The Eugenic University

by

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Abstract

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This dissertation examines the university and institutions of schooling as technologies of power imbricated in the state violences they purport to be separate from or the solution to. I examine the logics of the university within the assemblages of policing, settlement, and empire of the U.S. state and its racial capitalist regime. I use methodological practices of "curation" to draw together disjunctive moments, theories, and analytic techniques in order to highlight new analyses and openings for contestation. I explore Northern California universities in the Progressive Era as a case study of these assemblages, examining key university administrators, professors, and researchers who were involved in the burgeoning eugenics movement. These include August Vollmer, the "father of modern policing" and the founder of the first university criminology department; Leo Stanley, chief surgeon and researcher at San Quentin State Prison; David Starr Jordan, first president of Stanford University and preeminent philosopher of eugenics; and David Prescott Barrows, president of UC Berkeley, phrenologist, and architect of the public school system in the Philippines. Data sources include Bancroft Library Archives, including the major collections of the August Vollmer Papers and David P. Barrows Papers; the Marin County Free Library archives, including the David Starr Jordan Papers, Leo L. Stanley Papers, and archives related to the Panama-Pacific International Exhibition; and the published works available online of Vollmer, Stanley, Jordan, and Barrows. The first chapter interrogates writings of August Vollmer and Leo L. Stanley with a discussion of prisons and policing in the context of racial capitalism. The second chapter brings theorizations of David Starr Jordan together with an analysis of democratization of land and education in the context of settler colonialism. The third chapter analyzes the work of David P. Barrows and colonial and international education in the context of U.S. imperialism. Together, these chapters discuss the technologies and logics of education, schooling, and universities in order to curate a broader critique of the institutions and the nature and structure of the United States.

Para todos, todo.

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Acknowledgments

I live and write on the territory of Huichin, unceded Chochenyo Ohlone land, and I and my family were no more invited to be here than was UC Berkeley. Just because it gets tossed out half the time as an empty woke performance doesn't mean it's not true and important to repeat until our teeth bleed that this struggle against white erasure and settler genocide is ongoing and urgent and requires way more than acknowledgment. I also studied and worked at an institution that is one of the greatest drivers of displacement in the East Bay, and since I moved here I have only lived in neighborhoods that used to be a lot more Black and Brown than they're becoming. I am a citizen of one of the nastiest empires in the history of the world, and my taxes fund state violence both here in Oakland and directly or secondarily around the globe in Palestine, and Yemen, and Colombia. There is no way to extricate myself from an economic system that stretches from California prisoners fighting fires to Amazon workers breaking their backs under threat of pandemic to Bangladeshi garment workers dying for the clothes I put on my body. These are all processes and structures that I participate and am complicit in, and if I or anyone acknowledge all of this and somehow think that it can end there at the point of rhetoric, we're all the asshole.

So, some serious gratitude goes to my comrades on the ground, in the streets, and building organizing and logistics networks committed to real structures of care and accountability towards and through the overthrow of these systems. The work is tangled and fraught and a lot of the times we got it wrong in one way or another, but you kept my head out of the abstract and in the actual stakes when I could have gotten sucked into the theoretical dithering of it all. I have a lot of love for the union dissidents and strikers and troublemakers fighting a labor trend towards bureaucracy and class reductionism. Forever solidarity to the tendencies in labor committed to the grassroots and the messy intersections of militancy, combating anti-Blackness, and connecting the fight to community beyond the artificial bounds of their work sector. Strangely enough, I have a certain appreciation for the university and the department for really driving home how disposable they consider their students and workers to be, and beginning to cohere the realization that the deep love I have for many of the people in and beyond this place is absolutely structurally at odds with the place itself.

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Most lastly and most importantly:

The last shout out goes hard to Bayley
For calming me down somewhat daily
When I'm a hot mess
You're always the best
For perspective, zombies, and cocktails.

Seriously though, you are the most solid and wonderful friend imaginable. Honestly all the Marquezes—Jav for making fun of the "judgmental white girl" and keeping it real, Miranda for the choreographed rendition of "Let it Go" so I would actually send the thing, and Sephie for always being adorable cheeky background noise on phone calls.

I'm sure I'm forgetting so much and so many; I love you all and you're why it's always worth it to keep trying to build thicker webs of care and justice here in the end of the world.

We now, are living in the wake of such pseudoscience.

-Christina Sharpe, *In the Wake: On Blackness and Being*[1]

We have to know that the half-life of empire has passed. Are we going to hasten it?

-Savannah Shange, *Antiblackness, the University and Policing today*[2]

Introduction

Between fighting cops and fighting university administrators to keep neo-nazis off of campus and to pay its workers a living wage, there was something in my politics that shattered, reconstituted, and clarified in 2014. It was a moment that permanently shifted where I was going to put my energies and what I saw as the point of study. Resonant with what Sara Ahmed calls a "feminist snap,"[3] I ran up against the impasse of the university as a simultaneous assemblage with other embedded points of social contestation. This was a clear instance showing "the impasse of higher education as rooted in *political* questions about conflicts between alternative modes of world-making that are co-constitutive with certain modes of study and self-making."[4] I began thinking more and more about what Dylan Rodriguez puts well, how "progressive dreams of a 'democratic' global civil society (the broad premise of the liberal-progressive antiglobalization movement) already presumes (and therefore fortifies) existing structures of social liquidation, including biological and social death."[5] In 1996 Lorenzo Kom'boa Ervin pointed out that we need to kill the cop in our heads.[6] The usefulness of this framing is that it reminds us how structural, and group-based analyses are also deeply personal, something we're fundamentally embedded in, participate in, and have to figure out how we're going to grapple with. This project for me became an attempt to kill the liberal in my head.

The different chapters in this dissertation analyze more sharply the imbrication of the university and institutions of schooling in myriad state violences that they pretend to be separate from or the solution to. The university functions as a spatial fix for global capital[7] (after all, a lot of them, especially the elite ones, are more hedge funds than schools), a very specific spoke on the wheel of settlement, a heavily policed driver of

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[1] Christina Sharpe, *In The Wake: On Blackness and Being* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2016), 112.
[2] Savannah Shange, "Antiblackness, the University and Policing today." Webinar, October 1, 2020.
[3] Sara Ahmed, *Living a feminist life* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2016).
[4] Eli Meyerhoff, *Beyond Education: Radical studying for another world* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2019), 5.
[5] Dylan Rodriguez, "The political logic of the non-profit industrial complex," in *The Revolution Will Not Be Funded: Beyond the Non-Profit Industrial Complex,* ed. Incite! Women of Color Against Violence (Cambridge, MA: South End Press, 2007), 22.
[6] Lorenzo Kom'boa Ervin, "Authoritarian Leftists: Kill the Cop in Your Head," *Black Autonomy*, April 1996. Retrieved from https://archive.iww.org/history/library/Ervin/copinyourhead/.
[7] David Harvey, "The spatial fix–Hegel, von Thunen, and Marx," *Antipode* 13, no. 3 (1981): 1-12.

gentrification, and so on.[8] However, it is important to avoid the tunnel vision of academia as a privileged site of analysis. Sometimes I discuss the university in relation to education as an ideological construct or schooling as an institution, and other times when I talk about "the university" I'm using it as a case study for liberal reformism writ large. Schools and universities are worth analyzing in their particularity because they have become such a central technology in the exercise of power. In this vein, some of the aspects I explore in this project are the ideological constructions of professionalized expertise, egalitarian democracy, and civilizational development. However, if schools and universities weren't around the state would figure out a different way to do this work of maintaining social hierarchy through gratuitous violence. In talking about the university and schooling as a way of talking about how our political visions get sucked into the dead-end trap of reformist, liberal tinkering, I open up space for better imaginations about better horizons of an abolitionist, decolonizing, borderless world.

The following components of this introduction are a selection of meditations that I felt necessary to locate the rest of the dissertation project. I begin by situating my understanding of the university as that specific institutional space, with respect to the myths of liberal Enlightenment education, the notion that this idealized university is in crisis, and the deeper histories of what the university has historically been and done. I then explain my choice of the eugenics movement as a grounding moment through which to focus my critique of liberal reformism and the university. I frame and trouble some of the standard historiographies and discuss some of my concerns about the choice of this focal point, how it is remembered as spectacular, and how I'm contending with the elements of horror and terror inherent in this focus. After this brief literature discussion I lay out some of my methodological conundrums, and further trouble the already-troubled logic of periodization. I contend with some of the implicit questions of a project that is archival but doesn't claim to be "historical." Notably, I refuse the question of how much is particular to a specific time, and how much travels in a more undisciplined way across perceived separation of moments. This, and the other refusals with which I frame the project, understands refusal not just as "no" but a way to "make visible limits already staked out," as if "research is understood as settler-colonial knowledge, nothing less, and nothing more, it then makes sense why limits must be placed on it."[9] I compliment this refusal of periodization with an exploration of my approach in this project as one of curation. I end with brief chapter descriptions.

Review and Preview of Literature and Theory

Like many interdisciplinary projects that don't sit cozily in one conversation or canon, there are hundreds of different threads to pull on in framing and situating the understandings from which this project emerged. This section is not a holistic

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[8] Abigail Boggs, Eli Meyerhoff, Nick Mitchell, and Zach Schwartz-Weinstein, "Abolitionist University Studies: An Invitation," *Abolition University: studying within/against/beyond the university*, retrieved from https://abolition.university/invitation/.

[9] Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang, "R-words: Refusing research," *Humanizing research: Decolonizing qualitative inquiry for youth and communities*, 2014: 238, 223.

historiography of the eugenics movement, the history and theories of the "frontier" or settlement of the American West, the consolidation of universities and academic disciplines, empire and capitalism in the twentieth century, or the Progressive Era in its myriad complexity. Rather, I lay out some of my key orientations towards these questions--notably the nature of the university and the eugenics movement--highlighting the theoretical (sometimes also bleeding into methodological) lenses through which I perceive this project.

What is the university?

That this is a project about the university without being (only) about the university is entirely the point. I focus on the moderate, accommodationist, technocratic reforms that come from the same conceptual root as what they claim to be against—such as the brutality of police and prisons, capitalist exploitation of land, and authoritarian empire. In this project, I align with those who understand educational systems not as privileged sites of intellectual work separate from dirty work of imperialism, policing, settlement, and capitalist accumulation. Rather, universities and schools are central components of these assemblages and imbricated in the social processes to which they are often set up in contrast.

Existing contemporary critiques of the university often range from conservative complaints of liberal professors deviating from the glorious canon of Enlightenment rationality and filling their students' heads with cultural Marxism, to more left-leaning critiques that the university has deteriorated from a possibility of democratic education for liberation and become more privatized and beholden to market forces. Both ends of this critique share what Boggs and Mitchell call the "crisis consensus," that the core principles of the university are under attack, either from progressive propaganda or neoliberal marketization. The spectrum of these crisis-centric critiques run the gamut from less critical summaries of the university over time to sharper critiques of the neoliberal turn, but all of them frame the university as possessing a core potential of democratizing enlightenment and relative freedom for criticism and analysis. Even when acknowledging that this is an ideal that the university has, perhaps, never perfectly lived up to, this framing reifies the ideal as the university's central mission and deep purpose. The idea is that "[r]eason, culture, and excellence have long been the leading concepts undergirding higher education,"[10] and that "American higher education remained committed to the common good over time even as social, political, and economic forces pushed it in an opposing direction."[11] These critiques narrate how liberal arts education was intended to educate for freedom, extending education from just the elites to "all intellectually qualified citizens," and the neoliberalization of the university is endangering

[10] Arthur M. Cohen and Carrie B. Kister, The Shaping of American Higher Education: Emergence and growth of the contemporary system (San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass, 2010).
[11] Charles Dorn, *For the Common Good: A new history of higher education in America* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2017).

the "promise of liberal democracy."[12] The commonality shared by this spectrum of critique is the call to save the university from this crisis, and save it from being pulled away from its more noble purpose and potential. Instead of this question, I begin this project one layer deeper, with a framing that "would question the imperative to save the university, starting with the question of what is the university to be saved or what parts of it are worth saving."[13]

So, how can we understand the nature of the university if we are to understand it as a core component of state, capitalist, and settler assemblages? Work such as that of Craig Wilder takes a sharper view of the provenance, purpose, and practices of the university. His writings detail how the core of the university, from the land itself, the slave labor that built the structures, the endowments and fellowships from the sale of people and plantations, and the intellectual basis of the academic work, is founded in slavery and settlement. On a fundamental structural level, the academy "stood beside church and state as the third pillar of a civilization built on bondage…[slavery] carried the American academy into modernity…this bound the nation's intellectual culture to the future of American slavery and the slave trade."[14] One of the key justifications for the existence of southern universities, in particular, was to justify slavery,[15] and the connection of slavery to commodity production and international trade was the foundation for 19th and 20th century industrial capitalism, in which education was a central political weapon.[16] The violence of this process was all in the context of settlement, as colleges played a central role in frontier expansion and the doctrine of discovery that continues to be a powerful mode for accumulation and dispossession.[17] In this, the settler-student becomes a "stable, coherent, and autonomous human subject who also experiences hyper mobility and self-directed transformation,"[18] creating ontological parameters within the institution around who is the ideal subject striving towards the "promise of liberal democracy." Within this fraught history, the call to save the university creates "double binds and contradictory complicities that result from conflicting desires for decolonization *and* for fulfillment of the promises that colonial

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[12] Wendy Brown, *Undoing the Demos: Neoliberalism's stealth revolution* (New York, NY: Zone Books, 2015). Additionally, as a preview of my next section in this introduction, I'd like to point out here that I find the notion of intellectual qualification as filtered by the gatekeeping of the schools to be a fundamentally eugenic notion.

[13] Abigail Boggs and Nick Mitchell, "Critical university studies and the crisis consensus," *Feminist Studies* 44, no. 2 (2018): 432-463.

[14] Craig Steven Wilder, *Ebony and Ivy: Race, slavery, and the troubled history of America's universities* (New York, NY: Bloomsbury Press, 2013).

[15] Alfred L. Brophy, "Proslavery Political Theory in the Southern Academy: 1832-1861," in *Slavery and the University: Histories and Legacies*, ed. Leslie M. Harris, James T. Campbell, and Alfred L. Brophy (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2019), 76.

[16] William Henry Watkins, *The White Architects of Black Education: ideology and power in America, 1865-1954* (New York, NY: Teachers College Press, 2001).

[17] Sharon Stein, "A colonial history of the higher education present: Rethinking land-grant institutions through processes of accumulation and relations of conquest." *Critical Studies in Education* 61, no. 2 (2020): 212-228.

[18] Tiffany Lethabo King, *In the Clearing: Black Female Bodies, Space, and Settler Colonial Landscapes*. Doctoral dissertation, University of Maryland (2013), 93.

system offers."[19] This perspective writes a different history of our contemporary moment of the neoliberal university and its regime of debt, adjunctification, and precarity, and the necropolitical histories embedded in how "[c]oercion itself has become a market commodity."[20] The very idealized imagination of the university becomes a kind of "conflation of reason and terror,"[21] and this raises different questions about our relationship and complicity to this violence.

Referring to their work on the "undercommons" that has become a key text in critical studies of the academy, Fred Moten and Stefano Harney recently noted two ways that their book has been read that they wanted to clarify: it is not a book about the university, and they were less trying to exalt the subversive or critical or fugitive intellectual as much as trying to diagnose this figure, and show how there's no individualistic way to "rise above" complicity with the institution.[22] As someone who, in some ways, is writing about the university while not really/only writing about the university, I have similar questions about what we do from our positions in academia, in the heart of empire, and in the warped world we've built for ourselves. Harney noted that the oft-cited "in and not of" could have been possibly better phrased as an antagonism, building up unseen accomplices in the struggle against the university. He mused that maybe it's less about if there can be a moment that isn't antagonistic, and more if there is a moment of exodus.[23] K. Wayne Yang/la paperson's approach is less about exodus and more about how "dreams become blueprints, become realities, become ruins, become soil" for other schemes, about rewiring the machinery with an understanding that our conditions of rewiring are impermanent and bound to become broken and obsolete, that "only the bad guys build things that last forever."[24] What this looks like tactically in the immediate term is an open question, but I suspect that the work is similar to that of prison abolitionist work: pushing where we can and not (only) abolishing prisons but moving towards abolishing a society that could have prisons, abolishing a society that could have universities as these technologies of settlement, capitalist labor reproduction, and empire, using the ruins and soil for other schemes.

The spectacle of memory of the eugenics movement

In order to delineate the focus of these myriad overlapping systems of settlement, white supremacy, and capitalism, I explore the enmeshment of the university with the ideological and material work of the eugenics movement. The historical memory of the eugenics movement certainly makes it a spectacular focal point around which to organize the many different strands that thread through this project, and this spectacularity is

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[19] Sharon Stein and Vanessa de Oliveira Andreotti, "Decolonization and higher education," *Encyclopedia of educational philosophy and theory. Singapore: Springer Science+ Business Media* (2016): 374.
[20] Achille Mbembé and Libby Meintjes, "Necropolitics," *Public Culture* 15, no. 1 (2003): 32.
[21] Ibid., 19.
[22] Fred Moten and Stefano Harney, "the university: last words." FUC, July 9, 2020, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zqWMejD_XU8&feature=youtu.be.
[23] Ibid.
[24] la paperson, *A Third University Is Possible* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2017).

both the usefulness and the risk. Much of the usefulness is in a bait-and-switch for the reader. The immediate response of most to the slice of the eugenics movement that has been separated out to condemn in the historical narrative--phrenology, sterilizations, gratuitous bodily violence, genocide--is the two simultaneous reactions of horror and relief. Much of what I am trying to intervene in with this framing, and really throughout this entire project, is that sense of relief, a relief that rests both on the consumption of spectacle and the way that this caricaturing is a gambit for distance and non-complicity. I am writing in the space of dissonance that isn't really dissonance when that cherry-picked slice of spectacle is shown to be unspectacular.

To provide a general framing, the origin of the organized eugenics movement is often traced to the mid-1800s, growing in prominence until its peak in the first few decades of the 1900s, and then falling from favor, at least in name, after the second World War.[25] Charles Darwin's 1849 publication of, with its full title, *On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection, or the Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life* stirred a milieu of energetic scholarly debate that would last for decades, including Swiss biologist Louis Agassiz's 1850 article *The Diversity of Origin of the Human Races*,[26] published while he was head of the Lawrence Scientific School at Harvard University, Josiah Nott and George Gliddon's 1854 influential edited volume *Types of Mankind*, and Herbert Spencer's 1864 *Principles of Biology* which coined the term "survival of the fittest," until the term "eugenics" was finally coined by Darwin's cousin Francis Galton in 1883. This moment has been understood as a shift from hereditarian to "socio-scientific"[27] or "corporate"[28] eugenics as the "idea of divine nature was superseded by the idea of imperial nature…[and] evolutionary theory entered an 'unholy alliance' with the allure of numbers, the amassing of measurements and the science of statistics."[29] That many of these foundational studies, such as Samuel George Morton's 1839 study of the Philadelphia Academy of Natural Sciences' world's largest collection of skulls, *Crania Americana*, recorded and published numbers that directly contradicted the conclusions they narrated did not destabilize this academic drive towards proving social hierarchies.[30] This wide-reaching scholarly and academic movement employed many analytical and empirical techniques that have since been debunked as clownish pseudoscience that they are, such

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[25] Mark H. Haller, *Eugenics: Hereditarian Attitudes in American Thought* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1963); Robert Wald Sussman, *The Myth of Race: the Troubling Persistence of an Unscientific Idea* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014).

[26] Although Agassiz presented himself as a scientist interested in pure research, this article was particularly popular with slaveholders. Sven Beckert, Balraj Gill, Jim Henle, and Katherine May Stevens, "Harvard and Slavery: A Short History," in *Slavery and the University: Histories and Legacies*, ed. Leslie M. Harris, James T. Campbell, and Alfred L. Brophy (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2019), 239-240.

[27] Katherine Swift, "Sinister Science: Eugenics, Nazism, and the Technocratic Rhetoric of the Human Betterment Foundation." *Lore,* 6, no. 2, (2008): 1-11.

[28] Steven Selden, *Inheriting Shame: The Story of Eugenics and Racism in America.* (New York, NY: Teacher's College Press, 1999).

[29] Anne McClintock, *Imperial leather: Race, gender, and sexuality in the colonial contest* (Routledge, 2013), 45, 49.

[30] Steven Selden, *Inheriting Shame: The Story of Eugenics and Racism in America.* (New York, NY: Teacher's College Press, 1999), 19; William H. Tucker, *The Science and Politics of Racial Research* (Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1994).

as filling skulls with rice to determine racial type, and others that persist as legitimate, such as the concept of BMI, terms like "caucasian," IQ tests, and Galton's invention of fingerprinting.

This movement was never limited to the realm of the academic and abstract (if indeed anything ever is) and was consistently entangled with the active shaping of society for "betterment" through direct sociopolitical intervention. In the United States, the classic eugenic concept of the "normal" and feeblemindedness as an "inherent menace to society" that required state-level resource interventions arose parallel to the canonical eugenic texts, between the 1840 census and the end of the Civil War[31] and the idea of degeneracy as the twin opposite to the idea of progress fostered a sense of the legitimacy and urgency of state intervention.[32] As it became clear that natural selection wasn't eradicating people, due partially to the "pyrrhic victories" of medicine and social welfare policies, more active intervention was needed.[33] At the height of the eugenics movement the mobilization came straight from the top, as Roosevelt's 1909 anxieties about "race suicide" became a national phobia and Madison Grant's 1921 bestseller T*he Passing of the Great Race* –as well as Lothrap Stoddard's *The Rising Tide of Color Against White World-Supremacy*, with an introduction by Grant—circulated widely.[34] Eugenics bled into both mainstream curriculum and public policy, as Grant's polemic became popular in college classrooms,[35] with the number of colleges and universities nationwide offering eugenics courses surging from 44 in 1914 to 376 in 1928.[36] Influential advocacy groups, such as the American Eugenics Society, thought that "[b]y focusing its attention on the schools, the society hoped to promote the incorporation of eugenics as an integral part of various appropriate courses throughout the school system, in the elementary grades through high school as well as the encouragement of special courses in colleges and universities."[37] These books and courses recommended social policy that ranged from promotion of differential birth rates for "superior types," to the segregation or sterilization of the "unfit," and included interventions in immigration policy, incarceration, and others.[38] Throughout, the policy recommendations ranged from the micro-level to larger scale state policy and political movements, the most famous of which being the Nazi movement, which many U.S. eugenicists enthusiastically supported, promoted, and

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[31] Robert A. Wilson, *The Eugenic Mind Project* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2018), 44-45.
[32] Anne McClintock, *Imperial leather: Race, gender, and sexuality in the colonial contest* (Routledge, 2013), 45, 48.
[33] Stefan Kühl, *For the Betterment of the Race: The Rise and Fall of the International Movement for Eugenics and Racial Hygiene*, translated by Lawrence Schofer (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 13.
[34] Steven Selden, *Inheriting Shame: The Story of Eugenics and Racism in America.* (New York, NY: Teacher's College Press, 1999).
[35] Ibid.
[36] Hamilton Cravens, *The Triumph of Evolution: American Scientists and the Heredity-Environment Controversy, 1900-1941* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1978), 53.
[37] W. S. Evans, *Organized eugenics* (New Haven: American Eugenics Society, 1931), x.
[38] Edward J. Larson, *Sex, Race, and Science: Eugenics in the Deep South* (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995); Edwin Black, *War Against the Weak: Eugenics and America's Campaign to Create a Master Race* (New York, NY: Four Walls Eight Windows, 2003); Steven Selden, *Inheriting Shame: The Story of Eugenics and Racism in America.* (New York, NY: Teacher's College Press, 1999).

participated in.[39] Although eugenics began to fall out of favor in widespread public opinion, the shift in terminology was often in name only. Continuing through and beyond the war, "[m]oney continued to flow for eugenic projects, but only when they were packaged as genetics, brain research, serology, or social biology."[40] Many former eugenicists transformed their interest in race differences into that of sex differences,[41] and a number of more explicit "bell curve"-esque eugenicists, such as Charles Murray or UC Berkeley's own Arthur Jensen, continued to be influential both academically and politically, financed by organizations like the Pioneer Fund.[42] I argue, however, that the particularizing of blatant racists like Murray and Jensen obscures how ubiquitous these logics and structures remain, in the foundation of academic disciplines and design of research, as well as broader social policy and "common sense."

To develop an analysis of this ubiquity, I find it useful to go to a deeper history of the timeline. The selective "breeding" that was a staple technique of the eugenics movement's social policies was quintessentially American through the foundational economic structure of chattel slavery long before the rise of "scientific" racism.[43] Before the empiricism of Morton, Galton, and Agassiz there was a vast practice of mapping peoples and places, tabulating language and land, and typifying and tokenizing peoples in an implicit or explicit hierarchy as a tool of settlement to establish certain models of colonial and settler colonial governance. The "normal" and eugenically select-able didn't emerge in this moment as much as it evolved from "pre-existing views of the 'other' around science, philosophy, imperialism, classification, and 'regimes of truth'," adapting to "new conceptions of rationalism, individualism and capitalism."[44] Sylvia Wynter discusses this as the making of "genres of aberration," the construction of people who are "naturally" selected or dysselected (the flipside of natural selection, in which the constructed exclusion of people from the category of "normal" is seen as evolutionary and inevitable) by shifts and overrepresentations in "genres of the human." She traces this to what she calls a "Copernican rupture" which put man at the center of creation, displacing

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[39] Robert Wald Sussman, *The Myth of Race: the Troubling Persistence of an Unscientific Idea* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014); Robert Rydell, Christina Cogdell, and Mark Largent, "The Nazi Eugenics Exhibit in the United States, 1934-43," in *Popular Eugenics: National Efficiency and American Mass Culture in the 1930s* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2006), 359-384; Edwin Black, *War Against the Weak: Eugenics and America's Campaign to Create a Master Race* (New York, NY: Four Walls Eight Windows, 2003).

[40] Edwin Black, *War Against the Weak: Eugenics and America's Campaign to Create a Master Race* (New York, NY: Four Walls Eight Windows, 2003), 313.

[41] Alexandra Stern, *Eugenic Nation: Faults and frontiers of better breeding in modern America* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2005).

[42] Alexandra Stern, *Eugenic Nation: Faults and frontiers of better breeding in modern America* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2005); Robert Wald Sussman, *The Myth of Race: the Troubling Persistence of an Unscientific Idea* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014); Robert A. Wilson, *The Eugenic Mind Project* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2018); William H. Tucker, *The Science and Politics of Racial Research* (Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1994).

[43] Edwin Black, *War Against the Weak: Eugenics and America's Campaign to Create a Master Race* (New York, NY: Four Walls Eight Windows, 2003).

[44] Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing methodologies: Research and indigenous peoples*. (New York, NY: Zed Books, 1999), 22, 43.

the hegemony of the church with humanist arguments about evolution that provided the legitimated ground for colonization and dehumanization. This process took shape according to the "natural law" of race that divided the civilized from the racialized other with the development of the "[r]ational Self of Man as political subject of the state,"[45] as the divinely "saved" transitioned to the genetically "selected," with this rational Man becoming the normalized component of civilization, modernity, and progress. This lens is an important corrective to the tendency of particularizing the eugenics movement's most famous and vilified child, the European Holocaust; as Aimé Césaire reminds us, this particularizing is an attempt for people to:

> hide the truth from themselves, that it is barbarism, the supreme barbarism, the crowning barbarism that sums up all the daily barbarisms; that it is Nazism, yes, but that before they were its victims, they were its accomplices; that they tolerated that Nazism before it was inflicted on them, that they absolved it, shut their eyes to it, legitimized it, because, until then, it had been applied only to non-European peoples; that they have cultivated that Nazism, that they are responsible for it, and that before engulfing the whole edifice of Western, Christian civilization in its reddened waters, it oozes, seeps, and trickles from every crack.[46]

In selecting the eugenics movement as a focal point around which to organize this inquiry I am attempting to avoid particularization, and to show that this horror was and is normalized in the extreme.

A deep concern I have about this choice of focal point, however, is the possibility of the horror falling into the consumption of spectacle. Sherene Razack's discussion of the distinction between horror and terror informs this concern. She asks how instead of representing horror through a display of the wounds on the body we can dissect indifference, dissecting the regime of terror instead of the corpse.[47] It is a question of both proximity and politicization, how the visceral can lead to finding yourself on the map of suffering instead of consuming it as a display in a kind of "morbid curiosity."[48] Razack's work is different than this dissertation, because I designed the project so as to sidestep discussing as data the people whom the system intended to construct as data; this is a project on systems, not on how people live "in and despite that terror."[49] However, the violence of extraction is the ghost that lives within this project, and I'm not sure I completely succeeded in avoiding the spectacularization of horror, and keeping the

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[45] Sylvia Wynter, "Unsettling the Coloniality of being/power/truth/freedom: Towards the Human, After Man, its Overrepresentation- an Argument," *The New Centennial Review* 3, no. 3 (2003): 277.
[46] Aimé Césaire, *Discourse on Colonialism*, Joan Pinkham, trans. (New York, NY: Monthly Review Press, 2001), 36.
[47] Sherene Razack, "Disposability and Desire: The Settler Colonial State and Dead Bodies in Law." Talk presented on the panel "Beyond the Grave: The Settler Colonial State and Dead Bodies" for the 2019 American Studies Association Annual Meeting, Honolulu, HI.
[48] Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang, "R-words: Refusing research," *Humanizing research: Decolonizing qualitative inquiry for youth and communities*, 2014: 241.
[49] Christina Sharpe, *In the Wake: On Blackness and Being* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2016), 116.

focus on the terror of the institutions, or if this is even entirely possible through this type of work.

Methodological Conundrums

Methods are often used by academics as a justification of process, evidence of expertise, or claims to truth, and I reject these claims. I care about empiricism in the sense that I didn't just invent quotes, and I'll accommodate to make myself legible to the strangely narrow genre of a dissertation, but truth, rigor, and verifiability are always slippery. The theoretical preconditions I laid out in the previous section have implications for the methodological technicalities of how this work is conducted. Following Dylan Rodríguez, "It is not just different structures of oppressive violence that radical scholars are trying to make legible, it is violence of a certain depth, with specific and morbid implications for some peoples' future existence as such. If we can begin to acknowledge this fundamental truth—that genocide *is this place* (the American academy and, in fact, America itself)—then our operating assumptions, askable questions, and scholarly methods will need to transform."[50] In this section I lay out how I am grappling with the question of a "historical" project with a warped sense of time, and the embodied work of curation, addressing some methodological concerns and sidestepping and refusing to engage others.

Technologies of periodization

Many people have discussed the Progressive Era as an important, specific hinge point of shifting technologies of capitalism, formation of the U.S. state internally and with respect to global governance, and the consolidation of formations of race with technologies of social and scientific management. It has been called a "watershed moment, owing to the maturation of an industrial economy with a productive capacity outstripping domestic demand, the flowering of social Darwinian philosophies, and the development of a modern military and government bureaucracy,"[51] a moment when the "externalization of abstract and concrete forms intrinsic to the commodity fetish became increasingly biologized and racialized in concert with prevailing socio-scientific conceptions of the world."[52] It has also been pointed out that there are deep resonances and parallels with the structures, assemblages, and power plays of our contemporary moment, for example, between the intelligence and policing apparatus and torture practices of the Philippine-American War and the Iraq and Afghanistan Wars,[53] or the

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[50] Dylan Rodríguez, "Racial/colonial genocide and the "neoliberal academy": In excess of a problematic." *American Quarterly* 64, no. 4 (2012): 812.

[51] Jeremy Kuzmarov, *Modernizing Repression: Police Training and Nation Building in the American Century*. (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2012), 17.

[52] Iyko Day, *Asian Racialization and the Logic of Settler Colonial Capitalism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2016), 14.

[53] Alfred W. McCoy, *Policing America's Empire: the United States, the Philippines, and the Rise of the Surveillance State* (Madison, WS: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2009); Jeremy Kuzmarov, *Modernizing*

anti-immigrant rhetoric and policies.[54] I'm agnostic as to whether this moment is particular to its time or parallel to our context, or a contradictory mélange of both.

Discussions of periodization often lead to questions such as how much of these structures and their consequences is historically specific and how much has parallels nowadays, or what is different and what is the same about this era and our present. I find that often the investment in the question of "everything's changed" or "nothing's changed" rests on an implicit investment in proving the former, a desire to freeze things in time in order to keep them at a safe distance and a certain settler move towards innocence.[55] In reading these archives it was unsurprising how often the eugenicists of the 1910s talked about how horrible slavery was and how much we have improved and moved on as a nation,[56] in a way that was very resonant with how Martin Luther King Jr. is invoked and misremembered nowadays across the political spectrum from nice liberals to conservative reactionaries and neo-nazis. For me, the framing of "progress" and parallel or different periodization all rests on what these questions are intended to accomplish or distract from, and what we produce as machines of critique.

Debunking the teleological linearity of "progress" is a relatively simple task. Linda Tuhiwai Smith calls this "imperial history" based on its linearity and universalizing chronicle based on development, constructed around binaries, concerning the self-actualizing human subject,[57] which, as we know from the previous discussion of Sylvia Wynter, overrepresents the "Western bourgeoisie's liberal monohumanist Man" as that human subject.[58] Michelle Wright further meditates on the conceptual flaws in this progress narrative's fixed origin (and what this means for members who don't share the origin but appear elsewhere in the narrative), and the essentialist consequences when Europe is interpellated as the chronological vanguard of civilization.[59] Overall, I've found the deepest work on this question of time to come from scholars of the afterlife of slavery, and scholars of settler colonialism, pointing out that slavery was not a historical moment with a clean break, and settlement wasn't a time-bounded event but rather is a structure that we continue to live inside of, and constitute, and contribute to. This has been a deep concern throughout this dissertation: not exploring the spectacularity of the eugenics movement only as a way to condemn it from the standpoint of spectator, but rather to

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Repression: Police Training and Nation Building in the American Century. (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2012),

[54] Robert Wald Sussman, *The Myth of Race: the Troubling Persistence of an Unscientific Idea* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014).

[55] Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang, "Decolonization is not a metaphor." *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society*, 1, no. 1 (2012).

[56] For example, David Starr Jordan, who I will discuss in the second chapter, made a habit of citing John Brown and comparing him to Jesus. David Starr Jordan, *War and the Breed; the relation of war to the downfall of nations* (Boston, MA: The Beacon Press, 1915), 214.

[57] Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing methodologies: Research and indigenous peoples*. (New York, NY: Zed Books, 1999).

[58] Sylvia Wynter and Katherine McKittrick, "Unparalleled Catastrophe for our Species? Or, to Give Humanness a Different Future: Conversations," in *Sylvia Wynter: On being human as praxis*, ed. Katherine McKittrick (London, UK: Duke University Press, 2015), 2.

[59] Michelle M. Wright, *Physics of blackness: Beyond the middle passage epistemology* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2015), 26, 40.

understand these structures as something we ourselves also constitute and are complicit in, and often don't interrogate.

In approach and orientation towards historical work, this project shares the most resonance with how Lisa Lowe describes her work, as tracing the "genealogy of modern liberalism" which "takes as its work the inquiry into how the categories became established as given, and with what effects."[60] This is a model both of specificity of genealogy, and of interimbrication, in that we continue to live in the effects of these categories once established as common sense. Simone Browne's writings, and how she grapples with these questions, have also been deeply helpful. She discusses how hypersurveillance of the body, particularly the Black body, shifts with the technologies available in different moments--from lantern laws to the digitized surveillance of the contemporary border--and that the form of surveillance "depends on space and time and is subject to change, but most often upholds negating strategies that first accompanied European colonial expansion and transatlantic slavery that sought to structure social relations and institutions in ways that privilege whiteness."[61] So, the question of particularity of moment has a certain tactical importance, how we understand the conditions for effective countersurveillance, sousveillance, or other contestations, but we can't overestimate the usefulness of measuring out and apportioning time so that it remains safely bounded in the past.

I open with this framing and this project in order to frustrate the imperial, colonial technology of periodization, render it unruly and undisciplined, broken up into non-recuperable pieces. In this, I feel interpellated by la paperson/K. Wayne Yang's invocation of the "scyborg," as "technologically enhanced colonial subjects," a queer turn of word to "name the structural agency of persons who have picked up colonial technologies and reassembled them to decolonizing purposes," or at least tried to, efforts that are problematic, "not worthy of your romance," and "part of the machinery and part machine themselves."[62] I don't claim to have produced anything particularly revolutionary with this project or this methodology, but I've at least somewhat corroded my ability to function as an imperial scholar, turned a lot of my skills into scrap metal, and rusted a lot of the gears I used to have well-oiled and running smoothly.

