</sup> century. The reigning system collected tolls and taxes from the British population except from rich and noble people. Furthermore it was a period of economic change. At that time England was affected by coinage debasements on a regular basis. As in every economic crisis, this means that the value of money was declining rapidly whereas the prices increased. The country fell into a deep economic depression and it took a long time to recover from this massive recession.

Henry VIII overtook some charity properties from church because of his anger over the Pope’s decision to withhold his approval of the King’s divorce from his wife, and developed charity into a “state-affair”. The lower class became bigger and the reigning government obliged everyone to pay for the preservation and the provision of the poorhouses. Due to the economic situation the people had to bear the burden for the poorhouses. All of these factors encouraged not only the development of different classes, but also the fact that the poor and the pauper were classified as “subhuman”. (Black, 2008, p.11) The use of the term “subhuman” implies a massive degradation and creates a negative attitude by declaring this social class as not being worthy to be accepted and treated as actual human beings. Furthermore it implicates that they are a burden for society.

“England’s complex state-sponsored custodial institutions stretched across a distant horizon. Over time, the proliferation of poor houses, lunacy asylums, orphanages, health clinics, epilepsy colonies, rescue shelters, homes for feeble-minded and prisons inevitably turned Christian charity into what began to be viewed as a social plague.” (Black, 2008, p.11). As mentioned before, the circumstances were considered a social plague – charity and poor homes only tried to struggle against the symptoms but did not solve the problem. Times of economical and social crisis often lead to unusual and drastic measures and someone is to be held responsible and hold the blame for the bad circumstances and situation. This procedure is always the same, like for example in Europe in 1798, when the economist Thomas Malthus published a watershed theory on the nature of poverty and the controlling socioeconomic systems at play. Malthus reasoned that a finite food supply would naturally inhibit a geometrically expanding human race. He called for population control by moral restraint. (Black, 2008, p.11). According to Malthus, to solve the problem of poverty it is necessary to implement drastic measures.

A few years later in the 1850’s Darwin’s evolutionary theory and his own economic views with which he paved the way for Herbert Spencer and his theory of the “survival of the fittest” is discussed heavily. The main point of this theory is that the strongest, the most powerful and the most intelligent are the ones who will survive and prevail over generations. Contrary to that, there are the “unfit”, the poor, the disabled and the criminals – to mention a few - whose place in society and by that their socioeconomic position will degrade until they eventually become extinct. Spencer expressed the meaning of his theory as follows: “The whole effort of nature is to get rid of such and make room for better. All imperfection must disappear.” (Spencer, 1851, p.378)

Charles Darwin was one of the first scientists who made Eugenics popular in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. His theory about “natural selection” was a theory that emerged from his research on the theory of evolution. The main argument of this theory is that the individual, that is adjusted best to the surroundings (...), will survive, reproduce and become common in the population over some generations. The theory was originally used to describe the process of reproduction and inheritance on animals but started to become a part of human biology, when Herbert Spencer coined the term “survival of the fittest”. “This survival of the fittest, which I have here sought to express in mechanical terms, is that which Mr. Darwin has called “natural selection” or the preservation of favored races in the struggle for life.” (Darwinproject)

In another part of Europe Gregor Johann Mendel was doing scientific research on peas. He

crossed two different kinds of peas and when they were grown examined them in order to find out which features and characteristics were inherited and which were not. Mendel was the founder of the Mendel laws. He did his experiments and research on peas and plants but at that time, it became an advantage to Eugenacists and supported their major theories.

### 3.2 United States Movement

In the United States the Eugenics Movement spread enormously in the first three decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. As a result of multiple problems within the society, scientists and their movement gained a lot of support among the people. From today's point of view it is still hard to understand how the interest group had become so big. Numerous famous scientists and personalities with good reputation had put all their resources in research of bizarre ideas: according to them human behaviors and intelligence depend on single genes and can be traced back to as well as blamed on them. Scientists were convinced that they can understand the complexity of inheritance and develop simple tests to investigate differences between human beings and "select" them. (One example is Madison Grant, a renowned New Yorker lawyer, historian and physical anthropologist, was known as a very active and popular supporter of the United States Movement. He discussed his beliefs and opinions in "The Passing of the Great Race" in 1916, which became one of the most influential books in the course of the developments of the Eugenics Movement.)

The American Eugenics Movement cannot be traced back to one single source. At the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century multiple circumstances and reasons triggered and consequently encouraged and strengthened the movement.

The country was still in reconstruction and pain after the American Civil War (1861 – 1865), which took place between the industrialized North and the Southern States (mostly plantation owners), the latter still believing in slavery. After the war, the United States was confronted with many new issues. In fact, the end of the war brought an end to slavery - all slaves were declared "free people" due to the Emancipation Proclamation.

But the war also caused lots of losses. During the 4 years of fighting, "over 620,000 Americans died in the war, with disease killing twice as many as those lost in battle. 50,000 survivors return home as amputees." (Historyplace)

World War I ended and brought along huge economic troubles. In the rural areas people had

to face poverty and unemployment, triggering a huge migration wave. Due to mechanization of farm work people started to move to the cities to find work and hoped to escape poverty by doing so. But the life in the cities was not as easy as they expected – finding work was a problem too. The industrial revolution resulted in vast mechanization and the work which used to be done by people was now completed by machines.

In the 1920's the economy started to recover from the pains of a long recession. This decade is known as the "roaring twenties". The stock exchange market boomed, the economy increased continuously, bringing along risks and uncertainty. Shortly before the big crash in 1929 experts such as Irving Fischer said that "prices have reached what looks like a permanently high plateau. I do not feel there will be soon if ever a 50 or 60 point break from present levels, such as (bears) have predicted. I expect to see the stock market a good deal higher within a few months." (Rapp, Bubbles, booms, and busts: the rise and fall of financial assets, 2009, p.34). On October 24<sup>th</sup>, 1929 the stock market crash, known as "black Thursday" initiated the great depression, which affected the entire globe.

The consequence of the crash was a severe worldwide economic depression, which lasted until the late 1930's. It was the most widespread and longest depression of the 20<sup>th</sup> century followed by a huge decline in the world's economy and a high level of cyclical unemployment and bankruptcies.

At the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century the United States was also considered an immigration country. A lot of migrants from Europe (especially Italians and Jews) (History of International Migration) considered the United States as their final goal.

All of these factors together built the ground for the Eugenics Movement and consequently led to a great supportive following. The then current situation of crisis and economic problems made it easier for theories to spread and receive positive feedback.

The solution of the scientists was Eugenics – a cure-all and universal remedy. The social factors were linked to the economic situation. Eugenics offered a solution to social behaviors and to the economic crisis. Scientists claimed to have explanations for social behaviors such as alcoholism, prostitution, simple-mindedness or poverty (pauperism) - Eugenicists blamed the social behavior of people on their genes. "Eugenics used the cover of science to blame the victims for their own problems. Eugenicists seemed to have the weight of rigorous, quantitative and thus scientific evidence on their side. To those with economic and social power – and imbued with the new spirit of scientific planning – Eugenicists appeared to offer

a rational and efficient approach of treating social problems.” (Eugenics Archive).

The conclusion of this argument for example, is that it is irresponsible for parents addicted to alcoholism or suffering poverty to give birth to a child, as it would be a deductive individual. As a consequence of giving birth to such “deductive individuals” the state would have to take care of these children, which is certainly a huge financial responsibility for the state and its people and that cannot be tolerated or accepted. “Just as a new group of professional managers was making a place for itself in American economic life, Eugenicists emerged as scientists with a special expertise in the solution of perennial social problems. Eugenics provided what seemed to offer an objective, scientific approach to problems that previously had been cast almost wholly in subjective, humanitarian terms. Whereas charity and state welfare had treated only symptoms, Eugenics promised to attack social problems at their roots.” (Eugenics Archive).

The idea of Eugenics varies from one country to another. For instance, the way in which the movement is conceived in the US differs a lot from the British concept. In Britain the main intension was to educate the society in Eugenics and create a new society by making people aware of marriage choices and how they pass on characteristics to following generations.

In the US the idea of Eugenics developed a drastically different dynamic. Social and ethnic groups were considered “unfit” and the main goal was to prevent the reproduction of these groups.

One example for the “breeding of a better race” is the Oneida community who was living in upstate New York in the 1850’s, which will be discussed in more detail later on.

Other controversial developments took place at the turn of the century. The United States developed into a migration country. People from all over Europe migrated to the new world: German Lutherans, Irish Catholics, and Russian Jews (in figures about 18 million migrants). The American melting pot<sup>1</sup> was still an illusion at that time - all the migrants from Europe formed their own communities.

But that was only one reason for disharmony. America expanded in the American-Mexican War and annexed parts of Mexico. Furthermore slavery was a relevant and always present issue. The social as well as economic situation of the United States was fertile ground for

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<sup>1</sup> The U.S. is often describes as a „melting pot” which basically means, that a lot of different nations migrated to the States and brought their customs and tradition. But with time the developed and evolved to a heterogeneous nation.

Eugenics to emerge - on the one hand a domination of white Americans and on the other hand Blacks and Natives, who were basically forced to stay on reservations. One could observe a high potential of violence against minorities. 30 years around the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, thousands of people were lynched based on absurd laws such as the crime of using offensive language or paying attention to a white girl.

Criminal potential and being a criminal was seen as a group phenomenon and a feature of inheritance. The catch phrase which was used was “to be born criminal”. It was also said that a criminal can be differentiated only by observing the physical features of the person. Typical characteristics included for example “beady eyes”.

Once the outcomes of Gregor Mendel’s research with crossing peas reached across the Atlantic, for American Eugenicists there was an obvious explanation: You can breed “good Americans” like you can breed faunal or floral species.

Meanwhile, on the other side of the ocean – (in Britain) there was also criticism about Francis Galton’s theories and studies. One of Galton’s students even published a paper where he argues that people cannot rely on this science because there was no reliable research and there are no representative numbers. Therefore all the results and outcomes must be considered as a hypothesis only.

Even though Galton realized that he cannot build a better “race” by forcing people to marry only within a specific group of people with so-called “good features”, he tried to set it up as a religious belief in order to achieve his goal not by forcing the people but by influencing their belief (which people could follow and live by).

As mentioned before, in the United States the development was completely different. Mendel’s laws were remodeled and adjusted to human reproduction and consequently the Eugenics Movement in the US felt vindicated by these laws. Reproducing with “another race” was considered racial suicide: “The cross between a white man and an Indian is an Indian; the cross between a white man and a Negro is a Negro; the cross between a white man and a Hindu is a Hindu; and the cross between any of the tree European races and a Jew is a Jew.” (Black, 2008, p.31)

In addition, the enlargement of the movement was of prime importance, so in order to call it a national issue, financial support was needed. (discussed in a succeeding chapter).

### 3.3 The Oneida Community

During the time when Eugenics and heredity became popular there were also papers and books published about certain units and groups of people who decided to exist as self-sufficient human beings (through hunting and fishing). Unfortunately, that was not the lifestyle the majority of society chose. This kind of living was seen as nomad-living and soon those people were criminalized and labeled as “misfits”. The next step in the thought process was, that they are all related to each other, in some way or another (because they were living in small communities) and that they all originate from one poor “mother”. The final argument was that criminal behavior must be hereditary. The undertone in society was that if criminal potential is inherited the majority of non-criminals or sick people should not be the ones to support caring centers or to come up for their financial support (taxes etc.).

The Oneida community lived in upstate New York. John Humphrey Noyes, who was brought up very religiously, founded the group. The Oneida community developed out of religious beliefs but over time they also created their own rules within their religion.

They are most commonly known for their complex education concerning marriage and sexual relationships. Their rules on marriage are in fact called “Complex marriage” (NY History). The rules are dealing with questions on marriage itself as well as sexual reproduction and the education of the next generation. The “Complex Marriage” stipulates that all the women in the community are married to all men. Being monogamous was not allowed because it seemed selfish. The young generation of the community was prepared for the “Complex Marriage” in a practice called “ascending fellowship”. The practice worked as follows: the older members of the community were considered to be the ones closer to God. Therefore an older man picked an adolescent girl and an older woman picked an adolescent boy. It was necessary for the older women to be past menopause so that unwanted pregnancy would not occur. This practice had the purpose to teach the younger ones the values of the community and to make sure that the children do not fall in love with a person their age.

The main goal of the founder John Humphrey Noyes was to reach perfection. After Galton’s Eugenic ideas had been brought to the US from Britain, the Oneida Community started a breeding project with 53 female and 38 male volunteers.

### 3.4 Francis Galton

*I'm inclined to agree with Francis Galton in believing that education and environment produce only a small effect on the mind of anyone, and that most of our qualities are innate.*

*Charles Darwin* (Gillham, 2001, p. 155)

Francis Galton is of central importance to this paper since he was a teaching Eugenicist and one of the most successful scientists of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Furthermore, Galton was the half-cousin of Charles Darwin who became famous for his theory and research on natural selection.

Francis Galton was born to a wealthy British family. He was well educated. He knew the alphabet at the age of 18 months, he knew how to read with 2 and a half years. Galton also had the chance to go to school in France at age 16.

Galton was above all a very renowned scientist. He was paying attention to various different things and sciences and developed a lot of interest for all of them and he worked on everything he was interested in. Edwin Black introduces Francis Galton in his book as follows: “He was not really a philosopher, although his ability to weave scientific principles into social philosophy spawned fiery moments of dogma. He was not really a physician, although his analyses of human psychology ultimately governed much of the surgical and medical profession. The man was Francis J. Galton. He was above all a clever and compulsive counter – a counter of things, of phenomena, of traits, of all manner of occurrences, obvious and obscure, real and conjured” (Black, 2008, p. 14). This citation describes the person Francis Galton very well. He was a man with various interests and he published a huge amount of books and essays about his experiences and newly found knowledge. He also published early forms of travel guides.

Francis Galton was subject to several different books. His life was processed in several articles, books but above all in three biographies written by three different authors. The most recent one is: “A life of Sir Francis Galton. “From African exploration to the birth of Eugenics” by Nicholas Wright Gillham. The title of the book promises a wide range of topics. Francis Galton first started studying at a medical school. But after his father had died he used his father’s legacy that enabled him to follow his interest and start a study in Mathematics. Galton made important progress in many different scientific areas. He is especially famous for

his studies on heredity, but Galton also deepened his knowledge of other issues. “He explored South West Africa [...], wrote a book on fingerprints, in addition to his work on anthropometry, psychology and photography. But most important were his studies of heredity, in the course of which he invented the statistical tools of regression and correlation, earning him the title of the father of biometry, the application of statistical methods to evolutionary biology.” (Bulmer, 2003, p. 15)

Furthermore Francis Galton had great interest in meteorology. He was the first one to collect the exact dates and to create weather maps. In 1871 “The Times” first published Galton’s weather map – though showing the data of the day before. (Focus.de) But Galton’s effort to get results on specific subjects caused a few problems and led him into a direction with a peculiar approach to his theories. For instance he tried to measure people’s interest in an audience by observing their movements. He also tried to decode the secret behind “beauty”. He was examining the spot where beautiful people stood and wrote the place down thinking that there must be a connection between beauty and the place where beauty occurred. Galton even at the end tried to map the concentration of beauty in Britain by noting how many lovely women were located in different regions of the country. (Pearson, 2011, p.232)

The reason for his research and analysis on Eugenics and heredity was his conviction that nature and not maintenance is responsible for human capability and efficiency. “He reasoned that if ability was determined by nature, a great man’s closest male relatives were most likely to exhibit exceptional qualities with ability diluting out with hereditary distance.” (Gillham, 2001, p. 155) Galton’s theory is based on the pedigree of a person. Because Galton was living in England during the Victorian Age, in his research he spared an analysis on how inheritance works on women. In this period of time the widespread opinion was that big and progressive steps could only be achieved by male human beings.

