

**REPORTS OF THE ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON  
RENAMING JORDAN HALL AND REMOVING THE STATUE OF LOUIS AGASSIZ**

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September 14, 2020

To: Marc Tessier-Lavigne, President, Stanford University

From: Advisory Committee on Renaming Jordan Hall and Removing the Statue of Louis Agassiz\*

Dear President Tessier-Lavigne:

You charged our Committee with applying the *Principles and Procedures for Renaming Buildings and Other Features at Stanford University* (hereinafter, Principles)<sup>1</sup> to evaluate requests to rename Jordan Hall, to extend the Principles to address requests for the removal of public monuments, and to apply that approach to the statue of Louis Agassiz.

The Committee solicited extensive feedback from a number of different constituencies in order to inform our deliberations and decision. We hosted a Zoom Town Hall open to all members of the Stanford community as well as surrounding localities, which 206 people attended and at which over 20 people spoke. We hosted a separate Town Hall that alumni were encouraged to attend, and engaged in specific outreach to those who had majored in Biology and Psychology, the principal departments that have occupied Jordan Hall within the past century. That Town Hall had 100 attendees and 18 speakers. We additionally met with groups of Psychology faculty members, faculty members from Biology, and others working in genetics and bioethics. We contacted occupants of the Jordan Quad and Jordan Modulares too. We also spoke directly with several graduate students. We touched base as well with several historians working at Stanford on related subjects.

We likewise sought and considered numerous comments. We received 52 comments collected by Psychology Department graduate student Sai Auelua-Toomey and the Psychology Diversity Committee. We collected over 200 comments through the [campusnames@stanford.edu](mailto:campusnames@stanford.edu) e-mail address.

Our application of the principles incorporates many of the considerations participants raised in these settings, whether referenced specifically or generally.

Our Committee also engaged in extensive research. There has been no scholarly biography of David Starr Jordan since Edward McNall Burns' 1953 *David Starr Jordan*:

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\* The Advisory Committee on Renaming Jordan Hall and Removing the Statue of Louis Agassiz (hereinafter the "Committee") wishes to express our gratitude for the invaluable assistance of graduate researchers Emma Grace Brush (Ph.D. Candidate in English) and Sonia Xiarui Giebel (Ph.D. Candidate in Higher Education and Sociology of Education), Marita de Guzman (Project Manager, President's Office Operations), Stanford University archivist Josh Schneider, and Stanford University archaeologist Laura Jones, all of whose efforts were crucial to the Committee's work.

<sup>1</sup> For the document articulating the Principles, see <https://campusnames.stanford.edu/wp-content/uploads/sites/14/2018/03/Stanford-Renaming-Principles-final.pdf>.

*Prophet of Freedom*, although many have recently written scholarly articles or books that touch on his eugenic commitments. In order to make its own independent assessment of the strength and clarity of historical evidence, the Committee has checked all of the footnotes of the relevant sources and only included information that could be verified from primary materials. The Committee also focused principally and substantially on Jordan's own writings, examining both published and unpublished materials. With respect to Louis Agassiz, the Committee largely relied on the substantial secondary literature about his life and work.

Because the Jordan Hall renaming raises somewhat different issues from the Agassiz statue removal, the Committee decided to address these features in two separate reports. This summary pertains, however, to both.

### **Summary of Recommendations**

Our deliberations have been guided by Stanford's goal of creating "an inclusive, accessible, diverse and equitable university for all our members"<sup>2</sup> and Stanford's educational mission. Because of David Starr Jordan's prominence in the promotion of eugenics and significant involvement in the American eugenics movement during his tenure as the first president of Stanford University, we believe that continuing to honor him in locations where community members work or study will undermine Stanford's values. Retaining the statue of Louis Agassiz, who advocated against Black equality, would also damage Stanford's efforts to ensure equity and inclusion.

Hence our Committee recommends immediately removing the designation "Jordan Hall" from Building 420. We also recommend changing the names of the Jordan Quad and Modulares, in which community members also work and research. While we also endorse a name change for Jordan Way, at the Medical Center, the Committee recognizes that, as the Advisory Committee on Renaming Junipero Serra Features noted, an "ordinary street name" may not "have the same symbolic salience as buildings or a central focal point of campus."<sup>3</sup> Renaming Jordan Way is therefore not as urgent as the other steps, and may take place during the course of ongoing construction and planning.

One of the reasons why the Serra Committee recommended retaining Serra Street while eliminating other features named after Junipero Serra was in order to "remind[] the campus community and the larger world" of Stanford's symbolic connection with Serra. In the case of Jordan, our Committee has instead proposed extensive historical work and exhibits on Jordan and his role in Stanford history. As we discovered from speaking with many individuals in the Stanford community, the mere presence of Jordan's name furnished very little information either about him or about his service as Stanford's first president. Our suggestions for mitigation would address that deficit while also eliminating the harms currently experienced by those who experience Jordan Hall as their "home" on

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<sup>2</sup> <http://president.stanford.edu/2020/06/30/advancing-racial-justice-at-stanford/>.

<sup>3</sup> Report on Renaming Junipero Serra Features, 2, <https://campusnames.stanford.edu/pdf/Serra-Report.pdf> (hereinafter "Serra Report").

campus. We also believe that it is important to continue to display the statue of Louis Agassiz somewhere on campus in an appropriate context, in light of the statue's iconographic prominence in Stanford's history.

We also suggest that Stanford establish a standing committee to use the campus's physical space to celebrate the University's above-quoted goal. In the course of its work, that committee could also take on future renaming requests and periodically update and revise the Principles as well as hear more informally from members of campus regarding their concerns and aspirations for our physical surroundings.

## DAVID STARR JORDAN REPORT

### I David Starr Jordan

#### A) Founding President of Stanford

In March 1891, Leland and Jane Stanford invited David Starr Jordan, then president of Indiana University, to become the first president of Stanford University. The Stanfords were looking for a proponent of a more modern philosophy of higher education, different in several ways from the classic approach of European institutions and their American inheritors:

[Jordan's] educational philosophy meshed well with Leland Stanford's. They agreed that the liberal arts and sciences, pure and applied, ought to be equally fostered, and that men and women should be admitted to the new university on equal terms. There should be no set curriculum. Faculty would be encouraged in research as well as teaching. Religious services would be available but not mandatory.<sup>4</sup>

Jordan had been recommended by Andrew D. White, then president of Cornell University, whom the Stanfords had unsuccessfully approached as a candidate for the position.<sup>5</sup> While himself an undergraduate at Cornell, Jordan had met A.D. White and considered him a mentor and model.<sup>6</sup> As Jordan later emphasized in his memoir, *Days of a Man*, one of the advantages of Cornell and other American institutions like Stanford was "a perennial impulse toward progress."<sup>7</sup> Jordan embraced this ideal, along with "the recognition of 'the democracy of intellect.'"<sup>8</sup> Jordan contrasted these principles against those of longstanding East Coast institutions like Harvard, Yale, and Princeton, which had embraced traditional areas of study, remained male, still held to elements of their religious roots, largely eschewed any forms of technical training, and generally educated members of the existing elite.<sup>9</sup> Turning to the present and future rather than the past, Jordan insisted that "[t]raditions are worthy of respect only when they serve the real needs of the present."<sup>10</sup>

After accepting the invitation to become the first president of Stanford, Jordan served until 1913. It is difficult to disentangle the individual efforts of everyone involved in the founding of Stanford, particularly because many of the accounts come from Jordan's

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<sup>4</sup> Theresa Johnston, "Meet President Jordan," *Stanford Magazine* 5 (January/February 2010). In *The Voice of the Scholar* (1903), Jordan wrote "In the new university [Leland Stanford] decreed that the work in applied sciences shall be carried on side by side with that in the pure sciences and the humanities, and that, so far as may be, all lines of work included in the plan of the university shall be equally fostered." David Starr Jordan, *The Voice of the Scholar* (San Francisco: Paul Elder & Co., 1903), 192.

<sup>5</sup> Edward McNall Burns, *David Starr Jordan: Prophet of Freedom* (Stanford: Stanford UP, 1953), 10-11.

<sup>6</sup> David Starr Jordan, *The Days of a Man*, vol. 1 (Yonkers-on-Hudson: World Book Co., 1922), 79-99.

<sup>7</sup> *The Days of a Man*, vol. 1, 84.

<sup>8</sup> *The Days of a Man*, vol. 1, 80.

<sup>9</sup> See Henry Sherman Brunner, *Land-Grant Colleges and Universities, 1862-1962* (U.S. Dept. of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education, 1962), 1-3; Roger Geiger, "The Era of Multipurpose Colleges in American Higher Education, 1850-1890" and "The Crisis of the Old Order," in *The American College in the Nineteenth Century*, Roger Geiger ed. (Nashville: Vanderbilt UP, 2000), 127-129, 264-276.

<sup>10</sup> David Starr Jordan, "Lest We Forget (An Address Delivered Before the Graduating Class of 1898)" (Palo Alto: John Valentine, 1898), 17.

own pen; as he himself stated, “there were few besides myself who knew the facts in those days.”<sup>11</sup> Jordan was, however, at least in part responsible for setting the tone for several aspects of Stanford University’s character and for shepherding the nascent institution through some critical moments. Jordan set as a goal the “absolute democracy of education,” and established the major subject system—then largely an innovation.<sup>12</sup> Himself a noted naturalist and ichthyologist who contributed important discoveries to the fields in which he was working, Jordan insisted on an embrace of the scientific method, writing that “higher education should bring men into direct contact with the truth. It should help to free them from the dead hands of old traditions and to enable them to form opinions worthy of the new evidence each day brings before them.”<sup>13</sup> As a subsequent Stanford president, Donald Kennedy, summarized Jordan’s contribution: “Jordan’s own scientific accomplishments were, to be fair about it, significant but not monumental. . . . But the institutional seeds of growth [i.e. of the University] he left behind germinated into something more far-reaching than any of his own ideas. . . . Jordan’s tradition of academic democracy and affection for the practical arts were just right for the newer frontier.”<sup>14</sup> In *David Starr Jordan: Prophet of Freedom*, biographer Edward McNall Burns contended that “few university presidents could present a better record than that of Dr. Jordan in the face of trying conditions.”<sup>15</sup>

On the practical front, Jordan assembled Stanford’s first faculty, recruiting, among others, several colleagues from his former Indiana University experience.<sup>16</sup> As Jordan explained, “Fifteen professors only composed the faculty in the opening day — this at the earnest request of Mr. Stanford. . . . In selecting the initial faculty, I chose first, as already indicated, a few thoroughly tested men from the University of Indiana.”<sup>17</sup> His selection of faculty confirmed the breadth of the new University’s mission and the principle he had agreed upon with Leland Stanford, that “the Liberal Arts and Sciences, on the one hand, and the Applied Sciences . . . be both provided for from the first—the two to be kept in close relation and, so far as may be, to be equally fostered.”<sup>18</sup>

Jordan also led the university through several crises. A tumultuous and financially exigent period followed Leland Stanford’s death in 1893.<sup>19</sup> The funds for the university, as well as its founding documents, were tied up in significant litigation during this period—which Jordan called the “lean years”—to the point that Jane Stanford had to pay faculty and

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<sup>11</sup> David Starr Jordan, *The Story of a Good Woman, Jane Lathrop Stanford* (Boston: American Unitarian Association, 1912), 5.

<sup>12</sup> David Starr Jordan, *The Foundation Ideals of Stanford University* (Stanford: Stanford UP, 1915), 6-8; Orrin Leslie Elliott, *Stanford: The First Twenty-Five Years* (Stanford: Stanford UP, 1937), 65.

<sup>13</sup> *Foundation Ideals of Stanford*, 8; see *David Starr Jordan: Prophet of Freedom* (citing the derivation of the major system from Cornell).

<sup>14</sup> Theresa Johnston, *Stanford Daily*, “Meet President Jordan” (January/February 2010) at 2,12.

<sup>15</sup> *David Starr Jordan: Prophet of Freedom*, 22; *Stanford: The First Twenty-Five Years*, 50-64.

<sup>16</sup> Lulu Miller, *Why Fish Don’t Exist* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2020), 54. See also *Stanford: The First Twenty-Five Years*, 52. David Starr Jordan, *The Days of a Man*, vol. 1, 394 (1922).

<sup>17</sup> *The Days of a Man*, vol. 1, 394.

<sup>18</sup> *Stanford: The First Twenty-Five Years*, 50.

<sup>19</sup> *David Starr Jordan*, 13-14.

Jordan himself out of limited resources as her personal “servants.”<sup>20</sup> During this time, Jordan “undertook to run the University and do the best he could on the money, much or little, which Mrs. Stanford could give him.”<sup>21</sup> Similarly, the San Francisco earthquake of 1906 posed, in Stanford’s early history, “[t]he major disaster and . . . most striking event.”<sup>22</sup> Yet Jordan enthusiastically shepherded the university through recovery, and “never despaired.”<sup>23</sup>

Jordan’s influence on Stanford’s institutional growth and academic reputation also occupies a central place in the history of Palo Alto, established at the time of the university’s founding and developed in its early years.<sup>24</sup> “The early history and success of Stanford and Palo Alto is forever linked to David Starr Jordan. As Stanford’s first president he had an outsize role in the emerging community.”<sup>25</sup> Jordan’s statewide recruiting efforts in the summer of 1891 served to promote popular support of higher education across California and to extend opportunity to nontraditional and underprivileged students admitted on a “special” or probationary basis, many of whom “[had] been personally encouraged by Jordan during his summer whirlwind speaking tour.”<sup>26</sup> His creation of the Hopkins Marine Station on the Monterey Peninsula forged “a special sense of camaraderie among students and faculty” beyond the bounds of the central campus.<sup>27</sup> And, notwithstanding his international travels, Stanford and Palo Alto remained Jordan’s home until his death in 1931.

Nevertheless, Jordan’s tenure was not free of missteps and discord. Partly at the urging of Jane Stanford, Jordan removed Edward Ross, Professor of Economics and then Sociology, largely on the basis of his political views.<sup>28</sup> This action had reverberations

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<sup>20</sup> *The Days of a Man*, vol. 1, 495; *Stanford: The First Twenty-Five Years*, 251-295.

<sup>21</sup> *Stanford: The First Twenty-Five Years*, 256.

<sup>22</sup> *Stanford: The First Twenty-Five Years*, 146.

<sup>23</sup> *Stanford: The First Twenty-Five Years*, 154. Jane Stanford described Jordan as “the keystone of the University,” praising his commitment “in keeping at its helm and steering through the fog that obscured the sunlight.” In the words of a faculty member, “Without the consummate leadership of Dr. Jordan it is doubtful if its organization could have been held together.” *Stanford: The First Twenty-Five Years*, 275-276. Students, too, praised Jordan’s institutional leadership: “For twenty-two years it was Dr. Jordan’s task to carry on in this spirit, through evil fortune and good fortune, through vicissitudes of every sort, to amend, to adapt, to retrench, to expand, as the occasion demanded, but always to go forward.” *The Stanford Quad*, vol. 31 (Stanford University, 1925), 27. “Able and persevering, he guided the university through its troubled early years.” *The Stanford Quad*, vol. 48 (Stanford University, 1941), 16.

<sup>24</sup> Karen Bartholomew, Claude Brinegar, and Roxanne Nilan, eds. *A Chronology of Stanford University and Its Founders* (Stanford: Stanford Historical Society, 2001), 26.

<sup>25</sup> “Palo Alto Unified School District Renaming Schools Advisory Committee Final Report” (Palo Alto: Palo Alto Unified School District Board of Education, 2017), 14.

<sup>26</sup> *A Chronology of Stanford University and Its Founders*, 18; *Stanford University: The First Twenty-Five Years*, 87.

<sup>27</sup> *A Chronology of Stanford University and Its Founders*, 23-24; *Why Fish Don’t Exist*, 54.