Curation and position

I find the idea of unbiased research to be intellectually vapid and politically cowardly. Generally, I'm not trying to mitigate my biases and preconceptions as much as I'm trying to draw them into sharper and more complex focus. In designing a methodological approach, however, I struggled with the nature and constraint of the dissertation genre, particularly its pretensions towards individualistic production. I find more meaning in propaganda than science, but the type of propagandistic modes I'm interested in need to be speaking to a historic bloc as a component of a collective political

[60] Lisa Lowe, *The Intimacies of Four Continents* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2015), 3.
[61] Simone Browne, *Dark Matters: On the Surveillance of Blackness* (Durham, NC: Duke University, 2015), 17.
[62] la paperson, *A Third University Is Possible* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2017).

project, and this is not generally understood to be empirically appropriate for dissertations. There is a double-bind, however, in attempting to reposition myself away from the standard claims of expertise. On one level, critiques from the right have a tendency to devalue any forms of knowledge that deviate from their glorious canon and extant power structures, and are already poised to use the cudgel of empirical rigor in order to discount anything that contradicts hegemonic narratives. On another level, there are certain things that I know and am confident in claiming, about the continuance of settler colonialism as a structure, the entrenchment of white supremacy as constitutive of the United States, and capitalism as inherently based on a suicidal drive towards accumulation. Just because I don't claim individual expertise in an echo-chamber of isolated, credentialed legitimacy shouldn't be taken to imply that these collectively crafted knowledges and expertises are not salient and rigorously verifiable.

The methodology through which I chose to wrestle with this conundrum is that of "curation," which I also think of as scrapbooking, or remixing. I find resonance with Lisa Lowe's inquiry into the "genealogy of modern liberalism…[which] takes as its work the inquiry into how the categories became established as given, and with what effects."[63] In her framing of the practice of curation, Lowe asks how the "archive that mediates the imperatives of the state subsumes colonial violence within narratives of modern reason and progress," using different techniques of reading to "understand the processes through which the forgetting of violent encounter is naturalized." Although my understanding of research has drawn useful insights from the techniques of history and social science, and the deep knowledge of those steeped in these practices, this curation has the most resonance with interdisciplinary fields like that of American Studies. Philip Deloria and Alexander Olson develop a useful discussion of how these curation practices are not simply a rejection of other academic practices, although it can be "tempting to treat the rules of an intellectual field like the laws of a police state: oppressive dictates that stifle creativity and should be questioned and perhaps undone."[64] This kneejerk rejection is similar to how "definitions have a way of ending conversation instead of starting them."[65] Instead, I draw from Deloria and Olson's discussion of songwriting as a metaphor for methodology, a curation which can sample sources and strategies that have come before, combining both a systematic approach and an embrace of dissonance. Appreciating the wisdom and work that has gone into existing methodological techniques, I riff off of them, putting dissonant or disjunctive moments, structures, and ideologies together on the page in order to show in a new and clearer light the nature of our terroristic system, our position within it, and moves towards contestation.

Chapter descriptions

Each chapter curates a discussion that finds connections to eugenics logics in what may or may not (depending on your politics, perspectives, and life experiences) be

[63] Lisa Lowe, *The Intimacies of Four Continents* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2015), 2-3.
[64] Philip J. Deloria and Alexander I. Olson, *American Studies: A User's Guide* (Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 2017), 4.
[65] Ibid., 6.

unexpected places. I address the writings of influential figures from the Progressive Era who were connected to higher education and somehow embroiled in the eugenics movement. Data sources include Bancroft Library Archives, including the major collections of the August Vollmer Papers and David P. Barrows Papers; the Marin County Free Library archives, including the David Starr Jordan Papers, Leo L. Stanley Papers, and archives related to the Panama-Pacific International Exhibition; and the published works available online of Vollmer, Stanley, Jordan, and Barrows. Although my intended visits to physical archives were curtailed by the Covid-19 pandemic in 2020-2021, the majority of the published works of these figures are digitized online and available through library access, and so I was able to continue this project. Although each figure in this scrapbooked cast of characters is interesting in his own right, my focus is not biographical but rather theoretical. I am not as interested in who these men were, the nature of their work in the world, or their connections to each other and the broader social movement of eugenics in that time. After all, in these assemblages "[y]esterday's enemies are today's friends. There are no permanent associations, only permanent interests."[66] I am exploring these continuing vested interests, the parameters of how they became vested, and what this tells us about the organizing logics of U.S. institutions.

In the work of curation that I employ throughout this dissertation, I organize each of the chapters by putting a focal figure or two in conversation with a conceptual focus and a theoretical focus. In the first chapter this triad includes writings of August Vollmer and Leo L. Stanley and an interrogation of prisons and policing in the context of racial capitalism. In the second chapter this triad brings theorizations of David Starr Jordan together with an analysis of democratization of land and education in the context of settler colonialism. In the third chapter this triad analyzes the work of David P. Barrows along with colonial and international education in the context of imperialism. Thinking across these chapters I intended not to separate out these concepts but rather to link them together with the through line of the eugenics movement.

The first chapter, "Algorithmic Eugenics, Professionalized Expertise, and the Bell Curve of Racial Capitalism," addresses the formulation of professionalizing reform as the only imagined alternative to brutality of policing and prisons. I put the writings of two figures--August Vollmer, founder of the Criminology department at UC Berkeley and the "father of modern policing"[67] and Leo Stanley, chief surgeon and researcher at San Quentin State Prison--into conversation with theorizations of abolition and racial liberalism. I argue that the two-sided construct of criminality or deviancy as the foil to "normalcy" fell along a bell curve that was intended to justify the need for continued intervention and social control, through schools, prisons, and policing. I develop a critique of the figure of the "expert" as eugenically-based, and the accumulation of biometric data as a means of prefiguring a eugenic future off the technologies of

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[66] William Henry Watkins, *The White Architects of Black Education: ideology and power in America, 1865-1954* (New York, NY: Teachers College Press, 2001), 178.

[67] Jeremy Kuzmarov, *Modernizing Repression: Police Training and Nation Building in the American Century*. (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2012); Willard M. Oliver, *August Vollmer: the father of American policing* (Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press, 2017).

education, reform, and progress. I end with an orientation towards abolitionism as an alternative to the false binary of brutality or reform.

The second chapter, "Democratic Eugenics, the Commons, and Speculation on Settler Futures," explores the way in which the democratization of land and education imagines the commons as the alternative to capitalist accumulation in a way that reinscribes settlement and eugenic notions of the "public." I put the writings of David Starr Jordan, a higher education administrator and prominent philosopher of eugenics and democracy, into conversation with the history and logics of land grants and the conservation movement. I argue that the ontological construct of the individual as democratic citizen is a eugenic formulation that naturalizes subjugation and settler futures. I end with a meditation on decolonization as something different from and in excess of the false binary of capitalist privatization or a democratic settler commons.

The third chapter, "Educational Eugenics and the (Re)production of Global Managers for Labor" addresses the eugenic entanglement of race and productivity in educational interventions, and the international nature of this ideological system. I put the writings of David P. Barrows, an anthropologist and colonial and university administrator, into conversation with the colonization of the Philippines and framing the purpose of international students and the global university. I argue that tutelary logics of education as uplift naturalize eugenic relationships to education and labor through claims of optimizing the lives of others. I conclude with the question of an anti-imperialism that does not fall into the false binary of direct authoritarian control or progressive educational development.

The conclusion revisits some of the questions raised in this introduction, summarizes the chapters, and develops a discussion of the poetics of salvage as a material politic.

Together, these chapters discuss the technologies and logics of education, schooling, and universities in order to curate a critique with broader capacity than just the institutions themselves. I organized this conversation to be specific enough for those focusing on the institutions, but also to extend to those contesting liberal reformism and the state in other spheres in order to "build new movements, new possibilities, new conceptions of liberation."[68]

[68] Robin D. G. Kelley, *Freedom Dreams: the Black Radical Imagination* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 2002), 192.

Scientists will want to know whether the criminal is biologically undeveloped, or whether he is a variation of the normal human being as a result of environmental factors. Does he represent a special class of man?

- August "Gus" Vollmer, *The Criminal*[69]

Survival is a question raised for the absolute present tense, and the edge of the insult is in the dull liberal insistence that there is a future to be shared, that, in fact, there is a "humanity" within the deadly span of raciality that can ever even be remotely common, familial, or universal.

-Dylan Rodríguez[70]

Algorithmic Eugenics, Professionalized Expertise, and the Bell Curve of Racial Capitalism

The prison abolition movement reminds us that abolition isn't just about getting rid of cages. It is about undoing the society we live in that makes this criminalization, surveillance, extraction, and accumulation possible.[71] After all, abolition can't be just the abolition of whatever institution seems at the moment most egregious; you have to understand the relationship between these institutions.[72] It has to be about undoing settler society and racial capitalism, and the material and intellectual basis for this system's carcerality. Reform doesn't cut it, and most of the time efforts at incremental reform are simply reabsorbed to make the exploitative and expropriative capabilities of the system even stronger. Reforms that purport to intervene in the disproportionate violence experienced by gender nonconforming inmates by building a "gender inclusive prison wing" simply expand prison beds reserved for trans people who can then be, as usual, excessively targeted by police. Reforms bringing in body cams to watch the watcher just end up funneling more money into police departments, giving cops a recording device to track and criminalize dissidents, and still mysteriously stop working when they might become inconvenient for this violent arm of the state. Getting a "progressive" DA elected or a new "equity and diversity" administrator in a school can only do so much. This is not to say that these moves are not sometimes still worth doing (Gramsci, at the end of the day, made some good points). But there will always be an important tension and an important difference between reformist reforms striving to perfect our current system--make it kinder, gentler, more stable, and more closely adhering to the internal moral principles of a closed exploitative/expropriative system--and the tactical piecemeal

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[69] August Vollmer, *The Criminal* (Brooklyn: Foundation Press, 1949), 438.
[70] Dylan Rodríguez, "Welcome to the Party! A response to 'Abolitionist University Studies: An Invitation,'" September 24, 2019, retrieved from https://abolition.university/2019/09/24/dylan-rodriguez/.
[71] Angela Davis's classic 2003 book *Are Prisons Obsolete?* is a good starting point. For current conversations in academia, see the 2019 the Harvard Law Review volume 132, issue 6 on prison abolition, and for a practical organizing discussion, see the literature and insight from http://criticalresistance.org.
[72] Fred Moten and Stefano Harney, "the university: last words." FUC, July 9, 2020, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zqWMejD_XU8&feature=youtu.be.

pushing on a system in order to destabilize it and make it harder to function, in order to dream a different type of sociality. As Dylan Rodríguez puts it: "It is within this irreconcilable reformist contradiction that an abolitionist historical mandate provides a useful and necessary departure from the liberal assumption that either the carceral state or carceral power is an inevitable and permanent feature of the social formation."[73] Reformism forecloses even the imagination of different possibilities or futures or ontologies, or however we'd like to think about something that is *other* than the closed loop of our colonial, white supremacist capitalism.

Here it is useful to talk about the abolition of the prison and the university in the same breath because, although obviously containing key differences, they operate on the same logic of social order, and use parallel technologies to surveil, examine, and select or dysselect. In their pivotal book, Fred Moten and Stefano Harney point out that the "slogan on the Left, then, 'universities, not jails,' marks a choice that may not be possible. In other words, perhaps more universities promote more jails."[74] Of the many labors and contradictions that swim through the university space, what are the processes of accumulation--of bodies, land, and capital--that we must make impossible, by creating a society in which they are impossible? What is the actual work of the university? It is helpful to understand the prison and school as two essential components of the settler assemblage because they are often set up as oppositional and mutually reinforcing, using the supposed beneficence of the school to justify the necessary discipline of the prison through the graduate/dropout and student/criminal dichotomies.[75] The intellectual project of the university is what the prison abolitionist Ruth Wilson Gilmore in her prescient piece from 1993, called the

> [P]roduction of public enemies [by which] the state safeguards the unequal distribution of resources and reinforces the logic of scarcity by deflecting attention from the real thieves and criminals--e.g., the transnationals that are making off with profits which even the state can no longer lay significant partial claim to through tax-tribute….[while] [p]rivate intellectuals are both cheap insurance for these arrangements and, 'pampered and paternalised', a costly drain on the communities of resistance who require their labours.[76]

In a certain tactical way it might matter if a school or a prison is public or private, but in another sense it doesn't really matter if the project, regardless, is the production of enemies of the social order and contributors to it, the accumulation of land, resources,

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[73] Dylan Rodríguez, "Abolition as Praxis of Human Being: A Foreword," *Harvard Law Review* 132, no. 6 (April 2019): 1575-1612.
[74] Stefano Harney and Fred Moten, *The undercommons: Fugitive planning and black study* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2013), 41.
[75] Eli Meyerhoff's recent 2019 book *Beyond Education: Radical studying for another world* discusses this dynamic extensively.
[76] Ruth Wilson Gilmore. "Public enemies and private intellectuals: Apartheid USA." *Race & Class* 35, no. 1 (1993): 69-78.

and bodies. If the issue at stake is who constitutes the ideal liberal subject[77] of the 'public' on Native land in a society constituted by slavery, and who is the enemy of this 'public,' the funding streams and governance strategies of institutions are peripheral details. And how 'public' is an institution anyhow if at the end of the day their god is capital; does it really matter if they're beholden to a capitalist state instead of a private capitalist investor? The radical dreaming of a free (in the sense of not charging tuition and fees), democratic university has been a politically useful frame in many ways, but we need to be real about the limitations of this horizon. A 'free' university in a racial capitalist society would be nice, but it's not revolutionary, and it is a terminally limited scope for what counts as freedom.

I started this project because I wanted to think about these dynamics: the tension between reformist reforms and revolutionary possibilities, and the role of the progressive liberal in pushing expert, professionalized reforms as the only model of social change. Although I have since developed a more complex understanding of periodization, as discussed in the introduction, I initially chose to take these questions up through the particular historical moment of the Progressive Era for a number of reasons. This time period was very much a moment of reform and creation, as the patterns, logics, and material structure that would become the U.S. brand of global capitalism in the twentieth century really began to take shape. It was a time of massive transformation and re-positioning of the social role and composition of schools and prisons. Overcrowding, violence, and unhygienic conditions in the prisons, as well as the corruption and brutality of policing practices, led to a crisis of legitimacy and widespread calls for reform. Prisons and the institution of policing also began to expand their capacities which, although not on the scale of what we have seen since the 1970s, laid the groundwork for the system of militarization and mass incarceration that we encounter today. At the same time, colleges and universities in the Progressive Era were reshaping themselves to the imperatives of global capitalism in the twentieth century, and the sociopolitical demands of industrialization. Higher educational systems expanded rapidly, developing models of professionalization and expert knowledge as the academic disciplines aligned and congealed. In this chapter, I explore the writings and work of two influential figures whose careers were situated in the height of the Progressive Era prison and policing reform movements. They were influential in the professionalization of policing and the transformations of medical experimentation in prisons, and connected to both the logics and practices of the eugenics movement. To again reiterate the points from the introduction, my intent is not to do a thorough historiography of prison or university reform in the Progressive Era, but rather to ask more conceptual questions about what it means to read these archives together, and what it can tell us of the carceral imperatives of academic study and the eugenic logic of expertise. I ask what it means to disappear the body into the algorithm, and the racial carcerality of datafication and empirical research

[77] Many thanks to David Maldonado for this phrasing, and I recommend the insights from his work on the formerly incarcerated university student, positioned to control and contain other incarcerated and formerly incarcerated people, as the ideal liberal subject.

(related to what Katherine McKittrick calls the anti-blackness of the algorithm[78]) long before the concept of big data became a popular catchphrase. I explore the criminal as inextricable from the student, and the moribund bell curve fixing the relationship between the educator/reformer, the educated/reformed, and the uneducable/unreformable, and what this tells us for the futurity of reform as entirely different from the futurity of abolition.

In this chapter I explore how the entwined logic of schools and prisons rests upon the foundation of racial capitalism and the ideological underpinnings of settler colonialism. They are necessary for each other and play a complimentary role in bolstering the legitimacy of the white supremacist settler nation-state of the United States. I take up the Progressive Era and its aftermath as a question for the absolute present tense--what Simone Browne calls the "the historical present, the changing same"[79]--exploring how the logic of the eugenics movement, disappearing the body and land into replicable algorithms, bridged the settler logic of the "civilized" into the professionalized expertise and academic disciplinarity of higher education. My fundamental motivating tension is the uneasy wrestling between reformist reforms, fugitivity, complicity, co-optation, abolition, and the many contradictions we hold in moving through and against and despite spaces like the academies in the imperial core.

Pioneers of Prison Surgery and Policing Professionalization

My discussion begins with two men who were "pioneers" in their fields, one of whom is remembered more warmly than the other. August "Gus" Vollmer was, according to most oral histories, biographies, and hagiographies, a really nice guy and a proper progressive. Leo Leonidas Stanley, while certainly remembered for some medical advances in research, tends to be remembered with more qualifications. After all, medical experimentation on prisoners has fallen as far out of favor in polite professional company as measuring skulls with calipers to determine racial fitness (though we could have a longer conversation about sociological and educational "interventions"), while it remains popular to propose technocratic or professionalizing solutions to the brutality inflicted by one of the legitimate arms of state violence. Vollmer and Stanley are interesting in their own right and historical works exploring the details of their biographies already exist separately,[80] although these two figures have not been put into conversation with one another. These two men were important figures in reforming and reshaping policing practices and prison conditions, bridging these professions and spaces technologically

[78] I owe great thanks to Daniel Vargas for his conversations about algorithms, sharing videos of McKittrick's talks on this subject, and getting me started down this conceptual road in the first place.
[79] Simone Browne, "Police State and Surveillance of Blackness in time of COVID." Webinar, May 18, 2020.
[80] Ethan Blue, "The Strange Career of Leo Stanley: Remaking Manhood and Medicine at San Quentin State Penitentiary, 1913––1951." *Pacific Historical Review* 78, no. 2 (2009): 210-241.; Gene E. Carte and Elaine H. Carte. *Police reform in the United States: The era of august vollmer, 1905-1932* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1975); Willard M. Oliver, *August Vollmer: the father of American policing* (Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press, 2017). An interesting fanfiction is also: Alfred E. Parker, *Crime Fighter: August Vollmer* (New York, NY: The Macmillan Company, 1961).

into the twentieth century and setting the rhetorical basis for the argument that both policing and prisons are about public safety, protecting and serving, and humanely reforming. The logics threaded throughout their writing and correspondence illuminate how narratives of the professionalized expert and scientific study of the criminal lead to a certain modeling of the social order that becomes self-fulfilling.

Vollmer is widely considered to be the "father of modern policing,"[81] considered at the time and broadly remembered as a progressive and a reformer. From the genesis of his career as a U.S. Marine in the Philippines, he continued to become the Town Marshal of Berkeley in 1905 and then appointed Berkeley's first police chief in 1909 by the City Council when the position was created. He held this position until his retirement in 1932 to establish University of California, Berkeley's first School of Criminology. His wide influence stretched through the restructuring of police departments and establishment of schools of criminology across the United States, and he acted as "daddy of the modus operandi" in consulting with J. Edgar Hoover to mold the Federal Bureau of Investigation into its current form.[82] He also extended his model of professionalized, scientific policing through his international travels and position as president of the International Association of Chiefs of Police. Leo Leonidas Stanley is primarily remembered for his tenure at San Quentin State Prison in Marin County, Northern California, from 1913 to 1951. Educated at Stanford University's Medical School (then known as Cooper Medical College), he served his medical residency at San Quentin, which at that time did not have extensive medical services, and after this residency accepted the position of Chief Medical Officer. He held this position until his retirement, taking time out to work in the capacity of ship's doctor for the military during World War II and for luxury cruises in the Pacific. During this time at San Quentin he performed extensive experiments on prisoners--notably testicular implants, spinal anesthesia, and plastic surgery--using glands provided from executions.

Vollmer and Stanley speak to the apparent contradiction that I address in this chapter surrounding scientific study of and intervention on the "criminal." Their discussion of the nature of the criminal as born or as made is a logic that requires and enables social hierarchies of a white supremacist racial order, capitalist class exploitation, the professionalized rule of the "expert," and a model of law and order that reifies the "order" of a settler state. The purpose of this project is not to rehistoricize Vollmer from the "good cop" to the "bad cop," or to condemn Stanley's medical experiments as unethical research contrasted with beneficial research, but rather to show that these dichotomies are asking the wrong questions. The point is also not to see them as exceptional, but rather as an instructive entry point into understanding a structure that was nor particular to them or their time period. Dierdre Cooper Owens's work on the origins of gynecology in slavery is an incisive methodological example of this approach.

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[81] Jeremy Kuzmarov, *Modernizing Repression: Police Training and Nation Building in the American Century* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2012); Willard M. Oliver, *August Vollmer: the father of American policing* (Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press, 2017).

[82] Major General William F. Dean, transcript of an oral history conducted in 1972, in August Vollmer: Pioneer in Police Professionalism, Regional Oral History Office, August Vollmer Historical Project, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

She discusses the controversial figure of J. Marion Simms, the "father of gynecology," not as particular but as inheriting a structure of thriving medical practice spanning from Haiti to Louisiana, embedded within patterns that he illuminates but to which he is not exceptional.[83] My discussion of Stanley and Vollmer follows this approach. Their work bridges the transition of settler logics of civilization into a fetish of empirical objectivity within the emerging academic disciplinarity and expert professionalization of the twentieth century. They are neither unique nor exceptional, and the structures they illuminate are the focus, rather than their biographical details. Their work demonstrates how assertions of racial justice and narratives of biological, scientifically-measured, genetic deviancy and inferiority can be a part of the same coherent ideological system. This analysis also holds insights for the composition of state power more broadly, and how the modeling of biometric big data maps onto a eugenicist logic of progress, normality, and civilization. Before beginning a granular discussion of my argument based on the propositions in Stanley and Vollmer's work and writings, I am going to discuss two theoretical points to which their biographies and bodies of work provide relevant insight: 1) how the "objectivity" of eugenics laid the foundations for what would become racial liberalism, and 2) the "primitive accumulation" of the algorithm as a process of racial capitalist settlement.

The eugenic preconditions of racial liberalism

The work of Stanley and Vollmer illustrates how the performance of progressive, egalitarian, liberal values can be absolutely coherent with the logic and practice of eugenics. It also shows perhaps how the frameworks of eugenics lay the necessary preconditions for what became racial liberalism of the 40s-60s and then a hegemonic official antiracism. Jodi Melamed's insightful work lays out the officially antiracist type of liberal white supremacy that emerged after World War II (in critical conversation with Omi and Winant's understanding of a post World War II "racial break"). This consisted in "consolidating a powerful historical bloc of race relation philanthropies, social scientists, culture and publishing industries, and federal government agencies" in the Cold War era around the American Creed of "equal opportunity, abstract equality, possessive individualism, and market liberties" which came to define antiracism and naturalized racialized capitalism.[84] I understand this analysis to be correct in many senses, but my reading into this project has led me to lay a deeper historiography to that tendency. Primarily, I found myself asking: what laid the groundwork for the consolidation of this bloc? What were the preconditions laid in the Progressive Era, and what does it do to the analytic to shift the timeline backwards and ask how the prerequisites for official antiracism congealed in the fusion of eugenics and the professional "objectivity" of empirical study?

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[83] Deirdre Cooper Owens, Medical Bondage: Race, Gender, and the Origins of American Gynecology (Athens, Georgia: The University of Georgia Press, 2017).

[84] Jodi Melamed, *Represent and Destroy: Rationalizing Violence in the New Racial Capitalism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011), 3, 25.

To have the abstracted equality that Melamed talks about they needed to be able to separate out social characteristics like race (and, I would add to Melamed's analysis, gender) as manageable, measurable/categorizable, and abstract-able. This was the beginning of what allowed justice--discussed in the time using the even more vague and multipurpose signifier of "morality"--to mutate and shift in a way that made it separable from the material distribution of resources. Melamed correctly discusses the Progressive Era as a certain "white supremacist modernity" which constructed difference in way that collapses other categories such as wealth and morality into the color line (or what I discuss less specifically about race but more about the dysselection of racial capitalism, which had consequences for gender regimes, ableism, and other components of the settler colonial assemblage). My point, however, is that even within this white supremacist modernity there was a distinct shift into scientific measure and empirical objectivity that set the preconditions for this separation, allowing for these statistics and research interventions to be depoliticized. The model of abstracted equality that Melamed notes in racial liberal regimes required this precondition of abstracted sociological measurement; the transition from white supremacist modernity into racial liberalism is less of a break and more of an evolution.

Vollmer and Stanley's work was a clear example of this: deeply political in the construction and management of race and gender through frames of eugenic deviancy, and insistently framed as objectively depoliticized. The different ways in which they are remembered, based on the legibility or illegibility of their work to the current regime of official antiracism is also instructive. Stanley was directly engaged in the now-controversial political debates of the time, supporting both sterilization and euthanasia and advocating for California to go even further in sterilizing the unfit, the non-white, the immigrant, the mentally or physically non-normative, the economically unproductive, the sexually deviant or gender transgressive, and the criminal.[85] Additionally, his experimental surgeries to address the supposed criminal tendencies of individuals and the maintenance of social order broadly, as well as his obsession with the creation and maintenance of masculinity, don't make him particularly prone to hagiographies. Vollmer, however, is remembered more warmly. His social position as a prominent public figure led him to directly engage with a variety of political debates, although the core intervention of his career was to take politics (which he framed as corruption) *out* of policing and render it professionalized and scientific. He spent his career trying to establish a "code of conduct" that would distance policing from practices of corruption

[85] Stanley advocated for sterilizations through his many interviews and published academic articles. Two notable articles include: Leo L. Stanley, "Human Sterilization," California and Western Medicine XXXIX, no. 3 (1933): 1-25. and Leo L. Stanley, "Voluntary Sterilization in Prison," The Medical Journal and Record Publishing Company (March, 18, 1936): 1-5. Both articles were located in Dr. Leo L. Stanley Collection: San Quentin History Medical & Personal Papers, Miscellaneous Papers and Correspondence, Box 3a, FF18: Writings by Dr. Stanley - Medical, Marin County Free Library Archives. At this time California already had some of the most sweeping eugenics laws in the nation, performing, according to some counts, anywhere from one third (Robert A. Wilson, *The Eugenic Mind Project*, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2018) to three quarters (Edwin Black, *War Against the Weak: Eugenics and America's Campaign to Create a Master Race*, New York, NY: Four Walls Eight Windows, 2003) of the sterilizations performed nationwide.

and brutality.[86] In terms of his positions and involvement with a variety of social issues he was known as a progressive, advocating for women and racial minorities to join the police force, and acting as a member on committees such as the Berkeley Inter-Racial Committee with the charter "to promote inter-racial justice and harmony, and to oppose racial segregation and discrimination."[87] In his capacity as chief of police he opposed the efforts by the Ku Klux Klan to establish themselves in Berkeley and opposed the methods of Japanese internment during World War II. However, much of this opposition rested on his notion of proper conduct; according to the police officers who worked under him, his effort to stymie the KKK were based more on opposition for secretive, extra-governmental vigilanteism than on ideological conviction, and his opposition to internment was that relocation should be a civilian and not a military obligation.[88] Vollmer was vocal in his condemnation of the xenophobia and anti-immigrant sentiments that formed the more conservative tendencies of the eugenic movement, and did not devote excessive energy to the high profile political interventions of the eugenics movement--such as sterilizations or race-based immigration restrictions--that our liberal regime of official antiracism remembers with condemnation. In his published works, he talked about social harmony and fairness, and condemned ethnic discrimination.

This progressive résumé would be entirely legible and laudable to our regime of official antiracism, which is likely why Vollmer is remembered with such favor. The point of this discussion, as I will expand throughout this chapter, is that Vollmer's views condemning racial discrimination and advocating equity and social harmony are entirely coherent with his views on eugenics. Additionally, although their work is differentially subject to praise or condemnation, both Vollmer and Stanley's work relied upon rendering people into depoliticized data, supplying the scientific and academic framework of objectivity without which the abstraction of equity that Melamed details would not be possible. The insights from this historical moment, and stretching our chronology of racial liberalism's origin point, allows us to gain a clearer view of what actually constitutes the skeletal structure of this official antiracism.

Of the two, Vollmer writes the most explicitly of the emerging academic field of eugenics. He sat on the advisory councils for the American Eugenics Society and the Euthanasia Society of America, and membership of the National Committee of Mental Hygiene and the National Society for the Legalization of Euthanasia, and his proposed curriculum for the establishment of a criminology department at UC Berkeley included, along with courses on firearm handling and investigative techniques, courses with titles

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[86] See: Gene E. Carte & Elaine H. Carte, *Police Reform in the United States: The Era of August Vollmer, 1905-1932* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1975) and Williard M. Oliver, *August Vollmer: the father of American policing.* (Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press, 2017). See also the various interviews compiled by the oral history conducted in 1972, in August Vollmer: Pioneer in Police Professionalism, Regional Oral History Office, August Vollmer Historical Project, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

[87] Constitution of Berkeley Inter-Racial Committee, Carton 4, Berkeley Inter-Racial Committee Folder, August Vollmer Papers, Bancroft University Archives, Berkeley, California.

[88] Major General William F. Dean, transcript of an oral history conducted on July 8, 1971, in August Vollmer: Pioneer in Police Professionalism, Regional Oral History Office, August Vollmer Historical Project, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley; Gene E. Carte & Elaine H. Carte, *Police Reform in the United States: The Era of August Vollmer, 1905-1932* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1975).

such as: "Origin of Man. Racial Types," "Civilization: National Kultur," "Race Degeneration," and "Eugenics."[89] These deep influences of hereditarian logics of biological inheritance of deviancy, are woven through his publications, and his obsession with the statistical and scientific measurement of criminal "types." Vollmer's primary interest in eugenics, and his work in the scientific study of the human, centered around that interplay between heredity and environment, the sociology, biology, and psychology of criminality. Many eugenicists of his time subscribed more to the monogenesis strand of eugenics (that all people had a single origin and had diverged because of environmental factors), and Vollmer tended to cite these studies as the accepted expertise in the field. Even when this theorization described racial diversion through a scientific abstraction of difference, there was an evolutionary hierarchy embedded in the assumptions underlying the field. Vollmer's discussions of criminality begin with a racial background summarizing these views, that:

> Negroes, Mongols, and Caucasians probably sprung from this [same] racial stock. The diversifications which are now apparent can be attributed to the same biological laws that have produced variations in all forms of life…Isolation from other groups and interbreeding produced diversification, since nature insists upon changes in the evolutionary march upward. These diversifications can be observed in modern families and races…And, obviously, there is a wide chasm between the Negritos of Africa and Australia, and the European Caucasians, although they are probably descended from the same ancestors.[90]

He shared the implication of this single origin/diverse evolutionary outcome theory that then "[b]y selective mating it may be possible to produce a race of superior people, just as animal breeders have done with lower animals,"[91] which was the core assumption motivating many of the eugenic movements empirical hypotheses and social policies. Although Vollmer rejected full biological determinism, reiterating with both heredity and environment "one is as important as the other, and therefore in any study of the criminal this important fact can never be neglected"[92] there were limitations to purely sociological arguments. His views on hereditarianism and "feeble-mindedness" as one of the causes of criminality was also a popular theory of the time.[93] He rejected explanations that poverty causes crime, and claimed that "environment plays an important role in developing all of the potentialities of the tree, but that is all that environment can do….is also limited in its development to its gene foundation."[94] Vollmer saw the horizon of policing as a future in

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[89] August Vollmer and Albert Schneider, "School for Police as Planned at Berkeley," *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology* 7, no. 6 (1917): 885-886.
[90] August Vollmer, *The Criminal* (Brooklyn: Foundation Press, 1949), 201-203.
[91] Ibid., 86.
[92] Ibid., 90.
[93] Alexandra Stern, *Eugenic Nation: Faults and frontiers of better breeding in modern America* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2005); Gene E. Carte, and Elaine H. Carte, *Police reform in the United States: The Era of August Vollmer, 1905-1932* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1975).
[94] August Vollmer, *The Criminal* (Brooklyn: Foundation Press, 1949), 20, 94.

which statistics, based on these biometric and sociological criteria, could thoroughly predict criminality. Similarly Stanley's projection of future research horizons were the perfect medical intervention into deviancy--a future in which perfect social harmony is achieved by absolute medial modification of the deviant, as "there would be no need of prisons and prison doctors if we could operate on men's minds."[95] His proposed interventions were couched in medicalized rhetoric, pure scientific empiricism, and the evasions of objective academic research.

In the way that Melamed notes how "[r]ace-liberal orders have construed and calculated difference in ways that restrict the settlement of racial conflicts to liberal political terrains that conceal material inequality"[96] this burgeoning capacity of scientific modeling and measurement is intended to restrict models of potential humanity to the measurable. It also positioned the racial liberal assemblage of academics, philanthropists, and government agencies as those who do this measurement, and act as the arbiters of what is considered a "race issue" and what are the relevant data points to form this measurement.

Primitive accumulation of the algorithm

The construction of algorithmic objectivity required by this regime of racial liberalism that would emerge required the statistical performance of objective neutrality. It required alienation from body and land through the primitive accumulation of numbers.

Recording biometric data was nothing new for U.S. regimes of power, and the first massive compilation of these records was the accumulation and surveillance of people for purposes of enslavement, and the tracking of people to measure value and enforce property rights.[97] The bridging of this biometric regime into the eugenic hobbies of measuring skulls and tabulating hair texture was in many ways a logical transition. The concept of fingerprinting as a means of recording and tracking people was an invention by ur-eugenicist Francis Galton, and the gathering of big data was one of the primary purposes of major eugenicist labs and think tanks such as Cold Springs Harbor.[98] Vollmer's recommendations that juvenile detention homes, jails, courts, "hospitals for the feeble-minded," schools, and so on "[p]rovide human material for the study of antisocial behavior" is coherent with the reality that the academic arm of the eugenics movement, when transitioning to gathering statistics on a massive scale, drew their data from exactly such places.[99] Although Stanley shared an interest in generalizable data and broad

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[95] Leo L. Stanley, *Men At Their Worst* (New York: D. Appleton Century Company, Inc., 1940), 56.
[96] Jodi Melamed, *Represent and Destroy: Rationalizing Violence in the New Racial Capitalism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011), xvi.
[97] Simone Browne *Dark Matters: On the Surveillance of Blackness* (Durham, NC: Duke University, 2015).
[98] Edwin Black, *War Against the Weak: Eugenics and America's Campaign to Create a Master Race* (New York, NY: Four Walls Eight Windows, 2003), 52, 265; Steven Selden, *Inheriting Shame: The Story of Eugenics and Racism in America.* (New York, NY: Teacher's College Press, 1999), 36; Robert A. Wilson, *The Eugenic Mind Project* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2017).
[99] Ibid. Also August Vollmer, *The Criminal* (Brooklyn: Foundation Press, 1949), 437.

studies, Vollmer was most explicit about this deep interest in biometric accumulation for purposes of criminology, and spent his career working towards the "compilation of national statistics which might shed light on degeneracy and its effect upon the nation" and a "central bureau of scientific criminological information."[100] He saw the problem with law enforcement in his time, and his major life project to reform, in that they don't "labor for the establishment of a central bureau of scientific criminological information…do not urge the scientific study of problem children in school clinics; they do not insist upon scientific diagnosis and prognosis of the behavior of delinquents and criminals…[nor] help them in changing the evil habits of those who have departed from the paths of rectitude." In the measurement of criminality, Vollmer's aspirational horizon was a comprehensive knowledge web spanning the academic fields that emerged during his career. Recording immigration, race category, occupation, and parentage was easy; he sought the algorithms that could be produced by empirical studies in sociology and psychology:

> Race, religion, superstition, emigration, immigration, seasons, unemployment, occupation, and national customs have been considered in their relation to crime….It is not enough to know the sex, age, height, weight, domestic status, parentage, school training, and physical health of the person who is studied; the biological, physiological, psychological, sociological, and pathological factors that have motivated his behavior must also be known.[101]

In this way the massive biometrics of slavery, the anterior practice of gathering numbers reflecting the body and its productive capacity for labor, metastasizes into the emerging biometrics of the academic disciplines, gathering statistics and empirical studies on the body that remain an attempt to catalogue the body and its capacities against the metric of "normalcy." The deep histories of racialization as linked to criminality and social threat, immigration modeled as foreignness and an existential threat to the social order, the anti-Black "class of symbolic paradigms" that becomes the "culture of poverty,"[102] buries itself behind empiricism in departments of biology, research projects of sociology, and objective metrics of psychology.

Understanding this aggregation as a process of primitive accumulation helps to frame the processes of biometric data gathering and control with land and settlement. As primitive accumulation converted land into something that could be parceled out, owned, and capitalized upon, the conversion of people into biometric data created physical, psychological, and moral metrics that could be measured and weighted against standards of normalcy and health. The invocation of primitive accumulation in this analysis helps to deepen the historical understanding of these processes, and how they cannot be disentangled, as slavery was a key component in the production of the *place* of settlement, and the plantation-settlement as a hybrid spatial unit. Tiffany King's incisive

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[100] August Vollmer, *The Criminal* (Brooklyn: Foundation Press, 1949), 421, 378.
[101] Ibid., 412-413.
[102] Hortense Spillers' discussion on this topic is the best and most thorough—see particularly Hortense J. Spillers, "Mama's baby, papa's maybe: An American grammar book," *diacritics* 17, no. 2 (1987): 65-66.

work discusses this extensively, and the micro-processes that produced place and ontology through gratuitous violence of the plantation at the point of settlement.[103] The unfortunately phrased "primitive accumulation" as a concept derives from theorizations of capitalism. However, to understand the racial capitalism of settler colonialism we have to go beyond the codification of the concept in many Marxist conversations that fall into class reductionism and the teleology of a historical materialism that posits a linear progress from primitivism into modernity. The process of originary accumulation is incredibly real, and the theorizations of the Marxist tradition hold extremely valuable insights about how this process functions. However, the tendencies that fall into a straightforward analysis of race arising *from* class or settlement acting as an exact parallel to the enclosure of the commons in Europe hold certain misconceptions and elisions that have dangerous consequences.[104] In this, Glen Coulthard's amendments to Marx's theorizations are useful. Coulthard recommends shifting the lens from the capitalist relation to the colonial relation in order to avoid economic reductionism and account for how the predatory nature of capitalism configures dispossession in concert with "axes of exploitation and domination configured along racial, gender, and state lines."[105] I see this as coherent with my approach of analyzing how racial capitalism functions within settler colonialism.