Galton was surrounded by scientists who paved the way for his work. Theories of inheritance and transmitted characteristics circulated the academic world – Mendel, Spencer, Darwin. The situation certainly had an impact on Galton’s theories on Eugenics. He started to reflect further: about inheriting not only exterior, physical, obvious characteristics, but also the inheritance of interior, mental, emotional and social features. Galton had a simple explanation for the outcome of his theory: he “postulated that heredity not only transmitted physical features such as hair color and height, but mental, emotional, and creative qualities as well. Galton counted himself among the eminent, since he was Darwin’s cousin, and both descended from a common grandfather.” (Black, 2008, p. 15)

To make progress on his research Galton decided to pay families if they kept a list and wrote down all the numbers that Galton was interested in – all kinds of physical and mental characteristics, for example height, age etc. The more detailed and accurate the list was, the better. Galton – as a Math student – had the urge to put everything in numbers and additionally in relation to each other.

The main goal of Eugenicists was, as mentioned before, to build a better race. The endeavor was to prove that if two smart and beautiful people reproduce, smart and beautiful kids are the outcome. Consequently this means that only people with the so-called “good features” should reproduce. There were also critical voices to these theories and Galton justified himself with the following statement: “I do not, of course, propose to neglect the sick, the feeble or the unfortunate. I would do all... for their comfort and happiness, but I would exact an equivalent for the charitable assistance they receive, namely, that by means of isolation or some other drastic yet adequate measure, a stop should be put to the production of families of children likely to include degenerates.” (Black, 2008, p. 18)

In this context it is not surprising that Galton was also a representative of marriage laws. On his journeys Galton got to know a village named Kantsaywhere. Galton wrote an essay about his experiences in Kantsaywhere and he was very impressed by the procedure people had to go through before being considered for marriage: “Inhabitants of Kantsaywhere were required to take an examination that vetted them genetically. Failures had inferior genetic material and were segregated in labor colonies where conditions were not onerous, but celibacy was enforced. Those passing the examination with a “second-class certificate” could propagate “with reservations”. Those who did well took the honors examination at the Eugenics College of Kantsaywhere and were granted “diplomas for heritable gifts, physical and mental”. These elite individuals were encouraged to intermarry.” (Gillham, 2001, p. 2)

### 3.5 Charles Davenport

Charles Davenport is probably the most important Eugenicist in the history of American Eugenics. He was born on a farm in Connecticut in 1866. His father was Amzi Benedict Davenport, his mother Jane Joralemon Dimon. Charles was born into a deeply religious family and was raised after puritan beliefs. His mother Jane was very interested in natural history and had more liberal religious views whereas his father was very fond of his puritan roots. Amzi Davenport was interested in the ancestors of the Davenport family – this interest

urged him to do genealogy dating back to 1086. Amzi Davenport was married twice, had eleven children and his character is described as exceptionally harsh and unyielding towards his children. (Riddle, p. 75) He also insisted on home school lessons on Sundays.

Charles Davenport was the eighth child. He was homeschooled and mostly taught by his father until he was almost 14 years old. He had to work a lot at home and help with all the chores in the household and on the farm. Charles' father also started to work in the real estate business, so Charles had to help out at the office too. Amzi Davenport was very strict with his children – whenever they did not do their work correctly the punishment was going to bed. The same educational measures have been used if they were not prepared properly for their home school classes on Sunday.

Due to the influence of his mother Jane, Charles developed a high interest in natural history and in science. He was also very talented in writing which gave him the chance to publish his works at a young age, for example in amateur magazines. When Charles started his studies at Harvard University he had the opportunity to distance himself from his father's influence and follow his own likes and interests. He was a very committed student and dedicated to his studies and research.

Davenport got the opportunity to hold a teaching position at Redcliffe College, where he met his future wife Getrude Crotty. She became very involved in Charles's work and supported him in his research (she was for instance co-author of some of his papers). She played a big part in his career and she encouraged him to aspire leading positions. In the course with his research Davenport became interested with Mendel's work and started to familiarize himself with the theories of heredity and passing on of certain features.

As pointed out before, Georg Johann Mendel started working on inheritance of certain characteristics of peas in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. He published his laws and the outcome of his research in 1866 in the paper "Proceedings". Even though he published his results in a large number of copies and mailed it to numerous colleagues and experts, his outcomes were not appreciated as a breakthrough.

At the turn of the century, scientists started linking Mendel's laws with inheriting human features such as eye-color (by scientist C.C. Hurst). Charles Davenport extended the research on inheritance of skin and hair-color.

When Davenport first became interested in genetics and heredity, he started breeding mice of

all colors and was known to be very critical and accurate regarding his outcomes in the Carnegie Institution he found a supportive organization. The Carnegie Institution was newly found and had a department that was dedicated to genetics. At that time it was called “Station for Experimental Evolution” (Riddle p. 79). In 1904 Davenport became the Director of this department. Daniel J. Kevles describes the rising of Charles Davenport at the “Cold Spring Harbour Station” – a research station and the former Station for Experimental Evolution - in a different way. In his book: “In the Name of Eugenics” Kevles points out that “Davenport, who already early on showed signs of being an energetic organizer, successfully persuaded munificent new Carnegie Institution of Washington – its ten-million-dollar endowment from Andrew Carnegie then exceeded the total endowment for research at the American University – to establish a station for the experimental study of evolution.” (Kevles, 1985, p. 45)

### 3.6 Davenport’s Research

At Cold Spring Harbor Station, Davenport finally had the opportunity to do research. He couldn’t do breeding experiences on human beings, so subsequently he and his staff members tried to collect family data that was as precise as possible. The gathered data dealt with all kinds of different families (rich, poor, well educated, academic) but in order to do meaningful research on this subject, it had to go back at least 3 generations. There were also several scientists from Davenport’s circle of friends who provided their family records for research as well as institutions who provided medical records for example.

Further in his research he stated that single characteristics do not influence important mental or behavioral characteristics; “he did argue, that patterns of heritability were evident in insanity, epilepsy, alcoholism, “pauperism”, criminality, and above all feeble-mindedness. [...] In Davenport’s research “pauperism was equal to “relative inefficiency [which] in turn usually means mental inferiority.” (Kevles, 1985, p. 46)

Davenport’s wife, Getrude Crotty had a lot of influence on his work. She was a graduate of zoology herself and partly his co-worker. Crotty published papers together with her husband and she had the reputation of being very money-conscious. After the birth of their second child she engaged Davenport to find a better paid job than the position of instructor at Harvard. She was pushing his career and supported him when he started working at Cold Spring Harbor.

## 4 Influence of Foreign Blood

Davenport extended the research on foreigners coming to the United States. It was the task of every single human being to protect its good stock and only produce offspring with another human being of the same kind and the same characteristics. He stated that the influence of foreigners coming to the United States had a severe impact on the American population. In his research Davenport put Nationality and “Race” on the same level.

“He held that the Poles, the Irish, the Italians, and other national groups were all biologically different races; [...]” Davenport found the Poles “independent and self-reliant though clannish”; the Italians tending to “crimes of personal violence”; and the Hebrews “intermediate between the slovenly Serbians and Greeks and the tidy Swedes, Germans and Bohemians” and inclined to “thieving” though rarely to “personal violence.” He conceded that “the great influx of blood from Southeastern Europe” was less prone than the native variety to burglary, drunkenness, and vagrancy, and “more attached to music and art.” Some of the best professors of science with whom Davenport was acquainted came from a Hungarian family. Yet on the whole Davenport expected that the new blood would rapidly make the American population “darker in pigmentation, smaller in stature, more mercurial... more given to crimes of larceny, kidnapping assault, murder, rape, and sex-immorality.” (Kevles, 1985, p. 46)

One can see clearly that Davenport’s outcomes were largely based on prejudices and attributed characteristics but with the help of his scientific research. He was standing up for a form of “immigration policy” - since he was so concerned about the influence immigrants would have on the US population. He wrote: “The idea of a melting pot belongs to a pre-Mendelian age [...] now we recognize that characters are inherited as units and do not readily break up. Defective germ plasm from abroad would therefore not be obliterated by mixture with the healthy variety; it would persist. If the family history of all prospective immigrants could be investigated, people with hereditarily “imbecile, epileptic, insane, criminalistic, alcoholic, and sexually immoral tendencies” could be detected and kept out. (Kevles, 1985, p. 47)

Davenport had a very strong opinion on germ plasm and the responsibilities it brought along. “As a zoologist and geneticist Davenport knew, and greatly aided in the

dissemination of the doctrine, that the germ cells do not belong to a person in quite the same way as does his hair or his stomach; that the way a person reacts to a given stimulation is determined by the germinal determinants that have fallen to his lot and to the training and experience that have favored or repressed the complete development and fruition of such determinants; that men are genetically unequal; that medicine and philanthropy tend to preserve the biologically unfit; and that race mixture, unselected immigrants, and unequal rates of reproduction in various native groups, all affect the future welfare of our nation. Indeed, such factors are of basic concern to the human race.” (Riddle p. 84)

During his work at Cold Spring Harbor, he developed his own Eugenics creed:

“I believe in striving to raise the human race to the highest plane of social organization, of cooperative work and of effective endeavor.”

“I believe that I am the trustee of the germ plasm that I carry, that this has been passed on to me through thousands of generations before me; and that I betray the trust if (that germ plasm being good) I so act as to jeopardize it, with its excellent possibilities, of, from motives of personal convenience, to unduly limit offspring.”

“I believe that, having made our choice in marriage carefully, we, the married pair, should seek to have 4 to 6 children in order that our carefully selected germ plasm shall be reproduced in adequate degree and that this preferred stock shall not be swamped by that less carefully selected.”

“I believe in such a selection of immigrants as shall not tend to adulterate our national germ plasm with socially unfit traits.”

“I believe in repressing my instincts when to follow them would injure the next generation.” (Riddle p. 84)

Davenport’s research made him a historically important figure. It is out of question that he did some important research, but as far as heredity Eugenics is concerned he – overwhelmed by publishing results - tended to simplify the whole research process. He was very enthusiastic about Eugenics and heredity, which can be well observed due to the numerous papers he

published – approximately 439. Davenport had the urge to write which overtrumped the accuracy of research. His hasty preparation led to imperfect papers and conclusions which often resulted in criticism. Davenport was known for not being able to handle criticism.

He was not only active at Cold Spring Harbor Station he also was president or vice-president of several societies. All in all, Davenport held 64 memberships: 6 in Natural History, 5 in Zoology, 2 in Genetics, 7 in Eugenics, 5 memberships in Anthropology, 5 in Medicine, 11 in General Science (nine being foreign), 10 civic (several of these “Tax Payers”), 5 social and 8 miscellaneous. (Riddle p. 90)

## 5 Eugenics and Scientific Racism in the 20th Century

The roots of the Eugenics and Scientific Racism Movement in the 20<sup>th</sup> century go back to the 19<sup>th</sup> century, back to Mendel and his research on peas, back to Darwin, Galton and Davenport. At the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century the movement enjoyed enormous popularity. Not only within groups of experts and scientists did the movement find its way into everyday life.

Scientific Racism became more visible, when the US had to start dealing with immigrants. Not only the scientific elite but also a significant part of the population had a similar understanding of the welfare of the American race:

“Early Eugenic proponents, drawn from the ranks of scientists, politicians, doctors, sexologists, policy makers, reactionary, and reformers, held that through selective breeding humans could and should direct their own evolution. (Ordoover, 2003, p. xii)

Nevertheless, Eugenics and Scientific Racism were seen as something “foreign”, something that did not exist in the US and only happened in the Third Reich during World War II. The US ignored its own very vivid role in Eugenics. From that point of view, it is also interesting to have a closer look and examine the role of America in the development of Eugenics and Scientific Racism. On the one hand, US troops freed concentration camps and set people free while on the other hand a movement developed from the same motivations and reasons back in the United States. A lot of funds were put into Eugenics research with the main goal of preventing Americans from “foreign blood”. Research was conducted on measures of precaution, for example, mandatory Sterilization on Puerto Rican women (a lot of the

procedures were undertaken involuntarily and without the agreement of the women).

## 5.1 H.R. 10384: Immigration Bill of 1917 / Immigration Act of 1924

At the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century, everything which was not seen properly American” was seen as a threat to the American people. Communists and Bolsheviks were automatically linked with chaos and anarchism. Even in 1987 (during the Cold War) the American Enterprise Institute warned “that the United States would find it difficult to promote and defend liberty if American women did not catch up to women in communist countries, who were outbreeding them 2.3 to 1.8 children per mother”. [...] The Institute even “recommended cash bonuses to encourage US births and fend off economic, military, and ideological losses on the world stage.” (Ordovery, 2003, p. 23) This way of thinking regarding families is already found a couple of decades earlier in history, namely in the Nazi family policy. There are clear resemblances; even though it was not as severe, the main objective in protecting the own “race” still was quantity.

The Immigration Bill of 1917 became effective on February 4<sup>th</sup> 1917. It is also known as H.R. 10384 or the Asiatic Barred Zone Act. Before this specific immigration bill, there have already been several attempts to ban Asian-born immigrants to the U.S. The significant “innovation” or so to speak renewal (as you might call it), in H.R. 10384 was that immigrants had to pass a “Literacy-Test”. Furthermore, it was specified that entrance to the United States was not allowed to:

“the following classes of aliens shall be excluded from admission to the U.S [...]persons who are natives of islands not possessed by the United States adjacent to the Continent of Asia, situated south of the 20<sup>th</sup> parallel latitude north, west of the 160<sup>th</sup> meridian of longitude east from Greenwich, and north of the 10<sup>th</sup> parallel of latitude south, or who are natives of any country, province, or dependency situated on the Continent of Asia west of the 110<sup>th</sup> meridian of longitude east from Greenwich and south of the 50<sup>th</sup> parallel of latitude north...” (pbs.org)

The accuracy of the geographical data shows very clearly that persons coming from those specific areas were not seen as worthy to live in the US or in other words, were seen as a threat towards the American race. First of all, the origin was enough to judge people, and secondly, the origin was linked to several characteristics so that people were automatically

denied entrance.

But the Immigration Act of 1917 provided not only exact geographical data to separate the immigrants who were allowed to enter, from those who were not. The new Immigration Act also presented the opportunity to describe precisely all characteristics and features which were seen as weaknesses and consequently prohibited people entrance to the United States.