<sup>28</sup> *David Starr Jordan: Prophet of Freedom*, 14-18; *Stanford University: The First Twenty-Five Years*, 326-78; Walter P. Metzger, *Academic Freedom in the Age of the University* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961), 163-171; Luther Spoehr, *Progress’ Pilgrim: David Starr Jordan and the Circle of Reform* (Ph.D dissertation, Stanford University, 1975), 147-162. It might be worth noting that Ross was, himself, a bitter opponent of immigration and a passionate supporter of eugenics. See Daniel Okrent, *The Guarded Gate* (New York: Scribner, 2019), 188-190.

throughout higher education and the outrage it generated has partly been credited with leading to twentieth-century American principles of academic freedom and the tenure system. As Matthew Finken and Robert Post have explained, “the first systematic articulation of the logic and structure of academic freedom in America, and arguably the greatest, was the 1915 *Declaration of Principles on Academic Freedom and Academic Tenure*.” The principal drafters, economist Edward Seligman and philosopher Arthur Lovejoy, had been profoundly influenced by witnessing Ross’s dismissal.<sup>29</sup>

Jordan’s relationship with Jane Stanford, by all accounts, also deteriorated over time, culminating in his controversial involvement in the aftermath of her mysterious death in 1905 in Hawaii.<sup>30</sup> Their conflict was the source of another contentious dismissal, which this time resulted in the Board of Trustees placing limitations upon the Stanford president’s power to fire faculty members. As emeritus Stanford English Professor Carnochan recounts, German Professor Julius Goebel had gained Jane Stanford’s trust and reported to her on what he took to be problems at Stanford, including Jordan’s mismanagement. Soon after Jane Stanford’s death, Jordan took it upon himself to fire Goebel, apparently on the basis of personal antagonism.<sup>31</sup> Rapidly, the Trustees, according to an account by then president Horace Davis, “recognizing the evil of such arbitrary measures, made an arrangement with Dr. Jordan whereby he was allowed to initiate all appointments, and in return for this gave up his power of summary removal.”<sup>32</sup>

Ultimately, in 1913, Jordan was removed from the presidency by vote of the Board of Trustees, a move spearheaded by Herbert Hoover, a recent addition to the Board.<sup>33</sup> At Hoover’s suggestion, Jordan assumed the role of Chancellor, a new title that was created for Jordan but that had no executive power. In the words of George Nash, Jordan had been “kicked upstairs.”<sup>34</sup> Jordan served a three-year term as Chancellor. The University board did not renew his term as Chancellor, and Jordan retired from Stanford.<sup>35</sup>

Jordan’s initial record demonstrates that Leland Stanford had secured for the first president, as he had declared he wished, “a man of good business and executive ability as

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<sup>29</sup> Matthew Finken and Robert Post, *For the Common Good: Principles of Academic Freedom* (New York: Yale UP, 2009), 30-33. While Seligman was never affiliated with Stanford, Lovejoy had resigned from the faculty to protest Ross’s treatment.

<sup>30</sup> W.B. Carnochan, “The Case of Julius Goebel: Stanford 1905,” *The American Scholar* (2003), 95-108; Lulu Miller, *Why Fish Don’t Exist*, 109-123; Susan Wolfe, “Who Killed Jane Stanford?,” *Stanford Magazine* (Sept./Oct. 2003). Professor Richard White has organized a podcast on the subject of Jane Stanford’s murder, available at <https://storytelling.stanford.edu/2016/09/01/who-killed-jane-stanford-the-podcast/>. Kevin Starr, *Americans and the California Dream, 1850-1915* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973) 330.

<sup>31</sup> Spoehr, *Progress’ Pilgrim*, 178-259.

<sup>32</sup> Carnochan, 106; see also *Stanford: The First Twenty-Five Years*, 481-493.

<sup>33</sup> George Nash, *Herbert Hoover and Stanford University* (Stanford: Hoover Institution, 1988), 34-35; *David Starr Jordan*, 20-21.

<sup>34</sup> *Herbert Hoover and Stanford University*, 35.

<sup>35</sup> Theresa Johnston, “Meet President Jordan”; *A Chronology of Stanford University and Its Founders*, 46. Elliott writes that 1916, the year of John Casper Branner’s retirement from the presidency and Jordan’s from the chancellorship, “marked the close of a distinct era in the life of Stanford University.” *Stanford University: The First Twenty-Five Years*, 571.



well as a scholar.”<sup>36</sup> The fact, however, that the Trustees decided to “kick Jordan upstairs” to the largely ceremonial position of Chancellor and that this role was not renewed three years later suggests that, as time passed, Jordan’s acuity as an early administrator came to be seen in a different light. With regard to his scholarly reputation, Jordan “was preeminent in the nation as an ichthyologist.”<sup>37</sup> Indeed, he named and catalogued thousands of new species and wrote prolifically about this work. He described, for example, “The Fishes of North and Middle America” as “the most extensive and the most tiring of my scientific writings.”<sup>38</sup> At the same time, as his biographer, Burns, acknowledged, “as a scientist he had his deficiencies.” These appeared when he ventured outside of his specialty in fish, and, principally, when he expounded upon the inheritability of human traits.

## **B) Jordan’s Embrace of and Advocacy for Eugenics**

During the past several years, scholars have increasingly brought attention to the scope of American involvement in and promotion of eugenics.<sup>39</sup> Some progressives of the early twentieth-century, who advocated for ideas that many continue to support, including reproductive rights, and environmental protection, rested their views on eugenic foundations.<sup>40</sup> For some of these individuals, eugenics was not an incidental part of their philosophy, but furnished an underpinning for their progressive advocacy. This was the case with David Starr Jordan, who was among the earliest American promoters of eugenics, his public advocacy traceable back at least to his *Footnotes on Evolution*, first published in 1898.<sup>41</sup> Jordan’s educational views, pacifism, and his opposition to imperialism, all to a greater or lesser extent, derive from his eugenic theories. His prominent position as President of Stanford University furnished a platform for the articulation of his views, and he worked to organize social and legislative reforms that extended his eugenic theories.

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<sup>36</sup> *Stanford University: The First Twenty-Five Years*, 39.

<sup>37</sup> *David Starr Jordan*, 37.

<sup>38</sup> *The Days of a Man*, vol. 1, 524.

<sup>39</sup> A note on terminology is in order. There have been and continue to be varying uses of the term “eugenics” and it is a contested word. Marouf Hasian, Jr., *The Rhetoric of Eugenics in Anglo-American Thought* (Atlanta: U of Georgia P, 1996), 2. Our Report employs “eugenics” because it is the term Jordan himself used in his writings, but we specify its implications with more precision in our discussion.

<sup>40</sup> Thomas C. Leonard, *Illiberal Reformers: Race, Eugenics and American Economics in the Progressive Era* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 2016); Nicole Mellow, “The Democratic Fit: Party Reform and the Eugenics Tool,” in *The Progressives’ Century: Political Reform, Constitutional Government, and the Modern American State*, ed. Stephen Skowronek, Stephen M. Engel, and Bruce Ackerman (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016), 197-218; Wendy Kline, *Building a Better Race: Gender, Sexuality, and Eugenics from the Turn of the Century to the Baby Boom*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 64-66; Alexandra Minna Stern, *Eugenic Nation: Faults and Frontiers of Better Breeding in Modern America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2015), 85, 142-144. As Jason Lantzer writes, “Eugenic sterilization, though it seems retrograde and authoritarian today, was a part of the Progressive ethos, advocated by scientific professionals and supported in many states by a broad upper- and middle-class constituency of educated reformers—people who believed that they knew what was best for society.” Jason S. Lantzer, “The Indiana Way of Eugenics: Sterilization Laws, 1907-74,” in *A Century of Eugenics in America: From the Indiana Experiment to the Human Genome Era*, ed. Paul A. Lombardo (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2011), 27.

<sup>41</sup> David Starr Jordan, “The Heredity of Richard Roe,” in *Footnotes to Evolution: A Series of Popular Addresses on the Evolution of Life* (New York: Appleton, 1898), 118-146. A Syllabus of Lectures on Evolution from 1892 already outlines some of the elements of the theory of race degeneration that would be found in his later work. Jordan Archives, Stanford University, Ser. 2, Box 7, folder 1.

The impact of his influence cannot be definitively ascertained, but it was exerted early and often. Hence, as one author has observed, he “became America’s first eminent eugenic theorist.”<sup>42</sup>

Jordan’s views on eugenics partly grew out of his work on fish and animal evolution. As he claimed after discussing “the condition of animal pauperism” as a component of animal evolution, “[t]he same general laws hold good among men.”<sup>43</sup> Unlike Jordan’s research on fish, however, his endorsement of human eugenics largely neglected the empirical and instead rested on the extension of Darwin’s theory of evolution by Francis Galton in England and Charles Davenport in America.<sup>44</sup> The main empirical contribution to his endorsement of eugenics arose from his visits to the valley of Aosta in Italy and encounter with a community suffering from the effects of inherited thyroid disease.<sup>45</sup> Even in 1953, Edward McNall Burns’s biography cited Jordan’s views on the ailments of this community as evidence of Jordan’s “deficiencies” as a scientist.<sup>46</sup>

“The purpose of the study of Eugenics,” he wrote, “is to know the kind of ancestors we should pick for the next generation.”<sup>47</sup> He did not agree with the “dream of enthusiasts” that it would be desirable to “form[] a superman by the processes of selective breeding.”<sup>48</sup> In Jordan’s view, eugenic theory carried two practical consequences: “The first is a tendency towards wiser mating on the part of men and women of intelligence and education. The second is the limitation by public authority of the marriage of the defective, the insane, and the criminal.”<sup>49</sup> The latter limitation included, for Jordan, compulsory sterilization. Hence, in *Richard Roe*, he cited favorably Davenport’s recommendation of sterilizing those he called “imbeciles” and explained, if “Richard Roe [a stock figure in Jordan’s argument] by chance is a defective, unable by heredity to rise to the level of helpfulness and happiness, it is not a wholesome act to help him to the responsibilities of parenthood. It is a wise charity to make him as comfortable as may be with the assurance

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<sup>42</sup> Edwin Black, *War Against the Weak: Eugenics and America’s Campaign to Create a Master Race* (Washington: Dialog Press, 2012), 65.

<sup>43</sup> David Starr Jordan, *The Heredity of Richard Roe: A Discussion of the Principles of Eugenics* (Boston: American Unitarian Association, 1911), 85-86.

<sup>44</sup> *Heredity of Richard Roe*; see also Garland E. Allen, “The Misuse of Biological Hierarchies: The American Eugenics Movement, 1900-1940,” *History and Philosophy of the Life Sciences*, vol. 5, no. 2 (1983): 105-128.

<sup>45</sup> *The Heredity of Richard Roe*, 92-98. Jordan visited Aosta in 1881, 1883, 1900, and 1910. His recollections of Aosta appear in *The Human Harvest: A Study of the Decay of Races Through the Survival of the Unfit* (Boston: American Unitarian Association, 1912), 72-73; *The Blood of the Nation: A Study of the Decay of Races Through the Survival of the Unfit* (Boston: American Unitarian Association, 1906), 34-35, and; *Footnotes to Evolution*, 283-287.

<sup>46</sup> *David Starr Jordan*, 37. That Jordan himself considered his work on eugenics scientific is revealed by a letter responding to a 1917 federal investigation of his anti-war stance; in that context, he identified his 1900 book *The Blood of the Nation* and its subsequent expansions as developing the scientific basis for his stance on the relationship between eugenics and war. David Starr Jordan Papers, Box 44, Folder 12, Hoover Institution Archives (“‘Eugenics and War’ Rebuttal by Jordan to Criticism of this Article”) (hereinafter “Jordan Papers, Hoover Institution”).

<sup>47</sup> *Richard Roe*, 33.

<sup>48</sup> *Richard Roe*, 150.

<sup>49</sup> *Richard Roe*, 150.

that he shall be the last of his line.”<sup>50</sup> While he approved of sterilizing “the defective, the insane, and the criminal,” Jordan did suggest the need for due process, noting that “[t]he public must give the individual the benefit of every doubt, for its own machinery of police officers, Justices of the Peace, and guardians of the poor is not above reproach.”<sup>51</sup>

Jordan valued reproduction of the “fit,” writing that “The strong races were born of hard times, they have fought for all they have had, and the strength of those they have conquered has entered into their wills . . . They have risen through struggle and they have gained through mutual help, and by the power of the human will have made the earth their own.”<sup>52</sup> Conversely, he warned against the manifold forms of “unfitness” and the risk of “race degeneration.”<sup>53</sup> The causes of such “race degeneration” were attributed chiefly to “breeding.” “A degenerate race is a race which has lost its best elements, by war or emigration or other causes, which lead it to breed chiefly from its worst examples.” He identified other sources as well, including “indiscriminate charity,”<sup>54</sup> which “has been a fruitful cause of the survival of the unfit,” living in the tropics,<sup>55</sup> and, perhaps most strikingly, war.<sup>56</sup> In “The Blood of the Nation,” Jordan elaborated that “[t]he survival of the unfittest is the primal cause of the downfall of nations.”<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> Richard Roe, 82.

<sup>51</sup> Richard Roe, 151.

<sup>52</sup> David Starr Jordan, *Footnote to Evolution: A Series of Addresses*, 289.

<sup>53</sup> David Starr Jordan, *The Blood of the Nation*, 12. At one point he elaborated: “Fitness is of many kinds, and all kinds are good. All of us have streaks of unfitness and it is for no man to judge which of these outweighs the other. But we know what it is to be well-born, and to be well-born should be the heredity of every child of the republic.” Richard Roe, 34-35.

<sup>54</sup> *The Blood of the Nation*, 33.

<sup>55</sup> As Jordan wrote in “A Blind Man’s Holiday,” “The essential of race degeneration is the continuous lowering of the mental or physical powers of each successive generation. Such a process is very slow, requiring centuries before it shows itself. It finds its use in unwholesome conditions which destroy first the bravest, strongest, and most active, leaving the feeble, indolent and cowardly to perpetuate the species. . . . The dull sodden malarial heat of the tropics spares the indolent longest. . . . This is the beginning of race degeneration.” David Starr Jordan, “A Blind Man’s Holiday,” in *Imperial Democracy* (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1899), 94-95.

<sup>56</sup> *The Blood of the Nation*, 48.

<sup>57</sup> *The Blood of the Nation*, 25.

## Education

Surprisingly for a leader of higher education, Jordan believed that these “unfits” could not be materially educated. Jordan bluntly stated: “Education can never replace heredity.”<sup>58</sup> He wrote that, “[s]o far as science knows, education and training play no part in heredity. The change in the blood which is the essence of race-progress, as distinguished from progress in civilization, finds its cause in selection only.”<sup>59</sup> Education, properly undertaken, could uplift those with the necessary hereditary predisposition. It would be wasted on those unfit or otherwise incapable of taking advantage of it.

These views played out in Jordan’s proclamations as a university president, first at Indiana University then at Stanford. In an 1888 commencement address at Indiana, he emphasized the extent to which he believed the effects of education were limited by genetic potential:

More perfect development comes from within and is assisted, not caused by favorable surroundings. We educate, that is, we lead out; we develop [sic], that is unwrap, what is hidden in the initial package. . . . And so we unroll, unwrap, lead out whatever is already within; we can help to actualize latent possibilities. But whatever is finally brought forth, existed in potentiality in the embryo, no matter how inert and impotent this may have been. But not alone in the embryo, for whatever is in the embryo must have been a possibility with the parent.<sup>60</sup>

Not content with expressing the inability of education to alter heredity in generic terms, Jordan then applied his conclusions to the graduating class before him:

The forty of you before me today seem at first to have reached the same point in life’s journey. Not so. You may be as far apart as the ships for a moment in sight on the sea. Ground swells of hereditary tendencies . . . are pushing you apart. To-day you are here together, but never again so long as this world shall last.<sup>61</sup>

Thus, in Jordan’s view, despite receiving a similar education, these Indiana students would differ in their trajectories depending on their genetic endowments.

Though Jordan expressed a great faith in the power of education, generally, he often hitched it to his sense of the beneficial aspects of competition, as a reward for demonstrations of “fitness.” “The more perfect the organism, the more evident are its deviations from perfect adaptation. The character of a nation is the expression of the character of its individual traits.”<sup>62</sup> For Jordan, competition, educational and otherwise, gave occasion for the expression of people’s hereditary potential, and education provided one arena for such competition. “The children of the republic are entitled to something better [than what was previously available]. A generous education, a well-directed

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<sup>58</sup> *The Blood of the Nation*, 15-16.

<sup>59</sup> *The Human Harvest*, 46.

<sup>60</sup> “The Ethics of the Dust” (Richmond, Indiana, 1888), 7.

<sup>61</sup> “The Ethics of the Dust,” 10. Elof Axel Carlson also comments on this passage in “The Hoosier Connection,” writing that “Jordan reminded his students that that while they were intellectually superior to most other people, they also were differentiated among themselves—only a few would become eminent . . . . Just as some people are born to be physical giants or dwarfs, Jordan argued, some are born to rank as the best or least mentally.” “The Hoosier Connection,” 17.