Looking specifically at the carcerality of racial capitalism is useful for a micro-analysis of the technical functionality of this system through algorithmic accumulation. Jackie Wang's work is helpful here, particularly in her departure from Marx's techno-optimism[106] in order to focus on the interplay between sovereign power and techno-governance. Wang's work draws from David Harvey and Rosa Luxemburg in arguing that there are two axes of racial capitalism: that of exploitation (homogenizing wage relation) and that of expropriation (logic of differentiation), leading to a gratuitous racialized state violence that is often "'irrational' from a market perspective."[107] In her discussion of predictive policing, she posits that the "anticipatory element of policing has always been present but until recently the judgment of the police officer was considered superior to

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[103] Tiffany Lethabo King's 2019 book *The Black Shoals: Offshore Formations of Black and Native Studies* takes up this discussion. Her 2013 doctoral dissertation *In the Clearing: Black Female Bodies, Space, and Settler Colonial Landscapes* also does brilliant work in laying out conquest-slavery as an assemblage of productive and repressive power, the settlement/plantation as a hybrid spatial unit, settled-slave as a bodily formation at the intersections of conquest-slavery, and master-settler as embodied in the same person.

[104] Cedric J. Robinson, *Black Marxism: The making of the Black radical tradition*. (Durham, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2000). Another useful source is also: Paula Chakravartty, and Denise Ferreira Da Silva. "Accumulation, dispossession, and debt: The racial logic of global capitalism—an introduction," *American Quarterly* 64, no. 3 (2012): 361-385.

[105] Glen Sean Coulthard, *Red skin, white masks: Rejecting the colonial politics of recognition* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2014), 14.

[106] Specifically, Wang cites theorists in the Black Panther Party, and Huey P. Newton in particular, that "the lumpen and the working class have a negative relationship with technology…rapid technological innovation would lead to a 'lumpenization' of the lower classes, who would become permanently unemployable as automated production rapidly supplanted human laborers." Jackie Wang, *Carceral Capitalism* (Pasadena, CA: Semiotext(e), 2018), 58.

[107] Jackie Wang, *Carceral Capitalism* (Pasadena, CA: Semiotext(e), 2018): 22. Her argument also draws from the work of David Harvey and Rosa Luxembourg.

that of machines."[108] However, I depart from Wang's analysis that "biological and cultural racism was eventually supplanted by statistical racism,"[109] arguing that the statistical racism didn't *supplant* the previous regimes as much as emerged as a *tactic of* these continuing and persistent structures. I posit that this current dynamic of the superiority of machines and AI was made possible by the precondition of the supposed superiority of academic measurement and statistics, a process that really consolidated in the Progressive Era. None of this techno-governance is new; the governance of the settler state was solidified through the statistical accumulation of people, and the originary accumulation of numbers as a massive project of creating the new, countable subject of "blackness as saleable commodity."[110] McKittrick's work brilliantly details this process, in how "historic blackness comes from: the list, the breathless numbers, the absolutely economic, the mathematics of the unliving…the documents and ledgers and logs that narrate the brutalities of this history give birth to new world blackness as they evacuate life from blackness."[111] McKittrick's work on algorithms details how even though we somewhat suspect that the algorithms imitate lived systems, we suspect that the science and numbers cannot lie, leading us to bifurcate the science of biology and of mathematics. Black life is absent from the statistical algorithms that we use to organize our world, and outside algorithmic logics altogether. Black life is dysselected in advance, and "this process is hardened and made objective by mathematical codes."[112] It's not that eugenics was supplanted by the racist algorithm, but rather that eugenics *is* the dysselecting algorithm.

The "who" of this matters, particularly because of the work of abstraction that the algorithm does, and how we are all implicated in this conversation. The point from Abreu becomes key, especially thinking through my critique of "the expert" in the next section of this chapter. They write:

> *Who* kills, in algorithmic necropower? The people who coded the algorithms? The generals, managers, CEOs, or shareholders who ordered them? The companies buying and selling the algorithms? The civilians whose surveilled daily lives constitute the bulk of the data the algorithms analyze? *Our* banal activities are the source from which algorithms automatically generate kill lists made up of nodes that deviate from the cluster of normal activity patterns. Algorithmic necropower defers the act of killing and disperses complicity.[113]

This is the uncomfortable insight also in Simone Browne's analysis, and the terrible intimacy of these relations of datafied surveillance and colonial techno-governance. Although the targeting is differential, the structures of racialized surveillance are created

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[108] Ibid., 42.
[109] Ibid., 249.
[110] Simone Browne, *Dark Matters: On the Surveillance of Blackness* (Durham, NC: Duke University, 2015), 42.
[111] Katherine McKittrick, "Mathematics black life," *The Black Scholar* 44, no. 2 (2014): 16-17.
[112] Katherine McKittrick, "On Algorithms and Curiosities" (keynote given at the Feminist Theory Workshop, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, MA, 2017), shared with me by Daniel Vargas.
[113] Manuel Abreu, "Incalculable Loss," *The New Inquiry*, August 19, 2014.

by us, all of us, in a way that is often dispersed and always structured in a way to allow the denial of malice or power relations. The core of the well-intentioned reformer, the benevolent social scientist, and racial liberal-become-officially antiracist institution is that this complicity is deferred and dispersed, hidden behind the evasions of statistics and eugenic algorithms. This is a part of what makes this system so slippery, and the fantasy of justice as achieved through numbers, measurement, and objective analysis so pernicious. This brings us back to Melamed, and Coulthard's insight that colonial relations of power are no longer only produced through violence, through the state practices that Marx described as "dripping from head to toe, from every pore, in blood and dirt."[114] Now they are often constituted through tolerant, multinational, liberal settler polities, a politics of affirmative recognition and institutional accommodation. and I would add, the performance of algorithmic objectivity paired with these, to systematize dysselection while performing nice liberal antiracist management. This is the weaponization of the professionalized, empirically-based, expert in the management of a statistically-generated bell curve based on algorithms from which humanity is selected or dysselected in advance.

Discussion and data

In the following section I discuss the views of Stanley and Vollmer more granularly, considering their typologies of deviancy in the physical, moral, and mental spheres. Here I reemphasize that the binary between the physical and mental, and their separation from the moral, is an illusory division; rather they form a part of the same coherent ideological system. I then discuss what appears to be a contradiction in their work between the inevitability of biological inheritance and the possibilities of training/education/reform--if criminality is born then what are the purposes of schools and prisons?--and why this is not in fact a contradiction if addressed as a core component of racial capitalist settlement's functionality. I show how this power dynamic has the dual consequence of fixing the position of the expert (whether to select out or to train), and naturalizing the bell curve of normalcy as inevitable.

Introduction to the data: physical, moral, mental

Leo Stanley defined crime as a "social disease in that it disturbs the normal action of organized society…divided into three classifications: moral disease, which has to do with character; physical disease which applied to abnormalities; and mental disease, which pertains to the brain."[115] This typology is a useful delineation to understand the different emphases of the narrative logic in which both Stanley and Vollmer were embedded. This triad is the lens through which to understand the framing not only of criminality, but also the racial, economic, and sociopolitical overlap with their theories of

[114] Karl Marx, *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy,* Vol. 1, Ben Fowkes, trans. (New York: Penguin Classics, 1990), 926.
[115] Leo L. Stanley, *Men At Their Worst* (New York: D. Appleton Century Company, Inc., 1940), 62.

deviancy. Vollmer lists some of these many overlaps in his theory that "[t]hinking, feeling, and acting are the mental qualities that distinguish one race from another race, sane from insane, genius from feeble-minded, sincere from hypocritical, brave from cowardly, moral from immoral, law-abiding from criminal, and one person from every other individual in the world."[116] This analytic for making sense of the world, people, and all society, forms the basis for the theorizations about the causes of criminality and the nature of the criminal, as he asks himself, in a musing that spans from the concrete to the philosophical:

> Is criminal behavior traceable to physical or mental abnormalities, either hereditary or acquired? What kind of mental peculiarities or abnormalities are factors in causing men to violate the law? Is crime due to moral degeneracy, or perversity? Why are some primitive people honest and peaceable within their own group, though frequently engaging in tribal wars? Is there an inherent sense of justice?[117]

Although the eugenics movement was not always a coherent ideological project and contained a wide spectrum of different political and logical tendencies within it, this trifecta of the physical, moral, and mental was a common thread. Stanley and Vollmer's approaches towards these three areas of deviancy--and their inevitability or potential for modification--speak to their views on the role of biological inheritance versus environmental factors in determining one's social "fitness."

Abnormalities of the body as tied to identifying criminality (and remedying, reforming, or modifying it) were certainly a major focus of both Vollmer and Stanley. Stanley explicitly framed his own work as one that "centers in the bodies of men. I cannot reach their thoughts."[118] Vollmer was also enduringly interested in the aspects of the body that could drive deviancy, a hormonal imbalance here or a deviant gland there. These "bodily fluids and other physiological factors" ranged from glandular imbalances responsible for "human deviates" to general "signs of 'instability' which could be as broad as "restlessness, state of excitement, attitude, drawn features, blue extremities, unsteady gait, indistinct speech, and a host of other evidences of…mental imbalance"; these composed those who "handicapped from birth by defective gene structure, clutter up police stations and courts."[119] Vollmer, however, hedged about the full determinism of the more body-based tendencies in the eugenics movement. He saw the reliance only on physical characteristics to identify the criminal as "condemned as utterly unsound by competent experts because they know that a diagnosis cannot be made unless they have conversed with the subject and have made a study of his entire life history."[120] Vollmer mocked phrenologists who thought they could determine criminality simply by

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[116] August Vollmer, *The Criminal* (Brooklyn: Foundation Press, 1949), 131.
[117] Ibid., 438-439.
[118] Leo L. Stanley, *Men At Their Worst* (New York: D. Appleton Century Company, Inc., 1940), 56.
[119] August Vollmer, *The Criminal* (Brooklyn: Foundation Press, 1949), 134, 131, 113, 358.
[120] Ibid., 357.

appearance and measuring the skull,[121] and Stanley also challenged anyone who thought they could reliably determine a physical criminal "type."[122] However, there were moments when their interest in curing criminality, provided examples such as the "so-called incorrigible girl [who] became tractable following the removal of her adenoids"[123] or the possibility of plastic facial surgery to return the criminal to "normal human adjustment."[124] The body was an important part of the constellation of the physical, moral, and mental, and could certainly be intervened upon with sterilizations, plastic surgery, gland transplants, hormone injections, or even, for the irremediable, euthanasia,[125] but their interest in identifying and modifying deviance went beyond an analysis of hormone imbalances, defunct testicles, malformed faces, or misshapen pituitary glands and into the moral and mental spheres. The body was the site of biometric accumulation of data, but the systems of measurement and logics of normalcy and deviance extended far beyond physical control to attempts to frame the whole of the social order.

Morality was a flexible enough concept that it could serve as a multipurpose signifier, and be used for racial discourse about progress, as an entry-point for discourses about healthy versus deviant gender and sexuality expression,[126] or as an argument for the legitimacy and necessity of the settler state. Morality or immorality was discussed as "disordered character" and tied to appropriate upbringing, the "proper precepts well

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[121] Orlando W. Wilson, former Dean of the School of Criminology at UC Berkeley, transcript of an oral history conducted on July 2, 1971, in August Vollmer: Pioneer in Police Professionalism, Regional Oral History Office, August Vollmer Historical Project, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.
[122] Leo L. Stanley, *Men At Their Worst* (New York: D. Appleton Century Company, Inc., 1940).
[123] August Vollmer, *The Criminal* (Brooklyn: Foundation Press, 1949), 415.
[124] Leo L. Stanley, *Men At Their Worst* (New York: D. Appleton Century Company, Inc., 1940), 89.
[125]The medicalized debate around support for, as Stanley put it "euthenasia, or painless elimination of the socially unfit" (*Men at their Worst* 159), was slightly different than the discussion of the death penalty or official state executions. In regards to the death penalty, a debated political issue of the time, Stanley and Vollmer's views differed slightly. Vollmer was not a proponent of the death penalty, proportional punishments for crimes, or other physically violent punishments, because he considered them to be a "primitive practice of retribution" that does not deter crimes (*The Criminal*, 17). Stanley was pessimistic about the chances for rehabilitation of confirmed criminals and did not call for the death penalty to be abolished, as the "public has the right to be protected against violent criminals being let loose to murder again" (Stanley quoted in Anita Day Hubbard, "Focus on Mature Living," 1973, Marin County Free Library Archives). He did, however, contend that executions should be as painless and humane as possible (Irene Soehren, "Prison Doctor," *Today's Health* 33, no. 7, July 1955, Marin County Free Library Archives).
[126] A specific discussion of this milieu through critical analyses of normative gender structures and queerness would be incredibly generative. For example, Ethan Blue has written specifically on the importance of Leo Stanley in constructions of masculinity. There is extensive discussion of these dynamics in both Stanley and Vollmer's work. For example, Vollmer's tome *The Criminal* had an extensive theory of how "All human beings are part male and female" (p. 288) and when one side preponderates more than it ought, this is when it leads to the "pronounced deviates…who all too frequently come into conflict with the law" who appear male but "think, feel, and act like a woman," (p. 126) and numerous examples of "sex irregularities," such as the girl with "misbehavior of various kinds, especially her amorous attitude toward a female teacher," which led her to be committed to an institution to correct her incorrigible behavior (p. 100-102). This is a rich area for critique that I did not thoroughly explore in this chapter. However, I did attempt in this project to hint towards these important entanglements, and leave theoretical amplitude for others to explore this plateau.

instilled…[by h]ome, school, and church [which] are the best guardians of the moral state."[127] This aspect of measuring social fitness and normality is, I argue, one of the clearest inheritors of the settler concept of the "civilized." Although Vollmer is remembered more as a civic reformer than a moral reformer of the Progressive Era,[128] concepts of moral development and moral deviancy figure strongly in his work. His writings on criminality build on the popular eugenic trope of overlapping the growth from child to adult onto the growth from primitive to civilized man, by also tying deviancy to this child/primitive state. This scientific moralizing allows him to fuse his often egalitarian humanism with classic white supremacy, calling simultaneously for the attainment of "universal emotional attitudes…which will impel the masses to travel hand in hand toward a common goal of unselfish devotion to the brotherhood of man…[and] devotion to the health, happiness, and welfare of humans—regardless of color, creed, or race" while theorizing that "what is now regarded as a vice was indeed a virtue in prehistoric times when basic impulses had free play and served to protect prehistoric man and preserve his species. What is accepted as ethical among the Eskimos[sic] is tabooed by cultured people of other civilizations."[129] The difference between this logic and the civilizational arguments of settlement a few centuries previous is negligible.

The primary role of this model was to position morality as an essential area for study, research, and intervention, cementing the necessity of the "character-training" aspect of school and prison and fitting this inherited settler logic to the emerging scientific discourses of the twentieth century. A key point in Vollmer's argument for prison reform was that "education for the correction of defects in attitudes, ideals, conscience, habits, and moral virtues is generally neglected."[130] The moral figured into both the push for research and the perception of both Stanley and Vollmer that there were some who were beyond moral reclamation, as "the crooked-minded or socially warped individual is not morally strengthened by school."[131] However, to determine who this individual is, there must be increasing academic attention, as the "obscure character-forming fores which promote good behavior have not been sufficiently stressed or studied; for certainly what makes Jim a good boy is as important as what makes Bill a bad boy." [132] The slipperiness of the morality signifier allowed for the fusion of settler models of ideal civilization to the imperatives of twentieth century capitalism, by also making morality a component of pull-your-self-up-by-your-bootstraps meritocracy. In his condemnation of social welfare and depression-era work programs, Stanley recommends that for any boy who could be found "normal" when examined psychologically to determine his "mental and moral standing," he should be taken under army control and placed into a military camp for the benefit of the state. A normal boy of good character should have self-control, a "respect for the property rights of others [and] a respect for

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[127] Leo L. Stanley, *Men At Their Worst* (New York: D. Appleton Century Company, Inc., 1940), 63.
[128] Gene E. Carte and Elaine H. Carte, *Police reform in the United States: The era of August Vollmer, 1905-1932* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1975).
[129] August Vollmer, *The Criminal* (Brooklyn: Foundation Press, 1949), 415, 196.
[130] Ibid., 398.
[131] Ibid., 15.
[132] Ibid., 411.

earning power."[133] The moral becomes both the civilized and the useful for the state, in its repressive and productive capacities. Additionally, all of this moralizing was predicated on the models of the mind of the individual, in that "the higher the intelligence level of the human being, the more certainly will it be found that his moral code will be sensitive to his social surroundings,"[134] as intelligence became the base capacity for even receiving this type of moral training.

In addition to, and occasionally overlapping or in contradiction with, the physical and moral measures, the eugenics movement in general was overwhelmingly obsessed with the mental aspects of their evaluative criteria. The particular aspect of this that really gained steam in the Progressive Era and through the eugenics movement was intelligence testing. Although measuring the body was important and anyone with physical disabilities was disallowed from entry into Vollmer's ideal police force, the real innovation was his emphasis on extensive intelligence testing, particularly the Army Alpha test, to ensure that there was no "mental disease" or "lunatics and determine fitness to compose the repressive arm of the state.[135] In San Quentin, as soon as intelligence tests were available they quickly began testing every incoming inmate using either the intelligence quotient (IQ) or Stanford Achievement (SA) tests, to determine "the proper educational groove" where the inmates should be in the emerging education systems that were being instituted in the prisons.[136] Much of this theorization of the mind rotated around models of "feeblemindedness" and the technical term of the "moron." Feeblemindedness was painted as the root cause of everything from poverty and criminality to large scale race degeneration and civilizational decay, and the moron was the most terrifying subset to the eugenic imaginary. "Moron" was a medical term coined by Goddard—prominent psychologist and eugenicist, former educator, and first to translate the Binet intelligence test into English—to designate the high-functioning feebleminded who were around the developmental level of a twelve-year-old because they lacked the moral development to advance past this evolutionary phase. The crucial element of the "moron" concept was that this individual couldn't always be detected by the non-expert eye as containing the seeds of genetic catastrophe. The moron was not someone who could be known through phenotype; the key to its insidiousness was its invisibility.

Both Vollmer and Stanley took the identification of "moron intelligence," "psychopathy," and the "criminal mind" very seriously. Stanley's experimental work was predicated on the possibility to intervene in moronity, with the possibility for a cure. His first patient for the experimental procedures for which he would become (in)famous was a 25-year-old man who had been diagnosed by Stanley as a "moron." In the necropolitical

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[133] Leo L. Stanley, *Men At Their Worst* (New York: D. Appleton Century Company, Inc., 1940), 191.
[134] August Vollmer, *The Criminal* (Brooklyn: Foundation Press, 1949), 313-314.
[135] August Vollmer and Alfred E. Parker, *Crime and the State Police* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1935), 98, 100.
[136] "Peek," *This is San Quentin: a Folio of Sketches Depicting the Complete History of the Nation's Largest Prison* (San Quentin: San Quentin Museum Press, 1991). Dr. Leo L. Stanley Collection: San Quentin History Medical & Personal Papers, Miscellaneous Papers and Correspondence, Box 3a, FF18: Writings by Dr. Stanley - Medical, Marin County Free Library Archives.

morbidity that formed the basis of all of his experimental 'materials,' Stanley used the glands from a Black man who had been executed at San Quentin, and when his first patient was released from prison Stanley pronounced that "I believe the man is permanently cured of his criminal tendency." [137] Stanley vacillated between the curability and incurability of people, and the tension between the body and mind, often contradicting himself, saying things like: "There would be no need of prisons and prison doctors if we could operate on men's minds."[138]His harshest recommendations come for those he designated as "moron" designation, those who have hereditary reasons for being dysselected. He says of a man named Nelson: "Insanity is in his family…[and as a] repeated violator with moron intelligence…He is a perfect specimen for any proponent of euthanasia, or painless elimination of the socially unfit."[139] In many ways similar to the moral, the hiding of the body in a fetish of the mind allows for different arguments of scientific objectivity, a justification for behavioral science research to study, and a necessity for schools to train and prisons to reform, normalizing physical social control by invisibilizing the mechanisms. This is why even though calipers and skull measuring have largely fallen out of fashion in the academy, the measuring of "intelligence" as a means of social sorting remains broadly legitimate. Ableism, racism, and settler colonialism are structurally and epistemologically co-constituted, and show up particularly acutely in school systems and models of intelligence or educability.[140] It is in many ways the most fraught of the trifecta in the ways in which the tension between training and selection appears.

The dialectic of training and selection

The eugenic logic as laid out by Vollmer and Stanley in their measurement of the body, morality, and the mind holds a dialectic that at first seems contradictory, unless it is analyzed from the perspective of what it is trying to do for social relations of power. On one hand, they talk about the aspects of the physical, moral, and mental through the lens of the hereditability and immutability of the criminal. They talk about criminality as inevitable because it runs in the family, defective glands, inherited character flaws, and feeblemindedness. Both Stanley and Vollmer will make a nod to environmental factors, but then talk about inherited characteristics as overdetermining. A classic framing from Stanley is that "bad environment usually means economic and moral handicaps of

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[137] Leo L. Stanley, "Goat Gland Serum for Women in San Quentin," *unspecified newspaper clipping,* undated, San Marin Library Archives, Box 3a, Miscellaneous Papers and Correspondence: Writings by Doctor Stanley—Medical.

[138] Leo L. Stanley, *Men At Their Worst* (New York: D. Appleton Century Company, Inc., 1940), 56.

[139] Ibid., 159.

[140] This following article and special issue can be a starting point to this analysis: Erevelles, Nirmala. "(Im) Material Citizens: Cognitive Disability, Race, and the Politics of Citizenship," in *Foundations of disability studies*, Palgrave Macmillan, New York (2013): 145-176; Grech, Saun, and Karen Soldatic, eds. "Disability and colonialism: (dis)encounters and anxious intersectionalities," Special Issue, *Social Identities,* 21, no. 1 (2015). Although the rich and complex conversations in Disability Studies around these intersections, and their entanglement with the eugenics movement and its afterlife, is outside the scope and explicit focus of this chapter, I hope to leave that door open for further critical exploration.

enormous proportions. But if the person comes of good stock his chances for rising above them are excellent. If he comes from morally enfeebled and mentally tainted stock his chances are low indeed."[141] Vollmer, though skeptical of glands and "feeblemindedness" as the sole cause of criminality, assumes that "[a]s a general rule, brilliant and talented persons usually are descendants of people of superior qualities while the stupid and insane are descendants of dull or defective forebears."[142] Similar to Stanley, he contends that "environment plays an important role in developing all of the potentialities of the [ancestral] tree, but that is all that environment can do….is also limited in its development to its gene foundation." [143] They both acknowledge environmental factors—albeit through a frame of pathology—but come to rest on the argument of defective ancestry as immutable, inevitable, and overdetermining.

This raises the question of the purpose of schools and prisons, considering that prisons were still framed as necessary for rehabilitation, and schools for education and training. At first, I thought that the view might be a synthesis, selecting out the un-trainable so that resources could be focused on those who have the inherited potential to be trained, educated, or reformed. It could be an ideologically consistent view to understand schools as first about selection (or, as Stanley put it, education as "simply a plan of classification, like the separation of oranges, that permits the good to roll down one chute and the poor ones down another"[144]) and then training of the selected, and prisons as both reforming the reformable and containing the dysselected who would otherwise threaten the social order. Through this selection model, criminology would be about identifying the criminal "type" who had inherited feeblemindedness or psychopathy and schools only useful for those who were fundamentally educable.

Along these lines, the criminal, in addition to being inevitable and hereditarily predetermined, was fundamentally uneducable to the point of being harmful to other students. Stanley posited that "[m]any of these [criminals] are incapable of absorbing an education and, being forced to remain on in school, they are a disturbing element and tend to lessen the morale of boys better able to learn."[145] Vollmer agrees in his critique that schools "fail to recognize and deal adequately with the problem child…[who] is a potential criminal." According to Vollmer, "the crooked-minded or socially warped individual is not morally strengthened by school…[and will simply become] more incorrigible and dangerous than he would be without an education."[146] For those who were not biologically-inevitable criminals, the failure of schools could be directly blamed, in that "[i]f criminals from homes of wealthy parents are biologically normal individuals, then our educational system fails to create in them suitable habits of thinking, feeling, and acting."[147] Vollmer's synthesis of selection and training can be captured this way:

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[141] Leo L. Stanley, *Men At Their Worst* (New York: D. Appleton Century Company, Inc., 1940), 67.
[142] August Vollmer, *The Criminal* (Brooklyn: Foundation Press, 1949), 97.
[143] Ibid., 47, 55, 94, 97.
[144] Leo L. Stanley, *Men At Their Worst* (New York: D. Appleton Century Company, Inc., 1940), 197.
[145] Ibid., 195.
[146] August Vollmer, *The Criminal* (Brooklyn: Foundation Press, 1949), 14-16.
[147] Ibid., 212.

> [Some children] are victims of their environment rather than of heredity…[and] [t]he sooner the defects are discovered, the better it will be for the child, his family, and the community, providing the right treatment is applied. Thus, the experts believe, if attention is concentrated upon the problem child during the plastic years, delinquency can be reduced….Directing children along the path of rectitude and preventing them from becoming social liabilities is both fruitful and economical; suffering and also loss in time, property, and lives are the inevitable results of neglecting problem children….So that their energies may be conserved and used profitably in dealing with behavior difficulties, teachers and others who work with children must learn not to attempt to do the impossible. An acquired defect in the mental processes may respond to scientific treatment, whereas when defective thinking, feeling, and acting of the individual are the result of biological irregularities, there is little that can be done to help him to become a normal being.[148]

Although schools are crucial in moral development for the students who are biologically capable of receiving this conditioning, both Vollmer and Stanley filter these educable cases away from those who are simply a waste of time. The inherited, inevitable, and overdetermined logic is classically eugenic, in that policing and schooling is about selection and population sorting: finding and containing the criminal/deviant so that time and resources are not wasted on trying to educate the uneducable, and identifying the normal and trainable so that he can be guided in his potential to become a moral, law-abiding, productive citizen.

If they were consistent in this model of schools as simply selecting out the educable, and prisons as warehousing the criminal the logic would be more consistent. The control of some bodies for the benefit of others has long been a feature of racial capitalism and settler colonialism, after all. But they vacillate. If the schools were simply a selection mechanism, why would Vollmer talk about the experiment at a Berkeley elementary school in identifying juvenile delinquency as way "to develop a method for the scientific examination, classification, and segregation of school children…[to] help the child to overcome his defects, whatever their nature"[149]? Why would he speak of the core purpose of the reforms he proposed for law enforcement as a way to "urge the scientific study of problem children in school clinics…[to] help them in changing the evil habits of those who have departed from the paths of rectitude"[150]? Why would Stanley discuss his work of prison medicine as intended to "change the life patterns of the criminal to a higher, more acceptable social level…to send a man back to society a better man than it found him"[151] and the surgeries that he performed as "assisting to biological normalcy" and intended to "help imprisoned men return to normal human adjustment"[152]?

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[148] Ibid., 412-415.
[149] Ibid., 418.
[150] Ibid., 378.
[151] Anita Day Hubbard, "Focus on Mature Living," 1973, San Marin Library Archives, direct quote from Leo L. Stanley.
[152] Leo L. Stanley, *Men At Their Worst* (New York: D. Appleton Century Company, Inc., 1940), 78, 89.

It initially seems contradictory—in one breath talking about deviancy as inevitable, inhering in the blood, and in the second breath talking about the importance of training and education and reform. However, it is not actually a contradiction if the narrative contextualized within the relations of power that facilitate the accumulation of racial capitalism and the dispossession of settlement. This is the technical functioning of the market irrationality of racial capitalism that Jackie Wang discusses, a system fundamentally irrational even to its own internal logic. As a tool of power, however, the dialectic becomes more clear. This contradictory rhetoric does three things. First, it fixes a certain bell curve of social order, naturalizing those who are the educators, the educated, and the uneducable, modeling both the school and prison as beneficent institutions. Second, it establishes the power of the examiner through their professionalization and training, the right to examine, whether to select out the born deviant, or whether to train/reform the educable. It also reifies the necessity of research and the legitimacy of the exam. Third, it prefigures a model of progress and futurity on what I have previously begun to discuss as "algorithmic eugenics," a rhetorical attempt to foreclose other models of social order and being.

The Normal Bell Curve of Social Order

Far before the clowns of the 1990s were musing about the bell curve of intelligence, August Vollmer found himself confidently proclaiming that "[n]ot only intelligence and its components follow a normal curve of distribution, but a similar arrangement of the degrees of strength and weakness is observable in the various aspects of the emotional and volitional spheres."[153] This tendency echoes the observation of Sylvia Wynter in how:

> it would come to be based on degrees of selected genetic merit (or eugenics) versus differential degrees of the dysselected lack of this merit: differential degrees of, to use the term made famous by The Bell Curve, "dysgenicity." It is this new master code, one that would now come to function at all levels of the social order—including that of class, gender, sexual orientation, superior/inferior ethnicities, and that of the Investor/Breadwinners versus the criminalized jobless Poor (Nas's "black and latino faces") and Welfare Moms antithesis, and most totally between the represented-to-be superior and inferior races and cultures—that would come to function as the dually status-organizing and integrating principle of U.S. society.[154]

The model of a bell curve was a powerful analytic tool through which to 1) fix social position and a naturalized model of the ideal social order, and 2) establish an infinite necessity for research, in the interest of perfecting algorithm of the bell curve,

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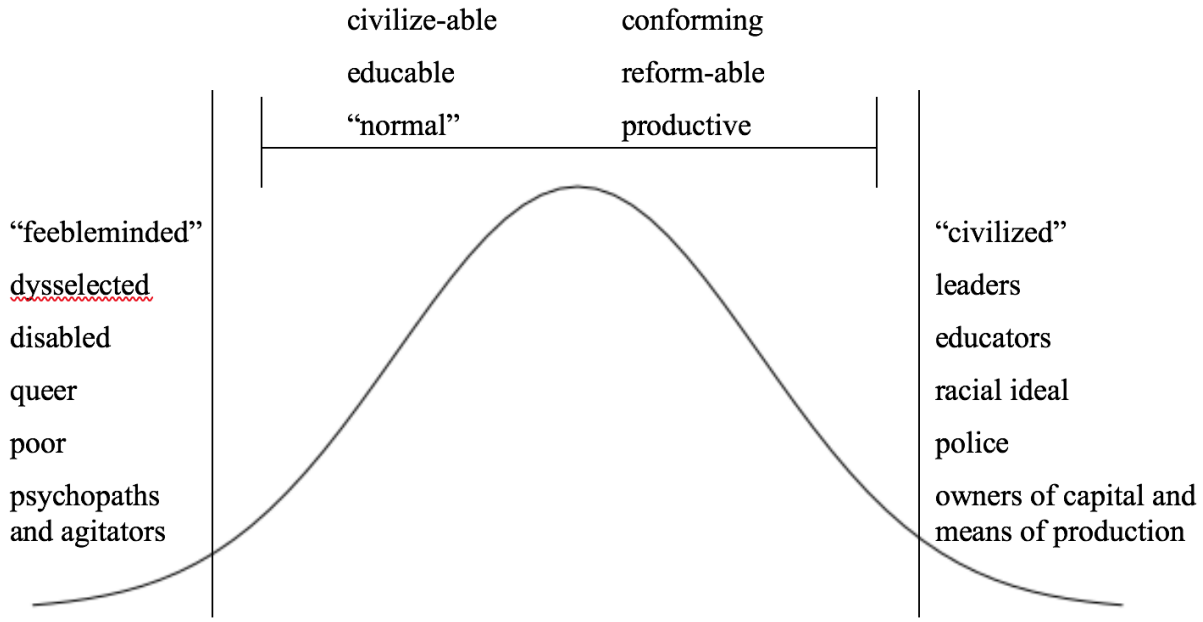
[153] August Vollmer, *The Criminal* (Brooklyn: Foundation Press, 1949), 272.
[154] Sylvia Wynter, "Unsettling the Coloniality of being/power/truth/freedom: Towards the Human, After Man, its Overrepresentation- an Argument," *The New Centennial Review* 3, no. 3 (2003): 323.

purportedly for benevolent knowledge production in the interest of helping the unfortunate misallocated along the normal distribution, and therefore not properly treated/reformed/educated according to their distribution. The idea of normal intelligence, and "normalcy" as a useful analytic was, I argue, a direct outgrowth of the settler concept of the civilized which was more suited to the obsession of the emerging twentieth century with empiricism and the objectivity of data. The reliance on scientific logic, and the idea that everything fell onto a bell curve, from nose size to insect shape, to intelligence and racial fitness, tried to invisibilize the coercion and accumulation required to maintain a social order, in the fetish of objective measurement and "the natural." The bell curve of this logical framework looks something like this:

The Normal Distribution of Normalcy



On one extreme of the bell curve, outside of the normal center, lies the "feebleminded," the "moron," the disabled, the queer,[155] the incorrigibly poor, the nonconforming, and the racially dysselected. These are the ones whom Vollmer admits school cannot help, whom even Stanley could not surgically modify into "biological normalcy." For this extreme end of the curve, there is no possible intervention in the predetermined criminality and deviancy, as "therapeutic measures or drastic punishment

[155] Although I did not thoroughly explore a critical queer or gender studies analysis in this project, this is a fruitful area for future work. For example, Vollmer's view was that for "the male who possesses so many of the characteristics of the female that he acts more like a woman than like a man, and who are uncharitably called 'fairies' or 'pansies.'…[or] the female who is more masculine than feminine in her feeling, thinking, and acting" this gender non-normativity is caused by glandular imbalance and directly connected to criminality, deviancy, and violent crimes such as murder. August Vollmer, *The Criminal* (Brooklyn: Foundation Press, 1949), 113.

cannot alter the character of these biologically defective human beings any more than treatment or punishment can change the color of one's eyes once the gene structure is solidly established which determines the individual's potentialities and limitations."[156] For these, whom even the most benevolent reformer finds themself truly unable to help, are reserved the most extreme methods of containment or elimination. On this tail end of a normal distribution would lie the person for whom "[i]nsanity is in his family…A repeated violator with moron intelligence…He is a perfect specimen for any proponent of euthenasia, or painless elimination of the socially unfit."[157] The fusion of the intelligence curve with the logic of 'normalcy' allows for this end of the bell curve to also include what Vollmer called "psychopathy types," the "Martyr Paranoidal Psychopaths" with "[d]istorted, scatterbrained, and bizarre thinking." These included organized labor, strikers, "agitators, anarchists, antigovernment soap box orators, beggars," any of these "radical political, social, and economic rebels and trouble-makers who constitute the leaders or front rank warriors of a group that oppose the prevailing order and seek to overthrow existing systems or to destroy harmonious management-labor relations,"[158] anyone who must be dysselected for the good of society and the maintenance of production and a racial order. This is a deeper history of the precondition for the "amorphous terrain of algorithmic war" that has become a defining feature of the carcerality of the society in which we live, as "biological life—bodies in physical spaces—becomes a surplus value where calculable, and, when incalculable, a contagion."[159]

On the other extreme of the bell curve, also outside of the normal center but in the opposite position, lies the civilizational vanguard, the unusually exceptional, the extraordinarily productive. This is the "over-average"[160] who are able to use their own self-control to have pulled themselves up by their own bootstraps, or those with high "abstract intelligence."[161] For whatever reason, be it an innate ability for hard work and productivity, or a greater brain capacity than the average man, this narrative imagines superiority not based on power relations but on natural law. These are society's leaders, the owners of capital and the means of production, the racial ideal types, the brilliant, the most civilized, and the highly educated. The typologies of the exceptional are not always as explicitly laid out as the typologies of the criminally deviant, but they remain rhetorically powerful as the implied model towards which everyone else should aspire. Explicit typologies of this end of the bell curve appear less in the writings of Stanley and Vollmer because, after all, the authors and their contemporaries were implicitly imagined as among this select group, and not the main target of analysis.