Exclusion was effective for:

“all idiots, imbeciles, feeble-minded persons, epileptics, insane persons; persons who have had one or more attacks of insanity at any time previously; persons of constitutional psychopathic inferiority; persons with chronic alcoholism; paupers; professional beggars; vagrants; persons afflicted with tuberculosis in any form or with a loathsome or dangerous contagious disease; persons not comprehended within any of the foregoing excluded classes who are found to be and are certified by the examining surgeon as being mentally or physically defective, such physical defect being of a nature which may affect the ability of such alien to earn a living; persons who have been convicted of or admit having committed a felony or other crime or misdemeanor involving moral turpitude; polygamists, or persons who practice polygamy or believe in or advocate the practice of polygamy; anarchists, or persons who believe in or advocate the overthrow by force or violence of the Government of the United States (as well as) [...]aliens over sixteen years of age, physically capable of reading, who cannot read the English language, or some other language or dialect, including Hebrew or Yiddish.” (Schoolnet UK)

The Immigration Act of 1917 was declined several times and vetoed against but still made it to the congress. President at that time was Woodrow Wilson and he vetoed against the bill. He did not sign the bill but composed a “veto message” regarding the bill. The decisive factor for him not to sign the bill was his disapproval of the literacy test. In his statement constituted in the White House on January 29, 1917 he explains:

“In most of the provisions of the bill, I should be very glad to concur, but I cannot rid myself of the conviction that the literacy test constitutes a radical change in the policy of the Nation which is not justified in principle. It is not a test of character, of quality, or of personal fitness, but would operate in most cases merely as a penalty for lack of opportunity in the country from which the alien seeking admission came. The opportunity to gain an education is in many cases one of the chief opportunities sought

by the immigrant in coming to the United States, and our experience in the past has not been that the illiterate immigrant is as such an undesirable immigrant. Test of quality and of purpose can not be objected to on principle, but tests of opportunity surely may be. “

Woodrow Wilson was also concerned about the consequences the immigration bill would have on diplomatic relations to the “sending-countries” or home countries of the migrants. The bill exonerates individuals from a literacy test if they suffered from religious persecution in their country of origin as well as in the country of their last permanent residence. Wilson feared a severe impact on the relations between the countries and the United States. His concern was that the immigration officer had to decide whether the immigrant was affected by religious persecution in the “sending country” or not. Wilson declares: “Such a provision, so applied and administered, would oblige the officer concerned in effect to pass judgment upon the laws and practices of a foreign Government and declare that they did or did not constitute religious persecution. [...] I dare say that these consequences were not in the minds of the proponents of this provision but the provision separately and in itself renders it unwise for me to give my assent to this legislation in its present form.” (Harvard edu)

The Johnson-Reed Act also known as the Immigration Act of 1924 added a percentage of allowed immigrants to the already severe restrictions from 1917. The Act stated that from 1924 onwards only 2 percent of people coming from a country specified in the act the number of people that are already living in the United States are allowed to enter. (state.gov) In 1890 there was a census and the 2 percent were measured according to the number of people the census produced. The immigrants that were rated among these criteria were called “quota-immigrants”. There were a few exceptions in the law which counted people to “non-quota immigrants”. One can clearly see what the US was aiming for, if one takes a closer look at the characteristics of “non-quota immigrants”, which were supposed to be either wives and unmarried children (under 18 years of age) of US citizens, residents of the Western hemisphere, religious or academic professionals, and “bona-fide students” under 15 years of age. (Documents of American History)

The Act of 1924 was based on the H.R. 10284 of 1917. But at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century until the start of the Second World War there were several bills and laws enacted. In between the two major bills from 1917 and 1924, there was another important one in 1921.

That year the quotas were first decided in the US. The circumstances were slightly different than in the Act which followed three years later. The quotas of allowed immigrants per country were 3 percent – so 1 percent more than in 1924. And the Act was not based on the Census in 1890 but on the people who lived in the USA in 1910. One can clearly see that the restrictions became more severe in 1924 – the 1921 Act was the precursor of 1924 – and were under strict calculation. To illustrate the history of Immigration acts and the limitations that were enacted through them, a short timeline (the period of time relevant for this paper) is attached in the annex.

The United States had to deal with numerous waves of immigration. Certainly, they had to react to the flood of immigrants which was growing larger in numbers but one has to be aware of the fact that trying to solve the problem with the help of the quota regulation was favoring certain nationalities (back then “races”) as opposed to others. The immigration debate and especially the attempt to serve the American needs and to have the American well-being in mind raised discussions about who should be allowed to enter the US. And in the 1920s this discussion encountered the Scientific Racism movement:

“The original sources of American immigration were the nations of northern and western Europe. The newer sources were the nations of southern and eastern Europe. This fact gave rise to the most involved disputes over the relative merits of races and nationalities. Physical, mental and moral characteristics were debated with some bitterness. Records of antiquity were ransacked by eager scholars to prove this or that doctrine of racial superiority or to disprove a doctrine advanced by somebody else. Much was written, and more was said; and but little of either had any real bearing upon the true issue involved in the search for a formula which would justly curtail American immigration.”

It is very clear that Scientific Racism and Eugenics had a fertile ground to grow on. The regulation with the help of quotas developed into a long-term issue in the US. There were some variations but the idea of the quotas – also called National Origins Formula – existed until way after the Second World War and was effectively abolished only in 1965. Concerning the Immigration Laws Emanuel Celler was a also significant figure in the United States. Long before Celler had been voted into the Congress, he had already been fighting for immigrant rights. Celler was originally from Brooklyn and a son of a Whiskey maker. His father’s business failed and he became a door-to-door wine salesman. When Celler’s father, and shortly after his mother too died, Celler also started selling wine, besides studying law. Some of his customers were immigrants who had legal trouble and feared to be deported. He

was an excellent law student and he first came into contact with the immigration laws by trying to help his customers. After World War I he decided to run for Congress – Celler got voted in and held his seat for (an unbelievable) 49 years and 10 months (US Congress). Emanuel Celler dedicated his life to the Immigration Laws and the inequitable and racist quota regulations that came along with it. After several decades of fighting and resistance, he finally succeeded when the Hart-Celler Act or the Immigration Act of 1965 was enacted and thereby abolished the National Origin Formula which had been effective for more than 44 years.

The enacted Immigration Laws were just the peak of the Scientific Racism Movement in the United States. At the beginning of the 1920s it was common practice that Eugenicists had a big voice in public and especially in US social policies. Eugenic experts had a huge impact on the 1924 Johnson-Reed Act. During the development of the bill it was quite usual that famous Eugenicists were holding speeches on congressional floor. To illustrate the political tone regarding Eugenics: the three men, mainly responsible for the Immigration Bill of 1924 were Lothrop Stoddard, who was the author of for example “The Rising Tide of Color against White-World Supremacy”, Eugenics expert Harry Laughlin who also contributed to the development of the bill and Albert Johnson who was not only a Congressman but also a member of the American Eugenics Society. Madison Grant’s book of 1916 “The Passing of the Great Race” also had a big impact on the structure of the bill.

During the seven years between the two above described bills there were several changes - one might call it progress - within the Eugenics Movement. The researchers and experts were working on “Mental Age Tests”. Not only the outcome but the testing procedure itself was shocking: according to these tests the average mental age of white American military people was that of a person in its early “teens”. Secondly, “Black” people were separated in 3 different groups, according to the intensity of their skin color. According to the outcomes of the test, their average mental age was approximately 10.5 years. The experts were claiming that the mental age is older the lighter the skin color is. The testing procedure itself was not at all related to the standard IQ testing procedure. One of the tasks was to exhale. The outcome was that “black children could not exhale as much air within a given time frame as their white counterparts and therefore have a difficult time equaling “western standards”.” (Ordovery, 2003, p. 26)

Carl Brigham, an assistant professor of psychology in Princeton indicated that “for our purposes in this country, the army mental tests give us an opportunity for a national inventory of our own mental capacity, and the mental capacity of those we have invited to live with us. [...] These army data constitute the first really significant contribution on the study of race differences in mental traits. They give us a scientific basis for our conclusions.”

## 5.2 Harry Laughlin

Harry Laughlin is mainly known for his engagement in the Immigration Restriction Act of 1924. Laughlin was born in 1880 and died in 1943. He lived during a time which was characterized by a vast development of the Eugenics and Heredity Movement. Harry Laughlin started a teacher career in Iowa. He received his doctoral degree (PhD) in biology at the well renowned Princeton University.

In 1910 the Eugenics Record Office at Cold Spring Harbor started its work. The director of Cold Spring Harbor was already a popular man in his expertise: Charles Davenport. Davenport made Laughlin the Head of the Eugenics Record Office – he held that office until 1939 – the same year the ERO was cut off from the financial support of the Carnegie Institution. Millions of people were supporting the racist and Eugenical ideas in the US. Still, the Carnegie Institution decided to revoke its support of the Eugenics Record Office because of the political lobbying and the flawed scientific research of the office.

Laughlin strictly believed that all states should work on an Eugenic-based social policy. He criticized the construction of the laws as being either too complicated in regard to the wording or too poorly researched and reasoned in order to have the ability to become constitutional. These difficulties motivated him to start working on his own draft of an Eugenically-based law that served his vision. In 1922 he outlined a model law: “Eugenical Sterilization in the U.S.”

Laughlin received an honorary degree of the University of Heidelberg for his work on “science of racial cleansing” in 1936.

## 5.3 Laughlin’s “Model Law”

Laughlin constructed his model law with care and accuracy. The main goal that had to be

achieved was to create a law which was understandable, easy to execute and had the possibility and fulfilled the criteria for becoming a constitutional law. Laughlin put a lot of effort in the descriptions of the used terms. Nevertheless, he was convinced that enough research had been done and enough information had been collected regarding Eugenic developments – so enacting a law would be the logical next step. Laughlin started his introduction as follows: “It may be safely stated that the experimental period for Eugenical Sterilization legislation has been passed so that it is now possible to enact and adjust an Eugenically effective statute on this subject.”

Laughlin was very accurate in the terms he used in his model law. If one skims through the proposal, the terms he used are noticeable. He provides definitions for his main terms, for example “the socially inadequate person” which is somebody

“who by his or her own effort, regardless of etiology or prognosis, fails chronically in comparison with normal persons, to maintain himself or herself as a useful member of the organized social life of the state: provided that the term socially inadequate shall not be applied to any person whose individual or social ineffectiveness is due to the normally expected exigencies of youth, old age, curable injuries, or temporary physical or mental illness, in case, such ineffectiveness is adequately taken care of by the particular family in which it occurs.

The socially inadequate classes, regardless of etiology or prognosis, are the following (1) Feeble-minded; (2) Insane, (including the psychopathic); (3) Criminalistic (including the delinquent and wayward); (4) Epileptic; (5) Inebriate (including drug-habituated); (6) Diseased (including the tuberculous, the syphilitic, the leprosy, and others with chronic, infectious and legally segregable diseases); (7) Blind (including those with seriously impaired vision); (8) Deaf (including those with seriously impaired hearing); (9) Deformed (including the crippled); (10) Dependent (including orphans, ne’er-do-wells, the homeless, tramps and paupers)” (Harvard.edu People)

An interesting note aside is that Harry Laughlin himself was an epileptic. He was promoting compulsory Sterilization as the solution and cure to inheriting defective germ plasm and thereby creating a whole new healthy American society. The first step to achieve the goal of a healthy and productive society was to select the parents of “potential socially inadequate offspring” from the others. The procedure of Eugenical Sterilization should end the inheritance of qualities that could transform the offspring to socially inadequate human

beings. Eugenical Sterilization was described in Laughlins law as “a surgical operation upon or the medical treatment of the reproductive organs of the human male or female, in consequence of which the power to procreate offspring is surely and permanently nullified: provided, that as used in this Act the term Eugenical Sterilization shall imply skillful, safe and humane medical and surgical treatment of the least radical nature necessary to achieve permanent sexual sterility and the highest possible therapeutic benefits depending upon the exigencies of each particular case.” (Harvard.edu People)

Laughlin supported the idea of establishing a State Eugenicist Office. The profession of the State Eugenicist should be exercised by well-trained people in human heredity but they should be also skilled as far as analyzing pedigrees are concerned. Not only education played an important role in practicing the job as a State Eugenicist, Laughlin also had a very clear vision about the concept of the occupation and the tasks, duties and rights that it would entail.

The person should hold the office of the State Eugenicist for a lifetime. The main duties of a State Eugenicist should contain for example the keeping of a list of all custodial facilities, and subsequently control these lists, to exercise the duty of Sterilization disregarding the background of the concerned person, follow up after the procedure, to develop and conduct field studies, provide all the records for the state, which would consequently become property of the state. State Eugenicists also have the power or the right to arrest people and examine people under oath. It is the duty of the State Eugenicist to state his opinion and if his opinion is relating to the law “potential parent of socially inadequate offspring”, the Eugenicist is to report his opinion to a court. Laughlin also proposed the time frames and the handling of the cases by the court. The construction of the model law was done carefully and left very little room for speculations or inconsistencies.

#### **5.4 Laughlin's Idea of Immigration Policy**

Compulsory Sterilization was not the only topic Laughlin worked on. To achieve the goal of a healthy functioning American society changes were necessary on the two main strings: On the one hand dealing with the population already settled in the United States. The approach to this problem was the idea of enacting a forced Sterilization law. On the other hand, it was also necessary to handle the floods of immigrants coming to the US. Laughlin (among various other politicians, scientists and intellectuals) was convinced that certain races or ethnicities come with certain bad qualities. It was of equal importance to prevent the US from getting

inundated by more and more defective germ plasm and unfit people through immigration. Laughlin, was active as a congressional expert in the field of heredity and Eugenics, “presented the committee with a comparative statement of the nativity of the foreign born insane in New York State – a table which offered conclusive evidence that “Italians Russians [and] Austrians (largely Jews) constitute[d] a large portion of the insane.” However, Laughlin insisted that “his concern was not with inferior nationalities but inferior individual family stocks.” (Ordovery, 2003, p. 29) Even though Laughlin emphasized not to act in a racist way (nationalities) he still uses the term inferior in front of the nationality. This clearly shows that he did not accept different nationalities as equal when he distinguished between “races”. It was also a clear assumption that some nationalities own certain qualities and pass these on. He therefore was working on a Eugenic-based immigration policy. It was supposed to be very strict and fulfill the following criteria:

The potential immigrants should undergo a fitness test before entering the US. The fitness test has to be completed before leaving the country, in the person’s hometown. The idea was to issue a so called “immigration passport” for all those who passed the required test (consisting of a physical, moral, sanitary, mental and family stock test). All immigrants should be registered and they could be deported if they do not meet the expectations in the receiving country.

Some of those restrictions seem very familiar, especially if you put it in the context of the Second World War. However, the construction of the model law and the proposal for a Eugenic-based immigration policy happened quite some time before the war started. It was a very popular movement in the 1920’s. As already mentioned before, Harry Laughlin’s model law remained non-enacted. Nevertheless, his creation had without any doubt an impact on the German health policy and thereby on legalizing forced Sterilizations on thousands of people. As already mentioned above, he received an honorary degree from the University of Heidelberg because of that impact. In the US the idea of a Eugenic-based immigration policy influenced the Johnson-Reed Act enacted a few years later. In 1928 the Act was extended by 3 additional requirements: proof of “American Stock” to assure that relatives would be a positive influence on the US society, complementation of the Army Intelligence Test with at least a C level (everybody below a C would not be allowed to settle in the country) and immigrants were only allowed to come to the US if their ancestors have been of Caucasian stock. (Ordovery, 2003, p. 34)

American Eugenicists were aware that in order to reach the goal of a healthy and strong American society they had to deal with the immigrants already settled in the country. The quota system was installed to control the immigration or in more detail to control the features that immigrants bring to the US. There was the flood of Mexican guest workers and already settled Indians on American grounds. Eugenicists feared race-mixing and consequently inheritance of non prestigious characteristics. The fear of the Mexicans was even bigger than that of the Indians – Eugenic experts were convinced that the question of the Indian people would “disappear” with time. The Eugenic point of view regarding “race-mixing” is very similar to the idea of the Nazi regime – creating an all German-Aryan stock and prohibit marriages or even relations between the so-called “good genes” and the “bad genes”.