<sup>62</sup> *Richard Roe*, 104.

education, should be the birthright of each one of them. Democracy may even intensify natural inequalities.”<sup>63</sup> At an 1889 commencement address at Indiana University, Jordan explained, “[O]n the stepping stones of their ancestry, do races of men rise to higher civilization. But without effort, conscious or unconscious, in the direction of a higher life, each succeeding generation will fail to rise above the level of those before it.”<sup>64</sup>

His faith in both the power of education to serve society and the limitations that heredity placed on educational promise led him sometimes to express sentiments that might seem contradictory. In Jordan’s 1907 commencement address, his last as President of Stanford, he finished his speech with an educational flourish about the responsibility of educated people to serve a larger civic vision. “The greatest need of our public life is that of men who can enter it and come out free. The duty of the University to the state is to send out men of this type.”<sup>65</sup> Yet, earlier in the same address, Jordan observed “The second generation [of European immigrants] speaks our language, wears our sweat-shop clothing, votes as we vote, and to the man on the street looks like a procession of real Americans. But the breed does not change in one generation, nor in a hundred. Admitting that certain types of European immigrants are inferior in stock to the original Anglo-Saxon, their descendants will always be equally inferior.”<sup>66</sup> He continued, extending his argument to inter-racial marriages. “If his stock is bad, it stays bad; still worse, if it mixes with the stock of freeborn races, for it leaves upon this stock a mullato taint.”<sup>67</sup>

A discussion of Stanford student athletes from Hawaii in Jordan’s 1899 address to the Graduate Club at Stanford indicates that Jordan was contemplating whether or not certain kinds of students would be fit for Stanford. While promoting his view that “the Anglo-Saxon or any other civilized race degenerates in the tropics mentally, morally, physically,” Jordan addressed the objection that “[s]everal Stanford athletes are natives of Hawaii.”<sup>68</sup> This, he explained, was possible because “not all regions south of the Tropic of Cancer are to be classed as tropical” and the “equable climate of the Hawaiian Islands is not in any proper sense torrid.”<sup>69</sup> The implication seems to be that, if Hawaii were not temperate, Hawaiian students would not have found their way to Stanford.

Eugenics was also a central part of Jordan’s teaching, writing and speaking at Stanford. As Jordan noted in his autobiography, “Throughout my thirty-three year service at Indiana and Stanford, I gave each year (unless absent) a course of lectures on the Science of Bionomics. This deals with the philosophy of Biology, beginning with the laws of organic

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<sup>63</sup> David Starr Jordan, *The Call of the Twentieth Century* (Boston: American Unitarian Association, 1903), 13.

<sup>64</sup> The address appears in David Starr Jordan, *The Care and Culture of Men* (San Francisco, The Whitaker and Ray Company, 1896), 214.

<sup>65</sup> David Starr Jordan, “With No Mark or Brand,” *Stanford Daily* (May 22, 1907) 8. The full address is available here: [https://archives.stanforddaily.com/1907/05/22?page=8&section=MODSMD\\_ARTICLE15#article](https://archives.stanforddaily.com/1907/05/22?page=8&section=MODSMD_ARTICLE15#article). There is a note in the article that reads, “President David Starr Jordan’s final words of advice to the graduates were read by Dr. J. M. Stillman, Acting President of the University.”

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, 7.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, 8.

<sup>68</sup> “Blind Man’s Holiday,” 94.

<sup>69</sup> “Blind Man’s Holiday,” 94.

life and leading up to Eugenics and Ethics.”<sup>70</sup> Jordan’s 1892 syllabus of lectures on evolution included a session on degeneration covering many of the same points as his published writings.<sup>71</sup>

Many of Jordan’s books treating eugenics likewise collected lectures and speeches that he had given at Stanford, including *Imperial Democracy* (1899), *The Human Harvest* (1907), and *War and the Breed* (1915); *The Factors of Organic Evolution* (1894) compiles a series of lectures he gave at Stanford University.<sup>72</sup>

While Jordan vigorously supported co-education of men and women, some have observed a eugenic basis for this position. As Kevin Starr noted in *Americans and the California Dream, 1850-1915*, “The Stanford Man needed a Stanford Girl. After all, Jordan had said that such matings were the primary justification of higher education for women.”<sup>73</sup> Jordan himself observed, in an essay on co-education, that “A college man who has known college women, as a rule, is not drawn to those of lower ideals and inferior training. His choice [for marriage] is likely to be led toward the best he has known.”<sup>74</sup> Burns offers similar sentiments, noting “probably no one was more eloquent in pleading the cause of intellectual opportunities for women.”<sup>75</sup> Yet, Burns qualifies his statement, elaborating that Jordan did not consider the sexes to be equal, and rather believed that women “lacked originality” and did not take leadership positions when it came to problem solving. Jordan’s real motivation for supporting coeducation, Burns argues, was that educated women were a key component of civilized societies, citing Jordan: “the highest product of social evolution was the civilized home, the sort of home that only a wise, cultivated, and high-minded woman could make.”<sup>76</sup> In his pamphlet “The Woman and the University,” Jordan brought together his understanding of education, gender, and eugenics. “To furnish such women is one of the worthiest functions of higher education.”<sup>77</sup>

## Race

Although Jordan frequently referred to “race,” his use of the term differs from our contemporary understanding and was applied in a range of contexts. Jordan’s eugenic theories both distinguished between individuals of the same race and established a hierarchy among races. As McCall writes, for Jordan:

Inequality prevailed not only between races but within races as well. The gifts of potentiality were not shared in like proportion by all people of the same race. The

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<sup>70</sup> *The Days of a Man*, vol. 1, 298. See also Eloy Axel Carlson, “The Hoosier Connection,” 17.

<sup>71</sup> Jordan Archives, Stanford University, Ser. 2, Box 7, folder 1. See also Jordan’s 1894 annotated notes from his lecture on human degeneration, Jordan Archives, Stanford University, Ser. 2, Box 7, folder 2.

<sup>72</sup> David Starr Jordan, *War and the Breed: The Relation of War to the Downfall of Nations* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1915); David Starr Jordan, *The Factors of Organic Evolution* (Boston: Ginn & Co., 1894). “Lest We Forget” was a graduation address delivered on May 25, 1898 and “A Blind Man’s Holiday” was read on February 14, 1899, before the Graduate Club of Leland Stanford Junior University. Both were included in *Imperial Democracy*.

<sup>73</sup> Kevin Starr, *Americans and the California Dream, 1850-1915* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1973), 340, 328.

<sup>74</sup> David Starr Jordan, “The Higher Education of Women,” *Popular Science Monthly* 62 (1902), 107.

<sup>75</sup> *David Starr Jordan: Prophet of Freedom*, 160.

<sup>76</sup> *David Starr Jordan: Prophet of Freedom*, 160.

<sup>77</sup> David Starr Jordan, *The Woman and the University* (San Francisco: Whitaker and Ray-Wiggen Co., 1910), 1.

best specimens of the more backward races offered more hope, so far as their line of descent was concerned, than the feeble-minded or feeble-willed of the highest. That people must be considered supreme, he avowed, which possesses the largest proportion of members capable of self-elevation, and that race is lowest which shows, on the whole, the least capacity for the same achievement. Still, he was sure that the highest range of possibilities in nearly every field had been reached by the "blond races" of Europe.<sup>78</sup>

Jordan frequently expounded upon the superiority of Anglo-Saxons. As he stated, "the Anglo Saxon is doubtless the grandest of races . . ."<sup>79</sup> He also claimed that "[i]n general, the highest range of possibilities in every field has been reached by the 'blond races' of Europe. Groups of less individual or less aggregate achievement may properly be regarded as 'lower.'"<sup>80</sup> Jordan likewise worried about the consequences of any war between England and America, because "[t]he need of the common race is greater than the need of the nations" and [t]he Anglo-Saxon race must be at peace within itself"; in his view, "nothing is so important to civilization as this. A war between England and America fought to the bitter end might submerge civilization."<sup>81</sup> He was quite interested in his own Puritan heritage, which he traced back to Isabel de Vermandois, wife of King John of England, along with several other prominent American families, including those of Phillips Brooks, Charles William Eliot, and Oliver Wendell Holmes Sr. and Jr.<sup>82</sup> He collaborated with Sarah Louise Kimball of the California Genealogical Society, who displayed a massive genealogical chart entitled "The Fittest," purporting to "show[] one ancestress, Isabel de Vermandois . . . for

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<sup>78</sup> *Prophet of Freedom*, 63.

<sup>79</sup> David Starr Jordan, *The Question of the Philippines: An Address Delivered Before the Graduate Club of Leland Stanford University* (Palo Alto: Printed for the Graduate Club, 1899), 56. In *The Blood of the Nation*, Jordan identified the feudal principle of primogeniture, or inheritance by the first-born son, as the somewhat circuitous source of Anglo-American excellence. According to Jordan, "[t]he feudal nobility of each nation was in the beginning made up of the fair, the brave, and the strong. By their courage and strength their men became the rulers of the people, and by the same token they chose the beauty of the realm to be their own." 254. Primogeniture took the first-born sons out of the evolutionary struggle and hence thwarted the natural process of selection. Its inadvertent accomplishment, according to Jordan, however, came in the fact that the younger sons and the daughters' sons were forced constantly back into the mass of the people. Among the people at large this stronger blood became the dominant strand. The Englishmen of to-day are the sons of the old nobility, and in the stress of natural selection they have crowded out the children of the swineheard and the slave." 27. Jordan deems the Puritans of the English Revolution these "younger sons," whose struggle for equality "has begotten democracy." 27. Under his view, reinforced by later letters to Charles Davenport, "All the old families in New England and Virginia trace their lines back to nobility, and thence to royalty. Almost every Anglo-American has, if he knew it, noble and royal blood in his veins. . . . But his ancestral line passes through the working and fighting younger son, not through him who was first born to the purple. The persistence of the strong shows itself in the prevalence of the leading qualities of her dominant strains of blood . . ." 28-29. This aspect of selection is one of the factors that, for Jordan, produced Anglo-American superiority: "When we consider 'what constitutes the superiority of the Anglo-Saxon,' we shall find his descent from the old nobility . . . not the least of its factors." 29. Under this account, selection for fitness within what Jordan considered a racial group led to the superiority in his estimation of that racial group when compared with others.

<sup>80</sup> David Starr Jordan, "Biological Effects of Race Movements," *The Popular Science Monthly*, vol. 86 (1915), 270.

<sup>81</sup> "Lest We Forget," 19.

<sup>82</sup> *Days of a Man*, vol. 1, Appendix A.

rulers and leaders in Europe and America,” during the 1915 International Genealogical Congress in San Francisco.<sup>83</sup>

By contrast, Jordan specifically targeted other groups, or parts of those groups, as “unfit.” An enumeration best illustrates the range of groups he disparaged:

**African Americans.** Jordan included African Americans among those who lacked “the foundation of intelligence”<sup>84</sup> and proclaimed that “[a]pparently the American mulatto as a whole is superior to the pure African negro . . . We may admit that the introduction of African blood has not been a gain to the republic.”<sup>85</sup> He spoke of freed slaves as “little more intelligent in the mass than the dog and horse with which a few years before they had been bought and sold.”<sup>86</sup> Jordan also wrote that Black suffrage was “the least of the evils [among the many wrongs having their rise in negro slavery], no doubt, but an evil nevertheless.”<sup>87</sup> And further, “Unless the Negro can make a man of himself through the agencies of freedom, free ballot, free schools, free religions, there can be no solution of the race problem.”<sup>88</sup> One Jordan textbook argues that “Australians and some negroes” are as “ape-like” as the earliest humans; in his shorthand, “blue-gum negroes, blue-gum apes.”<sup>89</sup>

**Arabs.** Jordan argued that, “In the tropics, conditions favouring human degeneration are constantly present. . . . As a result, we have as pauper races the descendants of the once civilized and once active Arabs, Egyptians, and Saracens. . . . It is the will of Allah that the Arab should sleep in filth, and die the death of rottenness.”<sup>90</sup>

**Chinese.** Jordan opined that “there is nothing so unutterably bad as the low, uneducated Chinese of the lowest type . . . .”<sup>91</sup> “Industrial interests may even make a man of the Chinaman,” he writes in “Lest We Forget.”<sup>92</sup> The Chinese, he writes in “A Blind Man’s Holiday, are “not of our kind.”<sup>93</sup> In 1879, Jordan was commissioned by the US Fish Commission to conduct the first national survey of the Pacific Coast fisheries. His report centered on the depletion of certain fishes, particularly the abalone, but was informed only by conversations with white ethnic fishermen. Indeed, as Ann Vileisis argues, his

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<sup>83</sup> *Proceedings of the International Congress of Genealogy, Held at San Francisco* (1915), 60; “Genealogy of the Fittest” by Sarah Louise Kimball for the book *Your Family Tree* by Kimball and Jordan, David Starr Jordan Papers (SC0058), Department of Special Collections and University Archives, Stanford University Libraries, Stanford, Calif. (hereinafter “Jordan Papers, Stanford University”), Series 11, Box 9.

<sup>84</sup> *Richard Roe*, 119.

<sup>85</sup> *War and the Breed*, 31.

<sup>86</sup> David Starr Jordan, “The Scholar in the Community,” in *The Care and Culture of Men*, 98.

<sup>87</sup> *Richard Roe*, 119.

<sup>88</sup> *Imperial Democracy*, 576.

<sup>89</sup> David Starr Jordan, “Man’s Place in Nature,” *The Factors in Organic Evolution: A Syllabus of a Course of Elementary Lectures Delivered in Leland Stanford Junior University* (Boston: Ginn & Company, 1894), 98.

<sup>90</sup> *Footnotes to Evolution*, 289. *Richard Roe*, 127-128.

<sup>91</sup> “Beware of Japs,” *Los Angeles Times*, December 29, 1905, 1.

<sup>92</sup> *Imperial Democracy*, 32.

<sup>93</sup> *Imperial Democracy*, 98.



conclusions were amplified by and tinged with “the noxious racial prejudice prevalent in nineteenth century California.”<sup>94</sup>

**Eastern and Southern Europeans.** In his final Stanford commencement address, Jordan claimed, “Admitting that certain types of European immigrants are inferior in stock to the original Anglo-Saxon, their descendants will always be equally inferior. If the parents at home were content to be coolies, or slaves, or weaklings of one sort or another, their descendants will be of the same class, despite the disguise of language or clothing.” He also claimed “The moral [of Upton Sinclair’s *Jungle*] is found in the danger to free institutions of the presence of hordes of people who are not and cannot be free, people who crowd the slums of great cities, who cannot take care of their own rights, and whose descendants, modified in some degree by American education, are yet at bottom, the same defenseless stock.”<sup>95</sup> Historian Edward McNall Burns quoted Jordan as writing in a letter: “[I]t is easy to recognize that the Irish, the Greeks, the South Italians and the Polish Jews contain largely elements permanently deficient in the best traits we hope for in America. . . . They are controlled by emotions and animal instincts instead of brains and will.”<sup>96</sup>

**Filipinos.** Jordan wrote “They have a hard population to manage, to be sure, a substratum of Malays, lazy and revengeful, over these a social layer of thrifty Chinese and canny Japanese, the next a Spanish aristocracy and a surface scum of the wanderers of all the world. In the unexplored interiors of the great islands live the wild tribes of negritos, untamed black imps, as incapable of self-government or any other government as so many monkeys.”<sup>97</sup> As he inquired in an 1899 address, “Just when shall we begin democratic rule in the Philippines? How shall we make it work with a people alien and perverse, who have no Anglo-Saxon instincts and no relation to our history?”<sup>98</sup>

**Japanese.** He strenuously objected to the segregation of Japanese school children and laws targeted against Japan, although he did opine that “An influx of people of less intelligence, less self-reliance and less patriotism than our own, whether these people come from China, Japan, Poland, Africa, or anywhere else, is a source of grave danger to the Republic.”<sup>99</sup> Yet, at the same time, Jordan advanced an argument that the Japanese have “white blood.” In 1913, he wrote of some early Japanese statuary that they “represent a white people . . . called in Japanese, Yamato, which I suppose means mountaineer. They were characterized by light complexion, long faces, slender and wiry build. . . . Thought by many [to have been] derived from the races of the Euphrates . . . this type is now

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<sup>94</sup> Ann Vileisis. *Abalone: The Remarkable History and Uncertain Future of California’s Iconic Shellfish* (Chicago: Oregon State University Press, 2020), 53.

<sup>95</sup> Jordan, “With no Mark or Brand,” 7.

<sup>96</sup> *Prophet of Freedom*, 74.

<sup>97</sup> “Lest We Forget,” 24.

<sup>98</sup> *Imperial Democracy*, 167; “Lest We Forget,” 24.

<sup>99</sup> Undated materials at the end of Jordan Papers, Stanford University, Series 1B, Box 35; Charles Wollenberg, *All Deliberate Speed: Segregation and Exclusion in California Schools, 1855-1975* (Berkeley: U of California P, 1978), 58.

represented largely among the upper classes and the student class of Japan.”<sup>100</sup> He also recruited Japanese students to Stanford and helped hire Japanese historian Yamato Ichihashi, Stanford’s first non-white professor, who would later become the first tenured Japanese professor in the United States.<sup>101</sup>

**Jews.** In *Unseen Empire: A Study of the Plight of Nations that Do Not Pay Their Debts*, Jordan posited a secret network of Jews ruling Europe. As he claimed, “The individual gives place to a system and the mastery of the Rothschilds is obscured in the rise of ‘The Unseen Empire of Finance.’” He also posited that, “Among the colleagues and rivals of the Rothschilds, their associates in the ‘Unseen Empire,’ we may enumerate a few of the most prominent,” then included a list of other prominent Jews. In a speech to the student body at Stanford, he announced that, “Ever since the battle of Waterloo the Rothschilds have been the actual rulers of Europe, and the European nations are so indebt to them that it would be impossible ever to pay them off.”<sup>102</sup> Contemporaries took Jordan to task for his anti-semitism.<sup>103</sup> Louis Marshall has further identified Jordan as the source of Henry Ford’s “insane prejudice” against Jews.<sup>104</sup> Jordan vociferously denied that he held anti-Semitic views. “Of Jews as Jews, I have never had a word of criticism.”<sup>105</sup>

**Mexicans.** Jordan wrote that Mexicans were “ignorant, superstitious, and ill-nurtured, with little self control . . . lacking, indeed, most of our Anglo-Saxon values.”<sup>106</sup> Likewise, he speaks of “Mexico’s teeming millions... with little self-control and no conception of industry or thrift. . . .”<sup>107</sup> He lamented that “in shutting out cheap labor from Southern Europe and other quarters, we are bringing in the worst possible kind, the Mexican peon, who for the most part can never be fit for citizenship, and is giving our stock a far worse dilution than ever came from Europe. . . . There are fine people in Mexico,

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<sup>100</sup> David Starr Jordan to Editor, *San Diego Union*, May 13, 1913, Box 89, Folder 791, Jordan Papers, Stanford University. Quoted in David Palter, *Testing for Race*, 71-72. See also Jordan’s notes for his lectures in a class on Citizenship in 1924, which states that “Man is divided into races, European, including Hindus and Persians and Egyptians (?), and Japanese originally.” Jordan Papers, Stanford University, Ser. 2, Box 3, folder 3.