In the vast middle lies everyone else. Here we find everyone with potential, the colonial subjects who are able to be civilized, the good criminals with possibility to be

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[156] August Vollmer, *The Criminal* (Brooklyn: Foundation Press, 1949), 334.
[157] Leo L. Stanley, *Men At Their Worst* (New York: D. Appleton Century Company, Inc., 1940), 159.
[158] August Vollmer, *The Criminal* (Brooklyn: Foundation Press, 1949), 175, 323-324.
[159] Manuel Abreu, "Incalculable Loss," *The New Inquiry*, August 19, 2014.
[160] Leo L. Stanley, *Men At Their Worst* (New York: D. Appleton Century Company, Inc., 1940), 196.
[161] John Holstrom, transcript of an oral history conducted in 1972, in August Vollmer: Pioneer in Police Professionalism, Regional Oral History Office, August Vollmer Historical Project, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

reformed, and the students who can be educated and taught a skill that will make them productive and able to sell their labor on the market. Some of this normalcy is framed as innate and immutable, such as Stanley's view of queerness that "[a]ny normal boy can be led into it. But only one with definite feminine characteristics will remain in it. The normal boy would eventually be shamed out of it by his own manliness."[162] The real power of the bell curve, however, lies in the idea that normalcy can be accomplished by will (for some), striving impossibly towards the upper end of the curve, and choosing to play the appropriate role in society assigned by where you fall naturally. It entails a conformity to one's appropriate place within the normal social order, which Vollmer framed as the "training of youths to take their place in their communities as good citizens."[163] This normalcy is also predicated on a certain relationship to the state and production, maintained by the threat of degenerating, slipping down the curve into the realm of the dysselected, or the lure of advancing (up to a point). This person is a "well-behaved youngster with a respectful attitude towards law and law enforcement" who can be transformed into a "cop hater" by moving to the wrong neighborhood,[164] slipping down the curve towards the dangerous dysselection of criminality. Alternatively, they can be like Dippy, who was at 16 years old "sent to an institution for feeble-minded persons where he was sterilized and released at the age of twenty-one years. Habits of industry acquired in the institution made it possible for 'Dippy' to earn money as a laborer."[165] For those who are not incorrigible (or who can be made less dangerous to the social order through sterilization), the curve becomes a powerful tool of manipulation, and establishes the need for police and schools to salvage and reform or train those with labor potential beneficial to capital, and ability to contribute to the normal social order. Vollmer laments that "[c]rime removes from productive enterprise millions of workers, destroys the moral fiber of millions of boys and girls…undermines the foundations of government…[and] could destroy this civilization."[166] The idea that destroying this civilization is a bad thing is just taken as a given.

This was the clever fusion of the linear logic of civilizational progression, the "onward march of civilization"[167] with a normal distribution of physical, moral, and mental capacities, in relation to productivity to capital. It is what Simone Browne discusses in how, in making African people bodies for trade, "bodies were made

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[162] Leo L. Stanley, *Men At Their Worst* (New York: D. Appleton Century Company, Inc., 1940), 202.
[163] August Vollmer, *The Criminal* (Brooklyn: Foundation Press, 1949), 15.
[164] Ibid., 221. Also, for the record, the political observation that all cops are bastards is a structural and not an individualized analysis.
[165] Ibid., 308.
[166] Ibid., 447.
[167] Ibid., 43. In this excerpt, Vollmer cites the view, without explicitly agreeing or disagreeing that "in every progressive civilization there will be found persons who, because of feeble intellect, are incapable of competing on equal terms with their fellow men; therefore, such persons will fall behind in the struggle to survive and will become dependents or criminals. Inevitably in this onward march of civilization, according to this academician, those who are less fortunately endowed physically and mentally than others must be eliminated in the evolutionary development of the human race. Progress cannot be prevented even through social control is attempted; consequently, society will always be required to make custodial provision for weaker members, for otherwise such persons will either steal, starve, or die from neglect."

disabled…..where the surgeon's classificatory, quantifying, and authorizing gaze sought to single out and render disposable those deemed unsuitable, while imposing a certain visibility by way of the brand on the enslaved" which established an "ontological link between labor preparedness, race, ethnicity, and resistance."[168] The fusion of colonial and civilizational logics with capitalist productivity and biometric measurement underwrote settlement capitalism and provided the scientific justification for the maintenance of this accumulative and extractive system for the imperatives of the twentieth century.

The Expert and the Exam

In particular, the aspect of measurement both created the expert and the exam, while positioning both as benevolent. The expert became, in addition to the model for the ideal type, the scientist compiling data confirming the "objective" truth about the shape of this bell curve, and the arbiter of where people fell along it. Although his analysis needs to be specified for the U.S. context with Simone Browne's insight that, here, the "seeing eye is white," Foucault wasn't wrong in how the exam combines hierarchical observation and normalizing judgment.[169] One of the main purposes of the IQ test, in addition to the industrialization of expertise,[170] was to render the *test-giver* the expert. This was also essential to Vollmer's model of a professionalized police force. His nascent criminology programs were about both selecting and training superior men, turning police into experts familiar with the heredity and also with the biological structure of the individual who is being studied." His major push was for "college cops" and he was a major proponent of using IQ tests (the Army Alpha test in particular) to select those best suited to be this direct branch of the exercise of state power. This was meant to engineer a dynamic in which "under such a system of selection, a much finer type of man is attracted to the police service."[171] Applying for the state police also required tests for hereditary disease, to ensure that there was no "mental disease" or "lunatics."[172] In thinking through this dynamic of the professionalized expert, I found myself going to *Wretched of the Earth*, where Frantz Fanon wrote:

> In the colonies the economic substructure is the superstructure. The cause is the consequence; you are rich because you are white, you are white because you are rich. This is why Marxist analysis should always be slightly stretched every time we have to do with the colonial problem.[173]

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[168] Simone Browne, *Dark matters: On the surveillance of blackness* (Durham, NC: Duke University, 2015), 94-95.
[169] Ibid.
[170] Thank you to Daniel Perlstein for this pointed phrasing.
[171] August Vollmer and Alfred E. Parker, *Crime and the State Police* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1935), 145.
[172] Ibid., 98, 100, 192.
[173] Frantz Fanon, *Wretched of the Earth* (New York, NY: Penguin Books, 1963), 39. Additionally, Frank Wilderson theorizes a tautology that speaks more directly to the violence and carcerality that is the particular U.S. flavor: I shot you because you're black, you're black because I shot you.

In making sense of this professionalization in the context of racial capitalism, this dynamic becomes: "you are expert because you are white, you are white because you are expert."[174] I argue this corollary holds even in the official antiracism of our era of multicultural liberalism, with expertise implicitly framed as proximity to whiteness. The Marxist analysis of schools as sites of class reproduction[175] has always held some insight, but it has to be stretched to deal with the particularities of racial capitalism in the settler colonial United States. Particularly with eugenics as a type of examination and tool of selection, the ideal model (Anglo-Saxon, wealthy or with potential to attain wealth, the idealized end of the bell curve) became both the form of the exam and the legitimacy of the examiner. In the Foucauldian examination, *who* gets to examine, and in Simone Browne's extension of Foucault for racialized surveillance in the United States, how is the seeing eye white?[176] Because it is not just the form of the examination and the docile bodies it is supposed to create—the actual *identity* of the examiner matters in the way the examination takes shape and the way it functions as a tool. A "feebleminded" person could not be in a position to identify the feebleminded; the "unfit" could not determine fitness. It reifies both the concept and the identity of the ideal. As Stanley put it: "The signs of abnormality are always present for the trained observer to see. But the casual observer cannot."[177] This was the logic behind Vollmer's push to establish schools of criminology nationwide and internationally, as the "[a]bility to distinguish between the criminal and the non-criminal is never an easy task; it can only be acquired after intensive schooling and considerable experience" as without "basic training in the biological and social sciences…[and] professional qualifications essential for the performance of police functions, the policeman will not know how to detect early symptoms of behavior disorders, nor how to remove some of the factors that contribute to crime."[178] This simultaneously positions this "trained observer" as normal and legitimizes the idea of normality itself.

The imperatives of expertise also create a necessity of extending research infinitely in order to perfect the empirically-grounded correctness of the bell curve. Although they at times spoke of crime as socially inevitable, Stanley and Vollmer both dreamed of a horizon where delinquency could be perfectly studied and predicted. Stanley and Vollmer vacillated on whether a perfect data collection on crime would eliminate it, but however they fell in that conversation they phrased it in a way that reified the necessity of

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[174] In talking about the white supremacy of expertise and its functionality in building and upholding racial capitalism, I am not speaking broadly about knowledge as a general concept. Black feminism in particular has laid out, thoroughly, how the academy does not have a monopoly on the myriad forms of knowledge and ways of knowing. In this, I'm specifically talking about the trademarked expertise that comes through universities, and their attempted monopoly on what counts as smartness, mastery over subject material (and the disciplinarity of what subject material is legitimate or not), and ability to evaluate.

[175] Here, the 1976 *Schooling in Capitalist America* by Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis is a classic, as well as Paul Willis's 1977 *Learning to Labor: How working class kids get working class jobs.*

[176] While this point necessarily concerns the ideal examiner, a major modality of the colonial apparatus is the empowerment of the colonized elite (again, through the apparatus of schooling and professionalization) to act as a delegate or proxy, as Frantz Fanon discusses thoroughly in *Wretched of the Earth*.

[177] Leo L. Stanley, *Men At Their Worst* (New York: D. Appleton Century Company, Inc., 1940), 55-56.

[178] August Vollmer, *The Criminal* (Brooklyn: Foundation Press, 1949), 358, 365.

research, always more perfect biometric data collection, whether it be of glands or moronity. The imperative of scientific study was paramount, for "[w]hereas crime cannot actually be cured, so far as we know, we shall certainly understand it better when we have a thorough knowledge of the function and treatment of the ductless glands."[179] They make a point of acknowledging, always, that the current knowledge is partial and imperfect, and that the delinquents are "the social misfits for whom *at present* the scientist can do little to alter favorably the behavior characteristics that set these persons apart from the rest of the population."[180] The implications, however, always have an eye towards an idealized future in which institutions would perfectly reflect the needs of social harmony, delinquency could be perfectly cured, and good citizenship could be trained, a utopia in which "[t]here would be no need of prisons and prison doctors if we could operate on men's minds."[181] Academic research and scientific knowledge, the perfecting of the algorithm, forms the bridge between a current imperfect future of partial scientific knowledge and the hypothetical end-point of comprehensive analysis.

The utopia is not meant to be reached; the bell curve and its selected and dysselected tails is intended to remain intact, even if it shifts along the x axis. However, the hypothetical future of hypothetically perfect scientific knowledge is a powerful rhetorical tool for the accumulation of numbers in the present and infinite perpetuation of research towards this benevolent end. It posits that "[b]efore the child can be helped, a thorough study must be made of his mental processes and his physical and mental health" and it posits that "scientific diagnosis and prognosis of the behavior of delinquents and criminals…[could] help them in changing the evil habits of those who have departed from the paths of rectitude."[182] Through Stanley's eyes, although the rhetorically useful hypothetical future in which there are no prisons remains a useful tool, prisons get positioned as indispensable in the present given their usefulness for research. He reiterates throughout his work that "[p]risoners make ideal subjects for experiments" and "[t]o further research along these endocrinological problems no other institution could offer the same opportunity as does a large prison….[as] these individuals are so controlled while in custody that they may be observed and studied closely." Executions also become justified, considering that Stanley's entire research project was based on that "bodies are not claimed and the material is available for research."[183] The naturalized necessity of research becomes the vehicle through which the repressive work of the state is done, a relationship narrated as not about power but about benevolence. Vollmer frames the academic work as clinically benevolent, in that "[b]ehavior research in Schools of Criminology is an excellent means of discovering what is wrong with the individual and how he may best be treated."[184]

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[179] Leo L. Stanley, *Men At Their Worst* (New York: D. Appleton Century Company, Inc., 1940), 107.
[180] August Vollmer, *The Criminal* (Brooklyn: Foundation Press, 1949), 131, emphasis mine.
[181] Leo L. Stanley, *Men At Their Worst* (New York: D. Appleton Century Company, Inc., 1940), 56.
[182] August Vollmer, *The Criminal* (Brooklyn: Foundation Press, 1949), 415, 378.
[183] Irene Soehren, "Prison Doctor," *Today's Health* (established in 1923 as *Hygeia*), 33, no. 7 (July 1955). This point also appears in *Men at Their Worst*, 108-109.
[184] August Vollmer, *The Criminal* (Brooklyn: Foundation Press, 1949), 437.

This model of modification and control of the body, and its study, as "treatment," frames the whole thing as benign and scientifically grounded. It obscures the power relationship by masquerading as sympathetic altruism. Vollmer saw the type of screening that he was trying to develop for professionalized police forces as a way to "aid in eliminating weaklings and occupational misfits…who have physical and mental defects that were not previously discovered." But then, having been both selected and trained as superior, he saw that they must then gain "sympathy with mankind, and an understanding of the failings of the weaker members of society."[185] The distance between the analyst and the target of their analysis is fixed through the mechanism of sympathy, always targeted and always unidirectional. Behavior experts, the argument went, cannot "perform miracles, such, for example, as making a normal person out of an imbecile; but they can help every child by securing for him the environment best adapted for the development of his natural capacities. Before the child can be helped, a thorough study must be made of his mental processes and his physical and mental health."[186] This is the core of the eugenic project, obscuring the structural violence as sympathetic kindness, burying the eugenics under training and 'objective' selection criteria, and creating the professionalized expert as superior not because of racialized systems of oppression and power, but because they have been university *trained*. Study becomes the prerequisite for "help" and the implied outcome of the help—that the endpoint of this modification is good and necessary and just—goes wholly uninterrogated. As Abreu again reminds us:

> [i]f algorithms make complicity incalculable, it is because those who make the algorithms count on avoiding complicity. The idea that the algorithm itself decides is part of the general ideological offensive surrounding its deployment. The politics and interests of its authors may be incalculable from the standpoint of the person or population who is caught up in the algorithm, but this is precisely what the algorithm is intended to calculate. The remainders, the incalculable, messy qualia of particular human politics and interests are equally its ground, and what it will inevitably proliferate.[187]

Algorithmic eugenics and the futurity of the bell curve

The logic of the bell curve doesn't mean that there is no movement or "progress," in this colonial imaginary of the "natural" distribution of society. Those within the middle of the normal distribution have some mobility and can be trained by school and reformed by prison or, on the other hand, degraded by environment. And the x axis can be progressed along infinitely, shifting the bell curve forever to the right; in fact, this movement is the sacred role of the leading edge of the leaders and the scientists. This bell curve can be flattened or sharpened, but there will always be the vanguard, the trailing end of the dysselected, and the wide swath of the normal middle to be educated,

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[185] Ibid., 442-445.
[186] Ibid., 415.
[187] Manuel Abreu, "Incalculable Loss," *The New Inquiry*, August 19, 2014.

reformed, and civilized. Regardless of any materiality of great swaths of the world dysselected, dispossessed, and policed, the narrative imaginary of the bell curve framed a great middle class targeted for schooling and reform, with the few forgotten criminals at the trailing end and few model ideals as the leaders, imagining all of the positions along this curve not as a matter of power but science. The fetish of objectivity and empiricism, and the measurement of intelligence or "fitness," as the basis for these algorithms hides the mathematical accumulation of body and land in the abstraction of big data and statistics, giving a numerical weight to civilizational logics that are projected infinitely into the future.

Prefiguration of a future along the lines of this "normal" distribution ossifies the criteria through which people can be accumulated into this formula and naturalizes the curve itself as inevitable. Both Wang and McKittrick's analyses of algorithms found a certain origin point in the current push towards predictive policing, and using the supposedly neutral mapping of non-racial criteria (geographic location, descriptive risk factors) to reinscribe regimes of racialized policing. The point of this is that "[p]redictions are much more about constructing the future through the present management of subjects categorized as threats or risks…[in order to] determine what we do in the present."[188] This predictive logic, and the prefiguration of a "better" society in the manufacturing of an idealized body corresponding to an ideal productive role for society, was always the core of the eugenic project. And its methodology was always that of Big Data playing the role of forecast to work upon the present. A useful case study is that of IBM, whose advanced data processing scaled the research on eugenics from the United States into the mass eugenic project of the Third Reich. What would become IBM's Nazi technology was first piloted in 1926 in Jamaica, where eugenic traits were inputted for the first time into IBM's Hollerith data processing machines. After Hitler rose to power, IBM aggressively pursued a commercial compact with Nazi Germany, designing punch cards and data processing solutions to streamline the Holocaust in what the company described as "blitzkrieg efficiency" towards helping Germany pursue its "biological destiny." As the manager of the company's German subsidiary declared at a rally bedecked with swastikas, "These characteristics [of the population]…will be calculated and determined with the help of our tabulating machine. We are proud that we may assist in such a task, a task that provides our nation's Physician [Adolf Hitler] with the material he needs."[189] Crucially, beyond the important tactical question of how these technological innovations in big data were gathered and weaponized, is the insight that these measures and calculations, purporting to be objectively algorithmic, were prefigured and predetermined. In order to "design the system correctly, the IBM engineers needed to

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[188] Jackie Wang, *Carceral Capitalism* (Pasadena, CA: Semiotext(e), 2018), 42-48. Wang 43, 48. Although I appreciate her insight that "policing is no longer primarily aimed at effectively responding to crime, but at anticipating and preventing it. This anticipatory element of policing has always been present but until recently the judgment of the police officer was considered superior to that of machines" I argue that there has not entirely been a shift. Since Vollmer's time this judgment has been supplemented by statistical data, still algorithmic machine-logic according to the technology of the day.

[189] Edwin Black, *War Against the Weak: Eugenics and America's Campaign to Create a Master Race* (New York, NY: Four Walls Eight Windows, 2003), 309.

know both the eugenic information that Carnegie researchers wanted to input as well as how they wanted the results retrieved. IBM always needed to know the end result in order to design the system."[190] This is the accumulation of numbers embedded in what Aimé Césaire calls the "pseudo-humanism" that forms the whole edifice of Western civilization. In agreeing with Césaire, I do not mean to flatten these moments of acute violence, from the different outbreaks of gratuitousness in Nazi Germany or the Belgian Congo. Rather, I am showing how although they might be acute, they are not incongruent. This algorithmic impulse to measure and create systems for which the end result is predetermined in the design itself is a precondition for both the spectacular terror that is outside the scope of business as usual, as well as the quotidian work of liberal institutions committed to managing and maintaining the conditions from which this acute violence can arise. Genocide becomes both objective algorithm and only possible future outcome, and it is an analytic machine intended to foreclose outside possibilities. Vollmer's horizon and the goal was this moment "[w]hen statistics reach a plane where their accuracy is no longer doubtful,"[191] and the present can be fully empirically known, and the future predetermined.

Algorithmic eugenics become a tool of racial capitalism through "'standard algorithms' that function under a logic of prototypical whiteness."[192] This is the algorithmic necropower discussed by Abreu, the way in which Katherine McKittrick dissects the processes through which Black life is selected out of the algorithm and made objective through numerical codes. The mathematical model that provides the formula for producing the bell curve takes on a life and replicability of its own. As McKittrick puts it, these algorithmics function *because* of their predictability; "they tell us what we already know, but in the future,"[193] the outcome is known in advance of the code, and the answers from our colonial pasts are not enough because they are given in advance of the questions. The fusion of the normal distribution of "normalcy" that composes the bell curve to colonial logics of teleology and "progress" allows for the projection of this selection and dysselection infinitely, foreclosing any other type of distribution as long as we cleave to this particular x axis predetermined by settler racial capitalism.

Conclusion

This account of the transformation of professionalized policing, prison research, and empirical data at the beginning of the twentieth century shows what happens to white supremacy when you put it through the wash of datafication and what comes out on the other side is plausible deniability. Systems of measurement and expertise that have been created through the pseudosciences (or, now that we have been through the histories of the formation, can we admit that they are just "the sciences"?) become a

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[190] Ibid., 290.
[191] August Vollmer, *The Criminal* (Brooklyn: Foundation Press, 1949), 433.
[192] Simone Browne, *Dark matters: On the surveillance of blackness* (Durham, NC: Duke University, 2015), 108-114, 128, 162.
[193] Katherine McKittrick, "On Algorithms and Curiosities" (keynote given at the Feminist Theory Workshop, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, MA, 2017).

direct tool of white supremacy and capitalism in how they obscure power and possibility through the facade of empiricism. Launching this fetish of objective measurement into the burgeoning regime of racial liberalism, and then official antiracism, it can be denied publicly that white supremacy drives and settlement constitutes the machine, because the official story is that of empirical research in the service of egalitarianism, progress, and social harmony. This liberal narrative of professionalization and progress is the fundamental basis for what became our current milieu of mainstreamed multiculturalism and settler recognition.[194] This denial seems plausible because there are statistics and measurable empirical studies to point to, whether the phrenology and work with glands of the Progressive Era, or the algorithmic formulas of the twenty-first century, what Simone Browne calls the "historically present workings of branding and racializing surveillance, particularly in regard to biometrics."[195] This is what makes it possible to take geographic algorithms of plausible criminal activity and insist that they are not about racial profiling through racialized geographies, but rather a neutral and objective mapping, the longitude and latitude of surveillance, policing, imprisonment, "un-fitness," and dysselection.

It is a dynamic that, drawing from Gilmore's analysis of prisons, is "overdetermined at the source,"[196] which is the white supremacist settler state. The algorithm and objectivity of big data attempts to render this overdetermination invisible, with consequences for our modes of analysis and resistance; as Wang points out, "[w]ith the ascendency of algorithmic power in the Age of Big Data we are presented with a number of problems that are at once political and aesthetic: If what we can perceive with our senses delimits what is politically possible, then how do we make legible forms of power that are invisible?"[197] This invisibilized, dispersed, plausibly-deniable, structural-material assemblage is the "bio-necro collaboration"[198] that composes the United States and constitutes the gratuitous violence of settler racial capitalism, a violence that will not be dismantled by diversity initiatives, policing reforms, or yet another empirical study. Our contestations are going to need to be direct and correspondingly gratuitous, in excess of the parameters and possibilities of this history that we have inherited, its narrow imagination of social justice as reform and social harmony, and its algorithmic prediction of a future constricted to a morbid horizon.

We have, necessarily, as our field of contestation the whole of the social order.

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[194] In his 2014 book *Red Skin White Masks: Rejecting the Colonial Politics of Recognition* (refer particularly to pages 26, 30, and 127), Glen Coulthard discusses how the liberal politics of recognition sees recognition as something granted to a subaltern group by a dominant group. Leaning on insights from Frantz Fanon, Coulthard explains that this dynamic is insufficient to deal with the "interrelated structural and psycho-affective dimensions of colonial power"; without the returning of land, reconciliation just remains a pacifying discourse.

[195] Simone Browne, *Dark matters: On the surveillance of blackness* (Durham, NC: Duke University, 2015), 128.

[196] Ruth Wilson Gilmore, "Fatal couplings of power and difference: Notes on racism and geography," *The professional geographer* 54, no. 1 (2002): 15-24.

[197] Jackie Wang, *Carceral Capitalism* (Pasadena, CA: Semiotext(e), 2018), 52.

[198] Jasbir K. Puar, *Terrorist Assemblages: homonationalism in queer times* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007).

Vollmer, citing the dangers of the psychopathic type, reprinted in his master tome on "The Criminal" what he understood to be the mad ravings of an IWW organizer:

> We must oppose all elements that stand or profess to stand for 'industrial peace'. 'Industrial peace' is dangerous, for only by struggles, political and economic, can benefits come to the toilers. We must have strikes; we must have boycotts; we must encourage the fighting spirit in the organized toilers; we must organize the unorganized; we must get possession of the world.[199]

Our task goes even beyond the imaginary of this organizer whom Vollmer vilified: to make a world in which prisons and extractive possession are not only impossible but illegible, the wheel of racial capitalism cannot turn, and decolonization approaches as a more proximal horizon. What does it mean for those who have been written out of history as already "living beyond the purview of statistical projection" to insist that, although "the future is an always already occupied space. Capitalism tries to orient subjects towards normativity, but the future can never be fully colonized"[200]? When the parameters of the algorithm are overdetermined (as Wynter would put it, when the rational political subject of the state, the selected type, is overrepresented), to begin to wrestle with this we have to hack the code itself. Any resistance, refusal, or fugitivity that relies on the logic of algorithmic eugenics still falls into its linearity, and a prefiguration of the future that depends for its coherence upon violence and dysselection.

If we're going to play with and into a different type of futurity we need to think differently about what it means to be wayward, incorrigible, un-reformable, uneducable, irredeemable, criminal. What are practices that are recalcitrant to forms of the state if becoming the liberal subject isn't the telos of emancipation and vision of the possible?[201] What binary poles do we continue to defer to and operate within, and what would it take to destabilize this magnetic force? What could be a way outside or against the eugenics of the algorithm, or perhaps what McKittrick discusses as the demonic ground of the algorithm, when "numbers, like the archives, are truthful lies that can push us toward demonic grounds… how the demonic--in physics and mathematics--is a nondeterministic schema; it is a process that is hinged on uncertainty and nonlinearity because the organizing principle cannot foresee the future……asserting the doubly conscious/the open door of every consciousness/fantastic/being human as praxis"[202]? The point of this can't be that society and ontology are overdetermined, but rather that they are overdetermined given our existing metric and modes of measurement, the necro-statistics of our academic research apparatus and professionalized machine of reform and expert management. But the future is never fully colonized, and there's always room to warp the data and hack the code with uncertainty and nonlinearity, botching the statistics and ruining the

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[199] August Vollmer, *The Criminal* (Brooklyn: Foundation Press, 1949), 325.
[200] Aimee Bahng, A. *Migrant Futures: Decolonizing speculation in financial times*. (Durham: Duke University Press, 2018), 6, 12.
[201] Saidiya Hartman, "Wayward Lives, Beautiful Experiments: Intimate Histories of Social Upheaval," talk given at University of California, Berkeley, March 18, 2019.
[202] Katherine McKittrick, "Mathematics black life," *The Black Scholar* 44, no. 2 (2014): 20-25.

predictions.

The fact that America has been preeminently the land of pioneers still influences all her institutions. In an equal start, in equality before the law, in equal access to the land, to education, to legislation, her people find their political ideals.

- David Starr Jordan, *Democracy and World Relations*[203]

[T]he United States, rooted in expansion and control, can function with the possibility of only one future: liberty and justice, as they say, for all. This should be heard properly, as an imperialist threat.

-Manu Karuka, *Empire's Tracks: Indigenous Nations, Chinese Workers, and the Transcontinental Railroad*[204]

Democratic Eugenics, the Commons, and Speculation on Settler Futures

In my previous chapter, "Algorithmic Eugenics, Professionalized Expertise, and the Bell Curve of Racial Capitalism," I discussed prison and policing reform, and how it becomes imagined as the only alternative to brutality and injustice. I asked how this imaginary juxtaposition of schools and prisons narrows our horizon of the possible to the dual choice of education or incarceration, the false constriction to two sides of the coin of carcerality. I asked how we could think differently through the waywardness of abolition about a futurity outside of this deadly algorithm. In this chapter, I explore how public, equal, democratic access to land and education become imagined as the liberatory alternative to capitalist greed, imperial authoritarianism, and environmental devastation. This chapter explores how the academy as a corporate technology of settlement developed on the U.S. continent, and the following chapter addresses how these technologies did not remain bounded to the continent, but rather were exported internationally as U.S. empire expanded to encompass the Philippines, education becoming entangled with global finance and trade. Similarly to how in my previous chapter I argued that the false binary between accommodationist reform and violence obscures abolitionist possibilities, in this chapter I discuss how the false binary between democratic, public equality and corporate, private, capitalist monopoly obscures the material workings of this "democracy," with respect to both education and land.

Democracy is a powerful vehicle of the U.S. empire as both a technology of governance and a driver of the mythology of settlement. Democratic techniques of allocating resources and value are central to the constitution of the public and the private, and manufacturing the perception of an exaggerated difference between the two that hides the symbiotic work of the public and private in service of the settler state. The democratic nation is fundamentally counterposed to Native sovereignty as Indigenous people are the constitutive outside of the nation.[205] The development of territorialized descriptions can allow for the abstraction and conception of a spaceless society; the

[203] David Starr Jordan, *Democracy and World Relations* (New York: World Book Company, 1918), 99.
[204] Manu Karuka, Empire's Tracks: Indigenous Nations, Chinese Workers, and the Transcontinental Railroad (Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 2019), 79.
[205] Sandy Grande, *Red Pedagogy: Native American Social and Political Thought* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield Publishing Group, Inc., 2004).

convening of territorial relations into a nation-state allowed for the abstractions of democracy, liberty, and moral right.[206] As Leigh Patel describes, the theoretical praxes of democracy operationalize individual identity and representations of these identities, but the state operates, organizes, and sorts at the population level. This assumes that social change and the altering of material structures is seated within the idea of discourse and dialogue (this is the basis for pedagogy interventions around civic participation, for instance). Through a consistent framing of abstract "societies" (i.e. John Dewey), the project of nation-states racializing space to protect vested interests is sustained; states are framed as natural and automatic.[207] This allows also for the university to paint itself as the embodiment and defender of these abstract principles, setting the preconditions for the university to model egalitarian multiculturalism[208] while enacting predatory and extractive settlement. The abstractions of democratic egalitarianism, resting on a rhetoric of the preservation and betterment of public lands and public citizenry, obscure the racially-saturated nature of the "public" and the materiality of settlement embedded in "public" lands.

In this chapter, I explore the dynamics leading up to and constituting the Progressive Era as a microcosm of the continuing structures of U.S. settler colonialism. I examine together 1) the histories of land grant colleges, known as "democracy's colleges," expanding our understanding of what constitutes a "land grant" beyond those technically established by the Morrill Acts; 2) the writings of David Starr Jordan, a key theorist of democracy and eugenics in the Progressive Era; 3) the implications of the eugenic overlap of the turn-of-the-century conservation movement. Scholars have written critiques of the hagiographic mythology of land grants from the perspective that they didn't actually democratize education for the working classes,[209] and that they are deeply implicated in settler colonialism.[210] Work has also been done on the environmental movement that grew in the Progressive Era as a response to the ecological ravages of capitalist accumulation, and how this movement towards conservation of the "wilderness" was

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[206] Neil Smith, *Uneven Development: Nature, Capital and the Production of Space* (Cambridge, MA: Basic Blackwell, Inc.. 1984). Although Smith has many excellent insights with respect to how capital functions in contemporary formations, he falls into a linear model of primitivism and progress that limits the analysis.
[207] Leigh Patel, "Reaching beyond democracy in educational policy analysis," *Educational Policy* 30, no. 1 (2016): 114-127.
[208] Jodi Melamed, *Represent and Destroy: Rationalizing Violence in the New Racial Capitalism* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2011).
[209] Nathan M. Sorber and Roger L. Geiger, "The welding of opposite views: Land-grant historiography at 150 years," in *Higher education: Handbook of theory and research* (Springer, Dordrecht: 2014), 385-422; Roger L. Geiger, *The History of American Higher Education: Learning and Culture from the founding to World War II* (Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 2015); Sharon Stein, "A colonial history of the higher education present: Rethinking land-grant institutions through processes of accumulation and relations of conquest." *Critical Studies in Education* 61, no. 2 (2020): 212-228.
[210] Abigail Boggs and Nick Mitchell, "Critical university studies and the crisis consensus," *Feminist Studies* 44, no. 2 (2018): 432-463; la paperson, *A Third University is Possible* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2017); Sharon Stein, "A colonial history of the higher education present: Rethinking land-grant institutions through processes of accumulation and relations of conquest." *Critical Studies in Education* 61, no. 2 (2020): 212-228.

deeply entangled with anti-immigrant and racial purity politics.[211] However, no scholar, to my knowledge, has explicitly put all of these critiques in conversation with one another. For this reason, I bring this material background of land accumulation and speculation (and the environmental conservation movement's efforts to manage this crisis) into conversation with another progressive social movement that, like the land grants, was planted in the mid-1800s to grow to prominence in the Progressive Era: the eugenics movement. I explore the writings of David Starr Jordan, a higher education administrator and prominent eugenics philosopher who was obsessed with the concept of democracy and wrote an abundance of books on the subject, with titles such as *Democracy and World Relations*, and *Imperial Democracy: A Study of the Relation of Government by the People, Equality before the Law, and other Tenets of Democracy, to the Demands of a Vigorous Foreign Policy and other Demands of Imperial Dominion*. I use this discussion, contextualizing Jordan's writings with his work on eugenics and the processes of settlement in California, to ground the abstractions of "democracy" and "equality" and tie them to the material processes they are used to justify and obscure.

Reading these histories together as a means of critiquing U.S. settler democracy is instructive in helping us to see the materiality of the abstractions of "democratic" access to land, education, and resources. I explore these insights in three respects. First, the speculative nature of corporate settler speculation on both land and people is intended to entrench settlement. I discuss the academy as a form of settler corporation, and whether its modes of value are privately or publicly traded, the entire apparatus is a market formed to speculate on settler futures, resonant with the speculative nature of the eugenics movement, materially working on the present to "better the race" in order to enshrine a white supremacist future. Second, I argue that enclosure applied to individuals who can then be measured and weighted with divergent or equivalent value holds true for both democracy and eugenics. The means by which the eugenics movement attempted to synthesize its contradictions between the individual and collective illuminates the structures of white supremacist selection underneath the rhetoric of an equal citizenry with equal opportunity and equal access. In this section, I explore the materiality of the concept of "equality" from which democracy draws its rhetorical strength through the logic of the pioneer, and its reliance on an identity of conquering tied to land, in order to be an individual fully capable of being educated in order to participate in the "equality" of democratic citizenship. Finally, I discuss the eugenics of the conservation movement as a means of analyzing the logic of public lands, the commons, and the way that the division between the public and private is synthesized in the settler state. In this, I discuss how this liberal progressivism, of which the eugenics movement is a central example, creates a closed loop of settlement, in which the solution of the crises of accumulation required by U.S. imperial democracy simply enshrines another brand of settler futures.

Speculating settler futures: democracy's colleges and the subterranean

[211] Garland E. Allen, "Culling the herd": Eugenics and the conservation movement in the United States, 1900–1940." *Journal of the History of Biology* 46, no. 1 (2013): 31-72.

The "land grant" colleges were certainly technologies of settlement in a blunt sense of occupying land in order to build campuses. But their role in settlement extended beneath and beyond this, delving into subterranean land use and evaporating into the fictitious capital of market speculation. I begin this section by arguing that we can understand higher education writ large across the United States, beyond the colleges technically established as "land grants," as violent technologies of settlement. After all, as a tactic of conquering, occupying, and reshaping land, universities and schools were a central component of settler assemblages. In a literal way, they did some of the important logistical work of settlement, wherein "colleges were imperial instruments akin to armories and forts," administering colonies, functioning as militarized spaces during the Indian Wars, and holding Native children hostages.[212] Throughout western settlement they were a central part of the perceived manifest destiny to "extend, our empire far over this continent."[213] I discuss in particular the example of California, the imagined culmination of Western settlement, as an acute extreme of the violence of democracy juxtaposed with the rhetoric of democratic education. Throughout, I emphasize that "land grant" colleges were emblematic--not exceptional--examples of how the academy functions as a technology of settlement through the mobilization of democracy as a driving mythology. In a very real sense, they're all land grants and violent settler technologies.

I continue this section by arguing that the materiality of this abstraction is a speculation on settler futures. The conversion of land to capital, including the subterranean resources of mineral rights, is a means of reshaping land and investment to narrow the realm of the possible into the imagination of settlement. In this I follow Aimee Bahng's discussion of speculative fiction and speculative finance as modes of extrapolative figuration that produce futurity in a way that materially works on the present.[214] The trading of futures on a market directly impacts the configuration of the assemblages trading on those futures, through the enclosure of measurable, value-able, and legally-legible parcels. Evaluating democracy as a mode of speculation on the market of settler futures allows us to understand the material conditions underneath the abstract dithering of "equality," contextualizing rhetorical frameworks of democratic futures within the violence and extraction that constitutes this "freedom" and "progress."

The materiality of the land grants

The first Morrill Land Grant Act of 1862 was signed the day after Abraham Lincoln signed a bill financing the transcontinental railroads, just a few months after the Homestead Acts. Adjusted for inflation, they were worth (according to the narrow settler metric of land as a monetized value) about half a billion dollars and expropriated nearly 11

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[212] Craig Steven Wilder, *Ebony and Ivy: Race, slavery, and the troubled history of America's universities* (New York, NY: Bloomsbury Press, 2013), 17, 33, 44, 162.
[213] Ibid., 156, quote from Provost William Smith of the College of Philadelphia.
[214] Aimee Bahng, *Migrant Futures: Decolonizing speculation in financial times* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2018).

million acres of 250 Indigenous tribes, bands, and communities.[215] These acts were intimately connected to the Civil War, and their passing was enabled by the South seceding, as many Southern states had been blocking legislation intended to spur Western settlement.[216] Although these schools were directly involved with enabling the violent conquest of the West (the Act also requires the inclusion of instruction in military tactics as a component of these schools, which is the reasons why schools such as UC Berkeley maintain an ROTC[217]), the Acts were also framed as the progressive counterpoint to war and violence. In making the case for the grants, Morrill set up a conceptual dichotomy between schools for war, such as West Point Military Academy, and the Land Grant institutions, arguing that "[w]e support two National Schools for instruction of men in the Arts of destruction. Let something be done for the support of schools for instruction in the Arts of production."[218] This frames the "production" of the land grants, on the "unappropriated lands of the United States,"[219] as an unequivocally benign and benevolent force, not entailing destruction or violence. It falls squarely into the settler mythos of *terra nullius,* that Indigenous land that had not already been cordoned off or claimed for settlement was somehow sitting there empty, and available to be "granted" to the genocidal project of westward expansion.