In 1943 the President of the Eugenics Record Association emphasized his opinion on race-mixing:

“One or two states have laws against miscegenetic marriage, i.e., between those of white and negro blood. While democratic society is still reluctant to make racial distinctions, all Eugenic study and the science of genetics as well, led to the conclusion that all race mixture goes to attenuate, or to lose valuable human traits and survival values that have been build up in pure bred races by a long process of selection. Indeed there is a well supported thesis for the theory that race mixture is the main cause for racial degeneration.” (Ordover, 2003, p. 40)

However, even in the 1940’s when the world was already able to observe the cruelty in which the “laws of heredity and Eugenics” were applied in Nazi Germany, American Eugenicists were still proud of the impact their research had on the enacted laws.

## 6 Financing

The Eugenics Movement started to grow bigger at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Even before Harry Laughlin published his model law, some US States had already enacted compulsory Sterilization laws. The State of Indiana for example, enacted a Sterilization law in 1907. One of the reasons that the movement became so special and popular in the United States was probably was probably the amount of famous scientists and politicians that were connected with the movement and showed support in public.

One thing was clear: to make the movement a sustainable one, it needed validation. Since it was a development not relying on scientific facts, they were made scientific and with the help and support of famous, well known scientists and people the movement was – at least from the outside – appearing to be a legitimate one.

To just name a few examples: Woodrow Wilson was Governor of the State of New Jersey and enacted a Eugenic legislation during his time. But that was just at the beginning of Wilson's career – later on he was elected President of the United States.

Alexander Graham Bell is still known as one of the most famous scientists and inventors. He changed the world's way of communicating as the inventor of the first phone.

Bell was supporting the Eugenics Movement for quite some time at its very beginning. Davenport installed a Board of Scientific Directors at the Eugenics Record Office and Bell served the board for quite some time. Bad publicity and journalists started to write about Eugenics, forced Sterilization and Bell's involvement in the movement and it made him rethink his position: Bell wrote a letter to Davenport in which he stated that he will no longer serve as a board member.

In 1912 the first Race Betterment Conference took place in London. Several thousand people, experts, scientists and potential financial supporters were invited. But only a couple of hundreds showed up at the conference in London (the main reasons for the poor attendance was that the movement hasn't reached its peak yet and invitations were sent out with very short notice, which didn't supporters give enough time to plan their attendance).

The following Race Betterment Conference took place in 1914 in Battle Creek, Michigan. Dr. Kellogg was the head of the sanitarium in Battle Creek and he started the conference with the following sentences: "We have wonderful new races of horses, cows and pigs. Why should we not have a new and improved race of men?" (Smith, 1914, p. 229) By 1914 twelve States already had enacted Sterilization laws. At the second Race Betterment Conference, Irving Fisher (Scientific Director of the Eugenics Record Office at that time) stated: "you have not any idea unless you have studied this subject mathematically, how rapidly we could exterminate this contamination if we really got at it, or how rapidly the contamination goes on if we do not get at it." (Karmack Minnich, 2005, p. 139)

For the Eugenics Movement it was necessary to get financial aid in order to become bigger and expand its influence. After Alexander Graham Bell backed out and decided to no longer

support Eugenicist ideas, it was of major importance to be able to finance the research and finish its studies and projects so the movement could survive.

Without a doubt one of the crucial points when doing research is financial help. The Eugenics Movement was well covered: There were not only famous names following and believing in the movement, but also famous financiers and sponsors. Davenport had a personal friendship with Mrs. Harriman who supported Davenport's Cold Spring Harbor Offices and Eugenics Record Office. Davenport and Mrs. Harriman met actually through Mary Harriman, Mrs. Harriman's daughter. Mary Harriman spent some weeks in the summer of 1905 at Davenport's Cold Spring Harbor Station. She would later break with her family's Republican traditions and become very liberal.

Mrs. Harriman's husband made a fortune in the railroad business. Her side of the family had a tradition of breeding race horses, she was therefore familiar with the concept of trying to breed and pass on the best and strongest characteristics and features. The question was whether the breeding process would work on human beings. Mrs. Harriman supported Davenports Cold Spring Harbor Station with very generous donations that were used to pay fieldworkers and covered general expenses. Her biggest donation was her purchase of 75 acres of land, right next to Davenport's Station, where the Eugenics Record Office was built.

The Carnegie Institution of Washington got involved in the Eugenics Movement in 1918. The same year Mrs. Harriman turned a whole fund over to the Institution, which came with an endowment of 300 000 US Dollars. It is estimated that all together her financial support reaches more than half a million US Dollars. (Kevles, 1985, p. 55)

Supporters can also be found under well known American families: Davenport was friends with John D. Rockefeller. Rockefeller was very interested in Eugenics and heredity. Davenport and Rockefeller had some correspondences regarding various articles and Eugenical issues. Nevertheless, Rockefeller's contribution to the ERO was never as high as Mrs. Harriman's: "Davenport skillfully played Mrs. Harriman's wealth against Rockefeller's vastly superior fortune. To date, Rockefeller's foundation had "given us \$6,000 a year, whereas Mrs. Harriman has given us \$25,000 as well as funds for construction and other general expenses." And later Davenport wrote to his colleague Welch: "I would suggest that we should ask for \$600,000 [\$10.1 million in modern money] from the Rockefeller foundation. (Black, 2008, p. 94)

## 6.1 The Pioneer Fund

Another big financial supporter of the Movement was the Pioneer Fund. The Pioneer Fund is a still existing fund, which was first established in 1937 by Wickliffe Draper. He had the reputation of being a philanthropist, modest and with no need for glory in public. He never accepted any awards, decorations or honorary titles; he only wore his military decorations he received in World War I. In World War II, he volunteered for service and went back to war.

Even before he founded the Pioneer Fund, Draper was interested in heredity. In the early 1930's when the Eugenics Movement had to face severe public criticism, Draper made a donation to the American Eugenics Society. The Society had to deal with a loss of members because the public was increasingly paying attention to the movement.

The circle around Draper, even before he founded the Fund, included well known Eugenicists and people who were dedicated to heredity research and the Eugenics Movement. Draper was fortunate to be born into a textile magnate's family. Even though the business started out small, it was worth several millions when Draper took over in the early 1920's. Wickliffe Draper himself was a Harvard educated man, as was Theodore Roosevelt's son, Archibald, who in his later years published a book on his father's thoughts on race. (Roosevelt, 1968) Archibald Roosevelt was known to have a home at Cold Spring Harbor, the research station which was headed by Charles Davenport.

And so the Circle was complete: Davenport, Laughlin, Draper and the Pioneer Fund, Mrs. Harriman and the Carnegie Institution as well as Roosevelt and Rockefeller were all connected to each other. Henry Fairfield Osborn, a graduate from Princeton University, Anthropologist, Paleontologist and Eugenicist, was also familiar with the group. He served on the Board of the Eugenics Research Association and wrote the preface of Madison Grant's "The Passing of the Great Race" in which he states: "Race implies heredity, and heredity implies all the moral, social, and intellectual characteristics and traits which are the springs of politics and government. [...] Thus conservation of that race, which has given us the true spirit of Americanism, is not a matter either of racial pride or of racial prejudice; it is a matter of love of the country..." (Osborn, 1916)

Grant, who was a famous New York lawyer, was convinced that the only way to save the American population was to apply positive and negative Eugenics. Miscegenation would always imply a step back in society.

Davenport tried very hard to convince Draper of his work. But a big potential investor like Draper was not so easy to persuade. Draper's first donations to Davenport and Cold Spring

Harbor were very little – his first donation was only 1000 Dollars. Davenport knew that he had to make Draper more interested; otherwise Draper would not help financing the research. Draper had the reputation to be a generous donor but he needed to know what his money was used for, and he had to be sure that his contribution aided the research which supported his original intentions and beliefs.

The main purpose of the Fund was to encourage and promote “race betterment” and the research on this topic. Draper and Laughlin’s mutual interest also led to a personal friendship and they worked together throughout the initial founding process of the fund. They wrote letters to each other, discussing what the Foundation should be named. They agreed that it was better to leave the term “Eugenics” out of the fund’s title. This decision was probably taken due to the undertone the term “Eugenics” bore during the 1930s and they wanted to evade any relation to it. The author Michael G. Kenny quotes in his essay on the Pioneer Fund Lancelot Thomas Hogben who used the terms “ancestor worship, anti-Semitism, color prejudice, anti-feminism, snobbery, and obstruction to educational progress” as interchangeable for the term “Eugenic”. (Kenny, 2002)

Frederick Osborn, Malcolm Donald and Harry Laughlin, three of the main characters of the Pioneer Fund, had some written correspondence in the year of the founding with each other. Frederick Osborn responds as follows:

“I have your letter of the 19th... Mr. Laughlin and I have talked on the phone at some length about the choice of names. ...

As the name, while we both feel that the word ‘Eugenics’ must be strengthened until it takes the high place in the public mind which it must eventually have, it might be a dangerous name for the Fund, as it might attract the sort of people to make carelessly thought out demands on the Fund. Mr. Laughlin and I both feel therefore that the name ‘Pioneer Fund’ would be an excellent corporate title for a number of reasons, and it is the one which we jointly recommend.” (Ferris.edu)

As mentioned before, the Fund was established in 1937. Before the Fund was really able to take up its work, World War II started, and Wickliffe Draper went back to war. After the war one of Draper’s confidants, Frederick Osborn started thinking on the one hand about contraception and on the other hand suggesting a baby boom as a way of achieving race betterment. Draper instead got closer to right wing activists and segregationists.

It is conspicuous that a lot of Draper’s endowments and some of his funding remained

unidentified for a long time. Several times, the person donating or responsible for a big contribution remained anonymous. To give some examples: Draper endowed a chair in medical genetics at Wake Forest University, NC. He was responsible for donations to the Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission, a society which was known for fighting against civil rights and integration; he also started supporting students in the South, who wanted to go to an “all-white” private school, by implementing a grants system for that purpose. (Kenny, 2002, p.277)

As of today, the Pioneer Fund still exists. The grants system remained active and several Universities in the US took advantage of it. On the other hand, there have also been numerous scientists and professors who met Draper and decided after the first meeting, that they choose rather not to work with him.

But there are also several other examples - just to name one: Professor Philippe Rushton was a psychology professor at the University of Western Ontario. He benefited from grants given to him from the Pioneer Fund because his research fitted the Pioneer ideology perfectly.

“Rushton argues that behavioral differences among Blacks, Whites and Asians are the result of evolutionary variations in their reproductive strategies. Blacks are at one extreme, Rushton claims, because they produce large numbers of offspring but offer them little care; at the other extreme are Asians, who have fewer children but indulge them; whites lie somewhere in between.” (Ferris.edu)

Wickliffe Draper died in 1972 but his death did not end the work of the Pioneer Fund. The Foundation is still active, and still has its headquarters in New York. After Draper’s death, Harry Weyher, Draper’s personal confidante and lawyer, became head of the Organization. When Weyher died in 2002, his third wife became a board member of the Pioneer Fund. The new board has announced its intention to “keep Harry F. Weyher’s great legacy alive; for the last three decades, Weyher has performed the same function for Wickliffe Draper’s legacy. It appears that his death will make no change in Pioneer’s role as the chief source of support for Scientific Racism.” (Tucker, 2002 p.214)

In the late 1980’s the fund changed some of its original wording. The terms “white” were left out and “race” was exchanged through the word human. The Fund became a public concern, when the controversial book “The Bell Curve” was published in the 1990’s. The book was published by Charles Murray and Richard Herrnstein – a political scientist and a psychologist at Harvard University. The book deals with the subject of racial differences concerning

intelligence. Bill Blakemore from ABC News states: “Close to half the footnotes citing authors who support The Bell Curve's most controversial chapter that suggests some races are naturally smarter than others, refer to Pioneer Fund recipients.” (Blakemore)

The Pioneer Fund itself deals with the controversies and problems on its homepage with a Q&A section. Within the section they provide statements to the most delicate and controversial subjects. The answer to the question on how their view is regarding race differences and how they deal with the accusations of supporting scientists and rewarding their research with grants is as follows:

”The Pioneer Fund takes no position on this or any other issue. Although some Pioneer scientists have concluded that the preponderance of evidence now available makes it more likely than not that there is some genetic component in the average Black-White IQ group difference, other Pioneer scientists disagree. Pioneer grantees have published a wide variety of opinions and conclusions. Scholars and scientists follow their own research trajectories and readings of the literature. There is no requirement that Pioneer’s grantees march in lockstep [...]” (The Pioneer Fund)

## **7 Sterilization in the US**

Other than the Immigration Laws, one of the solutions suggested by the researchers of Scientific Racism to tackle the problem of miscegenation and inheriting unwanted traits and characteristics was compulsory Sterilization. Forced Sterilization had its peak with the Eugenics Movement, and was probably the most severe consequence of Scientific Racism. The law was enacted in several states and was performed until the 1980’s. Some states used Harry Laughlin’s model law and stayed very close to his suggestions. There were several doctors who experimented with Sterilization even before it was legal and without the patient knowledge. Some were convinced, back then, that this would be the only way to achieve race betterment and healthy Americans.

### **7.1 First Signs of Compulsory Sterilization Laws**

Indiana was the first state in the US to enact such a law in 1907. Even before that, there have been several attempts of Sterilization. The first one to be taken seriously was long before the

Eugenics Movement boomed – 1849 in Texas: a renowned biologist and physicist named Gordon Lincecum proposed a Sterilization bill for mentally disabled or handicapped people. The draft was never brought to a discussion not to mention to a vote, but it was obvious what the main purpose of the idea was. In 1897 Michigan tried to pass a law but it got voted against by the Governor and in 1901 there were attempts in Pennsylvania to pass such a law.

As mentioned before, Indiana was the first State passing a compulsory Sterilization law in 1907, followed closely by Washington and California only two years later. In 1909 California enacted its first Sterilization law but with the years several adjustments were made to the original law. The group of people who were likely to face Sterilization was increasingly getting bigger. More and more traits and characteristics of people were described as unworthy and as a danger to society.

Sterilization laws were passed all over the country and with exception of the State of California the numbers of people going through this procedure were actually pretty low. This trend changed in 1927 and numbers grew higher, after the decision of the Supreme Court in the case Buck vs. Bell, which will be discussed later in this paper. Gordon Lincecum was the first one to propose a forced Sterilization law – during the Eugenics era 30 American States would pass such laws.

### **7.1.1 Compulsory Sterilization in California**

As already mentioned before, California plays a special role in the history of compulsory Sterilization in the United States. The first law of this sort was enacted on April 29, 1909 – adjustments were made in 1913 and in 1917.

### **7.1.2 Overview Sterilization Laws in California (Gottshall)**

1<sup>st</sup> law enacted on April 26, 1909:

It was aimed at the inmates of both state hospitals and institutions for the mentally retarded, and prison inmates who fit certain categories. The categories for this last group included those inmates displaying “sex or moral perversions” while in prison, those twice convicted of sexual offenses, those convicted three times for other crimes, those committed for life - men

who would presumably have little opportunity to start families.

At that time it was thought that Sterilization had certain therapeutic effects such as curtailing masturbation or violent tendencies.

A board consisting of the superintendent or resident physician of the institution in consultation with the general superintendent of state hospitals and the secretary of the State Board of Health were the decision makers on who had to be sterilized. The approval from 2 of the 3 people was needed to perform the procedure.

2<sup>nd</sup> law enacted on June 13, 1913:

There were some adjustments made to the law from 1909. The wording became more specific; it enlarged the powers of the state mental health bureaucracy and had a more purely Eugenic focus. It targeted those “afflicted with hereditary insanity or incurable chronic mania or dementia”. The second law also integrated the State Lunacy Commission, which already existed from 1897 onwards. But in the law of 1913 the commission was given the power to order Sterilization in order to release a patient from an institution. Another renewal was that the procedure of Sterilization could be performed upon the written consent of parents or guardians. This law was in force until 1930.