<sup>101</sup> 69-73. Gordon Chang, *Morning Glory Evening Shadow: Yamato Ichihashi and His Internment Writings* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997).

<sup>102</sup> “Rothschilds Rule Europe,” *New York Times*, February 9, 1912, 11.

<sup>103</sup> “Fear of the Jews,” *The American Israelite*, May 13, 1915, 4; Max Heller, “The Unseen Empire,” *The American Israelite*, June 29, 1911, 4.

<sup>104</sup> Victoria Saker Woeste, *Henry Ford’s War on Jews and the Legal Backlash Against Hate Speech* (Stanford: Stanford UP, 2012), 91; Neil Baldwin, *Henry Ford and the Jews* (New York: Public Affairs, 2001), 50; Marshall Letter to John Spargo, December 31, 1920, cited in Charles Reznikoff, ed. Louis Marshall, *Champion of Liberty* (Philadelphia, Jewish Publication Society, 1957), 354-355.

<sup>105</sup> Jordan, letter to *The American Israelite*. December 3, 1912. DSJ Papers, Box 11, Folder 42. Hoover Archive, Stanford University. A handwritten note on the letter reads, “not sent.” He also wrote, “I bear no enmity to the Jewish race.” *The American Israelite*, Oct. 28, 1915, 4. See also a letter to the editor from Jordan in *The Jewish Advocate*, December 30, 1920, 4. A response to Jordan’s claims appeared in *The American Israelite* under the title “‘The Invisible Empire’ Again,” March 1, 1917, 12.

<sup>106</sup> *Days of a Man*, vol. 1, 638.

<sup>107</sup> *Days of a Man*, vol. 1, 638.

splendid men among Indians for that matter, and Mestizos, but the bulk of these new immigrants are the absolute off-scourings of their country.”<sup>108</sup>

**Other Cultures.** Jordan wrote “Cuba, Manila, Nicaragua will be slave territories for centuries to come. The people in such a climate [i.e. the tropics] can never have self-government in the Anglo-Saxon sense.”<sup>109</sup> He wrote “The advances of civilization are wholly repugnant to the children of the tropics.”<sup>110</sup> And Jordan wrote that “the peoples of Asia generally, ‘half devil’ and ‘half child,’ are none of them under good government.”<sup>111</sup> Jordan wrote “the tribe of Australian bushmen is counted one of the lowest on earth.”<sup>112</sup>

**Immigrants.** Jordan believed that immigrants were largely unassimilable and presented a challenge to American society. He wrote, “Wherever degenerate, dependent or alien races are within our borders to-day [sic], they are not part of the United States. They constitute a social problem, a menace to peace and welfare,”<sup>113</sup> and that “[t]he dangers of foreign immigration lie in the overflow to our shores of hereditary unfitness.”<sup>114</sup> Many of the other groups to which he objected were simultaneously immigrating into the United States, and his statements about them sometimes referred to their immigrant status.

### “Degeneration”

An Anglo-Saxon lineage did not immunize individuals and groups from Jordan’s eugenic critique. He viewed a vast number of traits as inheritable, including, apparently, the gift of creating taxonomies, which he believed his daughter had received from him.<sup>115</sup> He similarly classified pauperism—or a state of poverty dependent on state or charitable assistance,—certain forms of disability, and criminality as congenital forms of racial degeneration and therefore necessary to extirpate.

**Paupers and Pauperism.** Central to Jordan’s understanding of “pauperism” was his distinction between the deserving and undeserving poor. “Among the poor there are three kinds—the Lord’s poor, the Devil’s poor, and paupers: that is, those that have fallen in to poverty through misfortune, those that have earned and deserved it through vice, and those that have inherited feeble minds and feeble wills so that in an open competitive world they of necessity fall to the bottom, being destitute of initiative and self-respect.”<sup>116</sup>

This was Jordan’s summary of the conclusions of Oscar McCulloch, the pastor, founder of the Charity Organization Society, and author of the definitive study on the so-called “Tribe of Ishmael,” a poor white family that came to be associated with “petty crime,

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<sup>108</sup> Letter from David Starr Jordan to Charles Davenport, June 1, 1925 (American Philosophical Society, David S. Jordan - Correspondence, Folder 3, 1913-1926).

<sup>109</sup> *Imperial Democracy*, 460.

<sup>110</sup> *Imperial Democracy*, 576.

<sup>111</sup> *The Question of the Philippines*, 21.

<sup>112</sup> David Starr Jordan, *War and the Breed* (1915), 33.

<sup>113</sup> *Imperial Democracy*, 44.

<sup>114</sup> *The Heredity of Richard Roe*, 199.

<sup>115</sup> *Prophet of Tradition*, 37.

<sup>116</sup> *Days of a Man*, vol. 1, 133.

wandering, gleaning, and pauperism.”<sup>117</sup> McCulloch, like so many progressive protestant adherents to the social gospel, believed in applying modern, scientific methods to the distribution of charity. McCulloch explained that his Society “had before it as its object: to distinguish between poverty and pauperism, to relieve the one and to refuse the other... to keep careful records of the cases; to do what it could to substitute work for alms”<sup>118</sup> Poverty was a social problem that could be addressed through scientific charity. Pauperism, however, was a sign of racial degeneration.

Jordan was a member of McCulloch’s Plymouth Church in Indianapolis (“the only religious organization I ever formally joined”) and considered his church pastor from Indiana a “friend.”<sup>119</sup> Jordan called McCulloch’s study of “the problems of hereditary poverty” “one of the first and most illuminating of the many studies of inherited incapacity.”<sup>120</sup> McCulloch’s understanding of pauperism featured eugenic logic (if not much evidence), and Jordan embraced this perspective, which explains much of his criticism of charity, which he feared, if not distributed scientifically, would merely perpetuate pauperism and not ameliorate it. For Jordan, environmental factors, like charity, could contribute to pauperism and “heredity inefficiency... is part of our social fabric. It is an element not less difficult than the race problem itself. The race problem is indeed a phase of it, for when a race can take care of itself, it ceases to have a problem.”<sup>121</sup>

This logic extended to his understanding of nearly everything. The British working class, Jordan wrote, “was not created by the removal of the strong, but by the pressure of the crafty on the weak. He [the British laborer] is the victim of generations of ill usage and unceasing labor. Heredity has stamped ignorance on his mind and brutal degeneration on his body. He is the production of retrogressive evolution.”<sup>122</sup>

Education, too, could lead to the perpetuation of pauperism. “Causes of pauperism may be found in other forms of giving as well as in those recognized as charity. Mental pauperism is produced when men are given truth instead of being trained to search for it. There are schools which tend to make intellectual paupers instead of training men to think for themselves.”<sup>123</sup> Jordan held to his belief in pauperism’s hereditary nature as tightly as he did to his faith in the power of work and effort to uplift. But this, too, he saw as hereditary. “For any organism to grow along this highest line is for it to make the most of itself—and the most of its descendants, too; for the will to do the best may fall into the grasp of heredity. The gain of the individual becomes the birthright of the race.”<sup>124</sup>

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<sup>117</sup> Nathaniel Deutsch, *Inventing America’s “Worst” Family: Eugenics, Islam, and the Rise and Fall of the Tribe of Ishmael* (Berkeley: UC Press, 2009), 4.

<sup>118</sup> Quoted in Deutsch, 36.

<sup>119</sup> *Days of a Man*, vol. 1, 132.

<sup>120</sup> *Days of a Man*, vol. 1, 133.

<sup>121</sup> *Footnotes to Evolution*, 308.

<sup>122</sup> *The True Basis of Economics*, 33.

<sup>123</sup> *Footnotes to Evolution*, 289.

<sup>124</sup> *The Care and Culture of Men*, 212.

**Disability.** Jordan wrote “The Cretin of Aosta [Aosta, Italy] has been developed as a new species of man. . . . In fair weather the roads about the city are lined with these awful paupers — human beings with less intelligence than the goose, with less decency than the pig . . . True charity would give them not less helpful care, but guarantee that each individual *crétin* should be the last of his generation.”<sup>125</sup>

**Criminals.** As noted above, Jordan spoke admiringly of the work of Charles McCulloch, who “invented” the infamous Tribe of Ishmael.<sup>126</sup> “Recent studies, as those of Dugdale, McCulloch, Davenport, and many others, have shown that parasitism is hereditary in the human species as in the *Sacculina*.”<sup>127</sup> Focusing on the Indiana roots of the mythical Ishmael family, Jordan claimed, “In every American city, as in Indianapolis, there exists a large number of people who, in the ordinary course of life, can never be made into good citizens.” In a 1905 letter to Charles Davenport’s wife, Jordan also promoted McCulloch’s work on the Tribe of Ishmael.<sup>128</sup> Jordan was additionally interested in the pseudonymous “Jukes” family, as described in Richard Dugdale’s 1877 book on them, *The Jukes: A Study in Crime, Pauperism, Disease, and Heredity*.<sup>129</sup> For Jordan, the Jukes—who lived north of New York City—suggested that the isolation of a group even in rural areas could permit reproduction of those he considered “unfit.” As he concluded, “There is nothing in the pure air of the mountains that will purify the lineage of thieves and paupers.”<sup>130</sup>

## Pacifism

Eugenics also shaped Jordan’s approach in many other areas. A passionate anti-war activist, Jordan opposed U.S. entrance into World War I, and his pacifism may have been one of the reasons his chancellorship was not renewed.<sup>131</sup> Jordan’s efforts to maximize the reproduction of the fit undergirded his support for pacifism. He believed that war would undermine the health of the nation.<sup>132</sup> In Jordan’s view, war not only deprived the nation of its fittest men but concomitantly prevented procreation of the “best” — “For each soldier has a sweetheart; and the best of these die, too,—so far as the race is concerned,—if they remain single for his sake.”<sup>133</sup>

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<sup>125</sup> *Days of a Man*, vol. 1, 314.

<sup>126</sup> Nathaniel Deutsch, *Inventing America’s Worst Family: Eugenics, Islam, and the Fall and Rise of the Tribe of Ishmael* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 2009); Jordan, *Richard Roe*, 108-118.

<sup>127</sup> *Richard Roe*, 108.

<sup>128</sup> American Philosophical Society, David S. Jordan - Correspondence, Folder 1, 1895-1909.

<sup>129</sup> *Footnotes to Evolution*, 287.

<sup>130</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>131</sup> Theresa Johnston, “Meet President Jordan”; *A Chronology of Stanford University and Its Founders*, 46. In 1917 and 1918 he was subject to federal investigation for his anti-war stance, which was feared to be deterring men from the draft. “‘Eugenics and War’ Rebuttal,” Jordan Papers, Hoover Institution. “Jordan Censured for Views in War Books,” *Mariposa Gazette*, vol. 64, no. 16 (1918), 14.

<sup>132</sup> *Blood of the Nation; War and the Breed; The Human Harvest*.

<sup>133</sup> *Blood of the Nation*, 48.

## Imperialism

Jordan's opposition to imperialism rested, in part, on a similar foundation. As he opined, "The territorial expansion now contemplated would not extend our institutions because the proposed colonies are incapable of civilized self-government."<sup>134</sup> Two of Jordan's addresses at Stanford, later collected in *Imperial Democracy*, demonstrate the complexity of his reasons for arguing against imperialism. Both "Lest We Forget" and "A Blind Man's Holiday" resisted U.S. wars abroad and imperial expansion on the ground that such expansion would result either in the wrongful enslavement of conquered peoples or a detrimental effect upon the U.S. polity itself from attempting to integrate those other nations into the United States.

As in other writing, Jordan here rejected American slavery and expressed concern that venturing in an imperial direction would propel the United States into new forms of enslavement.<sup>135</sup> If the United States retained possession of the Philippines, it would, in Jordan's view, have the option of governing the Philippines as a colony or admitting it into the United States on terms of equality. Although Jordan deemed the latter preferable, he spoke in harsh terms of the harms he perceived in this approach:

To admit the Filipinos to equality in government is to degrade our own citizenship with only the slightest prospect of ever raising theirs. It is to establish rotten boroughs where corruption shall be the rule and true democracy impossible. The relation of our people to the lower races of men of whatever kind has been one which degrades and exasperates. Every alien race within our borders to-day [sic], is an element of danger. When the Anglo-Saxon meets the Negro, the Chinaman, the Indian, the Mexican as fellow-citizens, equal before the law, we have a raw wound in our political organism. Democracy demands likeness of aims and purposes among its units. Each citizen must hold his own freedom in a republic. If men cannot hold their rights through our methods our machinery runs over them. The Anglo-Saxon will not mix with the lower races. Neither will he respect their rights if they are not strong enough to maintain them for themselves.<sup>136</sup>

Here it is evident that Jordan's dismal view of the inhabitants of the Philippines and their difference from Anglo-Saxons underlay his anti-imperial stance.

## Democracy

Even Jordan's insistence on democracy, both for the polity as a whole and within education, was connected with his belief that it would better allow the "fit" to prevail. In "Lest We Forget," Jordan insisted that one of the main aims of democracy was "to make men strong."<sup>137</sup> In this goal, he deemed the United States at least somewhat successful. As he opined, "our men are growing self-contained and wise. Despite the annual invasion of foreign illiteracy, despite the degeneration of congested cities, the individual intelligence of men stands higher in American than any other part of the world."<sup>138</sup>

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<sup>134</sup> "Anti-Imperialism," *San Francisco Call* (Jan. 29, 1899).

<sup>135</sup> In *Blood of the Nation*, Jordan had expressed the view that, despite the evil of war generally, the Civil War was necessary in order to "get rid of slavery." 74.

<sup>136</sup> *Blind Man's Holiday*, 170-171; *Imperial Democracy*, 170.

<sup>137</sup> "Lest We Forget," 33.

<sup>138</sup> "Lest We Forget," 35.

### C) Jordan's Eugenic Organizing and Influence

Jordan's teaching on eugenics at Stanford was quite influential, and impacted, among others, Dr. Leo Stanley, who performed at least six hundred sterilizations as the medical director of San Quentin prison. Stanley, who had received his undergraduate and medical degrees from Stanford, wrote of his friendship with David Starr Jordan in a later essay reflecting on his Stanford experience in the early 1900s.<sup>139</sup> In articulating the reasons for engaging in sterilization in the prison context and to "illustrate the value of preventing propagation of the unfit," Stanley quoted at great length the remarks of his "former teacher," David Starr Jordan, on those he had called the "cretins of Aosta."<sup>140</sup>

During the period when he served as president of Stanford, Jordan also became the inaugural chair of "the first eugenics body in the United States," the Eugenics Committee of the American Breeders Association.<sup>141</sup> This Committee, from the beginning, counted among its missions a policy and legislative as well as an investigative and educational program. The first report on the Committee's activities, published in 1907, stated as its objects, "To investigate and report on heredity in the human race; to devise methods of recording the value of the blood of individuals, families, peoples, and races; to emphasize the value of superior blood and the menace to society of inferior blood; and to suggest methods of improving the heredity of the family, the people, or the race."<sup>142</sup> It also expressed the hope of the committee that "the authority and influence of the American Breeders' Association can become a powerful factor in forwarding the study of and interest in eugenics . . . and that all the weight of this authority and influence can be thrown in favor of a reasonable and hopeful program, when the time comes when such a plan may be set forth."<sup>143</sup> In the 1909 report of the Committee, one of the speakers recommended asexualization of the insane.<sup>144</sup> Jordan was involved in the Eugenics Record Office (ERO) as well, which eventually absorbed the Committee and, "[a]ccording to Davenport, . . . owed much to the reputation of Jordan."<sup>145</sup>

It was through Jordan's own invitation that Charles Davenport, one of the principal figures of the twentieth-century American eugenics movement, became a member of the Committee. In 1908, Jordan wrote to him, explaining that, "About a year ago, I was appointed chairman of the Committee on Eugenics of the American Breeders Association. . . What I wish now is to ask that you and Mrs. Davenport will assume membership in this Committee, and secondly that you will send me a paper, of moderate or brief length, on some phase of the subject of Eugenics. I shall try to combine these various papers into a

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<sup>139</sup> Leo Stanley, "Via Stanford to San Quentin," in Edith Mirrielees, *Stanford Mosaic: Reminiscences of the First Seventy Years at Stanford University* (Stanford: Stanford UP, 1962), 45-46.