The second Morrill Act passed in 1890. The stated intent of this second act was to withhold funds for the maintenance of colleges with a distinction of admissions based on race without offering a separate segregated school. This was the era that really formed the character of the twentieth and twenty-first century university, as from 1890 to 1905 the major disciplines assumed their modern form, and by 1908 "it was possible to define the standard American university," determining the parameters of contemporary academic knowledge and the academic profession.[220] In the tensions of a moment when the nation was moving from agriculture to industry, accompanied by an influx of immigrants, the schools were seen as needing to educate good citizens and workers according to differing intellectual capacity.[221] This period in the late 1800s through the turn of the century was

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[215] Robert Lee, Tristan Ahtone, Margaret Pearce, Kalen Goodluck, Geoff McGhee, Cody Leff, Katherine Lanpher, and Taryn Salinas, "Land-Grab Universities," High Country News, https://www.landgrabu.org/.
[216] Frederick Rudolph, *The American College and University: A History*, (New York, NY: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1962), 250.
[217] Steven Finacom, "150th Anniversary for Civil War-era law that helped bring the UC into being," Berkeley News, June 29, 2012, https://news.berkeley.edu/2012/06/29/150th-anniversary-of-the-morrill-act/.
[218] Charles Dorn, *For the Common Good: A new history of higher education in America* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2017), 87.
[219] "Morrill Land Grant College Act," U.S. Department of Agriculture, National Agriculture Library, July 2, 1862, retrieved from https://www.nal.usda.gov/topics/morrill-land-grant-college-act.
[220] Roger L. Geiger, "The Ten Generations of American Higher Education," in *American Higher Education In the 21st Century: Social, Political, and Economic Challenges*, ed. Michael N. Bastedo, Philip G. Altbach, and Patricia J. Gumport, 4th ed. (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2016), 19.
[221] Nel Noddings, "Schooling for democracy," *Phi Delta Kappan* 90, no. 1 (2008): 34-37. Although Noddings agrees in a differentiated education as talents differ across individuals, she qualifies this that it should not be differentiated by class, gender, or race, as tends to happen when tracking appears in the school system (as studied by Jeannie Oakes and her contemporaries).

the peak era of the "kill the Indian, save the man" boarding schools,[222] and the impulse of white reformers that "[s]olving the 'negro question' was the key to rewriting the country and facilitating the opening of the new corporate industrial order for the twentieth century."[223] The logics of antiblackness and settler colonialism were specifically related through the logics and structures of industrial education that emerged as a solution to the entwined "Negro problem" and "Indian problem."[224] It was also the time when the eugenics movement, which had emerged around the time of the original land grants, developed into a full-fledged social movement. In this milieu, the land grant colleges were centrally located in debates over agricultural, practical, and classical education, and served the role of "uniting the past and the future, two schemes of life."[225] This entailed a shift from the literal to the metaphorical frontier,[226] and a doubling-down on schools and universities as centrally located in the U.S. project of settler democracy. This logic was encapsulated by historian Frederick Jackson Turner, who developed the "Frontier Thesis" that American democracy was formed by the frontier in a paper presented in 1893 at the Chicago exhibition celebrating the 400-year anniversary of Christopher Columbus's violent invasion of the Americas. Recapitulating this thesis in a 1910 university commencement speech at the land grant college of Indiana University, Turner argued that given the demographic, industrial, and imperial shifts of the United States, that public universities, given the "the practical exhaustion of the supply of cheap arable public lands open to the poor man" had a "duty in adjusting pioneer ideals to the new requirements of American democracy," and that state universities must educate leaders from "the democratic masses as well as from those of larger means…as the test tube and the microscope are needed rather than axe and rifle in this new ideal of conquest."[227]

The hagiography of the 1862 and 1890 Morrill Acts memorializes the land grant universities as "democracy's colleges,"[228] doing the work of equality and justice to make higher education, and particularly instruction related to the shifting needs of agriculture, mining, and industry, accessible to the "laboring class." This celebratory archive lauds

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[222] David Wallace Adams, *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875-1928* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 1995).
[223] William Henry Watkins, *The White Architects of Black Education: ideology and power in America, 1865-1954* (New York, NY: Teachers College Press, 2001), 2.
[224] Bayley Marquez, *Settler Pedagogy: Schooling in Indian Country, the Black South, and Colonial Hawai'i, 1840-1923*. Doctoral dissertation, University of California, Berkeley (2019).
[225] Frederick Rudolph, *The American College and University: A History*, (New York, NY: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1962), 258.
[226] Clyde W. Barrow, *Universities and the capitalist state: Corporate liberalism and the reconstruction of American higher education, 1894-1928* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1990), cited in Sharon Stein, "A colonial history of the higher education present: Rethinking land-grant institutions through processes of accumulation and relations of conquest." *Critical Studies in Education* 61, no. 2 (2020): 212-228,
[227] Frederick Jackson Turner, "Commencement address: Pioneer ideals and the state university," Indiana University Bulletin 8, no. 6 (1910): 6–29., cited in Sharon Stein, "A colonial history of the higher education present: Rethinking land-grant institutions through processes of accumulation and relations of conquest." *Critical Studies in Education* 61, no. 2 (2020): 212-228.
[228] Allan Nevins, *The origins of the land-grant colleges and state universities: A brief account of the Morrill Act of 1862 and its results* (Civil War Centennial Commission, 1962); Earle Dudley Ross, *Democracy's college: The land-grant movement in the formative stage*. (Ames, IA: Iowa State College Press, 1942).

that the colleges "made it possible for the new western states to establish colleges for their citizens to fulfill the central tenet that basic education was central to creation of the American democratic process,"[229] as they work gloriously "to provide higher learning to the children of the settlers, farmers and frontier prospectors, not just to the offspring of the railroad barons."[230] However, the land grants' claim to egalitarian education was always illusory. For these schools, "[e]ducation was often the legitimizing factor, while the real objective was something else, perhaps pioneer settlement, speculation, or economic development."[231] For instance, these colleges were a settler model of public egalitarianism which failed even at their own stated intentions of democratizing education. A number of historians revisiting the claims of land grants as democratizing education and opening it to the working classes point out that the average land grant student was wealthier than the average student of their respective states, and these schools were rather the product of modernist reformers "seeking to advance science, the agricultural and industrial economy, the bureaucracy, and the nation-state."[232] The main tensions of these schools were the "opposing beliefs of the proper progression of American capitalism and land-grant colleges' relationship to that development" between wealthy farmers and educational reformers interested in professionalizing workers for an industrial economy.[233] While the land grant universities would like to remember themselves as an equalizing force for the less economically privileged, in many ways the land grants were not a means of working class access to mobility, as was their mythology. Rather, they provided the dominant class a way to rhetorically construct land grants as a public institution for working class interests as a means of containing class antagonism and resistance in the face of increased labor militancy, slave revolts, and Indigenous resistance.[234] After all, the white working class of settlers, while those who implemented the final solution of the federal government, were themselves fleeing a land crisis in Europe as a wealthy minority with amassed fortunes from the slave trade transformed small farmers into impoverished workers, who then fled across the Atlantic to become

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[229] "Taking the University to the People: University of California Agriculture and Natural Resources Oral History Project," Regents of the University of California, Last updated May 21, 2009, https://bancroft.berkeley.edu/ROHO/projects/anr/timeline.html.

[230] Nicole Freeling, "Conference celebrates UC's land-grant history," UC Newsroom, April 30, 2012, https://www.universityofcalifornia.edu/news/conference-celebrates-ucs-land-grant-history. This article quotes Linda Katehi, who was chancellor of the land grant university of UC Davis during the incident in 2011 when UC police unleashed military-grade pepper spray on students, a scandal which was exacerbated when she paid consultants $175,000 to try and scrub the incident from the internet.

[231] Eldon L. Johnson, "Misconceptions about the early land-grant colleges," *The Journal of Higher Education* 52, no. 4 (1981): 333-351.

[232] Nathan Masters Sorber, and Robert L. Geiger, "The welding of opposite views: Land-grant historiography at 150 years," In *Higher education: Handbook of theory and research* (Springer, Dordrecht: 2014), 394.

[233] Sharon Stein, "A colonial history of the higher education present: Rethinking land-grant institutions through processes of accumulation and relations of conquest," *Critical Studies in Education* 61, no. 2 (2020): 212-228, citing Nathan Masters Sorber, *Farmers, scientists, and officers of industry: The formation and reformation of land-grant colleges in the northeastern United States, 1862–1906.* Doctoral dissertation, Pennsylvania State University (2011), 20.

[234] Danika M. Brown, "Hegemony and the Discourse of the Land Grant Movement: Historicizing as a Point of Departure," in *Education as Civic Engagement*, (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 95-128.

"dispensable cannon fodder for the taking of the land and the continent, the foot soldiers of empire," playing the role of "maintaining the façade of a classless society and a democratic empire."[235]

In this weaponization of the mythologies and maneuvers of democracy, the imaginative frontier of California, one of the clearest and most explicit examples of the state's exponential growth being predicated on the genocide of California Native peoples,[236] is a particularly instructive microcosm of how this land grant intervention required gratuitous destruction to clear the ground for their "arts of production," and how democratic tactics (such as the direct democracy of settler mining camps, which will be discussed later in this section) were inherent to this mode of violence. It is also an example of the fictive division between public and private, which I will discuss further in the subsequent sections, as a synthesis of the settler state. The influx of pioneers in the mid-1800s used direct democracy as their organizing principle, and mobilized democratic governmentality and decision making to "accomplish land theft…[and] exterminate Native Americans legally, efficiently, and profitably."[237] What Lindsay calls the "democratically conceived death squads" of Northern California were enabled through the "democratic capitalism" of a settler government in which judges, lawmakers, and governors financially, socially, and politically rewarded genocide for purposes of land acquisition.[238] Divisions and contestations between different political camps and corporate interests, both in the public and private sectors, could find consensus in the religions of settler accumulation. In his discussion of the development of San Francisco (and the greater Bay Area) as the culmination of Western expansion and the flagship for imperial expansion into the Pacific, Gray Brechin notes that "[h]owever elites may disagree and vie among themselves even to the point of murder, they can all agree that the city must grow—and its land values rise—to assure the continuation of their dominion."[239]

The university was centrally implicated in this drive towards growth and elite dominion, as connected to use of land and resources, and this is clear in the case of Northern California universities. The formation of UC Berkeley, for instance, was centrally connected to the water politics of the area. The university began to consolidate when the College of California Trustees formed the Homestead Association in order to purchase 160 acres (65 hectares) of Ohlone land north of Oakland. The choice of location was based off of the available location of Strawberry Creek, and after forming the College Water Company, which gave them the rights and privileges of water companies, they sold off these valuable plots of the university's water-accessible land in order to raise money

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[235] Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz, *An Indigenous Peoples' History of the United States* (Boston, Beacon Press: 2014), 55.
[236] Dina Gilio-Whitaker, *As long as grass grows: The Indigenous fight for environmental justice, from colonization to Standing Rock* (Boston, Beacon Press: 2019), 50, 148.
[237] Brendan C. Lindsay, *Murder State: California's Native American Genocide, 1846-1873* (Lincoln, Nebraska: Board of Regents of the University of Nebraska, 2012), 71, 132.
[238] Ibid., 227, 237, 241.
[239] Gray A. Brechin, *Imperial San Francisco: urban power, earthly ruin* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2006), xxxi-xxxii.

for expansion of the university.[240] In the case of Stanford University, Leland Stanford made his money through the central technology of the transcontinental railroad, which was central to the shaping of California's "critical relationships: labor and capital, the federal government and the West, technology and the environment, the corporation and the individual."[241] In a parallel to the expansiveness of land grants, these railroad grants were gratuitously far-reaching in privatizing and parceling out land, to the extent of 25,600 acres of land granted for the building of one mile of railroad, for private ownership by corporations.[242] The point here is that the model of resource allocation and ownership, and the implication of the universities in this process, cuts across both the public and the private. It also, as I will discuss in the next section, is implicated in other processes of transforming resources, above, below, and beyond the land, into material for capitalist speculation.

Subterranean settlement and speculation on settler futures

The occupation of Indigenous land in order to build campuses, as well as the education in the technical skills of settlement such as agriculture and mining, was certainly a part of the process. However, the role of the university as a central technology of settlement goes far beyond the "spatial fix"[243] of the university, the literal surface soil on which the campus sits, or the management of water rights. It includes the transition of the land into speculative capital, descending beneath the ground and into the dispersed markets of fictive exchange, blurring the technical distinction of public and private. States were encouraged to raise money for new public colleges by selling land grants as "scrip," incentivizing land speculation and private trading. Often, colleges from the East Coast, who did not possess as much "public land" would purchase scrip, speculate, and apply the profits to the university; for example, a quarter million acres in California went to benefit the endowment of the private institution of Cornell University in New York. In order to capitalize on its 150,000 acres of land pertaining to Miwok, Yokuts, Gabrieleño, Maidu, Pomo, and many others, the land grant of the University of California "ran a real estate operation that sold plots on installment plans, generating a lucrative combination of principal and interest payments…[which in the late 1800s] covered as much as a third of the University of California's annual operating expenses."[244] Universities leveraged the value of that land in many creative ways, and land grant scrip became baseball diamonds, vineyards, airports, etc.--the ground in Los Angeles on which the Directors Guild of America sits was a land grant parcel sold by the University of California.[245] The UC's

[240] Felicia Dawkins, "Water and the settlement of Berkeley." In *Berkeley Water: Issues and Resources,* edited by Doris Sloan and Scott Stine, University of California at Berkeley, 23-31, 1983.
[241] William F. Deverell, *Railroad Crossing Californians and the Railroad, 1850-1910* (Berkeley, University of California Press: 1994), 22.
[242] Ibid., 32.
[243] David Harvey, "The spatial fix–Hegel, von Thunen, and Marx," *Antipode* 13, no. 3 (1981): 1-12.
[244]Robert Lee and Tristan Ahtone, "Land-grab universities," High Country News, March 30, 2020, https://www.hcn.org/issues/52.4/indigenous-affairs-education-land-grab-universities.
[245] Ibid.

continued work of displacement as a gentrifying real estate company and predatory landlord shows how this process takes place at the intersection of Indigenous displacement and Black dislocation.[246] The framing of land grants as a "public good" depended fundamentally on "profits made from capitalist markets and thus on processes of continuous accumulation" contingent of the expropriation of Indigenous lands.[247]

As la paperson points out, the innovation of the land grant university is not land as *campuses*, but rather land as *capital*. The land grant university as a settler technology was built not only *on* land, but also *from* land.[248] This analysis helps us to widen our understanding of the insights from land grant universities beyond the ones technically established by a particular act in a particular political moment for a particular technical purpose. Universities from the private, scrip-speculating institutions like Cornell to the ones like Stanford built from the profits of a railroad that formed the transitory artery of western settlement, these schools are a component of what Manu Karuka calls the continental imperialism that is the "co-constitution of settler states and corporations."[249] Understanding universities by the name of "extractive corporation" rather than their preferred nickname of "educational institution" may be more true to the role that they play in the assemblages of racial capitalism. This example of land shows that this was true far before the current iteration in which the university is talked about as increasingly financialized and beholden to financial markets that skew resources towards revenue-generating commercial projects, and exacerbating the accumulation of student debt[250] while financializing university governance through a partnership with Wall Street.[251] Before the acute financialization we see in our current era, universities were already plugged inherently into the market, converting land to capital and using it to speculate settler futures.

While the financialization of land as capital abstracted land into the realm of the stock market, the intervention also extended beneath the ground. These days the University of California has sold off its surface acreage from the land grants, but they are

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[246] Leigh Patel, "Reaching beyond democracy in educational policy analysis," *Educational policy* 30, no. 1 (2016): 114-127; la paperson, "A ghetto land pedagogy: An antidote for settler environmentalism," *Environmental Education Research*, 20, no. 1 (2014): 115-130. There are also numerous recent examples of this dynamic. For example, in the case of UC Berkeley, the student family housing complex of "University Village" was built by forcibly displacing existing low-income and largely POC residents of the area where the university wanted to build.

[247] Sharon Stein, "A colonial history of the higher education present: Rethinking land-grant institutions through processes of accumulation and relations of conquest." *Critical Studies in Education* 61, no. 2 (2020): 212-228,

[248] la paperson, *A Third University Is Possible* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2017).

[249] Manu Karuka, *Empire's Tracks: Indigenous Nations, Chinese Workers, and the Transcontinental Railroad* (Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 2019), 35.

[250] Charlie Eaton, Jacob Habinek, Adam Goldstein, Cyrus Dioun, Daniela García Santibáñez Godoy, and Robert Osley-Thomas, "The financialization of US higher education," *Socio-Economic Review* 14, no. 3 (2016): 507-535.

[251] Charlie Eaton, Adam Goldstein, Jacob Habinek, Mukul Kumar, Tamera Lee Stover, and Alex Roehrkasse, "Bankers in the ivory tower: the financialization of governance at the University of Californian," *Institute for Research on Labor and Employment* (2013). Retrieved from https://escholarship.org/uc/item/5qm6t5xn.

one of the land grant colleges which still retains mineral rights.[252] The case of developing mineral rights, which allowed for this mode of university profit, shows both the function and skew of the legal system in settler colonial expansion, as well as the blurring between public and private. From 1848 to 1866, miners were trespassers on Federal land in a legal and technical sense.[253] However, California affirmed in 1851 with section 621 of the Civil Practice Act that the state courts would approve and enforce the miners' brand of majority-rule direct democracy amongst themselves as to how to work the mineral lands.[254] It is an obvious observation that the direct democracy of the mining camps, creating the precedent of practice in the extralegal framework that would then translate into state and then federal law, was limited to the white settlers who were legally legible. This method of underground ownership that California "pioneered" in 1851 and spread to other western states, becoming a fundamental tenet of development of mineral extraction in the West and eventually American mining law itself.[255] Mineral law as it became encoded across the United States developed from direct democracy in mining camps concerning access to minerals, a microcosm of the settler model of democracy in which the individual who could be a voting member of the decision-making body and a possessor of private property in this developing legal system was the white (male) settler. Indigenous relationships to land and sovereignty were illegitimate to the developing notions of ownership and democracy in the settler mining camps, illegible to this nation-based conception of resources as meant to be owned for purposes of public nation-building (the land grant university logic) or private profit. This model of settler-sanctioned legal right to mineral veins consolidated and became federally sanctioned as law as land values rose (prior to this the U.S. did not have established mining law relating to private acquisition of mining rights on public land).[256] The geology of extraction made parceling of private property complicated, and though the surface claim where miners could place shafts was determined by the width of the exposed vein, the subterranean width of the vein was nearly "unbounded"; this "extra lateral right" to follow the underground vein became a fundamental tenet of American mining law.[257]

This process of determining rights to the surface of the land, its entangled and interconnected subterranean resources, and the conversion of this land and resources to fictive capital reflects the obfuscation and accumulation of the university itself,

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[252]Kalen Goodluck, Tristan Ahtone, and Robert Lee, "The land-grant universities still profiting off Indigenous homelands," High Country News, August 18, 2020, https://www.hcn.org/articles/indigenous-affairs-the-land-grant-universities-still-profiting-off-indigenous-homelands.

[253] Gary D. Libecap, "Government support of private claims to public minerals: Western mineral rights," *The Business History Review* (1979): 364-385; John Umbeck, "California Gold Rush: A Study of emerging Property Rights," *Explorations in Economic History*, 14, (1997):197-226.

[254] John Umbeck, "California Gold Rush: A Study of emerging Property Rights," *Explorations in Economic History*, 14, (1997): 14.

[255] Gary D. Libecap, "Government support of private claims to public minerals: Western mineral rights," *The Business History Review* (1979): 364-385.

[256] John Umbeck, "California Gold Rush: A Study of emerging Property Rights," *Explorations in Economic History*, 14, (1997): 14.

[257] Gary D. Libecap, "Government support of private claims to public minerals: Western mineral rights," *The Business History Review* (1979): 364-385.

sometimes metaphorically and sometimes literally. The purpose of the codification of mining law was a management of a tension between private property right and public welfare, so that mineral rights would not compete with surface rights or jeopardize the health of settlers and expansion of settlement, and that there could be "maximum and efficient use of the land, and full development of mineral resources."[258] Similar to how the land grant university managed this tension between public and private in the interest of naturalizing nation-building and Indigenous dispossession, this is a warped understanding of justice based on settler recognition of "rights," rights which are only legible through nation-based models of private property ownership and the suicidal drive of capitalist overaccumulation and "development." A part of this federal recognition of claims was the make over land rights from those originating under Spain and Mexico, an expansive "remaking of those rights in the image of the new government." For those who had prior claim, that prior claim had to be the recognition of another colonial government, as the language of the 1851 statute was "conclusive against all third parties except those who can trace a superior right stemming directly from a sovereign act of the antecedent sovereign."[259] As with the direct democracy of the mining camps which formed the basis for the property rights which would eventually be codified, prior Indigenous land claims to the lands on which the land grant universities would be built and the minerals from which they would profit could not be legally legible.

In this section I discussed the fictive enclosure of land for democratic access as a technology driving settlement. Through a targeted history of the first and second Morrill Acts and the interimbrication of the land grants with other processes of remaking the land and shaping differential access, I explored the violent consequences of these interventions. I also discussed these shifts as a means of converting land and minerals into capital as a means of speculation, enclosing land as a means to determine comparative value and predetermine possible outcomes on the market of settler futures. In the next section I discuss the accompanying enclosure of people, and how eugenic logics worked to define an individual's capacity as a democratic citizen who can shape the future of the twentieth century through a pioneering relationship to land.

Enclosing settler futures: the democratic citizen and the pioneer individual

Enclosure and speculation of the land, for the fiction of democratic access, was also an ontological proposition connected to the formation of the individual, a valuation of people predicated on their relationship to land. In this section, I explore the logic of eugenics as it relates to this enclosure of people into empirical measurements of comparative value. I begin by introducing the figure of David Starr Jordan, an ardent eugenicist and advocate of democracy, and explore how his models of "equality" used a foundation of white supremacist logics to develop a model of settler democracy in which

[258] Herbert C. Manning, "Mineral Rights Versus Surface Rights," *Natural Resources Lawyer* 2, no. 4 (1969): 329-46.
[259] Emlen G. Hall, "Shell Games: The Continuing Legacy of Rights to Minerals and Water on Spanish and Mexican Land Grants in the Southwest," *The Influence of Spanish Law in the New World* (1992). Available at: https://digitalrepository.unm.edu/law_facultyscholarship/66.

land and education featured centrally. I then lay out how this development of a superior racial type constitutes the abstraction of the idealized individual, and specifically that of the pioneer. Finally, I discuss the eugenics movement as synthesizing the individual and the collective in a way that naturalizes hierarchy under the auspices of "equality," positioning educability as entwined with this racially-saturated model of democratic citizenship and determinative of an inherent capacity to be a leader of this new era of U.S. settler imperialism.

Democracy's Prophet

David Starr Jordan, Stanford University's first president and America's "first eminent eugenic theorist"[260] was profoundly shaped by land grant institutions. He obtained a free scholarship to the land grant Cornell University, where he developed a narrative of himself as someone who paid his own way despite humble beginnings.[261] Echoing the rhetoric surrounding many of the other land grants, for Jordan the schooling at Cornell represented "the democracy of intellect" as "an institution in which any person can find instruction."[262] Majoring in botany, he expanded his interests in breeding and heredity beyond his original intention to breed fine sheep, and set out to become a great naturalist, determining that the core necessary elements to produce a great naturalist included the "original human material" of mental capabilities, and a great teacher.[263] Jordan would find his great teacher in Louis Agassiz, a Swiss scientist and proponent of polygenism[264] who had emigrated to the United States in 1847 to teach at Harvard, conferring international prestige on American racial science.[265] Although Agassiz's work was used for various political and social engineering purposes--his 1850 article *The Diversity of Origin of the Human Races* was particularly popular with slaveholders and used in arguments by slavery advocates to legitimize slavery[266]--he wrote as a scientist, and Agassiz's belief in the "absolute freedom of science"[267] was the capacity in which Jordan recalls the profound impact that Agassiz had on his thinking and political

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[260] Edwin Black, *War Against the Weak: Eugenics and America's Campaign to Create a Master Race* (New York, NY: Four Walls Eight Windows, 2003), 65.
[261] David Starr Jordan, *The days of a man: being memories of a naturalist, teacher, and minor prophet of democracy*, (Yonkers-on-Hudson, NY: World Book Co., 1922), 51.
[262] Ibid., 80.
[263] Ibid., 94, 100, 103.
[264] The different branches of the eugenics movement largely aligned along a division between theories of polygenism, that human "races" had different origin points, or monogenism, that humanity has a single origin and the "races" diverged because of environmental or other factors. Although Jordan came to different conclusions than Agassiz concerning Darwin, evolution, and polygenesis, the Swiss biologist had a deep influence on Jordan's approach to hereditarian theory.
[265] William H. Tucker, *The Science and Politics of Racial Research* (Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1994).
[266] Sven Beckert, Balraj Gill, Jim Henle, and Katherine May Stevens, "Harvard and Slavery: A Short History," in *Slavery and the University: Histories and Legacies*, ed. Leslie M. Harris, James T. Campbell, and Alfred L. Brophy (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2019), 239-240.
[267] David Starr Jordan, *The days of a man: being memories of a naturalist, teacher, and minor prophet of democracy*, (Yonkers-on-Hudson, NY: World Book Co., 1922), 113.

philosophy. This was a microcosm of the logic of land grants, using agriculture and other natural science fields to provide "the common sense that eugenicists could confirm with science."[268]

This early formation carried through his career, as teacher and then president of Indiana University, and then to his position as the founding president of Stanford University, in which he served as president and then chancellor from 1891-1916. During this period, influenced notably by the war in the Philippines, Jordan began to turn his thinking to "matters of government national, international, and municipal, and particularly the issue of dysgenic war. This is where his thinking on heredity most explicitly fused with his theories of democracy. He was gravely concerned that war results in an "elimination of the strong and brave…the weeding out of the best," and racial degradation leading to civilizational downfall; he wrote numerous books on this matter, including *The Blood of the Nation*, *The Human Harvest*, and *War and the Breed*, lecturing on these topics across the U.S. and internationally.[269] In order to advocate for alternatives to the dysgenicity of war, from 1909 to 1911 he was chief director of the World Peace Foundation and in 1915 he was president of the World Peace Congress held in San Francisco, as well as president of the Eugenic Education Society, of London. He was also actively involved in numerous domestic eugenics initiatives with his colleagues at Stanford and other notable California eugenicists. Along with Vernon Kellogg,[270] he formed a part of the founding "interlocking directorate" of the American Breeder's Association, the first organization to actively pursue a eugenical public policy program, and in 1906 he served on their "Committee on Eugenics."[271] He was also on the advisory committee of the American Eugenics Society, along with Lewis Terman, the founder of the IQ test, and Kellogg. This fusion of a scientific background, applied to sociopolitical systems, led him to become, "in his own words, 'A minor prophet of democracy'….[as well as] a liberal and a progressive in education."[272] He was interested in how in the Twentieth Century, "regions will be fitted to civilization, not by imperialism, which blasts, but by permeation, which reclaims."[273] This fusion most explicitly illuminates the underlying texture of this "permeation," and the eugenic texture of the "equal start" that Jordan was

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[268] Glenna, Leland L., Margaret A. Gollnick, and Stephen S. Jones, "Eugenic opportunity structures: Teaching genetic engineering at US Land-Grant Universities since 1911," *Social studies of science* 37, no. 2 (2007): 285.
[269] Ibid., 618-619.
[270] Yes, of the cereal. Vernon Kellogg and Jordan were close collaborators and co-published a number of articles. Kellogg presented at the First International Eugenics Congress in 1912, and also wrote numerous articles on eugenics and race deterioration.
[271] Mark H. Haller, *Eugenics: Hereditarian Attitudes in American Thought* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1963).
[272] The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography: being the history of the United States as illustrated in the lives of the founders, builders, and defenders of the republic and of the men and women who are doing the world and moulding the thought of the present time, volume XXII (New York: James T. White & Company, 1932), 70.
[273] David Starr Jordan, *The Call of the Twentieth Century* (Boston, MA: American Unitarian Association, 1903), 19.

referencing in the header epigraph, and the equality of political ideals found in equal access to education and to land.

Jordan was profoundly shaped by the land grants, not only in his access to education, but in the form it took. He believed in the idea of American exceptionalism, particularly in that "[t]here is no upper class reaping the benefits of an education for which the poor man has to pay…Our scholars and our leaders are of the people, from the people."[274] His ideas of democratic education, tied to his developing philosophies of national and international relations, were all synthesized by his early training in the applied sciences of the land grants: from geology and ichthyology to heredity, breeding, and the proper, scientific way to engineer a better and more civilized future. This was the core purpose of the land grants, and the "arts of production" intended both to produce knowledge and techniques for shaping the land and the people into an idealized settler future of capitalist productivity. As I will discuss in the next section, this intellectual formation makes Jordan writings a sharp example of the actual underpinnings of the rhetoric of democratic equality which continues to be useful for U.S. empire and its settler universities to evade the materiality of their projects of accumulation and extraction.

The Pioneer Individual

The mythology of the individual that emerged from this milieu of Western settlement was an essential driver of this logic of the public and democratization of land and education based on the idealized white male pioneer. Although this model of the conquering individual showed up in different locations and context throughout the different locations and structures of colonization, the ontological identity of the "pioneer" understood itself, at least in its own imagination, to be a special brand of the American racial exceptionalism. The ideal citizen in Jordan's formulation was descended from the individualistic stock of Europe, and therefore capable of both civilization and democracy, but liberated from its traditions and stale inheritances, able to conquer new ground. This ideal individual could be discerned not only by superior Anglo-Saxon heredity, but also by a certain "Western spirit," which determined the capacity to be a free and liberated democratic subject, not a slave or naturalized subject of tyranny, as was the inevitable destiny of everyone *not* capable by blood or inheritance of being a "pioneer."

The "individual" of which the pioneer was a type was never a value-neutral, natural means of constituting ontology. Particularly in the context of colonization, the basis for full ontological humanness is derived through conquering, predicated on logics of civilizational superiority. Enrique Dussel points out that the actual modern "I" is constituted by violent conquest, noting that "El "Conquistador" es el primer hombre moderno activo, práctico, que impone su "individualidad" violenta a otras personas, al Otro….El ego moderno se iba constituyendo."[275] This becomes what Dussel calls the *ego*

[274] David Starr Jordan, *College and the Man: An address to American Youth*. Boston, MA: American Unitarian Association, Heintzemann Press: 1907), 64.

[275]"The Conqueror" is the first active, practical modern man who imposes his "individuality" violently on other people, the Other…the modern ego constitutes itself." Enrique Dussel, "1492: el encubrimiento del

conquiro as a counterpoint to Descartes *ego cogito*, an identity of "yo conquisto/I conquer" based on violence and conquest. The myth of the individual allows for the construction of people as units whose humanity is determined by proximity to conquest and whiteness, and who can then be situated according to this proximity along the bell curve of potential to be civilized, educable, economically productive, and an agentic actor of settlement.[276] Sylvia Wynter's work explores at length how this formation of the individual as the "Rational Self of Man as political subject of the state…[serves to] provide the legitimated 'ground' for what was to become the colonizer (both the metropolitan imperialists and their settler enforcers)."[277] The ontological formation of this rational colonizer individual is based on the shift from God ruling over his creatures to reason and rationality ruling over the baser senses, and salvation becomes the "subordination of particularistic desires to the politically absolute state in order to ensure stability, order, and territorial expansion ("common good").[278] The rational man becomes overrepresented as the ideal model of humanity, and ideal humanity determined by the *ego conquiro* of territorial expansion and alignment to a state that supports this conquest. It becomes only possible to conceive the "human" as a part of race hierarchies that are relational according to eugenic rankings, in the "transcendental imperative of securing the economic well being, of the now biologized body of the Nation (and of national security)."[279] Humanity becomes tied to productivity and territorial expansion, accumulation of land and capital, as well as citizenship and nationhood, built on a conceptual ground saturated with racial and civilizational logics.

Jordan's writings on the individual, as connected to nation and capacity for democracy and civilization, clearly reflects this dynamic. He repeatedly mapped individualism onto the nation in a way that made the inherent individual drive and personal independence of the nation's people the reason for civilizational superiority (and not, rather, resource extraction and colonial violence as a means of wealth accumulation[280]). According to this logic, the superiority of the U.S. hinged on its individualism, which determined its superior ability for self-governance. For Jordan, the comparative individuality was a sign of civilizational superiority. He talked about how "[a]ll movements toward social and religious reform are signs of individual initiative and individual force"[281] and how "the influence of individual initiative….has been the most

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otro: Hacia el origen del mito de la modernidad" (La Paz: Facultad de Humanidades y Ciencias de la Educación y Universidad Mayor de San Andres, Colección Académica no. 1, 1992), 40-42., translation mine.

[276] I discuss this bell curve at length in my previous chapter "Algorithmic Eugenics, Professionalized Expertise, and the Bell Curve of Racial Capitalism" as it relates to the sorting of "criminality" and policing normality.

[277] Sylvia Wynter, "Unsettling the Coloniality of being/power/truth/freedom: Towards the Human, After Man, its Overrepresentation- an Argument" *The New Centennial Review*, 3, no. 3 (2003): 277, 282.

[278] Ibid., 289.

[279] Sylvia Wynter, "No Humans Involved: An open letter to my colleagues," *Forum N.H.I.: Knowledge for the 21st Century,* 1, no. 1 (1994): 50.

[280] Walter Rodney, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* (London: Bogle-L'Ouverture Publications, 1972).

[281] David Starr Jordan, *The Human Harvest* (London: Alston Rivers, Ltd., 1907), 61.

important element in the building of civilization."[282] He saw the greatest nations as those that have the most of this individual initiative.[283] This individuality was the precondition for democratic possibility. Although he wrote extensively on the similar Anglo-Saxon inheritances of the U.S. and Great Britain and where the blood of Europe stagnated while those who immigrated to the U.S. took their kingly inheritance and refreshed it, he saw similarities between the US and Great Britain as "not primarily that of blood nor even of language. It lies in the fact that both nations are essentially democratic and individualistic, recognizing the man as the unit in society, not as a mere industrial factor in 'the State' which 'exists over and apart from the individuals who compose it.'[284] According to Jordan "the influence of individual initiative….has been the most important element in the building of civilization"[285] and defined the "process of civilization as the 'movement from status to contract'—that is, the transition from mass-relation to individual responsibility, from tradition to democracy."[286] He saw the greatest nations as those that have the most of this individual initiative.[287] For Jordan, this individuality is the core precondition for democracy, as "[w]hen a people really means to do something it must resort to democracy. It must value men as men, not as functions of a chain of conventionalities…Democracy exalts the individual. It realizes that of all the treasures of the nation, the talent of its individual men is the most important."[288] Jordan frames the "process of civilization as the 'movement from status to contract'— that is, the transition from mass-relation to individual responsibility, from tradition to democracy."[289] This rests on the grandiose claim that the "democratic system rejects all caste distinctions, demanding equality before the law, justice for all, exclusive privileges to none."[290] The individualism of this settler brand of racial democracy becomes constitutive of the only way to understand civilization, equality, and justice through this narrow and overdetermined frame.

In this, the pioneer is the ideal individual, defined as ideal in relationship to settlement. As Jordan puts it, an "empire of man over nature leads to that form of cooperation from which spring science, personal initiative, and human enlightenment."[291] The only model of humanity is that of a conqueror and imperial master of nature, through science and "personal initiative." Jordan developed a mythology of Western settlement in which the pioneer was imagined as a superior subset of American

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[282] David Starr Jordan, *War and the Breed; the relation of war to the downfall of nations* (Boston, MA: The Beacon Press, 1915), 19.
[283] Ibid., 218-219.
[284] Ibid., 42.
[285] Ibid., 19.
[286] David Starr Jordan, *Democracy and World Relations* (New York: World Book Company, 1918), 98.
[287] David Starr Jordan, *War and the Breed; the relation of war to the downfall of nations* (Boston, MA: The Beacon Press, 1915), 218-219.
[288] David Starr Jordan, *The Call of the Twentieth Century* (Boston, MA: American Unitarian Association, 1903), 9.
[289] David Starr Jordan, *Democracy and World Relations* (New York: World Book Company, 1918), 97, citing Sir Henry Maine.
[290] Ibid., 17, partially citing Charles Ferguson from *The Great News*.
[291] Ibid., 9.

exceptionalism, even more superior in blood and character. His theory was that "[t]he industry which grew with the pioneer life of the last generation is still in our veins. Sons of the western pioneers, ours is the best blood in the realm,"[292] largely because they had been "born in a land of freedom…on a frontier hearth."[293] The character of this pioneer was explicitly framed as superior as an even more acute example of valuing the individual over the collective, "[a]s the founders of the American republic were frontiersmen scattered far and wide, without cities or great collective utilities, our form of democracy was intensely individualistic from the first."[294] This superiority of both pioneering experience and superior heredity was an essential criteria of Dussel's *ego conquiro*, that "[a]ll men of force and individuality are self-made men in this sense, but they are not made without material."[295] This quality of the pioneering population was extrapolated out to the level of social organization. The idea was that the "fact that America has been preeminently the land of pioneers still influences all her institutions. In an equal start, in equality before the law, in equal access to the land, to education, to legislation, her people find their political ideals."[296] This use of land as a way to define people became strategically abstracted so that it could stick to the delineation of the individual no matter where he be: "the West, it is a state of mind…[t]he movement…in favor of higher political ideals has its impetus largely with the men of the West…the spirit of the West is felt wherever young men think and act; and the new democracy, the democracy of action and effectiveness, is a part of its political creed."[297] Westward expansion was a core part of this adventuresome spirit particular to the pioneer, as "the pioneer gains by travel, picking up something on the road, though he may also lose through separation, as in the new freedom he tends to fall out of touch with the achievement of the old social fabric…..But on the other hand, he will escape many hampering traditions, and the sturdiness of racial stock is in no way dependent upon culture.[298] This became the way in which Jordan could talk about democracy and mean white supremacy, the precursor of how the U.S. can talk about "spreading democracy" in a way that has civilizational and racial heft.