Adjustment to the Sterilization law in 1917:

The so-called Pacific Colony was installed, which was an institution for mentally challenged and epileptics. Within the institution a board of trustees approved by a psychologist (who must hold a Ph.D.) was allowed to order Sterilizations. More Eugenical expressions were used in the wording of the law.

An interesting fact is that the adjustments to the laws were made in 1917 – the same year the Immigration Act was passed. A certain atmosphere was present present within society towards foreigners or people who, according to them, did not live up to society’s expectations and were different and not “uniform”.

Sterilizations were at first mostly performed on males for financial reasons. It took some time until the method of sterilizing women became as developed as the procedure for men. By

1920 the number of males and females undergoing the operation was almost even.

In 1928 Paul Popenoe, who was raised in California and worked as a journalist and later also became a prominent and significant member of the Eugenics Movement, addressed the topic of “Eugenic Sterilization in California” at the Third Race Betterment Conference in Battle Creek, Michigan. “He had the opinion that charity was the reason society had so many degenerates that survived for so long. He conducted extensive research about I.Q.’s and the individuals who had been sterilized in order to promote the cause.” (California Eugenics) Popenoe gave a short overview of the Sterilization in California itself and pointed out the developments and progress that were made since the passing of the law in 1909.

“Since 1909 California has been practicing Eugenic Sterilization in its state institutions, a total of approximately 5,000 operations having been performed up to January 1, 1927. Of these, four-fifths were in the state hospitals for the insane, one-fifth in the state home for the feeble-minded. At the present time no one is allowed to leave the latter institution unsterilized. [...] Our judgment is that, on the whole, the law is functioning to the satisfaction of those interested, such as the medical profession, the social workers, and the relatives of the sterilized patients, as well as the patients themselves. [...] There have been four deaths in these 5,000 operations; a man and a woman from effects of ether anaesthesia; two women from peritonitis. [...] private Sterilizations performed outside of the state institutions designated under the law, should also be subjected to some sort of state supervision [...] all Sterilizations should be put under control of the state, in order that all the interests of the public may be protected, and not merely those concerned with the reproduction of the mentally defective of socially inadequate.” (Popenoe)

California’s strong position towards Sterilization laws was probably the result of several factors. On the one hand, the Eugenics Movement had become very popular not only in the circle of scientists but also in general public. At the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century California had to deal with floods of immigration from China and especially from Mexico, with which the state shares its border. Immigrants were looking for work and a better place to live. The state of California was not prepared to deal with that kind of situation. Society argued that the state has to come up with welfare services and charity for those, who do not find a job immediately. Another issue was that people such as politicians and scientists were also “scared” of big Mexican families. The main argument was that Mexican work-seekers bring also their wife and children along and the State of California has to take care of the one

person seeking work but also of the big family that comes with him. On the other hand, African-American men had the reputation of being sexually very active. Related to this prejudice, it has to be mentioned, that African Americans at that time made up only 1% of California's population – which makes the number of 4% of all Sterilization procedures performed in California, an extremely high number. "The idea of "race suicide" emerged on a national level. This concept stated that women of good stock should be having children in order to ensure that the white middle class not be taken over by inferiors." (California Eugenics) Another feared development was the emancipation of women. Doctors were very concerned about the fact, that women would give birth to children without even being married. Given all these factors, it was clear that the Sterilization movement was supported through various factors at that time.

### **7.1.3 California Sterilization law facts**

To conclude, one third of all Sterilizations performed in the US took place in California, which sums up to more than 20,000 operations of that kind. More than 60,000 operations were completed all over the United States. The states of Virginia and North Carolina had the second and third most cases of Sterilization with a number of approximately 8000 and 7600 cases.

Though it was not always performed, the law was still in the books until the 1970's. Even by 1956, years after WWII ended and the world had seen what extent of cruelty can be achieved by mankind, 27 American States had Sterilization laws in their books.

Supporters of the Sterilization laws were very versatile and for example reached from the Stanford University Chancellor, to LA politicians, zoologists and even businessmen.

In the 1920s the patient records show that people mostly in their late teens or early twenties, were sterilized because of reasons like "dementia praecox (schizophrenia), epilepsy, manic depression, psychosis, feeble-mindedness, mental deficiency. A notable percentage of these young patients were typed as masturbators or incest perpetrators if male and as promiscuous – even nymphomaniac – or having born a child out of wedlock if female." (Stern, 1995/7)

## 7.2 Sterilization in Virginia

Virginia enacted a Sterilization Law in 1924. The first couple of years until 1927 the number of Sterilizations was on a very low and on a consistent level. With the Supreme Court ruling in the case Buck vs. Bell, that trend changed dramatically and the State of Virginia had the second highest Sterilization rate after California. The groups affected by the law included those “afflicted with hereditary forms of insanity that a recurrent, idiocy, imbecility, feeble-mindedness or epilepsy.”

To prevent abuse of the law, it was stated that, the superintendent of the facility of the hospitals has to present the case to a board of directors. A copy of the petition has to be presented to both, that patient and his or her legal guardian. When the board comes to a decision in a case, Sterilization was only permitted 30 days after the decision was made. (Eugenicsarchive)

### 7.2.1 Buck vs. Bell

The case best known, regarding forced Sterilization is probably the case of Carrie Buck. It is also known as Buck vs. Bell.<sup>2</sup> Carrie Buck was considered feeble-minded and so was her mother. As Carrie became pregnant many issues started to arise.

Carrie Buck’s mother was institutionalized four years earlier, she was also diagnosed feeble-minded and promiscuous –both of them gave childbirth out of wedlock. When Carrie Buck gave birth to a child, Red Cross doctors and social workers stated that the child was different, suffered of backwardness and the development of the seven-month-old girl cannot be compared with children the same age. When Judge Oliver Wendell Holmes Jr. ruled over the case, his choice of words clarified the current point of view on Sterilization. He concluded his ruling with the statement that “three generations of imbeciles are enough”. Even though Virginia passed the Eugenic Sterilization Act in 1924, and compulsory Sterilization was already legal, the rule of the Supreme Court (which is the highest federal court in the US) made it in some way more legitimate.

Later on it was found that Carrie Buck was diagnosed “promiscuous” for the wrong reasons:

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<sup>2</sup> The case was originally called Buck vs. Priddy. Albert Priddy was the superintendent of the Virginia Colony of the Eliplectic and Feeble-minded in Lynchburg. The Buck vs. Priddy case was filed, but Priddy died before the case went to court, so he was replaced by his successor J.H. Bell)

She did not have a baby out of wedlock because she was light-minded. As it turned out, she had been raped by a relative of her foster family and as a consequence became pregnant. Years later her daughter Vivian also proved to not be mentally challenged or “feeble-minded” at all: “Vivian's first grade report card from the Venable School in Charlottesville showed that this daughter of a supposed social degenerate got straight "A's" in deportment (conduct) and even made the honor role in April, 1931. She died a year later of complications following a bout of the measles.” (Eugenicsarchive)

### **7.3 Sterilization abuses**

As pointed out before, more than 30 states in the US had Sterilization laws. Even if they were hardly used after World War II, they still existed and therefore provided a legal basis for Sterilization. There have been several cases of Sterilization abuses. The victims were mostly women who were on welfare support. Below are some examples for Sterilization abuses:

#### **7.3.1 Nial Ruth Cox**

Nial Ruth Cox was permanently sterilized in 1965. She agreed to undergo the procedure when she was told that it was not permanent and it could be revised. The Doctor performed an irreversible bilateral salpingectomy Sterilization. (Law Justia) It turns out that the reason the Doctor performed the permanent procedure was, that Nial Ruth Cox was diagnosed “mentally defective”. Cox’ family was at that point living from the state’s welfare program. She claimed she was told, that “her family would cease to receive welfare payments” if she did not get the procedure done. (Sterilization: Newest threat to the poor, 1973)

#### **7.3.2 Relf Sisters**

The case of the Relf sisters was reported in a Times magazine article from July 23, 1973 (Time Magazine US). Minnie and Mary Alice Relf, 14 and 12 years old were sterilized against their knowledge in a federally financed family planning center in Alabama. The Relf family -the parents had 6 children all together- were living of the state’s welfare program. At that time, a newly invented contraception shot named “Depro-Provera” was tested on the girls. The research on that contraception injection was still in its experimental phase and was soon dismissed. The mother of the girls – who was unable to read – signed a letter of consent

which to her seemed like just another piece of paper one day, with an “X”. She was under the impression that the girls would still receive the “Depro-Provera” shots, but the consequence to Ms. Relf’s unknowing consent by signing an “X” sign on the piece of paper was that Minnie and Mary Alice Relf were sterilized.

“The Center filed a lawsuit on behalf of the Relf sisters and exposed the wide-spread Sterilization abuse funded by the federal government and practiced for decades. The district court found an estimated 100,000 to 150,000 poor people were sterilized annually under federally -funded programs. Countless others were forced to agree to be sterilized when doctors threatened to terminate their welfare benefits unless they consented to the procedures.” Judge Gerhard Gsell concluded, that “an indefinite number of poor people have been improperly coerced into accepting a Sterilization operation under the threat that variously supported welfare benefits would be withdrawn unless they submitted. [...] The dividing line between family planning and Eugenics is murky.” (Stern, 1995/7)

### 7.3.3 Mardirgal vs. Quilligan

The lawsuit Madrigal vs. Quilligan was a big case followed by the public that developed between the 1960’s and the 1970’s. About 10 women were sterilized against their own will at Country General. They were former Mexican immigrants, living in the US. The three statements of the victims below show, that the approach of proposing Sterilization to the women was in all cases very similar. Jovita Riviera stated: “While I was in advanced labor and under anesthesia with complications in my expected childbirth and in great pain, the doctor told me that I had too many children, that I was poor, and a burden to the government and I should sign a paper not to have more children. [. . .] The doctors told me that my tubes could be untied at a later time and I could still have children.”

Helena Orozco said that: “[A] doctor said that if I did not consent to the tubal ligation that the doctor repairing my hernia would use an inferior type of stitching material which would break the next time I became pregnant, but that if I consented to the tubal ligation that the stitches would hold as proper string would be used. No one ever explained what a tubal ligation operation was, I thought it was reversible.”

And Maria Hurtado explained: “I was told by members of the Medical Center’s Staff, through a Spanish-speaking nurse as interpreter, that the State of California did not permit a woman to undergo more than three caesarean section operations and that since this was to be my third

caesarean section, the doctor would have to do something to me to prevent my having another caesarean section operation. No explanation nor description of the tubal ligation, which was later performed on me without my knowledge and free and informed consent, was given to me.” (Mississippi Appendectomy)

Karen Banker was one of the key witnesses in the trial and testified that the main motivation to perform Sterilizations on the women was the “fear” of “Mexicans as hyperbreeders and Mexican women as welfare mothers.” She also recalled conversations with Edward Quilligan, the head of gynecology at County General, in which he stated that “poor minority women in L.A. County were having too many babies; that it was a strain on society and that it was good that they be sterilized.”

Judge Jessie Curtis concluded the trial with the statements that the women had “suffered severe emotional and physical stress because of these operations.” He called it a “breakdown in communication between the patients and the doctors.” He found “no evidence of concerted or conspiratorial action” and, furthermore, was persuaded by the defendants’ contentions that they “would not perform the operation unless they were certain in their own mind that the patient understood the nature of the operation and was requesting the procedure.” (Stern, 1995/7)

The plaintiffs lost the lawsuit.

## **8 William Shockley’s Voluntary Sterilization Bonus Plan**

William Shockley, was not only a Professor at the renowned Stanford University, he was also a Physicist and a Nobel Prize winner in 1956. But Physics was not the only expertise that fascinated Shockley. He was also a firm believer in inheritance of good and bad traits and in protecting the United States from the reproduction of what he considered as ‘not approved characteristics’. Shockley worked on a “Voluntary Sterilization Bonus Plan”. The main goal of the Plan was to control the birthrates and minimize the reproduction of the so-called “unfortunate and disadvantaged ones” by proposing money rewards if they were to agree to the procedure of a voluntary Sterilization.

Shockley proposed that: “bonuses... be offered for Sterilization.... At a bonus rate of \$ 1,000 for each point below 100 I.Q., 30,000 put in trust for a 70 I.Q. moron potentially capable of

producing 20 children might return \$ 250,000 to taxpayers in reduced costs of mental retardation care. Ten percent of the bonus in spot cash might put our national talent for entrepreneurship in action.” Shockley first introduced this plan in 1971 when he addressed it to the American Psychological Association. (Tucker, 2002 p.193)

“When critics asserted that his plans were reminiscent of Hitler’s race policies, he argued that “the lesson to be learned from Nazi history is the value of free speech, not that Eugenics is intolerable.” In the late 1960s and 1970s, the Pioneer Fund provided Shockley with more than \$ 179,000 over a ten-year period.” (Kühl, 2002, p. 7)

William Shockley’s work also included research on the inheritance of I.Q.. His outcomes supported his thesis that the average I.Q. of a black person is lower than the average I.Q. of a white person. The research shows that Shockley was a passionate Eugenicist. Shockley’s quote on the Nazi regime and Eugenics is radical and it is particularly shocking if one considers that he stated it in the 1970’s – a time where the world was already informed about the cruelty of the regime and most Nazi secrets had been disclosed and had become public.

## **8.1 Anti-miscegenation Laws**

Anti-miscegenation laws are also referred to as miscegenation laws in the literature. The roots of the word go back to the Latin words of “miscere” which has the equal meaning to the word “mix” and “genus” which can be translated with “race”, “species” or “kind”.

Anti-miscegenation laws have a long history in the United States. The roots of these laws go back to the 17<sup>th</sup> century and the history of slavery in the US. One of the first steps was criminalizing marriage between a “white” person and an African American or black person in slavery. But the movement started to grow and with time even marriages between a white person and a so-called free black person (a person that was no longer a slave or to be more specific did not longer “belong” to someone) were forbidden. After Slavery was abolished in the United States, laws like the one mentioned above were still in the books, but shaped differently: In some states marriages with Native Americans or South Asian people were considered a felony. There were several attempts and several drafts of anti-miscegenation laws that were introduced to the United States Congress with the main goal of becoming constitutional laws. Even though a nationwide anti-miscegenation law was never enacted, a not negligible number of States were criminalizing interracial marriages and/or interracial

sexual relationships and treating it as a felony. To be precise: in 1949 – four years after the Second World War ended, 29 US States had anti-miscegenation laws enacted. (Johnson, 2003, p. 5)

## 8.2 Racial Integrity Act

In the 1920's the public mood towards anything other than the so called "white American, from Caucasian stock with good genes and germ plasm" was very hostile. The Eugenical Sterilization Act was one side of the issue, but there was another Bill enacted alongside it: the "Racial Integrity Act". From then on, it was obligatory to keep a description of newborn and also classify them according to the "race" they belong to. The Bill stated that "it shall be a felony for any person willfully or knowingly to make a registration certificate false as to color or race. The willful making of a false registration or birth certificate shall be punished by confinement in the penitentiary for one year." (Virginia.edu)

Hand in hand with the Racial Integrity Act goes the Anti-miscegenation law which is stated in number four and five of the Act (Virginia.edu):

4. "No marriage license shall be granted until the clerk or deputy clerk has reasonable assurance that the statements as to color of both man and woman are correct.  
If there is reasonable cause to disbelieve that applicants are of pure white race, when that fact is stated, the clerk or deputy clerk shall withhold the granting of the license until satisfactory proof is produced that both applicants are "white persons" as provided for in this act.  
The clerk or deputy clerk shall use the same care to assure himself that both applicants are colored, when that fact is claimed.
5. It shall hereafter be unlawful for any white person in this State to marry any save a white person, or a person with no other admixture of blood than white and American Indian. For the purpose of this act, the term "white person" shall apply only to the person who has no trace whatsoever of any blood other than Caucasian; but persons who have one-sixteenth or less of the blood of the American Indian and have no other non-Caucasic blood shall be deemed to be white persons. All laws heretofore passed and now in effect regarding the intermarriage of white and colored persons shall apply to marriages prohibited by this act."