<sup>140</sup> Leo Stanley, "Voluntary Sterilization in Prison," *Proc. Ann. Cong. American Prison Association* (1941), 345, 350-351.

<sup>141</sup> Alexandra Minna Stern, *Eugenic Nation*, 101.

<sup>142</sup> Report of the Meeting of the American Breeders Association, vol. 3 (1907), 201.

<sup>143</sup> *Ibid.* at 202.

<sup>144</sup> Report of the Meeting of the American Breeders Association, vol. 5 (1909), 224.

<sup>145</sup> *Eugenic Nation*, 84-85.

report, but would like to have each man's contribution as a section or chapter, giving him individual credit if he is willing to accept it."<sup>146</sup> Davenport included one of his addresses to the Committee in his 1910 book *Eugenics: The Science of Human Improvement by Better Breeding*:

[W]hen the public spirit is aroused, its will must be crystallized in appropriate legislation. Since the weak and the criminal will not be guided in their matings by patriotism or family pride, more powerful influence or restraints must be exerted as the case requires. And as for the idiots, low imbeciles, incurable and dangerous criminals they may under appropriate restrictions be prevented from procreation—either by segregation during the reproductive period or even by sterilization. Society must protect itself; as it claims the right to deprive the murderer of his life so it may annihilate the hideous serpent of hopelessly vicious protoplasm. Here is where appropriate legislation will aid in eugenics and in creating a healthier, saner society in the future.<sup>147</sup>

From these materials, it is clear that the Committee intended to lobby for legislation, including legislation related to sterilization, from an early moment and during the period when Jordan was still President of Stanford.

Davenport enlisted Jordan, and relied on his association with Stanford, to help raise funds for a Eugenics laboratory in Cold Spring Harbor, New York. Davenport invited Jordan to lunch with Mary Harriman, the wife of E. H. Harriman; she subsequently became a benefactor of the Eugenics Record Office, which Davenport directed.<sup>148</sup>

Jordan also helped Davenport collect extensive data on Stanford students and their families through a questionnaire.<sup>149</sup> Davenport sent him 1,000 copies of this document on the assurance that Jordan would do his utmost to persuade Stanford and other college students in the vicinity to complete it, although Jordan later explained that many students found the length of the questionnaire and extent of the questions daunting. When asked about possible revisions or additions to the questionnaire, Jordan cited only a desire to find out more about “the longer heredity of the individuals—their racial origins and other matters of that sort.”<sup>150</sup>

The extent of Jordan's personal influence on two sterilization acts during this time—one in Indiana and the other in California—remains somewhat murkier. In *The Unfit: A History of a Bad Idea*, Elof Axel Carlson observes that “[t]he connection I sought” between the earliest sterilization legislation in the country, Indiana's 1907 law, and “the role of

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<sup>146</sup> David Starr Jordan to Charles Davenport, Oct. 29, 1908 (American Philosophical Society, David S. Jordan - Correspondence, Folder 1, 1895-1909).

<sup>147</sup> Charles Davenport, *Eugenics: The Science of Human Improvement by Better Breeding*, 33-34.

<sup>148</sup> Okrent, *The Guarded Gate*, 125-126; Ruth Clifford Engs, *The Progressive Era's Health Reform Movement: A Historical Dictionary* (Westport: Praeger, 2003), 117.

<sup>149</sup> Several letters treat this census. American Philosophical Society, David S. Jordan - Correspondence, Folder 1, 1895-1909.

<sup>150</sup> David Starr Jordan to Charles Davenport, April 9, 1909 (American Philosophical Society, David S. Jordan - Correspondence, Folder 1, 1895-1909).



Jordan in formulating that legislation . . . was wrong.”<sup>151</sup> As his later essay “The Hoosier Connection” reveals, however, Jordan’s interactions with the relevant actors were important to the ultimate development of the legislation.<sup>152</sup> Some secondary works contain passing references to Jordan’s role in the 1909 California law, called “An act to permit asexualization of inmates of the State hospitals and the California Home for the Care and Training of Feeble-Minded Children, and of convicts in the State prisons.”<sup>153</sup> It is difficult, however, to discern the extent of his influence on the law. He was present in the California Senate on March 10, 1909, the day that the Bill was reported out of committee, but it seems unlikely from evaluating his correspondence in the months leading up to that date that he was present to support the asexualization legislation; he was accompanied by Senator Black, who had championed legislation Jordan was pushing to prohibit the sale of alcohol within a mile and a half of campus.<sup>154</sup> The 1909 law was subsequently revised several times and furnished with a more clearly eugenic justification.

Jordan was quite involved with organizing a eugenics conference in San Francisco.<sup>155</sup> Jordan served on the first board of trustees of the Human Betterment Foundation, a eugenics organization founded in 1928 to push for compulsory sterilization. The legalization of sterilization in California was summarized in the foundation’s 1929 *Sterilization for Human Betterment*, authored by E. S. Gosney and Paul Popenoe, one of Jordan’s students and “disciples” who had edited the American Breeders’ Association’s *Journal of Heredity*.<sup>156</sup> By the 1930s, Popenoe and the Human Betterment Foundation would praise the legal implementation of eugenic sterilization in Nazi Germany.<sup>157</sup>

In the 1930s, California’s legislation became a model for Nazi sterilization laws.<sup>158</sup> It is estimated that, by the time of the repeal of California’s sterilization legislation in 1974, more than 20,000 Californians had been sterilized.<sup>159</sup> In 2003, the California legislature took the unusual step of passing a resolution in which it “expressed its profound regret over the state’s past role in the eugenics movement . . . We must honor human rights and treat others with respect regardless of race, ethnicity, religious belief, economic status, disability or illness.”<sup>160</sup>

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<sup>151</sup> Elof Axel Carlson, *The Unfit: A History of a Bad Idea* (2001), 2-3.

<sup>152</sup> Carlson, “The Hoosier Connection.”

<sup>153</sup> See, e.g., Lulu Miller, *Why Fish Don’t Exist*, ##

<sup>154</sup> Senate Journal, March 10, 1909 (1491) (“On request of Senator Black, the privileges of the floor of the Senate Chamber, for this day, was unanimously extended to Messrs. Frank J. Brandon of San Jose, Henry Ward Brown of Colma, David Starr Jordan of Palo Alto, and R.L. Green of Stanford University”); miscellaneous letters in Jordan Papers, Stanford University, Series 1B, Box 35.

<sup>155</sup> Letters at the American Philosophical Society, David S. Jordan Correspondence, Folder 3.

<sup>156</sup> Donald K. Pickens, “The Sterilization Movement: The Search for Purity in Mind and State,” *Phylon*, vol. 28, no. 1 (1967), 89. Sheldon Ekland-Olson, *Who Lives, Who Dies, Who Decides?: Abortion, Neonatal Care, Assisted Dying, and Capital Punishment* (New York: Routledge, 2012), 40-41. *The Days of a Man*, vol. 2, 298.

<sup>157</sup> Paul Popenoe, “The German Sterilization Law,” *Journal of Heredity*, vol. 25, no. 7 (1934): 257-260. Anthony M. Platt with Cecilia E. O’Leary, *Bloodlines: Recovering Hitler’s Nuremberg Laws, from Patton’s Trophy to Public Memorial* (New York: Routledge, 2016), 61.

<sup>158</sup> Stefan Kuhl, *The Nazi Connection: Eugenics, American Racism, and German National Socialism* (New York: Oxford UP, 1994), 42.

<sup>159</sup> Stern, *Eugenic Nation*, 84, 271-272. *Who Lives, Who Dies, Who Decides?*, 41.

<sup>160</sup> [http://leginfo.legislature.ca.gov/faces/billTextClient.xhtml?bill\\_id=200320040SR20](http://leginfo.legislature.ca.gov/faces/billTextClient.xhtml?bill_id=200320040SR20)

Jordan was also vocal in opposing criticism of eugenics during his tenure at Stanford. Although, as noted above, many progressives endorsed eugenics, there were those who objected to sterilization. For example, when Thomas Marshall took over as governor of Indiana, he “ordered a halt to sterilizations shortly after taking office” on both constitutional and humanitarian grounds.<sup>161</sup> In 1911, Jordan joined Samuel Holmes of Berkeley in “tak[ing] Fielding Hall to task for ‘Criticizing Eugenics.’” Others had thus taken positions opposing eugenics or its entailments that could have, but did not, inform Jordan’s stance.

## II Features Named After David Starr Jordan

Jordan Hall (Appendix B, Figure A) was so named in 1917 when Jordan retired as University Chancellor. Then-Stanford President Ray Lyman Wilbur announced the naming in his speech to the Stanford community on Founder’s Day March 11, 1917, celebrating the 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Stanford’s founding.<sup>162</sup> As reported in the *Stanford Quad*, “President Wilbur concluded the program with the dedication of the Zoology Building as David Starr Jordan Hall, a lasting memory to Dr. Jordan, not as a great executive, nor as a great peace exponent, but as the great scientist that he is.”<sup>163</sup> During his address, Wilbur remarked, “A university should be as up-to-date each year as the last dreadnought, firm of fiber and sure of line, with the useless and the faulty rejected, but with all the gains of the past welded into its being.”<sup>164</sup>

Two other features—Jordan Quad (Appendix B, Figure B) and the Jordan Modulares (Appendix B, Figure C)—appear to have obtained the Jordan name through the campus planning process without any formal action on the part of the University. According to Laura Jones, Director of Heritage Services and University Archaeologist for Stanford University, “These buildings were in the vicinity of the former Jordan house and garden area” and the designation “was just a reference to a geographic area (like “Governor’s Corner”) assigned by campus planners.”

There is also a Jordan Way at the Medical Center (Appendix B, Figure D). The genesis of the name is unclear; Emeritus Professor Richard Cottle, author of *Stanford Street Names*, had not tracked down an origin in his research. Jordan Way serves, as University Architect David Lenox points out, as “literally the extension of the Bass Medical Promenade.”

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<sup>161</sup> Lantzer, “The Indiana Way of Eugenics,” 31.

<sup>162</sup> “Stanford Celebrates Anniversary,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 11, 1917, 37.

<sup>163</sup> *The Stanford Quad*, vol. 24, 71 (1918). In a letter to the board of trustees, Wilbur notes, “I need not bring to your attention the great services of Dr. Jordan, but I wish to indicate that I am sure that this plan would be a source of great satisfaction and pleasure to both Dr. and Mrs. Jordan.” The board, in turn, notes that the naming of Jordan Hall is to occur “in honor of the first president of the university.” “Stanford University, Board of Trustees, Meeting Records,” box 12, folder 15 (Stanford University: Department of Special Collections and University Archives, January 26, 1917).

<sup>164</sup> “Stanford Celebrates Anniversary,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 11, 1917, 37.

Finally, Haus Mitteleuropa (Appendix B, Figure E), the German language and culture theme house at 620 Mayfield Avenue, still has “Jordan House” painted on it. It is unclear whether “Jordan House” remains part of its official name, but, in any event, it commemorates not David Starr Jordan, but his second wife, Jessie Jordan. The committee recommends that the university clarify the official name and namesake of this building.

### **III Applying the Renaming Principles**

We have applied the seven factors that the Principles state should be weighed in determining whether an entity on campus should be renamed. Taking into account all of those factors, as discussed in more detail below, the Committee has unanimously concluded that Jordan Hall, the Jordan Modulares, and Jordan Quad should be renamed immediately and that Jordan Way should be renamed during the course of future planning. We have also suggested several mitigation strategies designed to ensure that Jordan’s history at Stanford is not forgotten, but rather expanded to create fuller engagement with campus affiliates and the public, and to encourage the University to take additional steps to further equity and inclusion within its educational programming and physical plant.

#### **A) The Centrality of the Person’s Offensive Behavior to His or Her Life as a Whole**

David Starr Jordan was a complicated figure. He made significant contributions in ichthyology, identifying a staggering number of species. He was also committed to the California landscape and advocated on the local, national, and international levels to protect animal populations.<sup>165</sup> As a university president, he was, in conjunction with the Stanfords, responsible for promoting and implementing a new vision of the university, one that emphasized progress over ossified traditions, brought together the humanities and the sciences, insisted on a place for practical knowledge, and emphasized a democratic foundation for education.

Stanford University continues to embrace many of the educational values Jordan espoused. Yet there was a profound limit to Jordan’s democratic vision, one that pervaded his endeavors as a faculty member and university president. As detailed above, many of Jordan’s writings from the late 19<sup>th</sup> century onwards endorsed eugenics, Jordan served as the first chair of the American Breeders’ Association Eugenics Committee and was involved in other significant organization and lobbying on the part of eugenics groups, and he integrated eugenics into his teaching to such an extent that it profoundly influenced several

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<sup>165</sup> Kevin Starr, *Americans and the California Dream*, 312. Many of Jordan’s letters available in the Stanford archives indicate his support for environmental protection legislation.

of his students, who put these lessons into practice in ways that we now reject as abhorrent.<sup>166</sup>

As demonstrated by the volume of unsolicited correspondence he received on eugenics and his influence on others who pursued the eugenics movement, Jordan's public persona was, in his own time, inextricably connected with eugenics. Perhaps not surprisingly, given the disrepute into which eugenics later fell, Jordan's connection to eugenics was subsequently forgotten, at least in part. A number of the members of the Psychology Department with whom we spoke expressed their shock and surprise upon learning of Jordan's ties with the eugenics movement. At the same time, some alumni and community members argued that the sparse appearances of eugenics in Jordan's autobiography, *Days of a Man*, and the fact that his association with eugenics was not something they had known about before, rendered the link between Jordan and eugenics too tenuous to justify renaming.

Yet historians have recently begun the task of demonstrating the profound roots of eugenics within the American progressive movement. The materials that they have uncovered and that will continue to be brought forward ensure that Jordan is now known to have been an early and vigorous proponent of eugenics. They have also led other institutions to reexamine their connection with eugenics. University College, London, recently completed an investigation into its history of eugenics and decided, among other steps, to rename buildings honoring Francis Galton and Karl Pearson.<sup>167</sup> Indiana University, where Jordan served as president before moving to Stanford, also empaneled a committee to review campus features named after Jordan. The committee has recommended removing the Jordan name from features on their campus, and that recommendation has been endorsed by the Indiana University President.<sup>168</sup>

This factor also weighs the extent to which the honoree's behavior was conventional at the time of the behavior or naming. Some alumni who wrote or spoke against renaming suggested that most, if not all, figures from past eras harbored beliefs that we find objectionable today. According to this view, while the most egregious figures should not be honored, those who simply espoused opinions we now reject can be honored. Based on the extensive evidence that the Committee reviewed and summarized above, however, the Committee came to the view that Jordan was not just endorsing commonplace positions but rather was a leader in moving society in the misguided direction of implementing eugenic policies.

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<sup>166</sup> It may be worth noting that the case the Renaming Principles cites as an example of an honoree's positive acts outweighing their offensive behavior—that of Woodrow Wilson at Princeton—has since that time been revisited and the University's earlier decision to retain the Woodrow Wilson name has been reversed. <https://www.princeton.edu/news/2020/06/27/president-eisgrubers-message-community-removal-woodrow-wilson-name-public-policy>.

<sup>167</sup> [https://www.ucl.ac.uk/provost/sites/provost/files/ucl\\_history\\_of\\_eugenics\\_inquiry\\_report.pdf](https://www.ucl.ac.uk/provost/sites/provost/files/ucl_history_of_eugenics_inquiry_report.pdf); <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/news/2020/jun/ucl-denames-buildings-named-after-eugenicists>.

<sup>168</sup> <https://news.iu.edu/stories/2020/09/iub/releases/24-president-mcrobbs-recommends-removal-jordan-namings.html>.

Other late-nineteenth-century figures, such as Charles Booth in England and Oscar McCulloch in America, explored the possibility of a hereditary basis for pauperism and criminality. Theories of degeneration were widespread.<sup>169</sup> Yet Jordan stood out for his early, enthusiastic, and pervasive adoption of eugenics, his organizational work promoting it, and the influence of his eugenic teaching in his course on evolution, which it was claimed “every Stanford student took.”<sup>170</sup> The vigor with which he propelled eugenics forward and leveraged the platform of his Stanford presidency was at least in part responsible for its adoption both nationally and internationally. Jordan also rejected what contemporary criticism was proffered.