Embedded within this, of course, is the judgment of those who do *not* have this inherent capacity for individual initiative and the development of democracy and civilization, what Wynter and Fanon would call the "category of the damnés."[299] This constitutive outside of the democratic polity was not an incoherence or contradiction of

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[292] David Starr Jordan, *College and the Man: An address to American Youth*. Boston, MA: American Unitarian Association, Heintzemann Press: 1907), 52.
[293] Ibid., 39.
[294] David Starr Jordan, *Democracy and World Relations* (New York: World Book Company, 1918), 98.
[295] David Starr Jordan, *College and the Man: An address to American Youth*. Boston, MA: American Unitarian Association, Heintzemann Press: 1907), 39.
[296] David Starr Jordan, *Democracy and World Relations* (New York: World Book Company, 1918), 99.
[297] David Starr Jordan, *The Call of the Nation: A plea for taking politics out of politics* (Boston, MA: American Unitarian Association, 1910), 9.
[298] David Starr Jordan, *War and the Breed; the relation of war to the downfall of nations* (Boston, MA: The Beacon Press, 1915), 27.
[299] Frantz Fanon, *Wretched of the Earth* (New York, NY: Penguin Books, 1963); Sylvia Wynter, "Unsettling the Coloniality of being/power/truth/freedom: Towards the Human, After Man, its Overrepresentation- an Argument," *The New Centennial Review*, 3, no. 3 (2003): 257–337.

the ideological system, but rather a core component of it. For instance, John Stuart Mill's belief that the "individual is sovereign" "is meant to apply only to human beings in the maturity of their faculties. We are not speaking of children, or of young persons … Those who are still in a state to require being taken care of by others, must be protected against their own actions as well as against external injury. For the same reason, we may leave out of consideration those backward states of society in which the race itself may be considered as in its nonage… Despotism is a legitimate mode of government in dealing with barbarians…. Liberty, as a principle, has no application to any state of things anterior to the time when mankind have become capable of being improved by free and equal discussion."[300] Jordan concurred. His generalizations about individuality as a philosophic concept connected to democratic potential was for "[m]en who can take care of themselves [who] are by that fact a part of democracy…[as] [m]en who cannot are by that fact the subjects of tyranny."[301] Writing in the context of the U.S.'s nascent ambitions to expand the empire beyond the continent to Latin America and the Pacific (which will be discussed more thoroughly in the next chapter), this provides a rhetorical justification for colonial jockeying between the old European colonial system and the rising United States, in that the "Latin republics fail for reasons inherent in the nature of the people. There is little civic coherence among them."[302] These naturalized subjects of tyranny, occupying failed republics, are those without capacity for democracy, constituting "backward races and the territory they occupy…incapable of progress in the mass."[303] As Jordan puts it, "[o]nly the Saxon and the Goth know the meaning of freedom"[304] and for Asia the options are limited because "under whatever rule, these people will not cease to be orientals."[305] This theorizing about racial preconditions for freedom heavily influenced Jordan's theorizing on the nascent colonization of the Philippines (a colonization which, alongside its implications for a theoretical understanding of eugenics and education, will be discussed more thoroughly in the following chapter), which he compared to the unfortunate but inevitable (and justifiable) genocide of Native peoples in the continental U.S.:

> If it were possible to exterminate the Filipinos as we have destroyed the Indians, replacing their institutions and their people by ours, the political objections to annexation would, in the main, disappear, whatever might be said of the moral ones. For our extermination of the Indian, there is, in general, no moral

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[300] John Stuart Mills, *On Liberty* (New York, NY: The Walter Scott Publishing Co., Ltd., 2010, originally 1859), 19. Thanks to Daniel Perlstein for the apt quotation.
[301] David Starr Jordan, *The Call of the Nation: A plea for taking politics out of politics* (Boston, MA: American Unitarian Association, 1910), 48.
[302] David Starr Jordan, *Imperial Democracy: A Study of the Relation of Government by the People, Equality before the Law, and other Tenets of Democracy, to the Demands of a Vigorous Foreign Policy and other Demands of Imperial Dominion* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1901), 45.
[303] David Starr Jordan, *Democracy and World Relations* (New York: World Book Company, 1918), 135.
[304] David Starr Jordan, *Imperial Democracy: A Study of the Relation of Government by the People, Equality before the Law, and other Tenets of Democracy, to the Demands of a Vigorous Foreign Policy and other Demands of Imperial Dominion* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1901), 18.
[305] Ibid., 73.

> justification. There is a good political excuse in it that we could and did use their land in a better way than was possible to them. We have no such excuse in Luzon ; we cannot use the land except as we use the lives of the people. We cannot plant free institutions in the Orient because once planted they will not grow ; if they grow they will not be free. We cannot exterminate these people, and if we did we could not use their land for our own people ; we could only fill it with Asiatic colonists, Malay, Chinese, or Japanese, more of the same kind, not of our kind.[306]

Free institutions are overlain with land use, and inextricable from hereditarian judgments. This is the sleight of hand of the rhetoric of democratic equality, wherein some are able to settle and constitute a civilized nation, but others will only ever be able to "occupy territory." This is how in the same breath the United States is extolled as the "land of freedom" in which justice is equally available to all, and special privileges extended to none, and at the same time the explanation for power hierarchies is shifted off into supposed inherent characteristics and heredity, immutable predisposition to be a subject of tyranny. Domestically, although Jordan had some critiques of capitalist excesses, he believed that at the end of the day "in the appalling concentration of wealth in America there is this much encouragement: our masters are of our own kind. They are members of our democracy. They aim not to be tyrants over slaves, but men among men."[307] This clear microcosm of racial capitalist logics mobilizes an emergent whiteness to demobilize discontent with class conflict, because at least the exploited working classes are not slaves but "men among men," also these rational human subjects, also members of the imagined community and participants in this settler democracy. The dynamic is contradictory only if we fail to understand that this egalitarian democracy--spelled out more explicitly in Jordan's time but still remaining between the lines in how the assemblages of empire continue to justify themselves--has always been defined and built on the basis white supremacy and settlement.

The Individual and the Collective in Eugenic Hierarchies

This foundation helps us to understand how the ideology of settler democracy directly naturalizes subjugation, and how the rhetoric of universal equality synthesizes with the underlying eugenic logics that some are naturally predetermined to be "slaves" or "subjects of tyranny," incapable of developing civilization, participating in democracy, or being educated. This also puts hereditarian logics in lockstep with the myths of meritocracy, with hard work and capitalist productivity determining social betterment. As this synthesized the contradiction between social and economic hierarchy and democratic "equality," the frameworks of the eugenics movement also synthesized the contradictions between the individual and collective, further cementing inequality and power hierarchies as a part of the natural, just order. This also solidified the role of

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[306] Ibid., 98.
[307] David Starr Jordan, *The Call of the Nation: A plea for taking politics out of politics* (Boston, MA: American Unitarian Association, 1910), 56.

schooling and the university in settlement, as fitting those who were preordained as "educable" to be the leaders of this new century of U.S. settler imperialism.

The leveraging of race science into the debates about democracy was the means by which Jordan synthesized his views of the individual and the collective. While it may seem/be paradoxical or contradictory that the eugenics movement used the individual unit of measurement to hypothesize collective race- and society-wide trends of betterment or degeneration, it was an entirely coherent construct within the eugenicist mind. Jordan insisted, for instance, that "[t]he evolution of a race is always selective, never collective"[308] while at the same time writing extensively on civilizational trends and broad generalizations of race on both the nation and international levels. His synthesis of the individual and collective is most explicit in his theorizations of collective white supremacy predicated on individual achievement, that "the highest range of possibilities in every field has been reached by the 'blonde races' of Europe. Groups of less individual or of less aggregate achievement may properly be regarded as 'lower.'"[309] It was an inevitability for him that the "weak-willed, the incompetent, the untrained, the dissipated, these do not hold their own in a democracy. No legislation can modify this fundamental fact….[as] primal differences arising from heredity cannot be erased by any kind of statute."[310] This logic squares the circle of social stratification, as Jordan posited that:

> The claim is sometimes made on an assumed basis of science that all races of men are biologically equal, and that the differences of capacity which appear are due to opportunity and to education. But opportunity has come to no race as a gift…The progress of each race has depended on its own inherent qualities. There has been no other leverage…All men are born free and equal,' it is asserted, but such equality is political only. It cannot be biological. In every race are certain strains having capacities not attainable by the mass. There should be equality of start, equality before the law, but there will always be differences of attainment.[311]

The supposed equality of start works in tandem with the supposed group-based hereditarian preconditions, individuals selected or dysselected leading to the betterment or degeneration of the races.

This leads to the role of democracy in creating systems of equality or inequality. Jordan's view was that democracy constituted this equality of start in order to make the biological inequalities more clear. He was vehement that "[d]emocracy, of course, intensifies natural inequalities. In competition with men alert, skilled, and creative, the untrained are virtually condemned to a lifetime of hard labor, often through no fault of their own …It is no part of the state's duty, therefore, to promote the special prosperity of

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[308] David Starr Jordan, *The Human Harvest* (London: Alston Rivers, Ltd., 1907), 48.
[309] David Starr Jordan, *War and the Breed; the relation of war to the downfall of nations* (Boston, MA: The Beacon Press, 1915), 31-33.
[310] David Starr Jordan, *Democracy and World Relations* (New York: World Book Company, 1918), 97.
[311] David Starr Jordan, *War and the Breed; the relation of war to the downfall of nations* (Boston, MA: The Beacon Press, 1915), 33.

any individual or any group."[312] He is clear, coherent with his theorizings in racial science, that "[d]emocracy does not mean equality--just the reverse of this, it means individual responsibility…[and] [d]emocracy may even intensify natural inequalities…)…'let the best man win, whoever he is,' Let the best man win! That is America's word. That is true democracy."[313] This is also why the ideal democratic nation was a white supremacist one, as Jordan posited that "Anglo-Saxon nations have certain ideals on which their political superstructure rests…[of which] the chief agency in the development of free manhood is the recognition of the individual man as the responsible unit of government."[314] This free, racially superior individual became the ideal educable subject who the schools could then transform into the responsible unit of a democratic citizen.

The individual unit, eugenically weighted, was explicitly the project of education, and specifically the American educational system. Jordan explicitly discussed the educational system as an equal-opportunity product and producer of U.S. democracy, that "[t]his is the highest purpose of the American public school, and the American university, whatever its form, in its essence must always be a public school, a creature and a creator of democracy…[in which] there is no class of men whom we wish to uphold, and no other class whom we wish officially or socially to degrade."[315] Structurally, schools were intended not only to train the trainable, but to split people into these individual "responsible units of government," also imagined as a quintessentially American project. Jordan's view on the selection and sorting role of education was that "American public school exists for the elevation of the masses. This is true, but it has in fact a higher aim than this. It is to break up the masses that they may be masses no more, but individual men and women…America is the land of the individual man.[316] This highest aim of the school system was to prepare leaders for the transformations of industrial capitalism and management of U.S. imperialism, as Jordan firmly believed that "the young man who does the century's work will be a product of its university system."[317] In Jordan's view, which prioritized "peace and stability" over direct or militaristic imperial control (a dynamic which will be further discussed in the subsequent chapter), "[t]he need of battle-ships may be great-as to this we have yet to be convinced. But there can be no question as to the need of universities."[318] Jordan proclaimed that the "making of men is greater than the

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[312] David Starr Jordan, *Democracy and World Relations* (New York: World Book Company, 1918), 98.
[313] Ibid., 11-14.
[314] David Starr Jordan, *Imperial Democracy: A Study of the Relation of Government by the People, Equality before the Law, and other Tenets of Democracy, to the Demands of a Vigorous Foreign Policy and other Demands of Imperial Dominion* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1901), 47.
[315] David Starr Jordan, *College and the Man: An address to American Youth*. Boston, MA: American Unitarian Association, Heintzemann Press: 1907), 36-37.
[316] Ibid., 67.
[317] David Starr Jordan, *The Call of the Twentieth Century* (Boston, MA: American Unitarian Association, 1903), 39.
[318] David Starr Jordan, *Unseen Empire: A study of the plight of nations that do not pay their debts* (Boston, MA: American Unitarian Association, 1912), 172.

building of empires"[319] and the "school, the university, the laboratory and the workshop are the battlefields of this new warfare."[320] The education system in the United States created a perception of itself as intended to train the trainable and educate the educable, to be leaders in their own nation and abroad, in order to manage these social crises engendered by the accumulative impulse of racial capital. As with those excluded from pioneer logics, however, even despite the egalitarian and democratic rhetoric of this view of education, the individual leaders of this new century who would be the products of this education system were racially predetermined along lines of educability.

The universality of education, according to Jordan, was not sufficient to intervene in the fundamental inequalities of racial types, "[u]niversal suffrage and universal education, the most carefully equalized scheme of social opportunity cannot prevent this tendency of the homogenous to pass into the heterogeneous,--this splitting up of mankind into sub-varieties, castes and breeds."[321] The role of education was to train those who were, according to their bloodline, educable, as "[b]y training the force of the individual man is increased…[and the] trained man is placed in a class relatively higher than the one to which he would belong on the score of heredity alone."[322] Consistent with the nature/nurture views of many of his other eugenicist contemporaries, including the views of Vollmer discussed in the previous chapter, Jordan saw that "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"[323] as "education may intensify their powers or mellow their prejudices,….[but] [o]lder than climate or training or experience are the traits of heredity, and in the long run it is always " blood which tells."[324] The contradiction was synthesized through how the collective blend of whiteness was constitutive of its potential to be differentiated, its individuality, and its ability to be educated. As with the pioneer individual as the superior type within the ideal, the educated pioneer was the pinnacle of meritocratic individualism. His idea was that "Lincolns" (i.e. a superior and prototypically American archetype) are "born in a land of freedom…on a frontier hearth"…but that the "Lincoln of to-day" must use every help around him, including the public university, as "[a]ll men of force and individuality are self-made men in this sense, but they are not made without material. Your self-made Lincoln of today will use the best tools he can find in the making."[325] According to this logic, the necessary element of training didn't contradict the superior essence of racial superiority. Jordan, in persuading white American young men to enroll in higher

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[319] David Starr Jordan, *Imperial Democracy: A Study of the Relation of Government by the People, Equality before the Law, and other Tenets of Democracy, to the Demands of a Vigorous Foreign Policy and other Demands of Imperial Dominion* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1901), 31.
[320] David Starr Jordan, *Unseen Empire: A study of the plight of nations that do not pay their debts* (Boston, MA: American Unitarian Association, 1912), 171.
[321] David Starr Jordan, *War and the Breed; the relation of war to the downfall of nations* (Boston, MA: The Beacon Press, 1915), 20-21.
[322] Ibid., 45.
[323] David Starr Jordan, *The Human Harvest* (London: Alston Rivers, Ltd., 1907), 46.
[324] Ibid., 41.
[325] David Starr Jordan, *College and the Man: An address to American Youth*. Boston, MA: American Unitarian Association, Heintzemann Press: 1907), 39.

schooling, proclaimed "Go to College!...It will do many things for you if you are made of the right stuff. If you are not, it may do but very little."[326] This is how the pioneer can be simultaneously a collective group identity predicated on white supremacy, and fundamentally constituted by the logic of the individual.

So far in this chapter I have laid out how the democratizing of land and the democratizing of education was directly in service of settler empire. In this final section, I will conclude the chapter by discussing the example of a remedy intended to address the consequences of this democratization: the conservation movement. This is an example of what happens when, as was typical for the Progressive Era and not unfamiliar now, the "cure for the failures of democracy was more democracy....The cure for progress was more progress."[327] This is a tendency I critique throughout this dissertation, the tendency to propose remedies that rest on the same foundation as what they are supposed to remedy, in a way that maintains and bolsters the oppressive system that has caused the crisis in the first place. The example of the conservation movement synthesizes this sometimes-disparate discussion of democratizing both land and people in the service of empire, and highlights the settler and eugenic logics that underlie the entire apparatus.

Conserving settler futures: the public, the private, and the synthesis of empire

The progressive solutions of democratic, equally-accessible education and public, equally-accessible land were solutions to manage the crises created by the accumulative drive of racial capitalism. The movement for "democracy's colleges" and the myth of equal access to education was a way of managing the crisis of class conflict in the east coast and diffusing it along the frontier, managing working classes and obscuring the accumulation of wealth, power, and land by the wealthy and the corporations through the myth of freely available land. Similarly, the conservation movement was a way to manage the devastation wrought by "equal access" to land (and also the land grant colleges, which facilitated the economic concentration of large agribusinesses and the conglomeration of an environmentally destructive agricultural system).[328] This last example in particular, with its eugenic model of the "public," is a good way to tie all of these conversations together and show how both trajectories of, on one hand, naked capitalist devastation and, on the other hand, progressive conservationist solution, are simply two different dead ends into settler futures.

The "equality" of land use, which caused a huge rush on California by people who believed the myth-making, but ran into the reality of huge mineral and water

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[326] Ibid., 11.
[327] Frederick Rudolph, *The American College and University: A History* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1962), 357.
[328] David B. Danbom, "The resisted revolution: Urban America and the industrialization of agriculture, 1900-1930," *Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations*, no. 1 (1979), accessible at https://agris.fao.org/agris-search/search.do?recordID=US19800490405; William H. Friedland, "Engineering social change in agriculture," *University of Dayton Review* 21, no. 1 (1991): 25-42.

conglomerates, devastated the state.[329] From the stripping of the forests' "majesty and beauty fed into the maws of those voracious sawmills" to the "dead rivers" wrought by hydraulic mining, the rapacious settlement of California had wreaked havoc on the landscape and ecology.[330] The solution to this crisis was the creation of public land out of "wilderness" a very specific mythologizing that saturates the untouched nature with the idea that it is there to be explored (or preserved) by the white man.[331] As many of the so-called wilderness areas were already populated by Indigenous peoples, the idea of uninhabited wilderness had to be explicitly crafted.[332] The fantasy of nature that could be "preserved" as public land for settlers was not only predicated on the myth of an empty *terra nullius* wilderness, but the development of a network of national parks was also was also closely tied to the development of the reservation system, and provided the justification for displacement of Indigenous peoples in areas beyond those that would become federal public land.[333] Settlement was the foundation of the eco-social relations, their study, and their proposed remedies.[334]

In the United States, the eugenics and environmental conservation movements were closely linked.[335] Common to both the eugenics and environmental movements was the desire to preserve the "best" of people and nature, using latest advances in science, involved governmental planning, and social control, and the comprehension of the human and nonhuman biosphere through the lens of "selective breeding" "extended into the world of plants and animals the Pacific West's brand of nativism and racial exclusion."[336] The fight to save the redwoods from rapacious timber companies became metonymic with the salvation of the race from immigration, degeneration, or other types of dysgenicity.[337] David Jordan was so enamored with the great redwoods that he wrote about them at length and chose *sempervirens* at the official seal of Stanford University.[338] The idea was that both the redwoods and Nordic race were "symbolic victims of modern

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[329] Much of this devastation continues to be felt most acutely by native peoples in California, such as the Sulfur Bank Mercury mine in Northern California which is now the home of the Elem Band of Pomo Indians, which has turned Clearlake, a traditional source of fish for the tribe, into the most mercury-polluted lake in the world. Dina Gilio-Whitaker, *As long as grass grows: The Indigenous fight for environmental justice, from colonization to Standing Rock* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 2019), 68.

[330] Gray Brechin, *Imperial San Francisco: urban power, earthly ruin* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2006), 47, quoting Mining Attorney Grant H. Smith.

[331] Carolyn Finney, *Black Faces, White Spaces: reimagining the relationship of African Americans to the great outdoors* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2014).

[332] Mark David Spence, *Dispossessing the wilderness: Indian removal, and the making of the national parks* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999).

[333] William E. O'Brien, *Landscapes of exclusion: State parks and Jim Crow in the American South* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2015).

[334] Jules M. Bacon, "Settler colonialism as eco-social structure and the production of colonial ecological violence." *Environmental Sociology* 5, no. 1 (2019): 59-69.

[335] Gray Brechin, "Conserving the race: Natural aristocracies, eugenics, and the US conservation movement," *Antipode* 28, no. 3 (1996): 229-245.

[336] Alexandra Minna Stern, *Eugenic nation: Faults and frontiers of better breeding in modern America* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2016), 119.

[337] Jonathan Spiro, *Defending the master race: conservation, eugenics, and the legacy of Madison Grant* (Lebanon, NH: University of Vermont Press, 2009).

[338] Kevin Starr, *Americans and the California Dream, 1850-1915* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986).

industrialization and commercialism," the "uncontrolled, rapacious forces of industrial expansion."[339] Walt Whitman's 1900 poem "Song of the Redwood Tree," an at-times contradictory work that is at once a paean to the disappearing great trees in the majestic forests and also a celebration of settlement, has excerpts worth quoting at length:

> A California song!…
> Voice of a mighty dying tree in the Redwood forest dense…
> That chant of the seasons and time—chant, not of the past only, but the future…
> For them predicted long,
> For a superber Race—
> …come from Nature's long and harmless throes—peacefully builded thence,
> These virgin lands—Lands of the Western Shore,
> To the new Culminating Man—to you, the Empire New…
> You unseen Moral Essence of all the vast materials of America…
> You that, sometimes known, oftener unknown, really shape and mould the New World, adjusting it to Time and Space…
> Here build your homes for good—establish here—These areas entire, Lands of the Western Shore…
> The chorus and indications, the vistas of coming humanity—the settlements, features all…
> At last the New arriving, assuming, taking possession,
> A swarming and busy race settling and organizing every where;
> But more in you than these, Lands of the Western Shore!
> (These but the means, the implements, the standing-ground,)
> I see in you, certain to come, the promise of thousands of years, till now deferr'd,
> Promis'd, to be fulfill'd, our common kind, the Race…
> The New Society at last, proportionate to Nature…
> Fresh come, to a New World indeed, yet long prepared,
> I see the Genius of the Modern, child of the Real and Ideal,
> Clearing the ground for broad humanity, the true America, heir of the past so grand,
> To build a grander future.

The inevitability of the "vistas of coming humanity" familiarly positions the white settler as the only possible instantiation of the imagined public of a "broad humanity" building a "grander future," returning to Wynter's critiques of the limitation of "humanity" to the overrepresented rational political subject. The realization of superior humanity is possible because he is "proportionate to nature," the classic eugenicist/conservationist comparison that the only corollary to the great redwoods is the "superber Race" of the white pioneer. It was a means of securing settler futures through the myth-making of the settler public,

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[339] Garland E. Allen, "Culling the herd": Eugenics and the conservation movement in the United States, 1900–1940." *Journal of the History of Biology* 46, no. 1 (2013): 31-72.

the rhetoric of "coming humanity…the New arriving, assuming, taking possession." The "public" of public lands is always racially saturated. As Mrs. Mathew T. Scott, the president of the Daughters of the American Revolution[340] put it, "We must conserve the sources of our race in the Anglo-Saxon line.…We, the mothers of this generation…have a right to insist upon the conserving not only of soil, forest, bird, minerals, fishes, waterways in the interest of our future home-makers, but also upon the conservation of the supremacy of the Caucasian race in our land."[341] This is what the "right to insist" upon conservation looks like on stolen land, whether it's from a far-right "blood and soil," a liberal impulse to conserve resources for environmental and human sustainability, or a leftist project to undo the capitalist technology of enclosure and agitate for a return to the commons.

The eugenic base of the conservation movement builds on the discussion in the rest of this chapter of "democracy's colleges" and the eugenic individualism in democratic theorizing itself to show how the project of democratizing education and democratizing land is 1) always mythological, 2) trying for a more egalitarian settler tendency still remains a settler tendency. It is mythological in the sense that the education and the land was never intended to be democratized in a real way; even beyond the obvious exclusions, it wasn't intended to be a way for the white working class to have equal access as much as a way to manage the crises of class conflict through the smoke and mirrors of democratic myth-making. Additionally, these examples show how a counterpoint to the devastations of openly extractive settlement can still be a technology of settlement, just a different flavor of the kool-aid. After all, as the famous forester and eugenicist Gifford Pinchot declared, "Land is to be devoted to its most productive use for the permanent good of the whole people, and not for the temporary benefits of individuals or companies."[342] The purpose of "conservation" is the preservation of trees so that they can be harvested later, a more sustainable, long term notion of settler futures. Anything approaching environmental justice for Indigenous peoples, as Dina Gilio-Whitaker reminds us, must go beyond a model of redistribution and "must be capable of a political scale beyond the homogenizing, assimilationist, capitalist State."[343] This reality underlies all of the very real and important debates over public and private schooling, public and private management of resources, or public and private monopolies over power. In the context, however, struggles over the public and private are still a thesis and antithesis when the synthesis of this dialectic is the settler empire. The solutions proposed as the way out of our crises--of

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[340] This nationalist and traditionalist women's organization would become the vanguard of an anti-radical movement that sought to protect the U.S. from "un-American" ideologies like communism and socialism. Simon Wendt, "Defenders of Patriotism or Mothers of Fascism? The Daughters of the American Revolution, Antiradicalism, and Un-Americanism in the Interwar Period," *Journal of American Studies* (2013): 943-969.

[341] Garland E. Allen, "Culling the herd": Eugenics and the conservation movement in the United States, 1900–1940," *Journal of the History of Biology* 46, no. 1 (2013): 31-72, quoted from Laura L. Lovett, *Conceiving the Future: Pronatalism, Reproduction, and the Family in the United States, 1890–1938* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2007).

[342] Jonathan Spiro, *Defending the master race: conservation, eugenics, and the legacy of Madison Grant* (Lebanon, NH: University of Vermont Press, 2009), 56.

[343] Dina Gilio-Whitaker, *As long as grass grows: The Indigenous fight for environmental justice, from colonization to Standing Rock* (Boston, Beacon Press: 2019), 25.

privatized and/or demonstrably inequitable in access and "outcome" to educational regimes, or of the ongoing and acute crises of our human and nonhuman environments razed by the suicidal accumulation of the capitalist system--are still settler solutions that fall within the auspices of the system's underlying assumptions.

Conclusion

> Like the society to which it has played the faithful servant, the university is bankrupt. This bankruptcy is not only financial. It is the index of a more fundamental insolvency, one both political and economic, which has been a long time in the making. No one knows what the university is for anymore. We feel this intuitively. Gone is the old project of creating a cultured and educated citizenry; gone, too, the special advantage the degree-holder once held on the job market. These are now fantasies, spectral residues that cling to the poorly maintained halls.
> …We must constantly expose the incoherence of demands for democratization and transparency. What good is it to have the right to see how intolerable things are, or to elect those who will screw us over? We must leave behind the culture of student activism, with its moralistic mantras of non-violence and its fixation on single-issue causes. The only success with which we can be content is the abolition of the capitalist mode of production and the certain immiseration and death which it promises for the 21st century.[344]

The excerpt above is from *Communiqué from an Absent Future*, written in 2009 in the throes of the student occupation movement in California, targeted at the battles for and within "public" education, but with insight further for even the universities like Stanford dripping with endowments. I still think the piece is beautiful, with how wrenching it is to be steeped in the alienation of our system and still refuse to stop fighting for, beyond a free university, a free society. I'm also thinking more and more carefully these days of how compromised these dreams can become when they rely on mobilizing the memory of the commons and its enclosure on a land where there is no myth to be returned to separate from the myth of settlement. After all, even revolutionary theorists, though often able to articulate a more genuine democracy and "expose important linkages between colonialist forces and capitalist greed, they do not in and of themselves represent emancipatory politics" because revolutionary memory and striving of the commons still insists on a universalizing notion of democracy; both Marxists and capitalists view land as something to be exploited.[345] Decolonization, however, "unsettles the utopian vision of wealth redistribution" and seeing land as commons to be occupied

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[344] "Communiqué from an Absent Future," We Want Everything: critical theory and content from the nascent california student occupation movement, September 24, 2009, https://wewanteverything.wordpress.com/2009/09/24/communique-from-an-absent-future/
[345] Sandy Grande, *Red Pedagogy: Native American Social and Political Thought* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield Publishing Group, Inc., 2004), 35.

erases how the land was made "empty" and occupy-able forcibly and ideologically.[346] What would it be to (re)-map "European planetary consciousness" on which settler colonialism depends without falling into utopian recovery?[347] Democracy is an imagination of the commons, and democratizing land, education, and governance, and refining and purifying this mode of management, is not a horizon to get fixated on.

I am not the first to argue that democracy is untrustworthy, and that we need to be careful about proposing public, commonly-held resources, land, and governance as a means of liberation or decolonization. In this chapter, I add to the ongoing debates about the technologies of settlement by putting into conversation land grants, the eugenics of democracy, and the conservation movement. This is a critique of the impulse to democratize land and education, using the specific historical moment of the Progressive Era as a cypher to decode this same rhetoric, and its underlying material structures of extraction and accumulation, when it crops up from contemporary university administrators, intergovernmental or nongovernmental organizations, or other proponents of democratic development. In my previous chapter the critique of reform is not that we have insufficiently or imperfectly reformed, but rather that the move to better structure and manage carceral systems is still an oppressive impulse; we must orient our theorizing and messy organizing towards abolition. Similarly, the critique of democratizing land and education isn't that we have imperfectly democratized, that instead of being a public commons of resources and governance it is controlled by private, corporate, monopolistic elites bent on extraction and accumulation. This may be true, as are many of the critiques that reformists make of the prison and policing apparatus, but the false dichotomy between elite monopoly and democratic access forecloses possibilities of decolonization, and more liberatory models of relationships to land and sovereignty.

I'm still agnostic on whether I see democracy as a neutral technology that can be used as a liberatory or reactionary means to diverse ends, or whether democracy as a tactic is fatally compromised. Wynter has led me to be suspicious of the individualism of the structure, that rational political subject, but I'm also suspicious of the tendency of theorizing in academic genres like this to lend itself to the abstract. I understand academia in general, and particularly the way that academics build their personal brand on being theoretically unimpeachable and uncompromised by accusations of being hypocritical or problematic, to be a politically demobilizing force. If you're looking for a pure politics, in a context in which the entire apparatus as well as the tools available or imaginable to confront it are fundamentally compromised, you'll never do anything. But we can be careful. We on the left always need better critiques of our solutions and our heroes, not to stymie us in our work, but to qualify our claims and make us more thoughtful about our coalitions. I appreciated Harsha Walia's response at a recent talk[348]

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[346] la paperson, "A ghetto land pedagogy: An antidote for settler environmentalism," *Environmental Education Research*, 20, no. 1 (2014): 123.

[347] Mishuana Goeman, *Mark My Words: Native women mapping our nations* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2013).

[348] Harsha Walia, "Border and Rule: Global Migration, Capitalism, and Racist Nationalism," talk hosted by Haymarket Books on February 11, 2021.

to a question in the context of her coalitional work with the Wet'suwet'en Nation to oppose the Canadian state, concerning how she squared her politics, as a lifelong anti-border anarchist activist, with the demands of sovereignty. Walia clarified, usefully, that "borders are a creation of the current state of colonial capital…we're not talking about borders as a way that people choose to mark their presence or understand their self-determination. Accountability is not the border, accountability is not the state." Work trying to be liberatory on selfsame land[349] is always going to be messy, but I suspect we need to learn from Walia's complexity and clarity of thought in order to think through the affordances or pitfalls of democratic logics and tactics, and what other types of organizing structures we can use to make decisions and allocate resources, structures that don't slip so easily into the well-worn individualistic, eugenic paths of settlement. It's messy and I don't know what this will look like in practice, but I trust the expansiveness that "[w]e're more than politics, more than settled, more than democratic."[350] And one thing I do know is that a settler commons is not decolonizing, and is not the means through which we should be working, or the liberatory horizon for which we should be fighting.

[349] Eve Tuck, Allison Guess, and Hannah Sultan, "Not nowhere: Collaborating on selfsame land," *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society* 26, (2014): 1-11.
[350] Stefano Harney and Fred Moten, *The Undercommons: Fugitive Planning and Black Study* (Brooklyn, NY: Minor Compositions, 2013), 19.

Civilized mankind has always been controlled and directed by his scholarly class.
-David P. Barrows, *What May Be Expected From Philippine Education*[351]

Every empire, however, tells itself and the world that it is unlike all other empires, that its mission is not to plunder and control, but to educate and liberate.
-Edward Said[352]

Educational Eugenics and the (Re)production of Global Managers for Labor

David Prescott Barrows has fallen out of favor recently. In 2020 the seven-story building honoring his legacy up the hill at University of California, Berkeley was unnamed,[353] and Chancellor Carol Christ affirmed the rightness of this decision and her support of it because his "historical record provides ample evidence of intolerable racist beliefs and biases that are profoundly contrary to what we know, believe and stand for."[354] When what the university and those who populate its power structure "know, believe, and stand for" remains profoundly consistent with these racist beliefs and biases, it begs the question of what it is about the explicitness in Barrows's turn of the century open proclamation of these beliefs that has now become uncivil and unacceptable for the institution's brand of diverse and inclusive liberalism. His projects of colonial educational development and imperialist uplift are neither illegible nor embarrassing to the university, but the underlying eugenic basis on which he designed and justified these systems has become objectionable. Importantly, this objection is very specifically contained to Barrows's "beliefs and biases," not to the interaction of these beliefs with the material work that they do in the world. I begin this chapter with the understanding that Barrows is the quintessential education-as-development reformer, not despite the white supremacy and imperialism but because of it. When the development projects and educational interventions remain ubiquitous but the calipers and nose typing have become gauche, I argue that these projects of eugenics and educational development were and remain fundamentally entangled. The usefulness of this historical example, at a moment when those in power were saying the quiet part out loud, is that it helps us see the underlying logic of these structures and how they endure, although perhaps couched in different rhetoric.

Throughout this dissertation I have used the ubiquitousness of the eugenics movement in the Progressive Era as a prism through which to separate out the logics of

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[351] David P. Barrows, "What May be Expected from Philippine Education," *Journal of Race Development* 1, no. 2 (1910): 164.
[352] Edward Said, "Blind Imperial Arrogance," Los Angeles times, July 20, 2003, https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-2003-jul-20-oe-said20-story.html/.
[353] Maya Akkaraju, "UC Berkeley unnames Barrows Hall, LeConte Hall," The Daily Californian, November 18, 2020, https://www.dailycal.org/2020/11/18/uc-berkeley-unnames-barrows-hall-leconte-hall/. As of this moment, proposals are still pending for alternative names. Along with Barrows Hall, LeConte and Boalt Hall have been unnamed, but proclamations such as the very weird "To rescue for human society the native values of rural life" on Morgan Hall remain.
[354] Personal communication via mass email to the entire UC Berkeley student email list on November 18, 2020.

progressive liberalism, with its implied theories of social change and imaginations of possible futures. In the chapter "Algorithmic Eugenics, Professionalized Expertise, and the Bell Curve of Racial Capitalism" I discuss how the progressive reformist tinkering with prisons and policing codified eugenic notions of professionalized training and expertise. I argue that this model of empirically-measured "criminality" systematized eugenic models of social productivity as the counterpoint to deviance, framing accommodationist reform as the only alternative to open violence, and narrowing abolition out of the imaginary of possible futures. In the chapter "Democratic Eugenics, the Commons, and Speculation Settler Futures" I discuss how the push towards democratizing land and education for public use was a mode of settler colonial accumulation, and how the logics behind the eugenics movement were intended to work not only on people but on land. I argue that the conceptual dichotomy between the egalitarian public and exploitative, corporatist private obscures the violence within this notion of democratic access, and forestalls possibilities of decolonization. In this final data chapter, I again address these false dichotomies of liberal progressivism, the myth that educational development is somehow counterpoint to imperialism, and how the reforms and interventions are saturated with eugenic frameworks. In this chapter, through the thought and writings of David Barrows and his work in the Philippines and with international education, I explicitly address an aspect of the eugenics movement also woven through these other chapters: the overlap of race and productivity.