With the Racial Integrity Act mixed colored relations were no longer 'just' frowned upon, now there were legal consequences to any such relationship. Miscegenation education was even introduced in the US educational system. Until the 1960's it was common practice that schools offered classes, which taught the students how to pick out the perfect mate. Not only regarding skin color, they were also educated in raising awareness regarding the germ plasm and the physical and mental traits the counterpart has to offer - always keeping reproduction at the back of their minds.

### 8.3 Loving vs. Virginia

The State of Virginia did not only set an example with the Buck vs. Bell case regarding Sterilization – during the late 1950's until the 1960's a case of a so-called violation of the miscegenation law drew attention. The case is known as "Loving vs. Virginia".

Richard Loving, a white resident of Virginia, married Mildred Jeter, a black woman. They tied the knot in Washington DC in accordance to DC law. Shortly after their marriage they returned to Virginia and decided to live their married life there. In 1958 the couple was charged that they do not respect current Virginia laws. The "crime" of mixed marriages was usually punished with one year in jail. A year later, the Lovings pleaded guilty. The judge decided a different sentence. In his trial closing statement he "banned" the couple for 25 years. They were not allowed to return to Virginia after that time had passed. The judge justified his sentence with: "Almighty God created the races white, black, yellow, malay and red, and he placed them on separate continents. And but for the interference with his arrangement there would be no cause for such marriages. The fact that he separated the races shows that he did not intend for the races to mix." (umkc.edu)

The Lovings consequently moved to DC and in 1963 they filed their case once again arguing that their sentence was violating the fourteenth Amendment of the United States Constitution (in which all people born on US grounds are US citizens with equal rights and equal responsibility). They therefore filed for the Virginia anti-miscegenation laws being unconstitutional. The Lovings pleaded their case in front of a three judge court without success. However they were still allowed to bring their case to the United States Supreme Court of Appeals, the highest Court in the US. The Supreme Court decided, that the marriage laws were not violating the constitution and that the Lovings were guilty of violating § 20-58 and 20-59 of Virginia Code, which states:

"Leaving State to evade law. If any white person and colored person shall go out of this State,

for the purpose of being married, and with the intention of returning, and be married out of it, and afterwards return to and reside in it, cohabiting as man and wife, they shall be punished as provided in 20-59, and the marriage shall be governed by the same law as if it had been solemnized in this State. The fact of their cohabitation here as man and wife shall be evidence of their marriage."

And section 20-59 defines:

"Punishment for marriage. If any white person intermarry with a colored person, or any colored person intermarry with a white person, he shall be guilty of a felony and shall be punished by confinement in the penitentiary for not less than one nor more than five years." (umkc.edu)

The Supreme Court of Appeals modified the sentence but affirmed the convictions. Finally, in 1967 the US Supreme Court ruled in the same case *Loving vs. Virginia* that the interracial marriage laws were unconstitutional, which led to the abolition of these laws throughout the United States. Even though the laws were not always executed, they were still in the books. A shocking fact with regard to miscegenation laws is that Alabama abolished its laws only in the year 2000 after a 40/60 vote against the prohibition of interracial marriage. (Johnson, 2003, p. 6)

As already mentioned before, most of the US States had miscegenation laws in their books and constitutions – it was a crime that punishable. Nevertheless there was a double standard to those laws: generally it was accepted or at least tolerated if white men had sexual relationships with black women. This was mainly because the states – especially the southern states – were ruled by white, powerful man.

But the abolition of the Alabama laws shows clearly, that there are still issues with the miscegenation laws today. Even if there are no more statutory provisions there certain “interracial policies” still existed. One striking example can be found in the not so distant past: “[The] Bob Jones University, a private religious university in South Carolina, banned interracial dating, and it rescinded the ban only after a visit by presidential candidate George W. Bush provoked a national controversy.” (Johnson, 2003, p. 6)

## 9 Transformation of the Eugenics Movement

The Eugenics Movement reached its peak in the 1920's. The Sterilization programs throughout the United States were in full bloom and Eugenicists, scientists, politicians and physicians claimed that there was a need for a healthy, custom bread society. With the Sterilization movement, the perception of motherhood changed. To become and to be a mother was no longer seen as universal or accessible by everybody, it was seen as a "privilege". Only responsible women would decide to become a mother, only those with good germ plasm and good traits would decide to carry a baby. The same concept was regarded in terms of Sterilization: those who understood, that their germ plasm is not "desirable" would choose Sterilization over the risk of reproducing out of their own responsibility towards society.

The transformation in thinking about family planning was even more visible, when the great economic crisis hit the US. The depression played in favor of the Eugenics Movement. Since money was in short supply and jobs were scarce, people thought twice before they got married and started a family. The future was insecure, which consequently led to fewer marriages. The "single-household" became more and more common. The decrease of the marriage rate had direct impact on the birth rate and even within marriages the decision of having children was increasingly becoming harder to take. Potential parents were questioning themselves whether they should bring new life into a world that has no future. Of course, it needs to be added, that the situation during the great depression was not easy – the ones that had jobs lived on very small wages, and earned hardly enough to make a living, not to mention supporting a family. "The rate of childlessness reached a record high in the 1920s and 1930s, and the birthrate would not begin to increase until the postwar era." (Kline, 2005, p. 62)

The separation of reproduction and marriage and seeing sexual intercourse as a separate action was a development, which was observed very skeptically by a large part of society. In the 1870's at its peak, it led to a development called the Comstock law, named after Anthony Comstock. "The easy availability of birth control devices alarmed Anthony Comstock, a onetime salesman in New York City who believed that they assisted the vice trade by divorcing sex from marriage and childbearing. Tone argues that Comstock was an enemy only of open sexuality, not of private passion, but he was surely no friend of sex without fear of pregnancy even in the safe environment of a marriage. In 1873, joined by like-minded allies, he successfully lobbied for Congressional passage of a bill that branded contraception

obscene and prohibited its distribution across state lines or through the mails. Similar legislation was soon enacted in 24 States“. (Kevles, The secret history of birth control, 2001, July 22)

With the introduction of contraceptive devices, the discussion about birth control gained a whole new dynamic. On the one hand it was seen as a development that “clashed with [...] conceptions of femininity, maternity and progress”, being responsible for the low birthrate. On the other hand it was seen as a scientific mean of improving the race. (Kline, 2005, p. 64)

With the growing of the birth control movement some of the boundaries between the movement itself and the Eugenics Movement became blurry and started to vanish slowly. Even though Eugenicists fought against being connected to the growing birth control developments, it was not seen like that from members of the public: it was agreed that both movements realized the importance of sexual education. Eugenics was seen as a scientific instrument that created a scientific language which finally made it possible to “dissociate birth control from sexual controversy” (Kline, 2005, p. 64)

Sterilizations were one of the visible consequences to the Eugenics Movement. With new research and development in the field of Sterilization, the procedure became an easy one to perform, being very low on costs and also causing few side effects or infections. It therefore had a positive effect on the Eugenics Movement and became more popular regarding the Eugenic point of view and beliefs in society. Eventually, a mean of contraception was found which led to reliable and satisfying results. The use of birth control and contraceptive devices increased dramatically - especially Sterilization caused a change in society minds and its perception of sexuality: on one hand the birth control opponents feared that through the development of such devices and its accessibility, a breakdown of sexual morality will occur as the final result. They were still convinced that sexual relationships should only be consumed for the reason of reproduction. With the implementation of birth control means and devices, this highest precept would vanish and would lead to uncontrolled sexual relations, promiscuity and the cherishing of traditional values would disappear. On the other hand the supporters of the new developments - especially within the Eugenics Movement - saw it as a breakthrough: social change and race betterment could finally happen and take place in a relatively easy way thanks to the new procedures and devices.

Dr. Lydia DeVilbiss, who was working with the New York State Department of Health and then became Chief of the division of Child Hygiene of the State Board of Kansas in the 1920's, was very passionate about the new developments and their impact on race betterment.

In her words,

“Those who love mankind must hope for the time when humanity will discover and apply those few cents worth of contraceptive prophylactics which will reduce the appearance of the syphillic foetus, now so common that it does not excite our interest, until it will be sought after as a specimen for the scientific museums. And along with the syphillic foetus we hope will go into the category of rare specimens of human physical life, the diseased, deformed and ill begotten offspring of diseased, deformed and ill begotten ancestors.” (DeVilbiss, 1921) And: “We have found we can get everybody to agree: Every child has the right to be well born.” (Kline, 2005, p.64)

For the Eugenics Movement Sterilization was a symbol of salvation not of mutilation. (Kline, 2005, p. 69) There were several reasons why these developments were seen as a breakthrough. The factor of cost has already been mentioned before. It was important that the terms of Sexuality and Reproduction were used separately. One big criterion was that Sterilization does not ‘unsex’ or become sex-less. It was very well propagated with the purpose of raising awareness with those who were affected. Even the American Medical Association – short AMA – supported the progression of Sterilization and supported it until the 1960’s.

There were several reasons why the States held on to the Sterilization programs. The best example is California, which undertook the most Sterilizations out of all American States. One of the reasons was surely that the policy has been conducted very actively in the Sonoma State Home. Patients there had the outlook of leaving the Home early and being discharged or on “probation” if they agreed to undergo the procedure. With the Sterilization becoming a popular procedure, the fear of raising promiscuity in society grew bigger. The Sonoma State Home therefore tried to prove the opposite by starting research and conducting a study. The general conclusion of the Study was that those concerns were raised without any reason since the procedure makes the patients more controllable and actually helped reducing promiscuity as well as it removed restlessness. There were several other assumptions made, for example that the operation improves the health and weight in addition to making the patients more interested in their environment and they therefore have better chances of employment. It was stated that Sterilization has a therapeutic effect on patients. That belief of course raised the misbelief that Sterilization could be the solution to turning or transforming Americans into a healthier and more intelligent race and an improved society.

Several patients, who participated in the study, described their fears and the effects the operation had on their lives after undergoing the procedure. The undertone of a big part of the participants is the same: the fear of having another baby played a very big part, or finally finding a contraceptive method that works. They then stated after the operation that it definitely had improved their health as well as their lives.

A very interesting side note in this context is, that there was one female doctor at the Sonoma State Home and she was convinced that undergoing that procedure did not have all of those therapeutically, life bettering results – the patients just realized if they state certain things and use a certain language, their chances of release and discharge grew immediately.

During the time of the big economic crisis at the end of the 1920's the birthrate dropped to a significant low. Couples and families were scared of bringing children into the world, which was initiated by their fear of the future. When a study showed, that during the crisis poorer families had more children than the wealthier ones, Eugenists became concerned immediately. Race Betterment could not take place if the poor were the ones that reproduced more. Eugenists were sure that a selective Sterilization policy was needed. The development of society, the female revolution and the emancipation and increasingly equal status of men and women, made the scientists fear, that the original and traditional family traits will be lost. They still advocated that guidelines were inevitable for the further development of the family.

At the same time a transformation in the world of academics happened. The social sciences gained support and were researching in the opposite direction of Eugenists. The research drew away from the thesis, that genes were solely responsible for inheritance and behavior, and started considering the effects that culture and environment have on said developments.

The Eugenics Movement had enormous impact on society and its academic elite in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Sterilization was praised as the solution to getting the best traits out of Americans. Herbert Spencer Jennings (John Hopkins biologist) made it clear that “even if all feeble-minded Americans were prevented from reproducing, it would take sixty-eight generations, or two to three thousand years, to decrease the proportion of feeble-minded in the population to one per ten thousand. The problem, he argued, was that “normal” people also could be carriers of feeble-mindedness.” Herbert Spencer Jennings raised a very important issue. The possibility of so-called “normal” people carrying (in any way) defective offspring was completely excluded from the Eugenic and Sterilization propaganda.

The obsession with breeding better Americans didn't stop at Eugenists or scientists: In 1929

President Herbert Hoover played a significant part in the White House Conference on Child Health. He addressed millions of Americans via the Radio. One significant part of his speech was when he stated: “These questions of child health and protection are a complicated problem requiring much learning and much action. And we need have great concern over this matter. Let no one believe that these are questions which should not stir a nation; that they are below the dignity of statesmen or governments. If we could have but one generation of properly born, trained, educated, and healthy children, a thousand other problems of government would vanish. We would assure ourselves of healthier minds in more vigorous bodies, to direct the energies of our Nation to yet greater heights of achievement. Moreover, one good community nurse will save a dozen future policemen.” (Presidency ucsb.edu) His statement was followed by statistics which obviously served the purpose of not only raising awareness to Child’s Health but also to shock and therefore probably even advertise or justify Eugenic means: “Statistics can well be used to give emphasis to our problem. One of your committees reports that out of 45 million children:

“35 million are reasonably normal. 6 million are improperly nourished. 1 million have defective speech. 1 million have weak or damaged hearts. 675,000 present behavior problems. 450,000 are mentally retarded. 382,000 are tubercular. 342,000 have impaired hearing. 18,000 are totally deaf. 300,000 are crippled. 50,000 are partially blind. 14,000 are wholly blind. 200,000 are delinquent. 500,000 are dependent.” (Presidency ucsb.edu)

With this speech, it is very obvious that President Hoover tried to shock the nation and consequently encourage them to think or rethink their position towards Sterilization. The procedure was presented as a social stabilizer for the American public and furthermore – it was the president addressing the nation regarding this issue.

Fred Butler, the Superintendent of the Sonoma State Home in California stated that by the 1930’s the responsible people at the Home conducted Sterilizations without consideration of heredity whatsoever. The main criteria and guideline was if the mother was able to care for a child or not.

## **9.1 Law for the Prevention of Offspring with Hereditary Diseases**

When in 1933 the Nazi’s came to power in Germany the main Californian Eugenicists (for

example Paul Popenoe) supported the Nazi Sterilization policy. Shortly after Hitler's takeover, a Sterilization Law was enacted: Law for the Prevention of Hereditarily Diseased Offspring ("Gesetz zur Verhütung erbkranken Nachwuchses"). American Eugenicists were involved in a very active correspondence with the scientists of the Nazi regime to exchange outcomes of their research as well as the knowledge already existing in the field. They finally had the feeling that the decades of research finally came to fruition. The support from the American side was very present throughout the 1930's – it only started to vanish when the persecution of the Jews in Europe became obvious and evident. A change of thinking occurred, especially regarding the term "race" – which in German is still a very sensitive term to use to this day.

The Nazi Sterilization Law was depriving several groups of the German Society of their right to decision-making and their autonomy. People who were affected by the law were divided into nine groups: those who suffer of congenital mental deficiency, Schizophrenia, Manic-depression, Hereditary epilepsy, Hereditary St. Vitus' Dance (Huntington's Chorea), Hereditary blindness, Hereditary deafness, serious hereditary physical deformity, and those who are suffering from chronic alcoholism. The law stipulated, that individuals themselves could make applications to be sterilized, but in special cases (like legal incompetence or minority) the decision can be made by the legal guardian, or if the individual was an inmate of a state home or institution, the decision could be made by the head of the institution. The law regulates the Sterilization application and also points out that, state physicians and Eugenic experts are involved in the Sterilization process (this paragraph was most likely added to the law to maintain the appearance and show that much thought and professionalism was put into it. The most shocking, but for the Nazi regime typical, paragraph is the last one. It states that "once the Court has decided on Sterilization, the operation must be carried out even against the will of the person to be sterilized, unless that person applied for it himself. The state physician has to attend the necessary measures with the police authorities. Where other measures are insufficient, direct force may be used." (German History Docs)

This law shows very clearly that breeding a uniform German, Aryan society was the main goal and Sterilization was one of the ways to go – and with enacting the law it was also the legal way to do so.