Nor would renaming “punish” Jordan for a scientific error, thereby impinging on academic freedom, as some who furnished feedback worried it might. While Jordan’s eugenic theories were certainly based upon a scientific error and a lack of academic rigor on his part, he chose to advocate and work toward putting them into practice in a way that would undermine equality.<sup>171</sup> It is this decision for which renaming would hold him responsible, not the results of his research, however mistaken those were.

## **B) Relation to the University Community**

David Starr Jordan unquestionably bears an extremely strong relationship to the university community. As his biographer wrote in 1953, “He still personifies the ideals of Stanford University in essentially the same way as Charles W. Eliot incarnates the spirit of Harvard, or Andrew Dickson White that of Cornell.”<sup>172</sup> Many alumni and community members who furnished comments emphasized the inextricability of Jordan from Stanford’s history and expressed the concern that renaming Jordan Hall or other campus features would erase him from our collective memory.<sup>173</sup> Some voiced broader concerns with renaming in general along similar lines.

Yet the Committee discovered from our outreach that the name Jordan Hall itself had conveyed little to many occupants of the building about the history of Jordan’s connection with Stanford and his role in the University’s founding era. Furthermore, for those who did discover more about Jordan, they found the connection between his pioneering role in the University and his promotion of eugenics unsettling not only with regard to Jordan himself but also with respect to Stanford and its heritage more generally.

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<sup>169</sup> Michael E. Rose, “The Disappearing Pauper: Victorian Attitudes to the Relief of the Poor,” in Eric M. Sigsworth, ed., *In Search of Victorian Values: Aspects of Nineteenth-Century Thought and Society* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1988), 63; Nicole Hahn Rafter, *Creating Born Criminals* (Urbana: U of Illinois P, 1997); Elof Axel Carlson, “The Hoosier Connection”; Daniel Pick, *Faces of Degeneration: A European Disorder, c. 1848-c. 1918* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1989).

<sup>170</sup> Starr, *Americans and the California Dream*, 341.

<sup>171</sup> Furthermore, though an expert in ichthyology, Jordan’s positions on human heredity fell outside of his academic purview.

<sup>172</sup> *Prophet of Freedom*, 22.

<sup>173</sup> At the same time, many acknowledged the need for a more complete account of Jordan’s career, including his advocacy for eugenics, and recommended placing an explanatory plaque on Jordan Hall rather than renaming.

Precisely because of Jordan's seminal role at the beginning of the University, it is important that Stanford today tell a more complete and nuanced version of Jordan's story and its relation to Stanford's own history, a task that we have attempted to begin here. Naming itself is a blunt instrument. Naming a feature after an individual indicates that he or she has been honored but furnishes little other information. When applied to individuals who have made great contributions but who have also acted in other ways that we reject, naming may be an insufficient and inappropriate way to illuminate the historical record.

A number of other prominent institutions have recently begun to evaluate the full histories of their honored founders or other seminal figures. The Sierra Club has apologized for John Muir's connection with eugenics and Planned Parenthood of New York has removed Margaret Sanger's name from its Manhattan Health Center, while the national organization has acknowledged her eugenics advocacy and specifically noted aspects of her philosophy that it rejects.<sup>174</sup> Similarly, Princeton has decided to rename the Woodrow Wilson School on account of Wilson's racism despite the fact that "Wilson remade Princeton, converting it from a sleepy college into a great research university."<sup>175</sup> As President Christopher Eisgruber maintained in his message about this decision, the renaming was not done as an act of erasure but rather to fulfill "[p]art of our responsibility as a University," which is "to preserve Wilson's record in all of its considerable complexity."<sup>176</sup>

And it is Stanford itself that both bears the responsibility and the capacity to tell the story of David Starr Jordan more completely. The Committee was surprised to find a number of assertions only partially grounded in primary materials within the secondary sources we read and even enshrined in Stanford lore. It became apparent that we need a more thorough account of Jordan's own complicated legacy. Fortunately, much of that work has already been undertaken or is beginning at Stanford, as discussed elsewhere in this Report.

In this instance, David Starr Jordan's inextricability from the history of Stanford University weighs in favor of rather than against renaming. Retaining Jordan's name on a prominent building rather than honoring his specific contributions to the University and acknowledging his deficiencies leaves many confused and worried about what part of Jordan's legacy Stanford wishes to promote. There are better ways to acknowledge Jordan's true contributions to Stanford.

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<sup>174</sup> <https://www.sierraclub.org/michael-brune/2020/07/john-muir-early-history-sierra-club>; <https://www.plannedparenthood.org/planned-parenthood-greater-new-york/about/news/planned-parenthood-of-greater-new-york-announces-intent-to-remove-margaret-sangers-name-from-nyc-health-center>; [https://www.plannedparenthood.org/files/9214/7612/8734/Sanger\\_Fact\\_Sheet\\_Oct\\_2016.pdf](https://www.plannedparenthood.org/files/9214/7612/8734/Sanger_Fact_Sheet_Oct_2016.pdf).

<sup>175</sup> <https://www.princeton.edu/news/2020/06/27/president-eisgrubers-message-community-removal-woodrow-wilson-name-public-policy>.

<sup>176</sup> *Id.*

### **C) Harmful Impact of the Honoree's Behavior**

Through the President and Provost's IDEAL Initiative, Stanford University has recently affirmed its commitment to ensuring "that all members of the campus community feel they belong and are supported regardless of their background, identity, or affiliations." The Psychology Department's unanimous vote to rename Jordan Hall, the powerful statements made at the Committee's two Town Halls by both current and former graduate students, faculty, and staff in Psychology, individual and group meetings with these constituencies, and the 52 responses from Psychology graduate students demonstrate that the presence of Jordan's name has prevented many members of the community from feeling as though they belong. The range of identities of those affected is noteworthy, including BIPOC ("Black-Indigenous-People of Color"), Jewish, and disabled community members, white colleagues who feel ashamed to be inhabiting a space that honors a eugenicist, and those who have had negative interactions with the criminal justice system, among others.

Many of the graduate students and faculty emphasized that they spend a vast number of hours researching in labs at Jordan Hall and consider it a home. One graduate student mentioned referring to the building as such when conducting campus tours. But many also have felt alienated from that home by the Jordan name. Several people routinely enter the building from the back side so as not to have to encounter the reference to Jordan at the entrance. Others, including a former graduate student who is now a professor at the University of California, Berkeley, spent the minimum number of hours possible in the building because of its affiliation.

Others have engaged in different attempts to mitigate the harm that they were experiencing, including calling Jordan Hall only by its building number. Faculty were still, however, confronted with the name of Jordan Hall on their letterhead, sometimes in letters of recommendation supporting the very job candidates disadvantaged by the Department's location.

It seems additionally ironic—and even hypocritical—to many that Stanford's Department of Psychology, which has been a pioneer in studies of stereotype threat, belonging, and implicit bias would reside in a building whose name produces the very alienation that its laboratories have been studying and attempting to remedy.<sup>177</sup> Partly as a

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<sup>177</sup> Studies of ambient belonging (performed at Stanford) have shown how environmental features and objects in a classroom setting are associated with harms to educational performance and career aspirations for stereotyped groups, and that changing these features is associated with mitigated harm. S. Cheryan, V.C. Plaut, P.G. Davies, and C.M. Steele, "Ambient Belonging: How Stereotypical Cues Impact Gender Participation in Computer Science," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 97(6): 1045-1060. See also "A threat in the air: How stereotypes shape the intellectual identities and performance of women and African-Americans," *American Psychologist*, 52, 613-629; Claude Steele; Walton, G. M., & Cohen, G. L., "A Brief Social-Belonging Intervention Improves Academic and Health Outcomes of Minority Students," *Science*, 331, 1447-1451;

result of the very research in which they are participating, the residents of Jordan Hall are especially attuned to the message that the building's name signifies and deem that it "communicates that Stanford does not care that much about marginalized groups" or "implies that we are all entitled to such abhorrent beliefs as those of Jordan, as long as we excel academically." As another student wrote, "Seeing the university's continued celebration of people who stood against my friends' and my own identities makes me question whether the university is really dedicated to promoting diversity and ensuring the well-being of students from marginalized backgrounds."

It is difficult to reproduce the effect of the heartfelt testimony of those who made eloquent and impassioned public statements at the Committee's Town Halls. One indication of the power and sincerity of these comments may, however, be furnished by the fact that Thomas Ehrlich, who served as Dean at Stanford Law School and then as President of the University of Indiana, and had initially supported retaining the name Jordan Hall, publicly reversed his position after listening to the range of testimony at the first Town Hall and advocated for renaming.

It is worth noting that many of those expressing the harms they had experienced emphasized that they do not want to erase history nor to simply forget about David Starr Jordan. Instead, they advocate for examining his legacy through syllabi, lectures, and museum exhibits rather than the name of the building they call home.

The Principles emphasize that considerations weigh against retaining a name when it would "create[] an environment that impairs the ability of students, faculty, or staff of a particular gender, sexual orientation, race, religion, national origin, or other characteristic protected by federal law or University policy to participate fully and effectively in the missions of the University." The outreach performed by the Committee indicates that the work of students, faculty, and staff from many different groups protected by federal law or University policy has been impeded by the Psychology Department's location in Jordan Hall. This factor therefore favors renaming.

#### **D) Community Identification with the Feature**

A few members of the current campus community as well as many alumni objected to removing Jordan's name from campus features. Some of their arguments have been addressed above, but several pertain to identification either with Jordan Hall or with Jordan as Stanford's first president.

Some expressed concern that renaming Jordan Hall would add to their sense that campus is hardly recognizable now from an alumni standpoint. This seems to militate less in favor of retaining the name than considering how to better keep physical continuity between the Stanford with which alumni are familiar and Stanford today.

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Jennifer Eberhardt, *Biased: Uncovering the Hidden Prejudice that Shapes What We See, Think, and Do* (New York: Penguin, 2019).



Another major worry was that Jordan's role in the history of the University would be erased by renaming. Several people expressed the view that students today should learn both Jordan's and Stanford's history. One current student who had earlier supported renaming reconsidered and felt that retaining the name Jordan Hall would serve as an important reminder to many of the people in the building that they are fortunate to live in an era in which they are welcomed and valued. As many noted, however, the name itself told them little about David Starr Jordan and required significant supplementation to learn who he was or what he did. Retaining the name would, therefore, not serve as a panacea for lack of historical memory. Furthermore, the fact that few expressed attachment to Jordan Hall specifically rather than the history of Jordan's connection to Stanford suggests that alternative approaches to telling that history as discussed in the Mitigation section, below, may be more crucial than retaining the name on Jordan Hall or other features inhabited by students, staff, and faculty.

### **E) Strength and Clarity of the Historical Evidence**

Based on its extensive review of the relevant primary and secondary materials, the Committee concluded that there was very strong evidence that Jordan used the platform the Stanford Presidency furnished to promote eugenics from an early moment, helped to organize the earliest associations furthering eugenics, and taught and spoke about eugenics to Stanford students in ways that influenced their future activities in this area. Whether or not his enthusiastic advocacy for eugenics was recognized during the second half of the twentieth century, the Committee is convinced that the evidence demonstrates that Jordan had a formative role in eugenics at the same time as he served as the first president of Stanford University.

### **F) The University's Prior Consideration of the Issues**

To our knowledge, Jordan's connection with the eugenics movement was not discussed at the time Jordan Hall or the other features concerned in our report were named nor has renaming been formally considered before.

### **G) Opportunities for Mitigation**

The vast majority of the hundreds of individuals commenting online and in person emphasized the importance of conjoining any decision that our Committee reached with an adequate accounting of David Starr Jordan's complicated life and its relation to Stanford University. Our Committee therefore concluded that it will be essential not only to rename Jordan Hall but also to excavate and recount that history. While continuing to honor Jordan by having his name affixed to buildings would be incompatible with the University's values, renaming in this case, if accompanied by a proactive effort including elements such as those described below, will render Jordan's history better known than before. Through engaging substantively with Jordan and his part in Stanford's history, the University can play a leading role in rejecting the idea that renaming is simply forgetting and demonstrate the ways in which history can be better told than through buildings or monuments.

Implementation of this effort will require thoughtful assessment of opportunities for impact, as well as engagement with historians, members of the campus community, and campus planners. Below we offer examples of specific projects that the committee found particularly compelling.

### **1) Augmented Reality Experience**

One opportunity is for Stanford to build on its local expertise in art and technology (<https://arts.stanford.edu/for-faculty/art-tech/>) to create an augmented reality (AR) experience that visitors can access that would show them the history of Jordan Hall and its statues at different moments in Stanford's past as well as furnish more information about Jordan's complex biography and role in Stanford's history. There have been similar projects undertaken by Monument Lab (<https://monumentlab.com/>) and by Stanford Public Art Committee member and former Trustee Christy MacLear. Committee member Anna Toledano has also worked on an art/AR project at Stanford called Art++ (<https://brown.columbia.edu/portfolio/art/>), which could inform such a display. Such an AR experience would allow visitors access to the Stanford of past generations while simultaneously giving building occupants the option not to engage with Jordan's fraught legacy. If the AR project were expanded to cover more of campus, it might also address the concerns raised by alumni that it is difficult to connect with the physical structure of campus today due to its significant transformations. In addition to the augmented reality experience, the University could consider mounting an explanatory plaque located in Jordan Hall.

### **2) Visitor Center Exhibit, Publications, and Website**

One of the commentators suggested using the Stanford Visitor Center to host a permanent exhibit that would highlight Jordan's role in the history of Stanford as well as discussing the history of eugenics at Stanford. We believe this is a productive recommendation which could be further augmented by having Stanford fund a scholarly research project that would furnish material for this exhibit as well as possibly a traveling exhibit and educational materials along the lines of the Chinese Railroad Workers Project (<https://news.stanford.edu/thedish/2019/10/13/chinese-railroad-workers-project-exhibit-honored-by-california-preservation-foundation/>) pioneered by Stanford faculty members Gordon H. Chang and Shelley Fisher Fishkin. Such investigations could also build upon and incorporate the work already accomplished by the Stanford Eugenics History Project.

As the Committee discovered in researching Jordan, much remains untold or underexplored with regard to Jordan's role in promoting eugenics. While the Committee has performed significant work on this issue, there are vast numbers of documents in the Jordan archives that we were not able to examine due to time and the exigencies of library closures caused by a combination of the Covid-19 pandemic and wildfire smoke. During the course of our research, we read several important volumes pertaining to Stanford's history published by Stanford University Press. One possibility would be to pursue an edited collection on Jordan with the Press. We would also propose creating a permanent website

that would furnish a fuller picture of Jordan's complicated life and role in Stanford's history.

### **3) Educational Programming at Stanford**

Considering Stanford's mission, we recommend development of more robust educational opportunities to engage with the wider campus community regarding Jordan's legacy and the impact of eugenics and scientific racism. In this vein, we support the reaffirmation of President Marc Tessier-Lavigne's plan for hiring 10 tenure-track faculty members whose research focuses on the impact of race in America, appointing a new director of the King Institute as longtime director Clayborne Carson retires, and considering departmentalization of African and African American Studies.<sup>178</sup>

A number of Stanford faculty members are engaged in ongoing efforts to foreground aspects of Jordan's history and involvement with eugenics and they should be further supported and funded as needed (including Psychology Professor Steven Roberts' courses, Psychology 1 and Psychology 21N, and Biology Professor Marcus Feldman, Law Professor Hank Greely, and History Professor Jessica Riskin's speaker series). There is currently no graduate level course on these subjects, however; an interdisciplinary seminar involving faculty from bioethics, life science, psychology, law, education, history, social, political, and economic sciences could be a welcome addition.

To extend the reach of educational mitigation through student research, an interesting possibility would be to create an annual funded prize for both an undergraduate and a graduate thesis on a topic related to racism, pseudoscience, and/or eugenics. The university president would select one undergraduate and one graduate awardee per year and invite the winners to present their research to the campus community. This event could also include an open portion to allow the community to express their views; we bring forward this suggestion having seen the powerful impact of the open forums that we hosted while preparing this Report.

### **4) "Envisioning Campus" Project**

While renaming Jordan Hall is an important step toward achieving Stanford's goals of equity and inclusion, we would also propose that the University form a committee with a broader scope that would be tasked with considering how to render the campus more inviting to all community members, while at the same time engaging in a meaningful and ongoing way with the university's history.<sup>179</sup> This "Envisioning Campus" project, which

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<sup>178</sup> <http://president.stanford.edu/2020/06/30/advancing-racial-justice-at-stanford/>.

<sup>179</sup> This recommendation is consistent with several recent reports elsewhere that suggest combining proactive interventions with review of names and monuments to which there are objections. The President's Commission on University in the Age of Segregation at the University of Virginia recently suggested rendering the Committee on Memorialization and Mission "responsible for all memorialization practices across Grounds, inclusive of proposing new names for buildings intended to bear honorific and philanthropic names, but also to oversee the process of evaluating existing but potentially inappropriate names or monuments and

would build on existing efforts like the Town Center Project, could help to provide a means for a proactive, constructive effort to manifest the university's goals of welcoming all members of the community, while maintaining continuity with the past and future of the campus as a physical environment. This committee could also serve as a resource for future renaming requests, thereby connecting renaming processes into an affirmative project of creating a more intentional campus. In doing so, the committee might help create efficiencies in the process of considering future renaming requests. Finally, this group could also signal periodically when the Principles and Procedures for Renaming are in need of revision.