The eugenics movement, although often surviving in the popular memory only as antiquated racism, was always about both race *and* productivity; the 'betterment of society through the betterment of the race' was a mode of selection on racial criteria that was never separate from the idea that some races were superior because they were more productive/intelligent. It was an intellectual and social movement about both empirically justifying hierarchies of "fitness" and developing schemes of measurement, discipline, and containment to reproduce labor relations as well as a racial social order. Similarly, there is a rich, well-trodden history of critical education scholarship discussing how schools perform a reproductive class function for the capitalist order[355] while also reproducing racial hierarchies.[356] Often, these conversations come together through critiques relying on an analytic of political economy, in order to discuss how the disciplining and reproduction of the social order is both about race and labor.[357] However, in the advocacy

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[355] Notable works include Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis, *Schooling in Capitalist America* (New York, NY: Basic Books, 1976); Paul Willis, *Learning to Labor: How working class kids get working class jobs* (London: Saxon House, 1977); and many others.

[356] The field of Critical Race Theory centrally engages this question. Notable works providing an orientation to this field include Adrienne D. Dixson, Celia K. Rousseau Anderson, and Jamel K. Donnor, eds., *Critical Race Theory in Education: All God's Children Got a Song* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2016); Derrick A. Bell "Who's afraid of critical race theory." *University of Illinois* (1995); Kimberlé W. Crenshaw, Neil Gotanda, Gary Peller, and Kendall Thomas, eds., *Critical Race Theory: The Key Writings That Formed the Movement* (New York, NY: New Press, 1995).

[357] Notable works include Jean Anyon, *Ghetto schooling: A political economy of urban educational reform* (New York, NY: Teachers College Press, 1997) and Pauline Lipman, *The new political economy of urban education: Neoliberalism, race, and the right to the city* (New York, NY: Taylor & Francis, 2011).

and critique of education reforms, there are few analyses that address the resonance of educational reforms with eugenic justifications and frameworks.

Arguing that colonial education in the Philippines was a racist eugenic project is not a particularly hard sell. Barrows and his contemporaries were explicit about their scientific interest in racial typing, and how it shaped their understanding and organization of the emergent system of U.S.-led colonial schooling. The complex and contested history of the Philippines, however, is not the focus of this chapter and, quite frankly, is outside the scope of what I can or should speak to. Rather, this chapter addresses the logic of U.S. institutions, particularly that of schooling, what its architects imagine and attempt, and how these technologies produce and reproduce relations of racial capitalism. The usefulness of Barrows's writings is in showing a clear case study of how the project of producing and reproducing racial hierarchies cannot be separated from the project of producing and reproducing capitalist labor relations. The international project of eugenics is also useful in showing how, although there are of course geographically- and nationally-specific particularities, this (always at least partially failed) attempt to universalize Western models of racialization and labor relations was global.

In this chapter, I discuss these questions through the case study of the thought and writings of David P. Barrows. Barrows's work is useful in illuminating how the eugenic frameworks of race and productivity form the basis of schooling at different scales, from the colonial schooling imposed as a component of U.S. occupation of the Philippines, to the framing of higher education as training the managers and beneficiaries of international trade. I begin the discussion in this chapter, after briefly introducing David Barrows and the historical context in which he was writing, by addressing how U.S. imperialists, leaning on the old colonizing trope of "civilization" and "progress," positioned Western imperialism, with schools as a central part of this assemblage, as a precondition for entry into the "modernity" imagined as blossoming in the Progressive Era. Although race and labor are always inflected with one another, for clarity's sake I spend the first part of the chapter focusing more on the racializing aspect of these eugenics logics, and the second half complicating this discussion with how this racialization naturalized certain relationships to labor and management.

In the first part of the chapter, which more centrally discusses the racial logics of eugenics, I begin by addressing how this logic positioned resistance as contrary to the eugenic notion of "betterment," and social interventions, as well as direct colonial control, in peoples' best interest. I continue by describing where the Pacific fit in the international eugenics movement, and how the racializing components of this project positioned some people as educable and containing civilizational "potential" that should not be wasted, and others as predetermined for inevitable disappearance as the world progresses into the eugenically-enabled modernity. I then discuss in more detail the particulars of colonial education in the Philippines, how the ideal teacher--initially white Americans and then the "brightest" of Filipino students--naturalized those who were perceived to excel at eugenic criteria as suited to be educators. I build on this discussion by analyzing how this determined who would manage and study the eugenic data on

which the school system justified itself, and who *became* the data that formed the raw material of this ideological system.

In the second part of the chapter I bring in the discussion of how these racial logics were intended to naturalize certain relationships to labor and production, both within the Philippines and internationally. I begin by disentangling some of the assumptions built into Barrows's curriculum about some students being naturally suited for certain types of work which situated them in an extractive relationship with respect to the United States, international corporations, and local capitalists. I briefly explore how this logic of work and tutelage resonates with another classic colonial trope of mapping child development onto civilizational development. I analyze how this system was intended to inculcate capitalist relationships to ownership and productivity as an imagined equivalence of independence and freedom. I continue by discussing how this education system was intended to prepare managers of labor for the benefit of international trade, both internally within the Philippines and with the tailoring of international elites as the visionaries and designers of these trade relations. In the conclusion, I explore the implications of this for how we understand education and its overrepresentation as a vehicle of social change, and raise some questions about what this means for the possibilities of international cross-border working class solidarities in opposition to this system.

Throughout this chapter, I use this discussion of race *and* productivity through the lens of the historically-specific moment of the eugenics movement in the Progressive Era to help us get to the material base underneath the "beliefs and biases" that Chancellor Christ found to be so objectionable and politically incorrect. I use this moment to raise questions about the persistent structures that do not remain bounded to the turn of the century, to help us be more specific in our critiques of the reproductive function of schooling systems, and how even though explicitly racist rhetoric has dropped out of polite liberal discourse, the eugenic drive towards a racially-inflected model of capitalist productivity remains salient and formative.

Situating David Prescott Barrows and his context

This chapter is, again, not about the history and complexity of the Philippine-American War and the era of U.S. direct occupation. It is also not necessarily about David P. Barrows. Barrows was only one of a wide cast of characters muddling around in the U.S.'s attempts at direct colonial ambitions at the turn of the century, and there are certainly overlaps to the ideologies and institutional interventions of contemporaries like Bernard Moses, Dean Worcester, and so on. Rather, this chapter is about how the entanglement of the eugenics frameworks of racial capitalism shapes institutions and their goals, and naturalizes relationships of hierarchy--for the U.S. but also, as we learn from the international nature of the eugenics movement, intended to inculcate a universalized notion of humanity world-wide. There are, however, things that are helpful to know about Barrows and the context in which he was writing, in order to situate the generalizable insights we can glean from this work.

The beginning of U.S. occupation of the Philippines, after the defeat of the Spanish fleet in Manila Bay in 1898, was in many senses a cooptation of many decades of rising Filipino nationalism and opposition to the Spanish regime, and hopes that the U.S. intervention could be used as a lever for national independence.[358] However, when the United States remained as an occupying force, the insurgency continued. As the New York Times reflected, this was seen by domestic audiences as base ingratitude, and resistance to the occupation as an "insane attack…upon their liberators…we meet these people now not as pupils at school but as armed rebels" who must be "made to…recognize our authority and obey."[359] The subsequent pacification of the Philippines was brutal, involving "exterminationist racism"[360] as a tactic along with extensive torture (including what was known as the "water cure"[361]), massacres, and other strategies gleaned from the Indian Wars on the continent (of which many of the players in the Philippines were veterans and "[h]ardened by their time on the frontier, they claimed to 'understand the ways of wild people'"[362]). As the U.S. repression brought the Philippine Revolution to a temporary end, while cementing the entry of the United States into the world's major colonial powers, the regime shifted to a Filipino-American power-sharing under the Philippine Commission that involved an "inclusionary racial formation that brought metaphors of family, evolution, and tutelary assimilation."[363] Using tutelage as a "shorthand for uplift" became the defining metaphor and "cast the colonial state in its entirety as a school…[which] sublimated the wartime hatred that had often justified violence in the name of 'teaching.'"[364]

The continued occupation of the Philippines was contentious back in the continental U.S. On one hand, in the context of newly instituted laws on the continent limiting immigration, a certain colonial inclusion suggested a "virtually unlimited source of labor for plantations in Hawaii and California,"[365] an "American modification of the 'white man's burden'…[in which] America should play a leading role in reforming the world, and they saw nothing wrong with America benefiting economically from that

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[358] Paul A. Kramer, *The Blood of Government: Race, Empire, the United States, and the Philippines* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2006).
[359] Ibid., 111.
[360] Ibid., 161.
[361] Alfred W. McCoy, *Policing America's Empire: the United States, the Philippines, and the Rise of the Surveillance State* (Madison, WS: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2009); Brian McAllister Linn, "The Impact of the Philippine Wars (1898-1913) on the U.S. Army," in *Colonial Crucible: Empire in the Making of the Modern American State*, ed. Alfred W. McCoy and Francisco A. Scarano (Madison, WS: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2009), 460-474; Paul A. Kramer, *The Blood of Government: Race, Empire, the United States, and the Philippines* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2006).
[362] Jeremy Kuzmarov, *Modernizing Repression: Police Training and Nation Building in the American Century*. (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2012), 25.
[363] Paul A. Kramer, *The Blood of Government: Race, Empire, the United States, and the Philippines* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 161.
[364] Ibid., 201.
[365] Gray A. Brechin, *Imperial San Francisco: urban power, earthly ruin* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2006), 138; see also Paul A. Kramer, "Race, Empire, and Transnational History," in *Colonial Crucible: Empire in the Making of the Modern American State*, ed. Alfred W. McCoy and Francisco A. Scarano (Madison, WS: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2009), 199-209.

process."[366] On the other hand, however, the Philippines was an unsettling racial addition to the U.S. polity that many anti-imperialists, progressives, and eugenicists critiqued for various reasons. For example, David Starr Jordan, discussed in the last chapter, was a vehement antiwar and anti-imperialist activist, considering involvement in the Philippines to be an expensive, counterproductive quagmire, and military interventions to be racially dysgenic, because the efficiency of modern killing technology causes the death of the fit instead of the unfit. Additionally, thinkers such as Jordan were skeptical of the transference of the institutions of "civilization" to the racially inferior, believing that "[o]ur nation cannot expand where freedom cannot go. Neither the people nor the institutions of the United States can ever occupy the Philippines…There is no room for free laborers, no welcome for them, and no pay. The sole opening for Americans in any event will be as corporations or agents of corporations, as Government officials or as members of some profession requiring higher than native fitness."[367] The controversial part of occupation was the cost of direct military or bureaucratic control, and the accompanying anxieties about incorporating the workforce or perceived races of the Philippines into the citizenry of the U.S., but on the positioning of the Philippines as fertile ground for resource and labor extraction there was bipartisan consensus across the mainstream political spectrum.

David P. Barrows entered this milieu as both an anthropologist and a military man. Barrows had always wanted to be a soldier,[368] and he moved through a variety of military and military-adjacent roles internationally and domestically throughout his career, from serving as a major of a cavalry unit and an intelligence officer in the Philippines during the First World War, to leading the assault against striking workers in San Francisco during the 1934 Maritime Strike, to, when he was not eligible for active service during the Second World War, serving as consultant to the Secretary of War and the Office of Strategic Services. It was his academic background, however, and especially his experience studying Indigenous peoples in California, that seemed to "fit him ideally for colonial duties."[369] He obtained his degree in anthropology from the University of Chicago by attempting to study and catalogue Native peoples of California in order to predict their extinction.[370] Governor Taft appointed Barrows superintendent of Manila

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[366] Gerald E. Markowitz, "Progressivism and Imperialism: A Return to First Principles." *The Historian* 37, no. 2 (1975): 259.

[367] David Starr Jordan, *Imperial Democracy: A Study of the Relation of Government by the People, Equality before the Law, and other Tenets of Democracy, to the Demands of a Vigorous Foreign Policy and other Demands of Imperial Dominion* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1901), 97.

[368] Gray A. Brechin, *Imperial San Francisco: urban power, earthly ruin* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2006), 301.

[369] Ibid., 300.

[370] Barrows framed his dissertation as a study of the botany and remarkable triumphs people made despite being "men of a low, barbarous inheritance." He prematurely and incorrectly eulogized his anthropological targets as "the Indian himself will soon be gone….[as] there is no evidence of active life or of a population holding its own." David Prescott Barrows, *The ethno-botany of the Coahuilla Indians of Southern California*. Doctoral Dissertation, University of Chicago (1900), 82.
For further contemporary information a quick internet search produces contact information for tribal leadership of a number of bands Barrows attempted to study, as well as current projects by the Augustine

schools in 1900, followed by his appointment as the inaugural head of the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes for the Philippine Islands, an affiliate of the U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs. His primary objective as head of the Bureau was the "investigation of the little known pagan and Mohammedan tribes of the Archipelago, the conduct of systematic work in the anthropology of the Philippines and the recommendation of legislation in behalf of these uncivilized peoples…[and] the practical duties also entrusted to it of investigating the material condition of these wild peoples."[371] For this project of both academic inquiry and governance, he first turned to his experience back in the continental United States through a tour of the North American reservations, schools, and academies to assess the feasibility of exporting continental policies of tribal management[372]; his conclusion was that "we will not find in the policy of the Government in treating with Indians a model which can be generally followed in handling the wild tribes of the Philippines."[373] Instead, Barrows brought his background in cultural anthropology to bear on developing a system of typology and control better suited to the colonial context of U.S.-occupied Philippines.

Following his time in the Philippines, Barrows returned to the University of California to teach in the Department of Education in 1910. Owing to the guidance of his eugenicist mentor and friend Bernard Moses, avid believer in Anglo-Saxon guidance of the "non-mechanical" races,[374] Barrows rose quickly through academic ranks, becoming dean of the graduate school and eventually assuming leadership of the university as president in 1919. Following the Panama-Pacific International Exposition in San Francisco in 1915, in which Barrows participated, university administrators and regents were increasingly concerned with the role of the university as leader in preparing the country to dominate the new horizons of trade and economic supremacy. West Coast universities were keenly interested in positioning themselves as leaders over the Pacific, and a speech given at Barrows's inauguration articulated a vision of the "University of California, destined by its location at the gateway into the United States from the Far East to be the chief interpreter of the Orient to the American nation…beginning another epoch in the history of this institution…the opening of a new vista on the development of mankind."[375] At a moment of rising labor unrest, exclusionary nationalism, racist anti-worker violence, and immigration restrictions, the university was interested in positioning itself as the

band in developing sustainable energy and organic farming and information about multiple powwows held annually.

[371] David Prescott Barrows, *The Bureau of Non-christian Tribes for the Philippine Islands: Circular of Information, Instructions for Volunteer Field Workers* (Manila: The Museum of Ethnology, Natural History and Commerce, 1901), 14.

[372] Paul A. Kramer, *The Blood of Government: Race, Empire, the United States, and the Philippines* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 214.

[373] Ibid, citing a letter from Barrows to Dean Worcester.

[374] Gray A. Brechin, *Imperial San Francisco: urban power, earthly ruin* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2006), 294.

[375] Paul Samuel Reinsch, "The Responsibilities of Educational Institutions for the Future American Policy in the Pacific." Speech given at the inauguration of David Prescott Barrows as president of the University of California, Berkeley, March 21, 1920. Bancroft Library Archives.

rational, sensible moderate path "against Bolshevist lunacy, and red-handed anarchy"[376] so that "[n]ever so long as time shall last must the voice of 'I.W.W.'ism,' preaching or teaching destruction of this government, the best, the freest, and the favored of God of any on earth, be heard within the walls of this house of learning, this sanctuary of love and veneration for America."[377] As a counterpoint to efforts such as that of Denis Kearney and the Workingmen's Party of California to mobilize white worker power through racist nationalism,[378] the university framed itself through a nascent logic of global education that discussed the cultural and economic benefits of international students through the justification of managing international labor for U.S. benefit. The framing of Barrows's tenure as university president connects an analysis of an international system through his time shaping exploitative labor in the Philippines, and shaping of managers of this labor back in the United States, inflected throughout with eugenic logics of race and productivity.

In the following section I discuss the story that the U.S. tried to tell itself about racial and civilizational uplift in the Philippines and the tutelary role of colonial control. I first sketch the classically racist notions of progress on which the U.S. based its self-perception as an exceptionally beneficent imperial power, necessary so that eugenic potential is not wasted through allowing people to languish in their pre-modern condition. I then connect this conversation to the systemic nature of study, how the system was designed in order to perpetuate itself pedagogically, epistemologically, and structurally, situating who would be targeted as the raw material of social data, and who would collect and make meaning out of that data.

Colonial mythmaking and western education as constitutive of "modernity"

On a fundamental level, before even the framing of U.S. colonialism as benefit through industrial, racial, and educative "development," Barrows understood the involvement of Western imperialists as the precondition for the Philippines to even be legible as actors in modernity. His view of the Philippines was always through the lens of European history and models of progress and "development." His book on the history of the Philippines, intended as a textbook for students on the islands, narrated the origin point of history as when the "expansion and progress of the European race early brought it into contact with the Filipino people, and the historical life of the Philippines dates from this meeting of the two races. Thus the history of the Philippines has become a part of the history of nations."[379] His framing of European superiority was situated in the idea

[376] Professor Charles Mills Gayley, speech given at the inauguration banquet of David P. Barrows as the president of UC Berkeley, March 22, 1920, Bancroft Library Archives.
[377] Governor William Dennison Stephens, President of the Regents, address given at the inauguration banquet of David P. Barrows as the president of UC Berkeley, March 22, 1920, Bancroft Library Archives.
[378] Dennis Kearney, "Workingmen's Address," Indianapolis Times, February 28, 1878, retrieved from https://shec.ashp.cuny.edu/items/show/1255
[379] David Prescott Barrows, *A History of the Philippines* (New York, NY: American Book Company, 1905), 14. Barrows's full opinion was that "there are great races which have no history, for they have left no records. Either the people could not write, or their writings have been destroyed, or they told nothing about the life of the people. The history of these races began only with the coming of a historical, or more advanced race

of an "era of modern discovery and progress" in which Europe began to develop "greater intelligence, learning, and independence…[as] education became more common, and the universities of Europe were thronged…[with] a fresh zest for the good of this world, a new passion for discovery."[380] This framed racial and civilizational superiority along the lines of education (overlapped with ideas of intelligence and independence), and situated the Philippines within this doctrine-of-discovery milieu as the grateful learner and recipient of these superior systems and civilizations. Barrows understood the U.S., then, as inheriting this imperial history of "progress" and purifying it from the greed and corruption of its predecessors. As a "humanitarian imperialist,"[381] Barrows viewed the incursions of the United States into the Philippines not as driven by "lust of empire, cupidity, or the intoxication of military success"[382] but rather as motivated by pure benevolence and altruistic intentions towards their fortuitous acquisition. His narration of the origin of U.S. control of the islands removed any trace of intention or strategy, spinning the tale as fortunate happenstance that the "possession of the Philippines came suddenly and unexpectedly to the American people. A succession of events which were not anticipated, but which could not properly be avoided…[in which the] dominant motive quite clearly was to protect the islands."[383] This was why Barrows believed that "the Philippines occupy a position most fortunate among the peoples of the Far East,"[384] and that where there was resistance to U.S. control it derived from ignorance of this fortunate position. U.S. control was framed along classically paternalistic lines, imagined as convincing a truculent population of its good intentions and "laboring to show to the Filipino people that nothing will benefit them as much as an unconditional adoption of American civilization."[385] In this way, the mythology differentiated colonial control categorically, and the categorical differences between how Barrows perceived U.S. custodianship and other models of imperialism formed the basis of his logic of American exceptionalism, as developed and demonstrated through its approach to education.

Barrows was a firm believer in U.S. exceptionalism, particularly as it applied to Progressive Era colonial ambitions. He posited that the "sovereignty of the United States has been…unique in the history of colonial administration"[386] and that "Americans in the Philippines had preferred more liberal policies than those sanctioned by colonial

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among them. Thus, the history of the black, or negro, race begins only with the exploration of Africa by the white race, and the history of the American Indians, except perhaps of those of Peru and Mexico, begins only with the white man's conquest of America. The white, or European, race is, above all others, the great historical race; but the yellow race, represented by the Chinese, has also a historical life and development, beginning many centuries before the birth of Christ." Ibid., 12-13.

[380] Ibid., 49, 51, 60.

[381] Kenton J. Clymer, "Humanitarian imperialism: David Prescott Barrows and the white man's burden in the Philippines," *Pacific Historical Review* 45, no. 4 (1976): 495-517.

[382] David Prescott Barrows, *A decade of American government in the Philippines, 1903-1913* (Yonkers-on-Hudson, New York: World book company, 1914), viii.

[383] Ibid., vii-viii.

[384] David Prescott Barrows, *A History of the Philippines* (New York, NY: American Book Company, 1905), 15.

[385] David Prescott Barrows, *A decade of American government in the Philippines, 1903-1913* (Yonkers-on-Hudson, New York: World book company, 1914), 29, citing Dr. Pardo concerning the Federal Party.

[386] David Prescott Barrows, *A History of the Philippines* (New York, NY: American Book Company, 1905), 315.

experience elsewhere."[387] This exceptionalism hinged on U.S. control differentiating itself from previous, more "authoritarian," greedy, and regressive colonial administrations, notably the Spanish. Although he acknowledged that the Spanish did not operate wholly from acquisitiveness and demonstrated humanitarianism in the moments when "[w]ith zeal and success she sought the conversion of the heathen natives,"[388] he primarily discussed the regimes for purposes of juxtaposition through their attitude towards schooling. Americans were supposedly "as anxious to destroy ignorance and poverty as the Spanish government and the Spanish church were desirous of preserving these deeply unfortunate conditions" and this commitment to uplift was a commitment to intervening in the "intelligence and education of the people."[389] This contrast provided a rhetorical transition point between the old and outdated missionary models of colonialism, and the more progressive and modern American style, particularly as demonstrated through the "attitude toward schools and the intellectual development of the natives that actually determines the character of a colonial policy at the present day."[390]

Schools as central to "modernity"

The development of schools was central to the construct of benevolent American exceptionalism, as the only policies that "had any hope of success…were found in the plan to which the American instinctively turned--native education."[391] As Barrows put it, the "public school system has been at the basis of the effort and exemplifies the idealism of the American plan."[392] This idealism was central to the myth of exceptionalism, and of an exceptionally benevolent, tutelary empire wherein "American claims of contributing to the world's experience in the governance of empire lie in the personal and political liberty guaranteed to the Filipinos and in the success of popular education."[393] These schools were "the most distinctively American institution which has been transplanted to Philippine soil."[394] The institution had to be transplanted, and could not be home-grown, because it required the seeds of American leadership. The myth of scholastic and civic benevolence was central to this modern colonialism, and Barrows insisted that the "work accomplished in all these regions for the civilization and well being of the natives is one of the most interesting and commendable features of American government in the

[387] David Prescott Barrows, *A decade of American government in the Philippines, 1903-1913* (Yonkers-on-Hudson, New York: World book company, 1914), 37.
[388] David Prescott Barrows, *A History of the Philippines* (New York, NY: American Book Company, 1905), 113.
[389] Ibid., 314.
[390] David P. Barrows, "What May be Expected from Philippine Education," *Journal of Race Development* 1, no. 2 (1910): 160.
[391] Ibid., 159.
[392] David Prescott Barrows, *A decade of American government in the Philippines, 1903-1913* (Yonkers-on-Hudson, New York: World book company, 1914), 60.
[393] Ibid., 59-60.
[394] David P. Barrows, "Education and Social Progress in the Philippines," in *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* (1907): 73.

islands."[395] His view was that the system developed not through coercion, but through models of civilizing benefit, as "[e]ducation has succeeded in the Philippines because of its strength as a moral force."[396] The notion of a moral and civilizing role of education was paired with an insistence on developing private property and relationships to ownership and civic responsibility. The main aim of the schools was "to destroy caciquismo[397] and to replace the dependent class with a body of independent peasantry, owning their own homes, able to read and write, and thereby gain access to independent sources of information, able to perform simple calculations, keep their own accounts and consequently to rise out of their condition of indebtedness, and inspired if possible with a new spirit of self respect, a new consciousness of personal dignity and civil rights."[398] This transformation was narrated as intended entirely for Filipino benefit in terms of both independent ownership and collective social change, in that the Americans "hope directly to increase the industrial efficiency of the people and to raise the standard of living generally."[399] The old trope of colonial schooling as benevolence and uplift from superior civilizations became a rhetorical marker of how the "exceptional" American regime was imagining the shift from the old to new world order through the Progressive Era and its developmental model of extraction and accumulation.

What this justifies

The perceived benefit and need for schooling justified the imposition of it, even the direct military interventions. Barrows traces this genesis of the school system under the U.S. colonial regime to the moment of conquest, as the "feeling for schools was shown strikingly in the attitude of the army even while engaged in the work of subjugation. Schools were reopened in every part of the archipelago and their work cared for with intelligence and solicitude by military men…[who] manifested their belief in a policy of native conciliation by the warmest support and advocacy of education."[400] That the original purpose of these incursions was pacification and conquest did not strike Barrows as a contradiction; he mused that if "there can be a real understanding of the genius and purpose of our American institutions, there will come increasing content and satisfaction to dwell under American law. Thus, education was early encouraged by the American army."[401] Barrows insisted on freedom as the purpose of U.S. intervention--freedom from ignorance, backwardness, disease, and authoritarian colonial rule. Political independence,

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[395] David Prescott Barrows, *A decade of American government in the Philippines, 1903-1913* (Yonkers-on-Hudson, New York: World book company, 1914), 54.
[396] David P. Barrows, "What May be Expected from Philippine Education," *Journal of Race Development* 1, no. 2 (1910): 166.
[397] "Caciquismo" was the term for the Spanish mode of colonial rule, which Barrows saw as more authoritarian and oppressive than the American mode.
[398] Ibid., 73.
[399] Ibid., 79.
[400] David P. Barrows, "What May be Expected from Philippine Education," *Journal of Race Development* 1, no. 2 (1910): 159-160.
[401] David Prescott Barrows, *A History of the Philippines* (New York, NY: American Book Company, 1905), 314-315.

eventually, was a tentative part of this constellation, but Barrows insisted that it simply couldn't happen yet because people had not yet been sufficiently educated in the ways that would be necessary for independence. Direct intervention was necessary because people could not be trusted to make ideal choices for themselves or their society, and needed to have supposedly beneficial interventions from U.S. experts around sanitation, learning, and creating sound governance.

When there was resistance to this "superior" imposed form of governance, Barrows framed the resistance along terroristic lines that wouldn't be unfamiliar to contemporary students of the propaganda of the state, in that in some unfortunate cases of misguided insurrection or resistance, the "population was prevented from submission by a policy of terrorism."[402] This narrative is intended to render resistance as not only irrational but also harmful, and counter to well-intended colonial uplift. As the colonial logic puts it, "[a]lthough these measures were all for their good, many people naturally did not like to be obliged to do them; and naturally also, the people did not learn to do these things for themselves."[403] The logical conclusion of the paternalistic uplift narrative was that people in the Philippines were not yet sufficiently educated for autonomy. Barrows theorized that, although Filipinos "believe themselves already sufficiently numerous, compact, and disciplined to begin independent life as a nation" that there are too many "difficulties and…dangers from [independence's] too early realization. Having accepted American responsibility for the Archipelago, it has guarded the final supremacy of American authority."[404] The idea that independence had to be deferred pending development was a racial as well as institutional logic, both intertwined. The final sentence of Barrows's history book, intended for high school students in the Philippines, enjoins that "for the Filipinos, patriotic duty means a full acceptance of government as it has now been established, as better than what has preceded, and perhaps superior to what he himself would have chosen and could have devised…and use faithfully every opportunity for the development of his own character and the betterment of the race."[405] Barrows firmly believed in the moral imperative and responsibility of U.S. custodianship and education pending uplift, and his view was that this uplift must still be constantly deferred.

Eugenic schooling, homogeneity, and differentiation in global models of race

Western colonists and anthropologists saw the slotting of Indigenous people in the Pacific into Western racial distinctions as the "'last major piece of this most important

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[402] David Prescott Barrows, *A decade of American government in the Philippines, 1903-1913* (Yonkers-on-Hudson, New York: World book company, 1914), xi-xii.
[403] O.S. Reimold, *Industrial studies and exercises*, (Yonkers-on-Hudson, N.Y.: World Book Co., 1911), 130. Reimold notes that this section was written in consultation with David P. Barrows, who writes the introduction to the book.
[404] David Prescott Barrows, *A decade of American government in the Philippines, 1903-1913* (Yonkers-on-Hudson, New York: World book company, 1914), 62.
[405] David Prescott Barrows, *A History of the Philippines* (New York, NY: American Book Company, 1905), 320.

philosophical and scientific jigsaw' –namely, human variety and theories of race."[406] This was very much a global project, in that these descriptions of race in the Pacific, and the typing of the people and geography of what would become imagined as Polynesia, Micronesia, Melanesia, and Oceania, "were understood as information that would illuminate not only knowledge about the Pacific but also the constitution of humanity itself."[407] This was, as Maile Arvin notes following Denise da Silva, a use of "'Man' to denote not simply an apolitical notion of humans as a global collective, but the Western, scientific concept of humanity which is often presented as universal, yet actually remains tied to biological, racial, and cultural hierarchies that privilege European/white men."[408] In the context of the Pacific, starkly evident in the white plantation owner takeover of Hawai'i and U.S. colonization of the Philippines, Guam, and others in the Progressive Era, this academic project directly "shores up white, colonial claims to lands and resources."[409] It was also a driver of what would become the more organized international eugenics movement. This moment at the turn of the century when Barrows was planning curriculum and gathering racial data in the Philippines was the moment of the ideology and politics of eugenics coalescing into an international disciplinary field. The perceived division between the scientific and the political was always a bit fuzzier in the eugenics movement than it was in some of the other academic disciplines that were emerging around this time. The studies of this decade, including those of Barrows in the Philippines as well as those in the Experimental Evolution Research in Cold Spring Harbor, New York, the eugenic research laboratory founded in 1904, formed the legitimating empirical basis for those in the eugenics movement of a more directly politically interventionist bent. Throughout and directly after Barrows's time in the Philippines, the global eugenics movement was organizing itself, with the founding of groups such as the International Society for Race Hygiene in 1907, and by the First International Congress of Eugenics in 1912 the global eugenics movement had really begun to coalesce.[410] The data and analysis gathered by people like Barrows was key to this growing field and movement, and the analysis of the Pacific was crucial as the last analytic piece in the puzzle to sort and categorize the world into this global typological system.

The vast and, to the Western eye of many men like Barrows, confusing and unintelligible array of peoples, languages, cultures, and places of the Pacific was very much seen as a problem of analysis and of governance. The issue and source of anxiety was that the perceived differences between the continental United States and their new territorial acquisition meant that the models and structures that had congealed in the mainland didn't quite translate to the Philippines, both in terms of racial formation and

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[406] Maile Arvin, Possessing Polynesians: the science of settler colonial whiteness in Hawai'i and Oceania (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2019), 37.
[407] Ibid.
[408] Ibid, 45.
[409] Ibid, 5.
[410] Edwin Black, *War Against the Weak: Eugenics and America's Campaign to Create a Master Race* (New York, NY: Four Walls Eight Windows, 2003); see also Stefan Kühl, *For the Betterment of the Race: The Rise and Fall of the International Movement for Eugenics and Racial Hygiene*, translated by Lawrence Schofer (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).

techniques of settlement and containment. These anxieties are most clear through Barrow's worries about the measurement and pacification of the "pagan and Mohammedan tribes of the Philippines…[because] they form not a single homogenous race as is the case with the Indians of the United States, but an unknown number of tribes and peoples…[and] the country inhabited by these tribes is largely unknown…not only unmapped and unexplored but have hardly been penetrated by white men."[411] The point of this is not (only) Barrows's laughable misidentification of the many peoples and tribes of the United States as a "single homogenous race"; the point is that they understood this diversity to be a serious difficulty for which the clarifying empirical analysis of eugenics and the guidance of education were the solution.

Intervening in this confusing milieu, the schools were intended to manage and homogenize in order to govern and control. The establishment of an educational system was viewed as the "the most effective solution of social problems" in that "the fundamental aim of the school system is to effect a social transformation of the people…all subjected to a long period of identical administrative and civilizing influences, so that the culture and social conditions of the people are nearly everywhere virtually the same."[412] Through this process, the intent was simultaneously a project of technocratic interference along with civilizational uplift and homogenization. It was an attempt to establish a closed ideological system wherein the base criteria for having succeeded at effecting these social transformations subscribes to homogenous criteria of what counties as civilized progress and development, and who of the educable can be "improved." The system is one of sorting and differentiation, but the criteria through which people are differentiated is the eugenic baseline of racial betterment and capitalist productivity.

"Educability" and disappearance

A basic mode of this differentiation was filtering who was excluded from and who was targeted by this system of schooling. It was also critical that the targeting of the 'educable' for schooling was framed as an uninterrogated positive benefit for those subjected to it. For Barrows and others, the idea of educability hinged on the racialized fault lines of the "Christian" versus "non-Christian" tribes, the former of whom were painted as more civilized and proximal to whiteness because of Spanish contact, and therefore the target of the school system, and the latter of whom were dysselected along lines that often reflected the specific ideological constructs of anti-Blackness as they manifested in the eugenics movement, and designated as the object of study of the Bureau for which Barrows was the head. This perception of differences along the lines of educability determined who was included within the developing school system, who was targeted for participation in voting, and who was to be incarcerated, subjected to forced labor, contained, or exterminated.

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[411]David Prescott Barrows, *The Bureau of Non-christian Tribes for the Philippine Islands: Circular of Information, Instructions for Volunteer Field Workers* (Manila: The Museum of Ethnology, Natural History and Commerce, 1901), 3.
[412] Ibid., 69-70

In his theorizations, Barrows followed the eugenic common sense that was emerging about how to situate the Philippines in a world system and internally differentiate along the lines of proximity to whiteness, which in this case was determined by people who were "Christianized" from relationship to the previous colonial regime of the Spanish and legible through U.S. logics of settlement as having a more settler-esque relationship to land. Barrows's writings on the Philippines consistently demonstrate how anti-Black and anti-Indigenous logics were central to creation of the Polynesian.[413] His clearest distinction in his theorizations of Filipino racial types drew a dichotomy between these Christianized Malay and the "negritos." He imagined the latter as the lowest racial type in the Philippines, whom he termed "complete savages"[414] "whose ignorance and credulity are almost unbelievable"[415] and argued as connected with the "'Negrillos' or dwarf blacks of Africa,"[416] and "a scattered survivor of the pygmy negro race,"[417] on a path to extinction not dissimilar to the imagined disappearance of Native Americans he bemoaned in his dissertation. This settler logic of inevitable disappearance constituted a fundamental contrast between these groups and those who would be cultivated through Barrows's schooling system. He set up the dichotomy as that these scattered survivors are "rapidly becoming fewer, and it seems certain that they must sometime entirely disappear. But this is not true of the Malay. If the Malay people would learn to live healthful lives….they would in another century become very numerous and powerful."[418] For Barrows, the ideal racial future required the cultivation of the Malays, who he saw as better suited to the progressive modern future he was projecting, in that they "settled the coasts and plains of the Archipelago and proving their greater capacity for civilization were readily Christianized by the Spaniards."[419] This potential for development sat in the already internally pre-sorted and pre-differentiated superior types, which was why Barrows's "aim almost from the first, was to reach the entire Christian population with a complete system of primary and industrial schools."[420] Those who were targeted by or excluded from this system were fundamentally predetermined by eugenic criteria.

Hygiene, "betterment," and wasting eugenic potential

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[413] Maile Arvin, Possessing Polynesians: the science of settler colonial whiteness in Hawai'i and Oceania (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2019), 39.

[414] David Prescott Barrows, *The Bureau of Non-christian Tribes for the Philippine Islands: Circular of Information, Instructions for Volunteer Field Workers* (Manila: The Museum of Ethnology, Natural History and Commerce, 1901), 4.

[415] David P. Barrows, "The Negrito and Allied Types in the Philippines," *American Anthropologist* 12 (1910): 71.

[416] David Prescott Barrows, *The Bureau of Non-christian Tribes for the Philippine Islands: Circular of Information, Instructions for Volunteer Field Workers* (Manila: The Museum of Ethnology, Natural History and Commerce, 1901), 4-5.

[417] David P. Barrows, "The Negrito and Allied Types in the Philippines," *American Anthropologist* 12 (1910): 362.

[418] David P. Barrows, "Introduction," in *Sanitation and hygiene for the tropics*, by John Woodside Ritchie and Margaret Anna Purcell (Yonkers-on-Hudson, N.Y.: World Book Co., 1911), vii-x.

[419] Ibid., 6.

[420] David P. Barrows, "What May be Expected from Philippine Education," *Journal of Race Development* 1, no. 2 (1910): 162.