## 9.2 The Cooper Hewitt Case

In 1914 Ann Cooper Hewitt was born. Years later she would become famous for fighting against compulsory Sterilization and trying to protect her inheritance.

Ann's father was very wealthy and the fortune of the family goes back to the 18<sup>th</sup> century, when Peter Cooper, the great-grandfather of Ann pioneered and played an important role in manufacturing the first steam locomotive in the United States. The double last name "Cooper Hewitt" was the consequence of the cooperation of the two families not only on a business level but also in personal relationships. Ann's father himself was also responsible for several new inventions for example the first vacuum tube amplifier. The Company grew strong over the decades and made millions of Dollars.

Ann's personal story starts out quite complicated: She was born out of wedlock as the daughter of Peter Cooper Hewitt and Maryon Denning. Maryon was Peter Cooper Hewitt's mistress and when Peter was divorced from his first wife, he married Maryon. She became Mrs. Hewitt II and at that point Ann was already 4 years old. Peter Cooper Hewitt died when Ann was 7. In his will, he inherited a third of his fortune to his wife and left two thirds for Ann, which she would get when she turned 21. If Ann would have children, her kids would inherit the rest of the money – if she remains childless the fortune would go back to her mother.

Shortly before Ann turned 21, she suffered of appendicitis. In the course of that operation she was also (and without her knowledge or agreement) sterilized and thereof had no chance to ever have children on her own. As it turned out later on, Ann's mother agreed to the procedure and since Ann was still a minor; her mother was her legal guardian.

A family feud that would make history started, as soon as Ann found out that she was sterilized. She argued that her mother did it on purpose so that the fortune of Peter Cooper Hewitt will remain hers alone. Ann also claimed that her mother was cold and calculating and that that behavior fit her perfectly as the past proves it. Maryon Denning was already married twice before and after Mr. Hewitt Cooper she again got married twice. At the time when her daughter started pressing charges against her, she was being referred to as Mrs. Maryon Andrews Bruguire Denning Hewitt d'Erlanger McCarter.

Mrs. Maryon based her defense on the fact that her daughter was feeble-minded and always has been. She justified her decision with the argument that she was doing the best for her

daughter and for society by having her daughter sterilized and taking the possibility of Ann ever reproducing most possibly feeble-minded offspring from her.

Ann Cooper Hewitt stated on the other side, that her mother has always been greedy and never really cared for her.

The fight was a prolonged case and charges were also pressed against the doctors, who completed the operation. Both parties had witnesses to testify for their case. At one point it was declared that if Ann Cooper Hewitt was considered a “high grade moron”, it was really hard to diagnose them, because they could easily pass as “normal”.

When the case was finally brought to court there were two positions: The state’s opinion indicated that doctors were acting maliciously and feloniously. The defense on the other hand claimed that their actions were ethical and in good faith. (Kline, 2005, p 114) In the end it never came to a real trial since the judge thought the case was a waste of money. The end of the hearing was justified with the argument that Ann Cooper Hewitt was still a minor at the time of the operation and her mother was her legal guardian. Since the mother agreed to the procedure, neither the mother nor the doctors had to fear consequences.

### **9.3 The fear of “race suicide”**

The transformation of the Eugenics Movement started in the 1930’s. Many Eugenacists, scientists, politicians and people in educational positions turned slowly away from negative Eugenics which consisted mostly of pointing out the differences in certain groups of society and therefore denouncing them, towards so called positive Eugenics. It was still Eugenics and the main and original ideas stayed the same but it was chosen to raise awareness another way: the Eugenics Movement had of course its critics and people who fought against it. The case of Ann Cooper Hewitt was probably one of the situations that raised the most criticism about Eugenic policies and the science itself. The reason was that the media was involved and many newspaper articles were published and the case therefore attracted attention in the public. On the other hand society itself was undergoing a significant transformation: changing gender roles, homosexuality, salary earning women, and of course the great depression at the end of the 1920’s had a huge impact on creating and adjusting to new circumstances. The perception of the traditional family started to change and scientists started to think of the unit “family” as an endangered one. The relatively high divorce rate (which was one out of six marriages by

the end of the 1930's) (Kline, 2005, p. 124) contributed greatly to the fear of race suicide. Emergency measurements had to be installed in people's everyday lives to prevent Americans from race suicide. The change had to be made from pointing out the unfit and feeble-minded and also the ones who were responsible for the reproduction of defective offspring, to making people aware of the values of family life. A family was advertised as a safe unit. With creating, cherishing and following the traditional way of such a unit everybody could help in saving the American race. However, the choice of raising a family should not be made randomly: both partners should be educated in the values of a family and the responsibilities that come with it. They should still be aware of the fact that when they reproduce they pass on traits and characteristics. Of course the positive Eugenic point of view now included the environment as an important factor in the development of a child but at the same time they made the parents responsible in creating a safe environment for the child to grow up in. The new goal was to educate the developing generation on how to pick a mate to reproduce (with the same goals and intentions in mind) and therefore create a safe environment which consequently leads to marital and maternal happiness and companionship.

### **9.3.1 Medicine and Family (-planning)**

Since genes were no longer the only factor responsible for reproducing defective or unfit offspring, it was clearly noted that the environment played a significant part in the development of children. The importance of a functioning and safe family was stated as an important factor from the 1930's onwards. Science and medicine also adapted to these new theories. The research now concentrated on preserving this valuable - but easy to destroy - unit "family" right from the beginning, before marriage or creation of a family even took place.

In medicine there were several new attempts to prevent unhappy, childless marriages from the beginning. Doctor Robert Dickinson concentrated his studies on sex research, the female anatomy and gynecology. He was one of the first doctors who collected the sexual history of his patients. When patients were first consulting him, he was taking his time to examine them, and in relation to what they told him, he also began drawing sketches of the patient's anatomy. (Hu Berlin) Dickinson was convinced, his role as a doctor could prevent young

couples from rushing into an unhappy marriage. He proposed that any couple should seek him before even announcing that they are engaged and he would examine the couple and play a role similar to a couples counselor. Dickinson would study the woman's body and examine her to see if she was able to bear children. The main idea of performing the physical check was to prevent couples from getting divorced. In his point of view a marriage was supposed to fail if there were no children. He thought that with the examination of the couple (whereas in his research it was only one part of the couple – the woman) he would state precautionary measurement against divorces. He proposed that he could also educate them in the fields of coitus, contraception, Sterilization, and sterility.

Robert Dickinson was also very aware of, what was referred to in those decades as the “phenomenon” of homosexuality. It was primarily thought of as an urban phenomenon and a problem that could be trained away with simple training and education in a heterosexual atmosphere. Homosexuality would be gone or could be reversed; the people concerned even have the chance to have a family with its traditional values.

Lewis Terman, a popular psychologist and Eugenacist as well, discovered another approach to reach the final goal of a happy family. His research was concentrated solely on homosexuality and how to measure it or to the precision of indicating homosexuality in people. He therefore invented a test (testing was very popular throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century: IQ testing, high grade moron testing, etc.) which he called “m-f testing” which is short for masculinity - femininity testing. The test included several questions and there were answers that were considered as masculine and answers that were considered especially feminine. The test included many yes or no questions and some had a choice of answers to be chosen from. The possible answers were beforehand rated as more masculine or more feminine. For a better understanding, here some examples:

"Marigold is a kind of fabric (+), flower (-), grain (-), stone (+). A “+” answer gave the tester a point for masculinity, a “-“ gave a point for femininity (a significant choice of symbols: masculinity scored as positive; femininity as negative). Also present on the test were yes or no questions, such as “Are you extremely careful about your manner of dress?” (“yes” signified feminine; “no” signified masculine), and true or false questions, such as “Children should be taught never to fight” (“true” was a feminine response, “false” a masculine one). (Kline, 2005 p. 135)

### 9.3.2 Education meets Heredity

Throughout the transformation of society and its living and educational standards, the Eugenics Movement was forced to adjust to the new environment. There were several reasons for the transformation of the ideal of a typical family. The Economic Crisis in the late 1920's and a far reach into the next decade, was one of the major triggers. The beginning of World War II was another factor in altering the state of society. Since a lot of husbands and men were in the Army, an increased percentage of women started living by themselves, making their own money and being single mothers.

It was not enough anymore to base arguments on scientific outcomes or so-called facts. One of the reasons was the possibility for a broader range of people to have access to the educational system. The reaction by Eugenicists to meet the new needs of society was to educate young people in heredity and to point out the importance of examination when choosing a mate to reproduce.

Paul Popenoe, one of the main Eugenicists in the United States and also, as already mentioned before, someone who played a significant role in California regarding the States Sterilization Law, wrote several articles about the educational system and its responsibility to educate the coming generation in heredity, parenthood and marriage. Since the environmental circumstances changed, it was necessary that schools and universities adjust to the new situation. Popenoe pointed out several injustices and wrong-doings within the school system and proposed solutions. Popenoe also had a change of mind: instead of focusing on the unfit he was now focusing on the fit and functioning families. Popenoe founded an Institute that dealt with family issues. The American Institute of Family Relations became very successful and popular over time, which by 1962 resulted in a number of 70 employees. The Institute was very active in the greater area of Los Angeles – it claimed to have saved 75 000 couples or marriages through its work.

Popenoe started a marriage counseling wave throughout the States. He soon became popular all over the US – he was probably one of the first ones who knew how to use media for his own purposes and he soon became known as the man who saves marriages. He had his own TV show where he invited couples to talk about their relationship problems and give them advice on air. This was one of the first forms of US talk shows. He also had a counseling radio show, working by the same pattern. He gave the advice seeking couples tips based on the latest scientific research. By the time Popenoe became famous, the politics of the Nazis

had already become public, but he managed to separate his council from Nazi ideas – even though his core message was that one needs to be family oriented to help prevent and fight against race suicide. He used Nazi vocabulary but not as obviously as the Nazi's did. His messages had a slightly more positive connotation, even though it clearly separated between the “good” and the “bad” American family founders.

Popenoe's American Institute of Family Relations offered premarital conferences. The main purpose was to detect the ones that do not provide the basic characteristics and attributes to make a marriage work and would therefore in the long run fail and divorce (divorce was of course seen as failure). The research included studies on the individual, taking the personal and family history as well as the physical examination into account.

Popenoe was an author for the Ladies Home Journal. Next to his appearances on TV and Radio the Journal was probably the best working instrument to reach his potential target group. He conducted articles for the magazine and spread his opinions and the newest results of scientific research. The largest part of the magazine's readership was white-middle class women, most of them, housewives or stay-at-home mothers. Popenoe was advertising this position of women in society. He feared women with a college degree because according to him they were not actively helping to preserve the American Race. He also pointed out that the divorce rate was higher when women are college educated. (Kline, 2005, p. 148)

According to him it was of major importance to support those teachers that really had an impact on their students, the ones that reached them and had the chance to influence their further development. Popenoe had troubles with accepting single female teachers because he was convinced that they would pass on the wrong values and encourage students to follow a career and to not create a family and a home. It was also important to adjust the curriculum to education in parenthood and marriage: it should start in freshman year and accompany the students until they graduate. Even though, there were already classes like that existing, Popenoe still had the feeling that this wasn't enough and there should be more. He was also concerned about his observation that homemaking and home-ec classes weren't taken seriously and transported a feeling of doing something “minor”.

In his article Popenoe also states that most College students have already made up a certain picture of their future husband or wife. They choose specific criteria and characteristics the mate is supposed to have. According to Popenoe one of the main problems is, that they are not aware of hereditary traits. They need to evaluate heredity properly and become aware of the

impact it (might) have on the future offspring. When picking a mate it is important to see the whole picture and not only concentrate and consider the intellectual basis. “Knowledge of human heredity and interpretation of this knowledge should be an inescapable part of the curriculum.” (Popenoe, Preparation of Students for Marriage, 1930)

Popenoe didn’t support the equality movement between men and women either. He states in his article that the thinking of the equality is completely imaginary and that equality only exists in Mathematics not in Nature. He bases his statement on the fact that every single cell between men and women is different – and from the biological and genetically point of view he’s right, but he obviously didn’t consider that equality wasn’t based on genes but on the position and perception of both sexes in society.

Popenoe concludes with the statement: “The principal need is not new professors, new laboratories, new endowments; it is merely the need of recognition, on the part of all those who make up a college, that the family is the central fact in human life, and a determination to make the college course square with this fact.” (Popenoe, Preparation of Students for Marriage, 1930)

The transformation of the movement and how it wanted to be perceived is pretty obvious in Popenoe’s article. They tried to raise awareness to heredity and its consequences, the difference this time was, that it was not just scientists stating “facts” and explaining heredity. The experts already expected society to know about how characteristics and traits are inherited and since one couldn’t deny that the environment played a major role in the development of people, the leaders of the movement had to change routes and try to raise awareness on another level. Maybe pointing out the fact that the educational system has a huge responsibility in educating students on how to be a good mate or on how to build a family wasn’t event too bad for the movement. It was now kind of a shared responsibility and it might even have been a little “convenient” for the movement’s leaders. It was now the 1930’s and 1940’s – a big change took place in the development of society and as well in science. And it also occurred that not all of the followers were trusting in the heredity science unquestioned. Doubts on the effect of heredity as preached were raised for a number of times.

## 10 Conclusion

The dominance and power of the Eugenics Movement and scientific research was as well ambivalent in intellectual circles. Novelists and authors were dealing with the topics of an “inferior” race and feeble-mindedness. Erskine Caldwell was one of the authors who wrote a bestseller called “The Bastard”. The book was published in 1929 and combined all the prejudices, the latest research as well as the then widespread public opinions on the unfit. It was about a boy who the child of a dancer, born out of wedlock with an unknown father. The story describes his growing up and becoming a man. But he doesn’t grow up to be a honorable person – his life starts getting out of control: his family constellation was already the first indicator that his life would be a mess. He starts drinking and sleeping around, at one point he sleeps with his own mother, he sleeps with a black girl, he becomes violent, and he rapes a girl. When he reproduces with another girl who shares his last name and when the baby eventually is labeled a “freak” he decides to kill the baby and return to his old life out of control.

Caldwell was a controversial American author growing up in the South of the United States. He was very successful with his writing. His books were translated in 43 different languages and Caldwell sold over 80 million books worldwide. (Erskine Caldwell) “The Bastard” was his first book and also a big success. If you skim through the plot the book clearly reflects the issues that society in the US dealt with at the time of the Great depression. It also deals with the main Eugenic and racist topics: giving birth to children out of wedlock, alcoholism, sexual overly active.

The scientific racist and eugenic ideas conquered and protruded to all levels of US society (politicians, scientists, intellectuals, doctors etc.) and showed clearly the climate in the US in the 1930’s – not only a national but also an international scientific construct was built. In Germany the Nazi’s praised Eugenic politics, and Sweden started a Sterilization program also by the 1930’s. It was a scientifically acceptably theory and ideologies were built around the outcomes of the research.