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making a recommendation to the president for any name changes, monument removal, or recontextualization," <https://segregation.virginia.edu/wp-content/uploads/2020/06/Memorialization-and-Mission-at-UVA-Committee-Report-March-2020.pdf>, 12. New York's 2018 Mayoral Commission on City Art, Monuments, and Markers likewise recommended combining an affirmative approach with treating requests for removal, writing that, "in order for the City to ensure that public spaces are inclusive for all New Yorkers, it should proactively invest in the addition of new public works, public dialogues, and educational initiatives around historical moments and figures." <https://www1.nyc.gov/assets/monuments/downloads/pdf/mac-monuments-report.pdf>, 11.

## AGASSIZ MONUMENT REPORT

We write separately to address whether the statue of Louis Agassiz affixed to Jordan Hall should be removed, both in order to highlight the slightly different factors we believe should be considered in determining whether a monument honoring a person should be removed and to review Agassiz's particular history. For the reasons discussed below, we recommend removing the Agassiz statue from its current location but retaining it on campus in a new context.

### **I Principles for Monument Removal**

The Renaming Committee concluded that we should largely apply the existing Renaming Principles to cases in which monuments honor particular individuals. Because of the longstanding policy of Stanford's public art program, there are very few monuments to specific people on campus. Indeed, the only ones of which the Committee is aware outside of Athletics consist in the four figures represented at the front of the Quad, facing Palm Drive (Appendix B, Figures A and F), those of Johannes Gutenberg, Benjamin Franklin, Alexander von Humboldt, and Louis Agassiz, the subject of this request. Nevertheless, because monuments to particular people raise different considerations than other artwork, our recommendations about how to modify the Renaming Principles apply only to representations honoring specific individuals.

With regard to these kind of monuments, we believe that the Renaming Principles should be expanded to include two further considerations:

#### **Manner of Representation**

Statues may treat their subjects in a more nuanced way than a name. The way in which a monument represents a figure may change its meaning and render the work either more or less of an endorsement of the individual. For example, had Stanford kept the Agassiz statue head down as it landed after the 1906 earthquake (Appendix B, Figure G), it would be difficult to argue that the statue was unequivocally honoring Agassiz. Likewise, the Museum of Natural History in New York recently announced that it would remove a monument depicting Theodore Roosevelt on a horse with a Native American and an African man walking at his side. In explaining the decision, Museum president Ellen Futter elaborated that "the museum's decision was based on the statue itself—namely its 'hierarchical composition'—and not on Roosevelt, whom the museum continues to honor as a 'pioneering conservationist.'"<sup>180</sup> Manner of representation should be considered not only in the initial decision about whether to remove a monument, but also in evaluating whether it would be possible to recontextualize the statue in its existing location and what to do with it if it has been removed.

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<sup>180</sup> Robin Pogrebin, "Roosevelt Statute to Be Removed from Museum of Natural History," *New York Times*, June 21, 2020.

## Aesthetic Value

Some statues may have particular aesthetic value; they may be examples of the work of a notable artist, exemplars of a specific style, or otherwise of aesthetic note. Conversely, monuments may lack such value.<sup>181</sup> The aesthetic value of a statue should not be determinative in the decision about whether to remove it but should be weighed significantly in deciding what should happen with the statue after removal and whether it should be displayed elsewhere on campus or put away out of public view. Hence we would like to include this consideration under the Mitigation factor.

## II Application of Principles to Agassiz Statue

There is much unknown about the original decision to honor scientist Louis Agassiz at Stanford. In recent years, many have come to see the figures represented as part of an intellectual genealogy culminating in David Starr Jordan. That would be a reasonable assumption given Jordan's close connection with Agassiz, whose mentorship Jordan extols in his autobiography.<sup>182</sup> In this vein, Stanford President Gerhard Casper writes that "Alexander von Humboldt had been Agassiz's mentor, and Agassiz, in turn, had furthered the scientific interests of David Starr Jordan, Stanford's first president. What Michael Polanyi once referred to as 'the apostolic succession of scientists' thus finds an expression in that conjunction of the two statues with Jordan Hall."<sup>183</sup>

Yet it appears to have been Jane Stanford who ordered all of the statues to be made by the firm of Antonio Frilli in Florence during 1900-1901. As she wrote in a letter to Andrew Dickson White, "I have given to [Frilli] a large order for busts and full size figures in marble of some of our famous statesmen, men of letters art & science to embellish the interior of the Library and outside of the buildings."<sup>184</sup> Although it is difficult to infer much from omission, Jane Stanford does not mention Jordan as part of the decision-making regarding the statues, nor does he claim credit for it elsewhere in his writings. Leland Stanford himself had been an admirer of Agassiz; as Jordan recounts in *Days of a Man*, "I also recall with pleasure the admiration, almost veneration, of both Mr. and Mrs. Stanford for the educational ideals and personality of Agassiz, who was once their guest in San Francisco."<sup>185</sup> Leland Stanford's personal library, destroyed in the 1906 earthquake, was decorated by portraits of Franklin, Humboldt, and Agassiz, among others.<sup>186</sup>

The statues enjoyed a variegated history following their erection. Most famously, the tragic 1906 San Francisco earthquake, which had dire implications for the Stanford

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<sup>181</sup> Faced with recent proposals to house monuments that have been taken down in museums, some curators have objected and pointed out that, given space constraints, these monuments may displace other works that would be more valuably displayed.

<sup>182</sup> David Starr Jordan, *Days of a Man*, vol. 1 (Yonkers-on-Hudson: World Book Co., 1922), 108-128, 144.

<sup>183</sup> Gerhard Casper, *The Winds of Freedom: Addressing Challenges to the University* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), 28.

<sup>184</sup> Letter from Jane Stanford to Andrew Dickson White (May 19, 1901), SC0033B\_s1\_b02\_f04\_i025.

<sup>185</sup> *Days of a Man*, vol. 1, 123.

<sup>186</sup> Flora Haines Apponyi, *The Libraries of California* (San Francisco: A.L. Bancroft, 1878), 7.

community among others, dislodged the monument to Louis Agassiz from its position affixed to the Zoology Building and landed it headfirst in the concrete, in an image that has become iconic. The Agassiz statue resumed its place of prominence as part of the post-earthquake restoration. Later, in 1949, two of the other statues, those of Gutenberg and Franklin, were taken down when Wallenberg Hall was renovated to house Stanford Law School and eventually went missing. Replicas were recently commissioned and installed in 2013.<sup>187</sup>

### **A) The Centrality of the Person's Offensive Behavior to His or Her Life as a Whole**

Christopher Irmscher's recent biography, *Louis Agassiz: Creator of American Science*, demonstrates both Agassiz's contributions to the creation of modern science and his thoroughgoing racism, which Stephen Jay Gould also elaborated upon in *The Mismeasure of Man*.<sup>188</sup> Born in Switzerland, Agassiz emigrated to the United States in 1847 and became a professor of zoology and geology at Harvard. His most important scientific contributions included work on the movement of glaciers and the notion that "fossils from extinct species could be explained by multiple catastrophic ice ages."<sup>189</sup> As a scientist, however, he found himself marginalized by the end of his life because of his refusal to accept the premises of Darwinian evolution.<sup>190</sup>

As Gould describes, Agassiz converted to his position of polygenism, or "the doctrine of human races as separate species," following "his first experience with American blacks." He "became the leading spokesman for polygeny in America."<sup>191</sup> His promotion of polygenism was accompanied by statements of personal racial disgust. In a letter to his mother, Agassiz wrote:

It was in Philadelphia that I first found myself in prolonged contact with Negroes; all the domestics in my hotel were men of color. I can scarcely express to you the painful impression that I received, especially since the feeling that they inspired in me is contrary to all our ideas about the confraternity of the human type [genre] and the unique origin of our species. But truth before all. Nevertheless, I experienced pity at the sight of this degraded and degenerate race, and their lot inspired compassion in me in thinking that they are really men. Nonetheless, it is impossible for me to reprocess the feeling that they are not of the same blood as us. In seeing their black faces with their thick lips and grimacing teeth, the wool on their head, their bent knees, their elongated hands, their large curved nails, and especially the livid color of the palm of their hands, I could not take my eyes off their face in order to tell them to stay far away. And when they advanced that hideous hand towards

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<sup>187</sup> Kathleen J. Sullivan, "Johann Gutenberg and Benjamin Franklin Return to Wallenberg Hall," *Stanford Report* (Feb. 5, 2013), <https://news.stanford.edu/news/2013/february/statues-replace-wallenberg-020513.html>.

<sup>188</sup> Christopher Irmscher, *Louis Agassiz: Creator of American Science* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 2013); Stephen Jay Gould, *The Mismeasure of Man* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1996).

<sup>189</sup> Audra J. Wolf, "The Unloved Naturalist," *Chemical and Engineering News*, vol. 91, no. 20 (May 20, 2013).

<sup>190</sup> Gould, *Mismeasure of Man*, 82.

<sup>191</sup> *Mismeasure of Man*, 75.

my plate in order to serve me, I wished I were able to depart in order to eat a piece of bread elsewhere, rather than dine with such service. What unhappiness for the white race—to have tied their existence so closely with that of Negroes in certain countries! God preserve us from such contact!<sup>192</sup>

Although Agassiz opposed slavery, his insistence on polygeny was assumed by some to be, in the words of Charles Darwin, a “comfort to the slave-holding Southerners.”<sup>193</sup> It is also worth noting that Agassiz’s own mentor, Alexander von Humboldt, “believed in the basic unity of humankind” as well as “racial equality,” so Agassiz’s views were a departure in the direction of inequality.<sup>194</sup>

Agassiz’s advocacy was not solely for a misguided scientific theory, but for policies of racial segregation and laws against intermarriage, ones that would later be implemented after the failure of Reconstruction. Agassiz was asked for his views by his friend Samuel Gridley Howe, who served as a member of the American Freedmen’s Inquiry Commission, set up to investigate the condition of former slaves freed by the Emancipation Proclamation and determine what assistance they might need going forward.<sup>195</sup> Agassiz responded extensively in several missives.

Within the first letter, he condemned intermarriage, writing:

Whites and blacks may multiply together, but their offspring is never either white or black; it is always mulatto. It is a half-breed, and shares all the peculiarities of half-breeds, among whose most important characteristics is their sterility, or at least their reduced fecundity. This shows the connection to be contrary to the normal state of the races, as it is contrary to the preservation of species in the animal kingdom. . . . [Intermarriage] is unnatural . . . [and] [i]t is immoral . . .<sup>196</sup>

Agassiz sent another missive the very next day further insisting that “the population arising from the amalgamation of two races is always degenerate.”<sup>197</sup> He asks Howe to consider “for a moment the difference it would make in future ages for the prospects of republican institutions, and our civilization generally, if instead of the manly population descended from cognate nations the United States should be inhabited by the effeminate progeny of mixed races, half Indian, half negro, sprinkled with white blood.”<sup>198</sup>

With regard to equality, Agassiz separated legal from political and social equality. Although he embraced what he called the legal equality of African-Americans (including the right to enter into contracts and testify in court), he contended that “they are incapable of living on a footing of social equality with the whites in one and the same community

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<sup>192</sup> Quoted in *Mismeasure of Man*, 77.

<sup>193</sup> Quoted in Irmscher, *Louis Agassiz: Creator of American Science*, 231.

<sup>194</sup> *Louis Agassiz*, 220.

<sup>195</sup> James McPherson, “A Brief for Equality: The Abolitionist Response to the Racist Myth, 1860-1865,” in *The Antislavery Vanguard*, ed. Martin Duberman (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965), 166-168; *Louis Agassiz*, 247-265.

<sup>196</sup> Letter from Agassiz to Howe (Aug. 9, 1863), 598-599.

<sup>197</sup> Letter from Agassiz to Howe (Aug. 10, 1863), 601.

<sup>198</sup> Letter from Agassiz to Howe (Aug. 10, 1863), 603.



without becoming an element of social disorder.”<sup>199</sup> He also expressed significant reservations about political equality.<sup>200</sup>

Agassiz thus extended his racist views from the scientific into the policy arena. As Irmscher’s biography and other scholarly material suggests, they were central to his life and work.

## **B) Relation to the University Community**

Agassiz bears only a tenuous relationship to the Stanford University community. Agassiz’s academic work took place at Harvard University, not at Stanford. His principal connection stems from the Stanfords’ admiration for his work and educational philosophy, which Jordan described as “teach[ing his pupils] to think for [themselves], not merely to follow him.”<sup>201</sup> As described above, Jane Stanford commissioned the Agassiz statue, but we do not know her precise motivations for doing so. It can be assumed she was in part honoring some of the same figures who had been foregrounded in Leland Stanford’s library and in part endorsing Agassiz as a scientist of note in his day.

## **C) Harmful Impact of the Honoree’s Behavior**

Through the Renaming Committee’s outreach efforts described in the Jordan Report, we heard a number of specific assertions about the harm stemming from the Agassiz statue. One faculty member, whose office overlooks the statue, spoke eloquently at the Town Hall about her chagrin on having to view the feature through her window as she worked day and night in her office. A Psychology Department graduate student who had also been an undergraduate student and researcher here described the statue as a “symbol/representation/celebration of [a person] and ways of thinking that often exclude people like me from similar underrepresented backgrounds. Elite academic institutions are often perceived as inaccessible for people from marginalized/underrepresented backgrounds, and this is only reified when there are physical manifestations in the form of statues that celebrate this belief. This can stifle interest [and] motivation.” Those speaking of the harm caused by Jordan’s name on Jordan Hall often discussed Agassiz together with Jordan, so the description of impacts within the Jordan Report are relevant here as well.

## **D) Community Identification with the Feature**

Because of the prominence of the statue as well as Agassiz’s time with his head buried in concrete, the Agassiz statue has acquired particular significance within the Stanford community. It has also served as an educational example. For example, Simon Klemperer, a Professor of Geophysics at Stanford, has lectured extensively on the statue, “because the statute is not only a lesson in the danger of falling objects, but also demonstrates important principles in rock rheology (the study of the strength of Earth

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<sup>199</sup> Letter from Agassiz to Howe (Aug. 10, 1863), 607.

<sup>200</sup> Letter from Agassiz to Howe (Aug. 10, 1863), 604-605, 607.

<sup>201</sup> *Days of a Man*, vol. 1, 114.

materials) by showing the relative strength of marble and sandstone at surface temperature, a relationship that is famously reversed at depth.” Other Stanford faculty members have also used the statue for pedagogical purposes. These aspects of community identification are weighed in the forms of Mitigation we recommend.

#### **E) Manner of Representation**

Located prominently at the end of Palm Drive and raised up on Jordan Hall, the statue of Agassiz undoubtedly serves to honor him.

#### **F) Strength and Clarity of the Historical Evidence**

Agassiz was undoubtedly the principal proponent of polygenism in the United States and the evidence of his advocacy against racial intermarriage and for various forms of inequality is clear from his own writings as well as scholarly accounts of his life and work.

#### **G) University’s Prior Consideration**

As far as the Renaming Committee can tell, the University has never before considered a request to remove the Agassiz statue.

#### **H) Opportunities for Mitigation**

It is worth noting that a number of commentators suggested replacing the Agassiz statue in the position it assumed after the 1906 earthquake, as long as this would not cause any safety issues. In the view of the Renaming Committee, because of the pedagogical significance of the statue and its role in Stanford’s history, the statue of Agassiz should be kept in a visible location on campus after being removed. Although other similar options might be considered, there are two principal alternatives that the Committee discussed and felt would be appropriate, in addition to the AR project discussed in the Jordan Committee Report.

First, along lines suggested by English Professor Nicholas Jenkins, who serves on the Public Art Committee, Stanford could commission an artist from one of the groups disparaged by Agassiz to re-envision the statue and create a work of art that would incorporate the monument, and be displayed somewhere on campus.

Second, the Agassiz statue could be relocated to the Cantor Art Museum or another space on campus where it could be displayed in the company of explanatory materials both about Agassiz’s life and positions and the history of the statue at Stanford.

We hope that these Reports enable you to resolve the requests that you have received.

Sincerely,

Marc Chappelle, Class of 2021, B.A. Psychology, minor African and African American Studies

Peter Chen, ('80, M.S. '80), Partner, Covington & Burling LLP

Diane T. Chin, Associate Dean for Public Service and Public Interest Law, Stanford Law School

Ari Y. Kelman, Jim Joseph Professor of Education and Jewish Studies, Graduate School of Education

Bernadette Meyler (Chair), Carl and Sheila Spaeth Professor and Associate Dean for Research, Stanford Law School

Ato Quayson, FGA, FRSC, FBA, Professor of English, School of Humanities & Sciences

Anna Toledano, Ph.D. Candidate in History of Science

Josh Tycko, Ph.D. Candidate in Genetics

Vaughn C. Williams (JD '69), Partner (retired), Skadden, Arps, Slate, Meagher & Flom LLP

Staff: Matthew Tiews, Associate Vice President for Campus Engagement

## Appendix A. Brief Biographies of Committee Members

**Marc Cunanan Chappelle** is a senior at Stanford. He is majoring in Psychology with a minor in African and African American Studies.