The theories that made Scientific Racism and Eugenics legitimate were different ones. But remarkably the development of scientific racist ideas and Eugenics were developing at the same time in different parts of the world. There was Darwinism and Francis Galton’s in the UK and US and in Germany scientists, and philosophers started thinking about racial hygiene. Augustin Morel, a French psychiatrist who was born in 1809 in Vienna and moved to France,

was working on the principle of “degeneration” which was not only in the human gene pool but could be also caused by influences from outside: for instance the poisoning of the body with alcohol. The abnormality of every characteristic is responsible for a chain reaction and brings degradation with it, which gets not only inherited to future offspring but also worse from generation to generation.

The principle of “degeneration” was as well advertised in the German speaking areas. Friedrich Nietzsche one of the most famous and important philosophers also played with the idea of “degeneration”. He already feared that domesticating society would lead to a significant grade of degeneration in the human beings. Nietzsche was one of the pioneers when it comes to the thinking that the human race needs to reform. Everyone has to be aware of his body and take care of it otherwise human beings would become extinct eventually. Nietzsche also advertised in a way to be aware of the “unfit” and to enact regulations to prevent their reproduction. He was thinking of a scenario where there was a strict procedure of selecting those who would be approved of reproduction. His ideas even went further and very similar to later Eugenicist ideas, when he suggested that there should be a precise separation between reproduction and sexuality and marriage should only serve the purpose of higher development of the species. (Weingart, 1992, p. 71)

At the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century the Eugenics Movement was originally seen as a left wing theory. Through its similarities to Social Darwinism it got a right wing push and found its worldwide peak with the Eugenically based Nazi politics. The cruelty of the Nazi politics left the world in incomprehensibility and shock and at the same time made the American Eugenics Movement forgotten. One cannot probably compare the cruelty of the movements on the two continents, but nevertheless more than 30000 compulsory Sterilizations were conducted in California alone, marriage laws were enacted reminding us very much of the Nuremberg racial laws. They had the exception of the so called “one drop rule” which was basically enacted to accept the offspring of Captain Smith and Pocahontas and therefore keep up the romantic appearances of the US History. The rule resembles a lot the Nazi classification of Jews in “a quarter, an eighth, a sixteenth” Jew.

It seems unbelievable how scientists, politicians and as well parts of the intellectual elite were convinced that genes determine complex constructions such as social behavior. The Eugenics Movement found its peak in the US with the start of the Sterilization program. The only purpose of the program was, to prevent Americans from the unfit, but basically the concerned people can be basically divided up in three main groups: the ones that were sterilized out of

hereditary motivation, out of the fear that they would pass on bad germ plasm to their offspring, criminals that were sterilized as a form of punishment, and the ones that were sterilized for a therapeutically healing effect. In all the cases there was a large number of Non-whites, Non-Americans Sterilizations.

This paper shows only a small part of the US Eugenics and Scientific Racism movement. But even with the focus on this little puzzle piece the impact the movement had on politics, especially social politics is obvious.



## 11 Annex

### 11.1 Short overview and timeline of the US Eugenic Movement

[http://www2.facinghistory.org/campus/rm.nsf/timeline\\_american\\_html.htm?OpenPage](http://www2.facinghistory.org/campus/rm.nsf/timeline_american_html.htm?OpenPage)

|             |                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
|-------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1907        | <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Indiana passes first eugenic sterilization law</li></ul>                                                                                                               |
| 1911        | <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• First International Congress of Eugenics, London</li><li>• Eugenics Record Office established at Cold Spring Harbor</li></ul>                                          |
| 1912-1914   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• First mass use of standardized IQ Test in USA: Ellis Island, created by Henry Goddard</li></ul>                                                                        |
| 1915        | <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• First National Conference on Race Betterment held at Battle Creek, Mi.</li><li>• Race Betterment Foundation begun, largest eugenic center in the Midwest</li></ul>     |
| 1917        | <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• US Army administered 8 Alpha and Beta Tests to 1.7 million recruits. Created by Henry Goddard, Lewis Terman, and Robert Yerkes.</li></ul>                              |
| 1918        | <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• The Galton Society established in NYC. Prestigious group of academics and funders endorse racist policies in American society</li></ul>                                |
| 1920 - 1924 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Harry Laughlin is appointed Expert Eugenics Agent for the House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.</li></ul>                                                 |
| 1921        | <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Second International Congress of Eugenics, New York.</li></ul>                                                                                                         |
| 1924        | <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Immigration Restriction Act.</li><li>• Virginia Act to Preserve Racial Integrity.</li></ul>                                                                            |
| 1925        | <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• The American Eugenics Society founded with focus on influencing American education and popular culture.</li></ul>                                                      |
| 1927        | <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Supreme Court Decision of Buck v Bell.</li></ul>                                                                                                                       |
| 1929        | <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Human Betterment Foundation established in Pasadena, Ca. Large focus on sterilization and will become most eugenics institution once the ERO closes in 1939.</li></ul> |
| 1932        | <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Third International Congress on Eugenics, New York.</li></ul>                                                                                                          |

|      |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
|------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1935 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• South Carolina 31st and last state to pass a eugenic sterilization law.</li> <li>• Nazi Nuremberg Laws passed; modeled in part on American anti-miscegenation laws.</li> </ul>                                                    |
| 1939 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Edinburgh: 7th International Congress of Geneticists, first signed statement by a group of scientists condemning eugenics on scientific and ethical grounds.</li> <li>• ERO closes, Carnegie Foundation pulls funding.</li> </ul> |
| 1967 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Loving v. Virginia: Warren court strikes down the Racial Integrity Act of 1924 in Va., along with 15 other state anti-miscegenation laws.</li> </ul>                                                                              |
| 1972 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Some of eugenic state sterilization laws removed</li> </ul>                                                                                                                                                                       |
| 1994 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The controversial best seller, <i>The Bell Curve</i>, is published making latter day eugenic arguments on race and intelligence.</li> </ul>                                                                                       |

## 11.2 Short overview and timeline of the US policy on immigration and Naturalization

[http://www.flowofhistory.org/themes/movement\\_settlement/uspolicytimeline.php](http://www.flowofhistory.org/themes/movement_settlement/uspolicytimeline.php)

|      |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
|------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1790 | Congress adopts uniform rules so that any free white person could apply for citizenship after two years of residency.                                                                                                                                                                                      |
| 1798 | <u>Alien and Sedition Acts</u> required 14 years of residency before citizenship and provided for the deportation of "dangerous" aliens. Changed to five-year residency in 1800.                                                                                                                           |
| 1819 | First significant federal legislation on immigration. Includes reporting of immigration and rules for passengers from US ports bound for Europe                                                                                                                                                            |
| 1846 | Irish of all classes emigrate to the United States as a result of the potato famine.                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| 1857 | Dred Scott decision declared free Africans non-citizens.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| 1864 | Contract Labor Law allowed recruiting of foreign labor.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| 1868 | African Americans gained citizenship with <u>13th Amendment</u> .                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
| 1875 | <i>Henderson v. Mayor of New York</i> decision declared all state laws governing immigration unconstitutional; Congress must regulate "foreign commerce." Charity workers, burdened with helping immigrants, petition Congress to exercise authority and regulate immigration. Congress prohibits convicts |

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|      | and prostitutes from entering the country.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| 1880 | The U.S. population is 50,155,783. More than 5.2 million immigrants enter the country between 1880 and 1890.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| 1882 | <u>Chinese Exclusion Act</u> . First federal immigration law suspended Chinese immigration for 10 years and barred Chinese in U.S. from citizenship. Also barred convicts, lunatics, and others unable to care for themselves from entering. Head tax placed on immigrants.                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| 1885 | Contract Labor Law. Unlawful to import unskilled aliens from overseas as laborers. Regulations did not pertain to those crossing land borders.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| 1888 | For the first time since 1798, provisions are adopted for expulsion of aliens.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| 1889 | <u>Jane Addams</u> founds Hull-House on Chicago's Near West Side.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| 1890 | Foreign-born in US were 15% of population (14% in Vermont); more arriving from southern and eastern Europe ("new immigrants") than northern and western ("old immigrants"). <u>Jacob Riis</u> publishes "How the Other Half Lives."                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| 1891 | Bureau of Immigration established under the Treasury Department. More classes of aliens restricted including those who were monetarily assisted by others for their passage. Steamship companies were ordered to return ineligible immigrants to countries of origin.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |
| 1892 | <u>Ellis Island</u> opened to screen immigrants entering on east coast. (Angel Island screened those on west coast.) Ellis Island officials reported that women traveling alone must be met by a man, or they were immediately deported.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| 1902 | Chinese Exclusion Act renewed indefinitely.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| 1903 | Anarchists, epileptics, polygamists, and beggars ruled inadmissible.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
| 1905 | Construction of <u>Angel Island Immigration Station</u> began in the area known as China Cove. Surrounded by public controversy from its inception, the station was finally put into operation in 1910. Although it was billed as the "Ellis Island of the West", within the Immigration Service it was known as "The Guardian of the Western Gate" and was designed control the flow of Chinese into the country, who were officially not welcome with the passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882. |
| 1906 | Procedural safeguards enacted for naturalization. Knowledge of English becomes a basic requirement.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| 1907 | Head tax is raised. People with physical or mental defects, tuberculosis, and                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |

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|      | children unaccompanied by a parent are added to the exclusion list. Japan agreed to limit emigrants to US in return for elimination of segregating Japanese students in San Francisco schools.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| 1910 | <u>Dillingham Report</u> from Congress assumed inferiority of "new immigrants" from southern and eastern Europe and suggested a literacy test to restrict their entry. (William P. Dillingham was a Senator from Vermont.)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| 1917 | Immigration Act provided for literacy tests for those over 16 and established an "Asiatic Barred Zone," which barred all immigrants from Asia.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| 1921 | Quota Act of 1921 limited immigrants to 3% of each nationality present in the US in 1910. This cut southern and eastern European immigrants to less than 1/4 of those in US before WW I. Asians still barred; no limits on western hemisphere. Non-quota category established: wives, children of citizens, learned professionals, and domestic servants not counted in quotas.                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| 1922 | Japanese made ineligible for citizenship.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| 1924 | <u>Quotas</u> changed to 2% of each nationality based on numbers in US in 1890. Based on surnames (many anglicized at Ellis Island) and not the census figures, 82% of all immigrants allowed in the country came from western and northern Europe, 16% from southern and eastern Europe, 2% from the rest of the world. As no distinctions were made between refugees and immigrants, this limited Jewish emigres during 1930s and 40s.<br><br>Despite protests from many native people, Native Americans made citizens of the United States. Border Patrol established. |
| 1929 | The annual quotas of the 1924 Act are made permanent.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |
| 1940 | Provided for finger printing and registering of all aliens.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| 1943 | In the name of unity among the Allies, the Chinese Exclusion Laws were repealed, and China's quota was set at a token 105 immigrants annually. Basis of the Bracero Program established with importation of agricultural workers from North, South, and Central America.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| 1946 | Procedures adopted to facilitate immigration of foreign-born wives, fiancé(e)s, husbands, and children of US armed forces personnel.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
| 1948 | Displaced Persons Act allowed 205,000 refugees over two years; gave priority to Baltic States refugees; admitted as quota immigrants. Technical provisions discriminated against Catholics and Jews; those were dropped in 1953, and 205,000 refugees were accepted as non-quota immigrants.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| 1950 | The grounds for exclusion and deportation are expanded. All aliens required                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |

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|------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|      | to report their addresses annually.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| 1952 | <u>Immigration and Nationality Act</u> eliminated race as a bar to immigration or citizenship. Japan's quota was set at 185 annually. China's stayed at 105; other Asian countries were given 100 a piece. Northern and western Europe's quota was placed at 85% of all immigrants. Tighter restrictions were placed on immigrants coming from British colonies in order to stem the tide of black West Indians entering under Britain's generous quota. Non-quota class enlarged to include husbands of American women.                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| 1953 | The 1948 refugee law expanded to admit 200,000 above the existing limit                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| 1965 | Hart-Celler Act abolished national origins quotas, establishing separate ceilings for the eastern (170,000) and western (120,000) hemispheres (combined in 1978). Categories of preference based on family ties, critical skills, artistic excellence, and refugee status.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| 1978 | Separate ceilings for Western and Eastern hemispheric immigration combined into a worldwide limit of 290,000.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
| 1980 | The <u>Refugee Act</u> removes refugees as a preference category; reduces worldwide ceiling for immigration to 270,000.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| 1986 | Immigration Reform and Control Act provided for amnesty for many illegal aliens and sanctions for employers hiring illegals.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| 1989 | A bill gives permanent status to non-immigrant registered nurses who have lived in US for at least three years and met established certification standards.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| 1990 | Immigration Act of 1990 limited unskilled workers to 10,000/year; skilled labor requirements and immediate family reunification major goals. Continued to promote nuclear family model. Foreign-born in US was 7%.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| 2001 | <u>USA Patriot Act</u> amended the Immigration and Nationality Act to broaden the scope of aliens ineligible for admission or deportable due to terrorist activities to include an alien who: (1) is a representative of a political, social, or similar group whose political endorsement of terrorist acts undermines U.S. antiterrorist efforts; (2) has used a position of prominence to endorse terrorist activity, or to persuade others to support such activity in a way that undermines U.S. antiterrorist efforts (or the child or spouse of such an alien under specified circumstances); or (3) has been associated with a terrorist organization and intends to engage in threatening activities while in the United States. |

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## 13 Abstracts

Scientific Racism bezeichnet eine starke wissenschaftliche Bewegung in den USA im 20. Jahrhundert. Ausgehend von der Mendel'schen Vererbungslehre, wurden die Ergebnisse und Erkenntnisse der Weitergabe von dominanten und rezessiven Erbgut an die Nachkommen in der Tier- und Pflanzenwelt beinahe deckungsgleich auf den Reproduktionsprozess des Menschen angewandt. Der wissenschaftlich begründete Rassismus entstand relativ rasch durch die Unterstützung von namhaften Forschern und Wissenschaftler und der gleichzeitigen Entwicklung der Eugenik Bewegung in den USA.

Durch die Verknüpfung der beiden Komponenten, Eugenik und wissenschaftlich begründeter Rassismus, wurde in den USA eine Bewegung losgetreten, die –begünstigt durch die Wirtschaftskrise und der Sklaven-Vergangenheit des Landes – schnell Anklang in der Gesellschaft fand. Politiker, Wissenschaftler, Ärzte bekamen gleichermaßen in die Bewegung involviert was zum Start zahlreicher Programme „zum Schutz des eigenen, amerikanischen Blutes“ führte, und in Programmen wie beispielsweise „Zwangssterilisations-Programmen“ gipfelten.

Die Arbeit versucht die Hintergründe und die Entwicklungen dieses noch jungen und schockierenden Kapitels der US Geschichte zu behandeln.

Scientific Racism is mostly known as a social and scientific phenomenon in the United States. In the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century American scientists spent millions of dollars on research in order to prove that certain groups of Americans are superior to others by birth. The foundation of this movement was built when Mendel first explained his outcomes on his research on genetics. The movement eventually took different directions and soon found its way into US social politics: laws for Compulsory (forced) Sterilization were enacted, in schools students were educated on how to find a good husband or wife for demographic reasons and of course the racial problem between the black and the white population intensified.

Participants and supporters of the movement were to be found within all social groups: doctors as well as the general society and high profiled scientist were equally involved another supporting factor was the big economic crisis in the 1920's and 1930's.

# Curriculum vitae

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### EDUCATION

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|             |                                                        |
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| Since 2004  | Studies of Political Science; University of Vienna     |
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### WORK EXPERIENCE

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