**Peter Chen** (B.S./M.S '80) majored in Biological Sciences at Stanford. He is a partner at the law firm of Covington & Burling LLP. Prior to joining Covington, he served in the U.S. Department of Commerce as a Lead Administrative Patent Judge at the U.S. Patent and Trademark Office, and also practiced intellectual property law at other law firms and corporations in the San Francisco Bay Area. He is a member of the Stanford Associates and the Stanford Buck/Cardinal Club board of directors.

**Diane T. Chin** is the Associate Dean for Public Service and Public Interest Law at Stanford Law School and the Acting Director of Stanford's Center for Racial Justice. She serves as a lecturer in law, teaching Public Interest Law and Practice, policy practicum working with state agencies to advance civil rights and equity frameworks, and other courses. Diane started her legal career in civil rights at the Boston Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights. She has also served as a staff attorney and project director at the Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights of the San Francisco Bay Area, a fair housing attorney for Disability Rights California (then known as Protection & Advocacy, Inc.), a senior trial attorney for the San Francisco Department of Police Accountability (formerly the Office of Citizen Complaints) for the San Francisco Police Commission, executive director of Chinese for Affirmative Action, a civil rights organization based in San Francisco Chinatown, and director of Equal Justice Works/West. Diane was an adjunct member of the New College of Law faculty (Race and the Law, Constitutional Law) and an associate director of the Henderson Center for Social Justice at UC Berkeley Law, where she participated in research on the impact of Proposition 209 on the economic opportunities for women and people of color as well as on the equitable return options in New Orleans, Louisiana following the impacts of Hurricane Katrina. Her substantive areas of practice have been within the civil rights field: hate violence, police accountability, affirmative action, redistricting, and fair housing.

**Ari Y Kelman** is the inaugural holder of the Jim Joseph Professorship in Education and Jewish Studies in the Stanford Graduate School of Education, where he is the director of the Concentration in Education and Jewish Studies and serves as the Director of the BJPA @ Stanford. He holds a courtesy appointment in Religious Studies, and is a faculty affiliate of the Center for Comparative Studies in Race and Ethnicity, and the American Studies Program. He is the author of a few books about American Jewish life and culture, including *Station Identification: A Cultural History of Yiddish Radio* (University of California Press, 2010), and *Shout to the Lord: Making Worship Music in Evangelical America* (NYU Press, 2018). He is also the co-editor of *Beyond Jewish Identity* (Scholars' Press, 2019), and is the co-editor of the journal, *Jewish Social Studies*. He is also the author of a number of reports about American Jews, exploring issues like antisemitism and race. His research explores the forms and practices of religious transmission, and it has taken him to church, to Krakow, Poland, to many many b'nai mitzvah, and deep into the archives of religious music of the early 1970s.

**Bernadette Meyler** is Carl and Sheila Spaeth Professor of Law and Associate Dean for Research at Stanford Law School and Professor (by Courtesy) of English at Stanford. As a 2020 Guggenheim Fellow in Constitutional Law and Fellow at the Stanford Humanities Center, she is completing a book on constitutional interpretation, *Common Law Originalism*, as well as *Law and Literature: An Introduction*. She has published widely on constitutional law, legal history, and law and literature, including *Theaters of Pardoning* (2019) and co-edited collections *New Directions in Law and Literature* (2017) and *The Oxford Handbook of Law and Humanities* (2020). Before entering law teaching, she clerked for Judge Robert Katzmann on the United States Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit. She has been engaged in many other administrative activities at Stanford, including serving on the 2018 Advisory Committee on Renaming Junipero Serra Features.

**Ato Quayson** is Professor of English at Stanford, where he has been since September 2019. Prior to that he held teaching positions at the University of Cambridge (1995-2005), the University of Toronto (2005-2017), and NYU (2017-2019). He has published widely on African Literature, Postcolonial Studies, and Disability Studies, among others. He is Fellow of the Ghana Academy of Arts and Sciences, the Royal Society of Canada, and of the British Academy. He is founding Editor of the *Cambridge Journal of Postcolonial Literary Inquiry*, and currently President of the African Studies Association. His book *Tragedy and Postcolonial Literature* is in press at Cambridge University Press and due out in February 2021.

**Matthew Tiews** is associate vice president for campus engagement at Stanford University and is the interim senior associate vice president for the arts. In the arts, he will take a broad look at the opportunities for the arts organizations within the Vice President for the Arts portfolio that includes the Anderson Collection at Stanford University, the Cantor Arts Center, the Institute for Diversity in the Arts, Stanford Arts Institute and Stanford Live. As AVP for campus engagement, Matthew is responsible for activating the campus community as a vital part of the vision and mission of the university. As a first priority, he is leading the process of developing a vision for the White Plaza area as a new Town Center for Stanford. He is also responsible for a variety of other initiatives to create connections for the campus community and engagement with the university's mission, including chairing the university's Public Art Committee.

**Anna Toledano** is a PhD candidate studying history of science. Her dissertation, "Collecting Empire: The Science and Politics of Natural History Museums in New Spain, 1770-1820," focuses on natural history collecting in eighteenth-century Spain and Spanish America. Most recently, Anna published a co-authored chapter with Paula Findlen, "The Materials of Natural History," in the edited volume *Worlds of Natural History* (Cambridge University Press, 2018). Her academic work has been supported by the Huntington Library, the John Carter Brown Library, the Mabelle McLeod Lewis Memorial Fund, and the Europe Center and the Center for Latin American Studies at Stanford. Anna is also a museum professional and has developed interpretive content at a variety of museum institutions. In particular, she has experience working on augmented reality mobile applications, such as the Cantor Arts Center's "Art++" (2016) and the New York Botanical Garden's "Wild Medicine" (2014). She also works as a museum educator at the Computer History Museum in Mountain View,

CA. Anna holds an MA in Museum Anthropology from Columbia University and an AB in History of Science from Princeton University.

**Josh Tycko** is a 5th year Ph.D. candidate in Genetics at Stanford Medicine. Here, he is systematically defining the proteins and DNA elements that control human gene expression by performing genetic screens, with support from the NIDDK F99/K00 fellowship. Previously, Josh helped develop human gene therapies for rare genetic disorders using CRISPR genome editing at a biotechnology startup company. He earned a B.A. in Biological Mathematics from the University of Pennsylvania.

**Vaughn Williams**, a retired partner at Skadden, Arps, Slate, Meagher & Flom, is a 1969 graduate of Stanford Law School. As an alumnus, he has participated in the following Stanford activities: Emeritus and former member of the Stanford Board of Trustees (including service as chair of the Board's Audit Committee), current member of the Stanford Arts Advisory Council, current member of the Law School Dean's Advisory Council, member of recent search committees for the Stanford University President and for the Stanford Law School Dean. Vaughn is also involved in numerous not-for-profit and other projects unrelated to Stanford.

## Appendix B. Figures

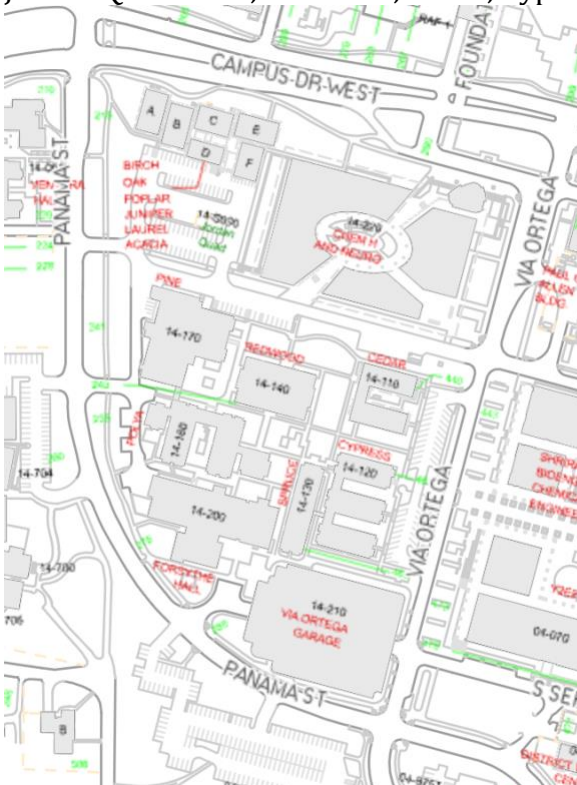
**Figure A**

Jordan Hall (with Agassiz Statue)



**Figure B**

Jordan Quad: Pine, Redwood, Cedar, Cypress, Spruce, Polya Buildings







Cedar Hall



Cypress Hall



Pine Hall



Polya Hall



Redwood Hall



Spruce Hall



## Figure C

Jordan Modulares: Birch, Oak, Poplar, Juniper, Laurel, Acacia



Acacia Hall



Birch Hall



Laurel Hall

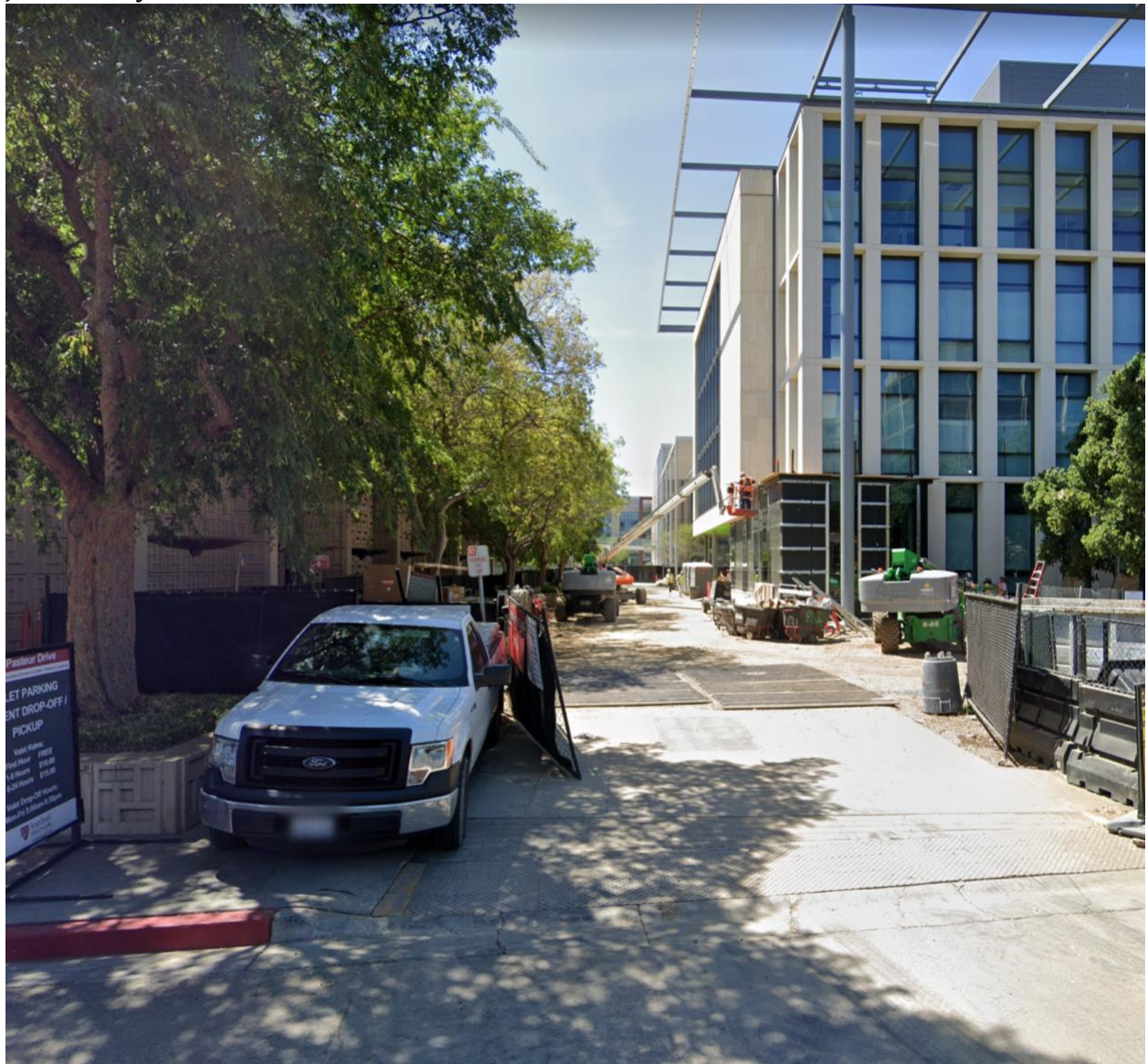


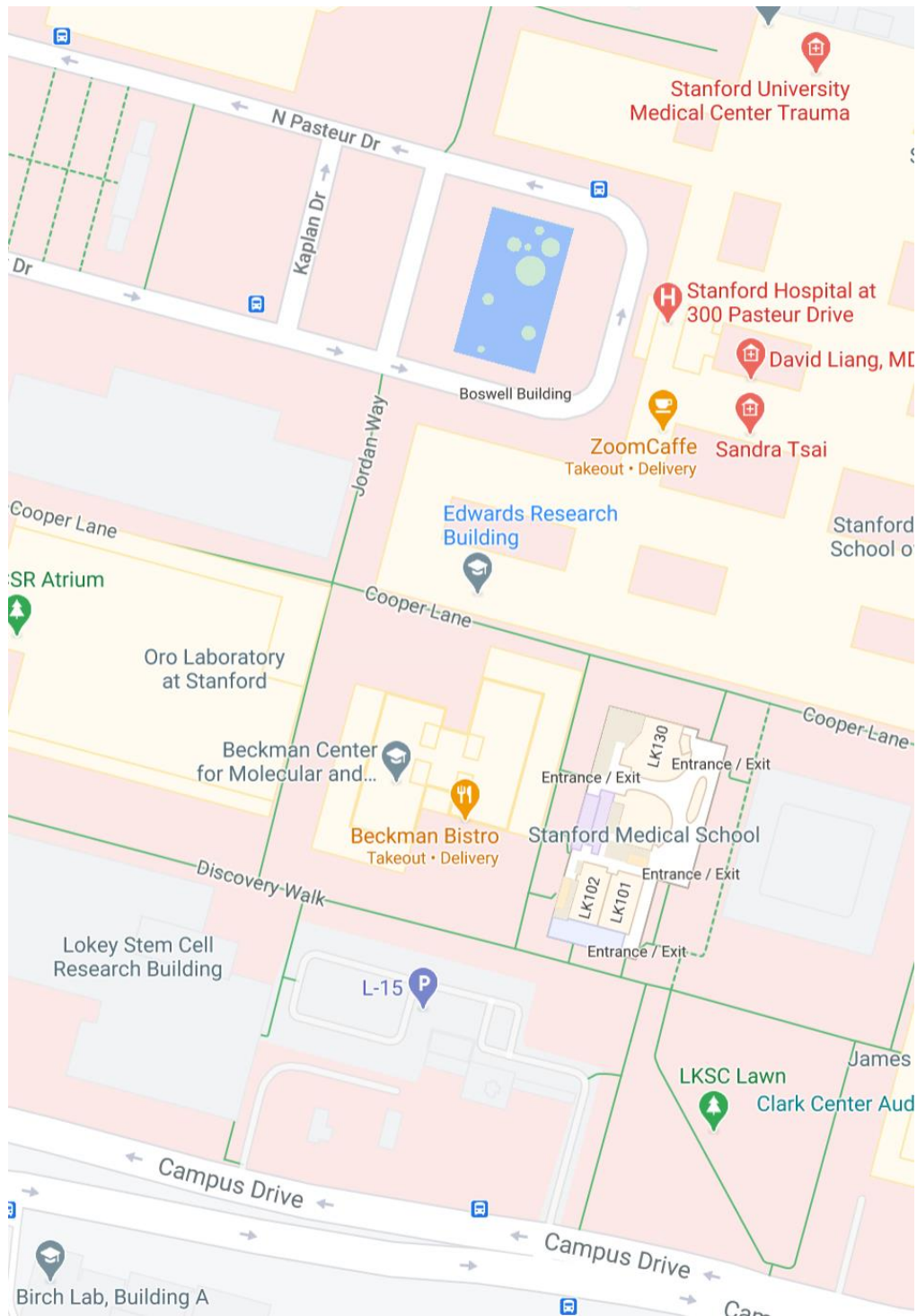
Poplar Hall



Juniper Hall

**Figure D**  
Jordan Way







**Figure E**  
Haus Mitteleuropa



**Figure F**  
Statues of Gutenberg and Franklin



**Figure G**  
Agassiz Statue Following the 1906 Earthquake