The logic of this schooling was that the "distinctive achievement of the American administration in the Philippines is in the social and spiritual transformation of the Filipinos themselves: the pains taken to make better men."[421] This classic eugenic framing dovetailed with the rhetoric familiar to many education reformers of "wasted potential." The core logic of the eugenics movement was that the potential of "betterment" did not inhere in everyone, and that the highest purpose of social reformers and technicians was filtering whose hereditary material should be prevented or encouraged from continuing to the next generation, and who had the material to be worth educating and improving. In the context of the developing system under U.S. colonial control, the necessity for this education was framed as Filipino potential for improvement. Barrows mused that the "brain weight of Filipinos" is high, and "compares quite favorably with European nations" but that they are falling short of this potential through unhygienic and uncivilized lifestyles. He often framed this particularly along the education for health and sanitation, as crises such as the cholera epidemic that accompanied the U.S. invasion "takes the strength from the body, but it weakens the mind as well; it prevents mental and moral progress….All this makes us believe that the Filipinos can never do as much brain work and achieve as good results as the students of other peoples, unless they are freed from disease."[422]

This rhetoric of health was a directly useful strategy for justifying colonial uplift and organizational processes; the Philippines was an epicenter of the development of germ theories, "civic bacteriology," and biomedical citizenship as a means of population management. Colonial hygiene functioned as a "framework for constituting racial capacities and colonial bodies" and a "liberal strategy of deferral" until germ-free, fully educated and civilized Filipino citizens could be produced.[423] In many ways, this echoes the "misnaming" that Hortense Spillers discusses in the next generation of social reformers and progressives who would come after Barrows, in a misnamed construction of ideas of health and normalcy, and their flipside of abjection and pathology. It is a medicalized inheritance of the old idea of "*prescribed* degradation," that the dysselected "had no understanding of good, but only knew how to live in bestial sloth,"[424] an earlier iteration of the "culture of poverty" and its attendant call to reformer action that would emerge decades later. The degradation is the conjoined twin of the wasted potential, the lost opportunities for development and uplift, and the eugenically-based incentive structure of wistful if only "the Malay people would learn to live healthful lives…" Both the deferral and the necessity for intervention are baked into this framework, saturated from the outset with the preconditions of eugenic educability, and the impossibility of a

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[421] David Prescott Barrows, *A decade of American government in the Philippines, 1903-1913* (Yonkers-on-Hudson, New York: World book company, 1914), 59-60.
[422] David P. Barrows, "Introduction," in *Sanitation and hygiene for the tropics*, by John Woodside Ritchie and Margaret Anna Purcell (Yonkers-on-Hudson, N.Y.: World Book Co., 1911), vii-x.
[423] Warwick Anderson, *Colonial pathologies: American tropical medicine, race, and hygiene in the Philippines* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006), 2-4.
[424] Hortense J. Spillers, "Mama's baby, papa's maybe: An American grammar book," *diacritics* 17, no. 2 (1987): 66, 71, discussing De Azurara.

legible criteria for health, improvement, betterment, and modernity outside of this closed ideological system of what counts as "betterment" or "success"--notably excelling at white supremacist criteria of racial superiority and capitalist models of production.

Eugenic measures, the ideal teacher, and claims to optimizing lives of others

The U.S. iteration of colonial education in the Philippines was initiated by a small army of white volunteer teachers brought in from the United States, many from California and other parts of the supposed "West." Here, this reflects "civilizedness" as more than just "the West"; it denotes a "precise stage in human racial evolution…civilization as if it were itself a racial trait."[425] This "California spirit"[426] was directly translatable to the imagined necessity of the new colonial frontier of the Pacific, as Barrows believed that this "body of pioneers…exemplified a certain spirit to a degree that perhaps no other community has expressed –the spirit of the American frontier…[with] certain qualities which must be highly developed if a frontier settlement is to succeed, – the qualities of courage, honesty, generosity, and self-reliance."[427] The ideal educator was not only pioneering, but also imagined as uniquely qualified because of university training and a spirit of altruistic benevolence. Barrows synthesized this complete altruism with the superior training and racial superiority of "gifted[428]"ness:

> These teachers come from the best homes of America, and for the most part have the best university preparation. They come from all parts of the country, but a very large proportion is from the west…..the great majority worked hard and unselfishly for the purpose in view, and time has gradually sifted and shaped this force until it represents a body for the most part of splendid material, wise, high-spirited, trained and gifted, who know the Philippine Islands and the Filipino people as no other body of white people will' ever know them again, who understand their work more intelligently and more thoroughly, and love it better, than it is frequently given to men and women to attain…They have brought that better understanding between the races…[and] have shown us how one race may guide and strengthen another without self-interest or the employment of any but the noblest means.[429]

These ideal white Western teachers had all of the components of racial superiority, the hereditary advantage of the "best homes," and the ability to guide other races unselfishly and without self-interest along the prescribed path to civilization. In many ways the role

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[425] Gail Bederman, *Manliness and civilization: A cultural history of gender and race in the United States, 1880-1917* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 25.
[426] David P. Barrows, *Government in California* (Yonkers-on-Hudson, N.Y.: World Book Company, 1925), v-vi.
[427] Ibid., v.
[428] I consider the persistence of the "gifted and talented" logic that persists in IB, AP, Honors, and other tracked programs (thinking of the studies on tracking of scholars like Jeannie Oakes) to be a fundamentally eugenic framework.
[429] David P. Barrows, "Education and Social Progress in the Philippines," in *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* (1907): 81-82.

of these teachers and the logic of their educative work served as a certain rhetorical parallel to the presence of the United States in the Philippines in the first place: legitimate because operating off a framework of benevolence and civilizational uplift, but also because Americans were somehow educated, superior, and in the possession of useful technical knowledge intended only for social betterment.

Once established by the white teachers, this system was intended to be self-replicating, through the transference of this superior education to the "gifted" and "brightest" among the students who were seen as most eugenically fit through excelling at the criteria for success set by the American system. The idea was that once the basis had been established, the "most advanced pupils of the American teachers were employed as primary teachers under close supervision and hundreds of schools opened in rural barrios…and a force of 8000 Filipino teachers trained."[430] At the beginning, an "American teacher was…to organize these schools and get them going, [then] to select from his own classes the brightest and most available young people, set them at work as primary teachers."[431] Then, even if the Philippines were to become independent or "abandoned to other hands" the process of eugenic improvement could be sustained through education because "the barrios schools may close and our children scatter, but these thousands of Filipino teachers, both young men and women, in whom the development of character has kept pace with the progress of their enlightenment will be an influence, which, under all circumstances, will abide."[432]

Throughout this effusive rhetoric of altruism, betterment, enlightenment, and character development through education, the true issue at stake is not knowledge but power through a claim to expertise over what is best for others. Tania Li thoroughly explored how this dynamic appeared in the spectrum of attempts to improve landscapes and lives in Indonesia, from the direct Dutch colonialism to the "empowering," bottom-up initiatives of the World Bank. She discusses how the central, normative position of the "expert" relies on the technique of "rendering technical," a strategy resonant with my discussion in previous chapters of the professionalization of policing, and inflected with eurocentric assumptions of rationality and objectivity in which "questions that are rendered technical are simultaneously rendered nonpolitical."[433] She discusses how this process acts on people, in this case students, to "enhance their capacity for action, and to direct it," operating as a "claim to expertise in optimizing the lives of others [which] is a claim to power."[434] It is the teachers, legitimate because eugenically superior or having excelled in systems designed by these superior guides, who function "as experts who knew the optimal forms that empowerment should take."[435] This is a necessary caution

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[430] David Prescott Barrows, *A decade of American government in the Philippines, 1903-1913* (Yonkers-on-Hudson, New York: World book company, 1914), 60.
[431] David P. Barrows, "Education and Social Progress in the Philippines," in *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* (1907): 76.
[432] Ibid., 78.
[433] Tania Li, The Will to Improve: Governmentality, Development, and the Practice of Politics (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007), 7.
[434] Ibid., 5.
[435] Ibid., 267.

even for critical pedagogues, as even participatory, Freirian approaches do not step outside of the power claims in determining optimal strategies for guiding the aspirations and capacities for action of students.

Violences of becoming data

This claim to expertise extended beyond the realm of the educative into the empiricism of data gathering and study for purposes ranging from more straightforwardly eugenic study to military intelligence. This data was intended to perpetuate not only the ideology of eugenic empiricism through the sorting of people themselves, but also measures of the political, economic, and geographic landscape. The purpose of this measurement and data gathering was to ensure the continuance of U.S. colonial control, in the short term, and, as will be discussed in the subsequent section, the perpetuation of Western dominance in the international capitalist market in the long term.

In a blunt eugenic form, Barrows directed his volunteer teachers from the United States not only to educate, but to operate as amateur anthropologists. The lines drawn over whom was the most important data for these teachers to gather fell along the same eugenic lines discussed previously in this chapter of who was excluded from or targeted by the school system as educable or non-educable. The data that Barrows directed his volunteers to gather began with a quick training in amateur eugenic study of physical "types" as they map on to intellectual capacity. He encouraged them to "[a]ccustom yourself to notice physical features so as to gradually form in your own mind a correct description of the prevalent type" including skin tone and eye color and "character of hair, whether fine, coarse, straight, wavy, wooly, or growing in little spiral kinks peculiar to the negro," and suggests taking a variety of head measurements and nasal indexes to determine type because "all the white races and peoples are leptorhinian, the yellow or Asiatic, including the American Indians, mesorhinian, and the black race, Australian, Melanesian, and African, platyrhinian…and notice if the different types occupy any different social position, or appear to differ in intelligence."[436] In this ideological system, the perceived intelligence differentiation and educability determined who constituted the most interesting data types. Barrows was most intensely interested in those who are "unaffected by the higher culture of the surrounding peoples, a pure forest-dwelling savage"[437] and considered this "enumeration or classification…[of] the non-Christian or pagan peoples of the islands…[as] the really great achievement of geographical discovery to which many men in different professions have contributed and in which several talented and splendid workers have sacrificed their lives."[438] Although Barrows and his contemporaries imagined these supposed classifications of peoples as unaffected by

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[436] David Prescott Barrows, *The Bureau of Non-christian Tribes for the Philippine Islands: Circular of Information, Instructions for Volunteer Field Workers* (Manila: The Museum of Ethnology, Natural History and Commerce, 1901), 9-12.

[437] David P. Barrows, "The Negrito and Allied Types in the Philippines," *American Anthropologist* 12 (1910): 362.

[438] David P. Barrows, "Book Review: The Philippines Past and Present, by Dean C. Worcester," *American Journal of Sociology* 20, no. 2 (1914): 267.

civilization or uneducable, they were the greatest academic contribution to this ideological system, and served to justify the entire apparatus. This data would then be turned into academic studies by Barrows's anthropologists, on topics such as "Miscegnation[sic]," "Racial Pathology," "Racial Psychology," and "Criminal Anthropology."[439] The pathologization and criminalization[440] of this data-based ideological system is the necessary foil to the model of educability and wasted potential, filtered on eugenic lines.

The richest source of data for these studies was the captive population of the prisons such as the model settler prison colony of Iwahig and the largest prison of Bilibid, where many of the "insurrectos" had been sent. These prisons were "showcased to the world as a bastion of American benevolence and the success of the civilizing mission,"[441] for the U.S. regime to tout its exceptionality and superiority to the repressive Spanish regime. This benevolent exceptionality rested largely on rhetoric around their educative function and structures of industrial schooling, an exploitative dynamic which will be discussed more thoroughly in the following section addressing labor. In addition to these purposes of labor extraction, the prisons were important as a captive source for extracting and accumulating important and interesting data, and classificatory racial logics were reinforced by the transformation of the prison into an "anthropological laboratory." Anthropological studies included photography to compare racial types, studies in the new field of "tropical medicine," and compilations of "Philippine Types" supposedly representing different ethnolinguistic groups as being at different stages of progress in the slow march towards civilization.[442] Studies conducted at Bilibid also followed the eugenic tradition of Cesare Lombroso, a famous criminologist and proponent of inherited criminality that could be determined by physical characteristics, and contributed to the consolidation of notions of eugenic criminality into a disciplinary field, discussed further in previous chapters of this dissertation. Beyond the international implications of data from the Philippines used to bolster international theories of hereditary pathology and criminality, the immediate toll of these studies could also be high; for instance, an infamous cholera experiment conducted by Richard Pearson Strong in Bilibid in 1906 led to the deaths of 13 of the 24 inmates used in the experiment.[443] These studies also appeared in exhibitions such as the St. Louis Exposition in 1904, which also had a "Model Schoolhouse" with the performance of different model classes for Christian and non-

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[439] David Prescott Barrows, *The Bureau of Non-christian Tribes for the Philippine Islands: Circular of Information, Instructions for Volunteer Field Workers* (Manila: The Museum of Ethnology, Natural History and Commerce, 1901), 8.

[440] These specific eugenic logics of criminalization are discussed more thoroughly in the second chapter of this dissertation through the work of August Vollmer (who, after all, had been a marine in the Philippines before his return to Berkeley, and many of his views on criminality, law, and order were influenced by his time in combat).

[441] Aaron Abel T. Mallari, "The Bilibid Prison as an American Colonial Project in the Philippines," *Philippine Sociological Review* 60 (2012):186-187.

[442] Paul A. Kramer, *The Blood of Government: Race, Empire, the United States, and the Philippines* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2006).

[443] Eli Chemin, "Richard Pearson Strong and the iatrogenic plague disaster in Bilibid Prison, Manila, 1906." *Reviews of infectious diseases* 11, no. 6 (1989): 996-1004.

Christian villages,[444] and were intended to justify the continued U.S. military presence in the Philippines along the lines of contributions both to humanitarian uplift and to science.

The context and broader processes in which this data gathering was embedded is instructive in understanding how this empirical accumulation was not only intended to perpetuate these oppressive and extractive systems, but also enabled by them. The volunteer teachers were able to engage in their studies because of the military incursions into areas of the Philippines and were not only enabled by the military incursion, but were also intended to produce data to further facilitate pacification and extraction. In addition to the "data of a scientific nature" on nose types and categorizations of "leptorhinian" and so on, the volunteer teachers were directed to seek insights on the "practical condition of different tribes" such as "Are they warlike and troublesome? If so, how can they best be controlled?" The explicit military intelligence was overlapped consistently with economic goals, sometimes more openly extractive and sometimes more couched in the rhetoric of mutuality and benefit, as the teachers were also directed to seek information on "Is the country they occupy likely to attract settlers or prospectors?...Would it be a practical advantage to open trails or roads through the territory?...Could American trade with mutual profit be developed among them?"[445]

These examples demonstrate how the educational system of the Philippines was both ideologically and materially enabled by eugenic presuppositions and violent colonial infrastructure, and also produced the data and military intelligence in order to justify and enable their continuance. After all, as Vine Deloria reminds us, "[t]he fundamental thesis of the anthropologist is that people are objects for observation, people are then considered objects for experimentation, for manipulation, and for eventual extinction"--in this sense, the outcome of both the data and intervention is predetermined, and the anthropologists already knows what they are going to find and for what purpose the data will be used.[446] This is the "industry of the 'exterior other'...called "anthropology" later on"[447] and the parameters of exteriority and exchange value of the industry set the system up in order to reproduce itself. Barrows and his contemporaries entered into the data gathering having set the criteria that preconfigure the outcome. This empirical accumulation as essential for understanding of humanity is in line with Maile Arvin's discussion of the construction of "Polynesians" as the missing piece in the global taxonomy of racial hierarchies. Additionally, it is an important example in line with Arvin's analytic choice to examine more thoroughly the element of *possession* over

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[444] Paul A. Kramer, *The Blood of Government: Race, Empire, the United States, and the Philippines* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 260.
[445] David Prescott Barrows, *The Bureau of Non-christian Tribes for the Philippine Islands: Circular of Information, Instructions for Volunteer Field Workers* (Manila: The Museum of Ethnology, Natural History and Commerce, 1901), 14.
[446] Vine Deloria Jr., *Custer Died for Your Sins: An Indian Manifesto* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1969), 81.
[447] Hortense J. Spillers, "Mama's baby, papa's maybe: An American grammar book," *diacritics* 17, no. 2 (1987): 69.

extinction in settler colonialism in the Pacific, as a way to emphasize how these processes of elimination and replacement are continuously deferred.[448]

The next section will explore this element of possession, and how the eugenic framework of this system was about both race and productivity, intended to entrench frameworks not only of racial hierarchy but also international trade and labor extraction. I begin by showing how the logic of certain types of work being hereditarily suited to certain categories of people naturalized extractive labor relationships as being best for everyone involved. I connect this naturalization to the U.S. imagination of itself as the adult in the colonial family, infantilizing the targets of these educational interventions and fixing capitalist models of property and ownership as the necessary "upbringing" in order for the Filipino populace to attain the necessary preconditions for an independent adulthood. I connect this discussion across the ocean to the conversations in California about the relationships to the Pacific and international trade, and how they intended to situate the leaders and visionaries of these trade relations as those who had been trained through a "civilized" higher education system.

Naturalizing aptitude and racializing labor, accumulation, and extraction

A central logic of Barrows's approach towards colonial education was the idea of a certain natural, hereditary aptitude that the students held towards particular types of work, which bled into the entire region as "naturally" suited for a certain role in the international labor market. This naturalization fused the logics of race with the logics of productivity as a proxy for "civilized"ness, and was reflected not only in the framing of schooling itself but also in the form of the curriculum. Barrows's racial typology imagined a type of orientalist Filipino exceptionalism, in that the "Filipinos have two fine gifts. First, the quickness of their hands; perhaps no other people in the world learn so easily to use their hands and fingers cleverly. Second, the artistic sense; they love beautiful things."[449] The idea was that the "Filipino is a natural craftsman, has an artistic sense and true eye and hand and delicate touch; the use of the tool is to him a pleasure and an art."[450] This logic carried over beyond the schools to the forced labor of people incarcerated in the prisons, who were compelled to build roads and other infrastructure because they were "found to have a higher capacity for labor" than other workers.[451] Framing certain types of work and positions of labor along the lines of natural tendency dovetailed with the idea that following peoples' natural talents would be in their best interests, economically and otherwise. Barrows wrote that "industrial work in primary schools consists in instruction in the many beautiful native arts and industries which thus

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[448] Maile Arvin, Possessing Polynesians: the science of settler colonial whiteness in Hawai'i and Oceania (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2019), 16.
[449] David P. Barrows, "Introduction," in *Industrial studies and exercises*, ed. O. S. Reimold (Yonkers-on-Hudson, N.Y.: World Book Co., 1911), iii.
[450] David P. Barrows, "Education and Social Progress in the Philippines," in *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* (1907): 79.
[451] Paul A. Kramer, *The Blood of Government: Race, Empire, the United States, and the Philippines* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 316.

become household employments and contribute to the income of families."[452] This was the core of the logic of economic development as uplift.

The process of naturalizing types of work was a central component of the colonial curriculum, and this situated not only individual students/workers but also the Philippines writ large for the "natural" position in global capitalism as it was shifting at the turn of the century. In order to advance from grade III to grade IV the students were directed to write "a little essay" describing "some useful, salable article…telling about the materials from which it is made, its manufacture, its use, and its worth."[453] The reading practice examples included material orienting the Philippines specifically as an exporter to the West, with sample passages such as "Much abacá is sent to America and Europe. Philippine abacá is the best in the world,"[454] "Many sabutan hats might be sold in America and Europe,"[455] and "When the sugar is dry, it is put into sacks. Large boats take the sugar to the United States."[456] Colonial educators were explicit about the economic relationship of production and export that these students should be trained for, such as in this specific example of hat production:

> Only recently a New York importer wanted to buy a quantity of buntal hats, but he did not know with whom in the Philippines to correspond. American importers order their hats in May and June for the following year. If there could be organized in each province a system which would provide that the pupils should devote their vacation months to hat weaving, a large supply of hats could be ready for export in May…In fact, it is a very desirable hat for America…and one that will find a ready sale in the United States, provided it can be made cheap enough.[457]

Not only are students specifically positioned as the laborers producing items desirable for the U.S. market, even in their non-school "vacation" time, the explicit point that these should be products made cheaply and sold primarily for the benefit of American importers and not the students doing the labor, is clear. Barrows wrote to a business friend in 1902 discussing the amount of money that was being made by U.S. contractors profiting as middlemen between the colonial state, labor recruiters, and local enterprises, particularly profiting off of government contracts.[458] This was the rhetorical and curricular framework intended to naturalize extraction of resources and surplus value from the targets of the education system, with the extraction obscured under the idea

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[452] David Prescott Barrows, *A decade of American government in the Philippines, 1903-1913* (Yonkers-on-Hudson, New York: World book company, 1914), 61.
[453] David P. Barrows, "Introduction," in *Industrial studies and exercises*, ed. O. S. Reimold (Yonkers-on-Hudson, N.Y.: World Book Co., 1911), iv.
[454] O.S. Reimold, *Industrial studies and exercises*, (Yonkers-on-Hudson, N.Y.: World Book Co., 1911), 6. Reimold notes that this material was written in consultation with David P. Barrows, who also writes the introduction.
[455] Ibid., 74.
[456] Ibid., 90.
[457] Ibid., 206-209.
[458] Paul A. Kramer, *The Blood of Government: Race, Empire, the United States, and the Philippines* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 167.

that because the "tool is to him a pleasure and an art" that this is the correct order of things that is best for everyone involved.

Naturalizing tutelage; Paternalistic tutelage; uplift and upbringing

The naturalization of certain people as hereditarily suited for a certain type of work also incorporated the classical colonial dynamic of the family, and the necessity for the more "adult" races to educate the more "childlike" ones. The idea of "childlike" races and the journey from immaturity to adult as paralleling the dynamic of white "civilization" helping to raise other less developed peoples was a classic trope of colonial education. This idea of the evolutionary family "projected onto the imperial nation and colonial bureaucracies…came to figure *hierarchy within unity* as an organic element of historical progress, and thus became indispensable for legitimizing exclusion and hierarchy within nonfamilial social forms such as nationalism, liberal individualism and imperialism."[459] The U.S. occupation of the Philippines certainly fell into this logic, casting the colonial state as "family" and "Filipinos on the whole as children" who were "'educable,' reinforcing the colonial state as 'school.'"[460] The "adult" values that needed to be inculcated included morality, labor and industry techniques, as well as models of ownership: "Educators find also that industrial work has large moral values to the child. First, it teaches children to love and respect accuracy, thoroughness, and honest workmanship…Akin to this moral value in industrial training is the training of the child in the sense, enjoyment, rights, and duties of ownership. Filipino children particularly need to learn this lesson."[461] This paternalistic/maternalistic[462] logic switched out the existing structures with the American schooling imports as the most legitimate way to pass along intergenerational knowledge. Although Barrows acknowledges that the techniques for creating these products are already culturally known, and enjoins that in "getting a modern education, the Filipino boy and girl should not forget or slight the many excellent things done well by their parents and grandparents,"[463] this element of pater-/maternalistic uplift is why ancestral knowledge cannot be trusted as a teacher, and instead requires the management of an American-designed school system.

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[459] Anne McClintock, *Imperial leather: Race, gender, and sexuality in the colonial contest* (Routledge, 2013), 45.

[460] Paul A. Kramer, *The Blood of Government: Race, Empire, the United States, and the Philippines* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 199.

[461] O.S. Reimold, *Industrial studies and exercises*, (Yonkers-on-Hudson, N.Y.: World Book Co., 1911), 117. Reimold notes that this material was written in consultation with David P. Barrows, who also writes the introduction.

[462]There were of course important gender differences of colonial education that I do not have the space to explore in this chapter in a way to do them justice. Margaret Jacobs's work *white mother to a dark race* is a useful theoretical framing to understand what the colonial educators in the Philippines discussed as girls in the schooling system successfully "fitting themselves for domestic duties, and for accomplishing a better private and public hygiene." O.S. Reimold, *Industrial studies and exercises*, (Yonkers-on-Hudson, N.Y.: World Book Co., 1911), 118. Reimold notes that this material was written in consultation with David P. Barrows, who also writes the introduction.

[463] David P. Barrows, "Introduction," in *Industrial studies and exercises*, ed. O. S. Reimold (Yonkers-on-Hudson, N.Y.: World Book Co., 1911), iii.

The appropriate tutelary figure hinged on the idea that some were more intelligent than others, another mode through which eugenic logics of hereditary capacity and "progress" fused with ideas of productive capacity. Of course "intelligence" became measured as success at the frameworks set up as legitimate and legible by the school system and its attendant labor relations. This fused logic is that "a first-class workman is not made by industry alone; he must have trained intelligence"[464] and the superior American educational model was the only means to train this industry-specific model of intelligence. Consistent with the imagination of races as falling along the timeline from childhood to adult, the colonial education system in the Philippines narrated a progression of humankind as that "[t]hrough many centuries of his life upon the earth, much of man's progress has come through the skill and training of the hands. Not only has the brain devised the tool, but the use and handling of the tool have developed the brain, and had much to do with its growth in size, complexity, and power" leading to the superiority of the civilized races who "unlike our ancestors" do not need to do individualized manual labor (as do the Filipino students), but still should "keep in touch, particularly during the period of growth — childhood and youth — with those tools and handicrafts on which so much of progress rests."[465] The implication in this entire theoretical construction is that people who are, on a population-wide scale, still at the "childhood and youth…period of growth" have this natural aptitude towards tool usage and handicrafts, but that those who have incorporated and moved beyond this can show those less advanced how to direct and intelligently apply these capacities. The danger in this tutelary relationship, in the colonial mind, was that it might encourage students to aspire to brain work above their ability level, in a way that would not be beneficial to them as individuals and a nation. The worry about unintended consequences of the educative relationship was that "[t]he Filipino is naturally clever with tools, and is inclined to prize highly expertness in their use, but one effect of his introduction to European civilization had been to make him look upon hard, manual work with disdain." Fortunately, however, the initial danger of students who "viewed industrial work with some distrust…has almost entirely passed away….Opposition melted too with the installation of school shops with their modern machines. Filipinos realize that in these shops lies the hope of making themselves a competent industrial people and a self-supporting nation."[466] This was seen as ideal, developing industrial skills along with enough "intelligence" to realize the sensible necessity of the colonial relationship of exploitation and hierarchy.

Naturalizing capitalist property relations

This framework made being intelligent and civilized, and racially superior or improving, synonymous with very specific types of capitalist relations of property and

[464] O.S. Reimold, *Industrial studies and exercises*, (Yonkers-on-Hudson, N.Y.: World Book Co., 1911), 119. Reimold notes that this material was written in consultation with David P. Barrows, who also writes the introduction.
[465] Ibid., 116.
[466] Ibid., 114.

ownership. The schools were intended to teach students "how people have come to own things and how he may, too, and how important to him the sacrifice and effort of acquisition are. He learns in this way to respect the property of others…[and] to teach forms of handwork that bring to the pupils a money return."[467] This was intended to "encourage money saving and thrift among those too poor to avail themselves of ordinary banking facilities"[468] and a U.S. flavor of individualism in which a "feeling of independence and self-confidence develops when the child learns that he can make for himself the things he needs."[469] This echoed the very American ideology of private ownership as a model of freedom. It also framed the exact types of resource production that Barrows discussed as suited for export to the U.S. as beneficial for the laborers because otherwise they would be pathologically idle, and perhaps prone to insurrection. The idea was that "schools should encourage, in every way, the practice of "household industries" because if people have too much time "between harvest time and plowing…Idleness frequently leads them to do foolish and harmful things; sometimes they actually suffer want for lack of employment. To such people, household industries are most important."[470] The necessity for keeping people occupied was not only because it was necessary to forestall revolutionary impulses, and not only because it was advantageous to keep laborers productive so that their surplus value could be extracted by local and international capitalists, but also because for "such people" it was imagined as harmful for them to be idle.

This was another example of how the U.S. ideology of meritocratic, individualized social advancement through productivity and "independence and self confidence"--as well as good behavior--was intended to manufacture consent from a docile, hardworking population for the acquisition of wealth by large corporations and industrial capitalists. This project of inculcating private ownership was to educate:

> the population in the belief that it will make the future countryman a better farmer than his father has been, more anxious to own his farm, better able to learn and appreciate improved methods of farming and to husband his resources, to adopt a better standard of life, to build a better and more durable house than the nipa structure in which the great mass of the people live, to calculate the value of his crop when he has harvested it and to secure a fair price for it where he now is defrauded, to compute his liabilities: and so gradually get out of the condition of bonded indebtedness in which to-day, as we have seen, the mass of the population is sunken.[471]

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[467] Ibid., 117-8.
[468] David Prescott Barrows, *A decade of American government in the Philippines, 1903-1913* (Yonkers-on-Hudson, New York: World book company, 1914), 28.
[469] O.S. Reimold, *Industrial studies and exercises*, (Yonkers-on-Hudson, N.Y.: World Book Co., 1911), 125. Reimold notes that this material was written in consultation with David P. Barrows, who also writes the introduction.
[470] David P. Barrows, "Introduction," in *Industrial studies and exercises*, ed. O. S. Reimold (Yonkers-on-Hudson, N.Y.: World Book Co., 1911), iv.
[471] David P. Barrows, "Education and Social Progress in the Philippines," in *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* (1907): 77.

This framing both assumes that preexisting relationships to land and relationships to ownership are inferior and that whatever Barrows thinks is a more "durable" house is superior, and also assumes that if "[m]ost Filipino people are poor; they have almost no possessions; [it is because] they have not quite learned the lesson that only the man who owns a home, land, and property for the use of himself and his family is really independent and free."[472] In this construction, independence and freedom were couched in conformity to the labor relations and cultural norms of the colonial system, including civility. Good behavior was calculated by productive and monetarily valued work, with the success of the schooling programs touted as that boys graduating from trade schools have "good manners…quiet and yet resourceful bearing…[and] high moral character" and this tractability is "the real money value of school industrial work."[473] For those who fall short, fail, or otherwise opt out of these idealized, well-behaved capitalist relations of property, exchange, and ownership, this echoes the logic that would appear in the next generation of social reformers in the United States like Moynihan, individualizing responsibility for a supposed "culture of poverty" and "indebtedness" and obscuring the exploitative and extractive relations. It is a logic that individualizes poverty and indebtedness as a failure both of hereditary capacity and lack of education, situating modes of relationship to land and inheritance prior to the U.S. intervention as backwards and pre-civilized, and obscuring systemic critique and contestation. It is, in a tendency of educational reform that persists in contemporary form, individualized "solutions" to exploitative dynamics structured by school systems that are supposed to save people from relations of extraction they set up in the first place.

Managing labor, leading nations

A major justification for the school system was preparing Filipino leaders for independence, educating a class of managers to eventually take over from the direct governance of the United States. As discussed previously in the contextual framing of Barrows's time in the Philippines, as the quagmire of colonial war continued, and the population remained stubbornly insurgent, continued involvement became a contentious point domestically. Barrows, who was firmly convinced that the Philippines was not yet ready for independence and it would be only detrimental for their civilization and progress, justified the continued funding of the school system on the supposed humanitarian grounds that people were not yet developed enough for self-government. In opposing "premature" independence, he aligned himself consistently with the likes of the American-Philippine Company, a major lobbying organization that opposed independence and served as "a revolving door between the colonial state and private enterprise."[474] Barrows framed the necessity for continued involvement as the classic

[472] O.S. Reimold, *Industrial studies and exercises*, (Yonkers-on-Hudson, N.Y.: World Book Co., 1911), 117. Reimold notes that this material was written in consultation with David P. Barrows, who also writes the introduction.
[473] Ibid., 118.
[474] Paul A. Kramer, *The Blood of Government: Race, Empire, the United States, and the Philippines* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 358.

civilizational uplift, with included these economic relations as for the Philippines' own good, as the "American nation will not intrust the Philippines with independence until they have immeasurably gained in political experience and social self-control…Independence, while it may fascinate the popular leader, may not be most advantageous for this people. Independence, under present tendencies of international trade, means economic isolation"[475] and would also leave them open to attack from other countries without the benevolent protection of American altruistic development. Barrows opined that for those who answer "emphatically 'No!'" to the question of "Is Philippine Independence Now Possible?" are those who have "the well-being of the Filipinos at heart."[476] Barrows consistently proclaimed his position as in the best interest of the colony, given that he did not yet have "optimism and confidence in the Filipinos as constitution-makers and builders themselves of a new state."[477] More deliberate, educative work was required in order to build "accord between this dependent people and their political masters."[478] Although it was consistent with the mythology of the United States as spreading democracy and freedom that this dependent people would *eventually* be uplifted enough to become their own political masters, in the interim he thought that they needed schools, and a schooling system that could persist through different iterations of control.

Even though Barrows did not see independence as currently possible, he touted the increasing reproducibility of the schools, because they had trained their own teachers and leaders, as a success. A large part of this was the emergence of a middle class as middle managers of the poor. He saw the education system as already succeeding because the class that "already controls education through the teachers who in large part are from middle class families…is gaining control of the civil service through the system of competitive examinations…[and] are filled by the class of young people educated in public schools since the American occupation."[479] In this way, schooling was a way of differentiating along class lines, "the professional man and woman…changed by the young force pressing upward from the poor and unlettered masses through the public schools."[480] This emergence of leaders who were understood as not oppressing the laboring classes but rather managing and directing them through technocratic governance was another means by which Barrows differentiated Spanish and American rule. He theorized that the poor were, under the U.S. colonial regime, "no longer completely subservient, as they were ten years ago, to a dominant proprietary class which exploited them."[481] Barrows talked about how the training of young men in schools "will mean the final passing of the standards of political conduct inherited from the Spanish regime…It will mean the actual extension to the soil of Malaysia, of the principles of American government and civil liberty…the greatest task before the American educator in

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[475] David Prescott Barrows, *A History of the Philippines* (New York, NY: American Book Company, 1905), 318.
[476] David P. Barrows, "Book Review: The Philippines Past and Present, by Dean C. Worcester," *American Journal of Sociology* 20, no. 2 (1914): 268.
[477] David P. Barrows, "Book Review: The Philippines, a study in national development, by Joseph Ralston Hayden," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 22, no. 4 (1942): 681.
[478] David P. Barrows, "What May be Expected from Philippine Education," *Journal of Race Development* 1, no. 2 (1910): 157.
[479] Ibid., 162.
[480] Ibid., 163.
[481] Ibid., 162-163.

the Philippines is the training of Filipinos for leadership.[482] A key component of this leadership was subservience to the American vision, these potential leaders framed as "ambitious young Filipinos disposed to enter public life and willing to cooperate with the American authorities for the advance of the country."[483] These cooperating leaders, went the theory, would be those who emerged through the schools. This was a means by which the eugenic logics of civilized superiority fused with the logics of "intelligence" as proven and/or inculcated through schooling; as he put it, "[c]ivilized mankind has always been controlled and directed by his scholarly class."[484] I have already discussed throughout this chapter how the framing of what constitutes "civilized mankind" is saturated with the eugenic logics of racial development, as well as capitalist productivity. The interesting component of this rhetorical framework is how the "scholarly class" becomes a superior subset of the "civilized," suited for leadership and driving the visions of labor through the proving ground of the schools and, at their highest level, the universities.

Envisioning white futures

So, who then is this "scholarly class" and what is the vision of the world towards which they are supposed to "control and direct" the laboring classes? Intellectual work as a central component of colonial assemblages is not a new phenomenon; throughout imperialist study the "almost insuperable contradiction between a political actuality based on force, and a scientific and humane desire to understand the Other" is laundered through the abstractions of academia so as to "deliver the interpretation directly into a universalism free from attachment, inhibition, and interest,"[485] a useful smoke and mirrors that directly supports colonial control. In this, the speeches and accolades around the inauguration of David Barrows as president of University of California, Berkeley show what was to become the central logic of the U.S. university moving into the twentieth century: what was then framed as great cultures adding to *our* civilization is now framed as diversity and inclusion, but both are intended to enshrine and entrench white futures.

At the same time as the U.S. was engaging in colonial war that ran the spectrum from direct military intervention to more dispersed structures of surveillance and control, schools such as the University of California, Berkeley were bringing in international students from the very countries that were being targeted for immigration restriction and other labor-related violence, often to the displeasure of racist local landlords, leading to a need to create their own international student housing.[486] In this milieu, the university positioned itself rhetorically as opposed to this close-minded xenophobia and nationalism. Incorporation of foreign students was a central part of this rhetorical

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[482] Ibid., 164.
[483] David Prescott Barrows, *A decade of American government in the Philippines, 1903-1913* (Yonkers-on-Hudson, New York: World book company, 1914), 32.
[484] David P. Barrows, "What May be Expected from Philippine Education," *Journal of Race Development* 1, no. 2 (1910): 164-165.
[485] Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York, NY: Knopf, 1993), 56.
[486] John Aubrey Douglass, "Cosmopolitan Berkeley and the Concept of Cultural Diversity in an American University." *California Journal of Politics and Policy* 8, no. 2 (2016), 8.

construct and seen as enriching, in that this "world of great peoples whose political and social future might add much to our civilization."[487] This was supposed to make the university an ideological functionary of the benevolence of the state, with the idea that the "university represents the concentrated, intellectual force of the state…this means the dominance of the mind in all parts of the affairs of the commonwealth."[488] It was explicitly accumulative, structuring this incorporation as additive in a way that would not destabilize the U.S. nation or white supremacy which was imagined as become more holistic with "foreign" incorporation into the national and intellectual bodies, as an "understanding of Oriental civilization which is necessary to make our national experience complete and to let every important element of human experience enter into our own."[489] It was a brand of global cosmopolitanism that was an attempt to retrench U.S. supremacy by pretending to "rise above the narrow limits of a restricted provincialism, or even of an unrestricted and intemperate nationalism."[490] This is what set up the managing, controlling, and directing of the "scholarly class" as the juxtaposition to authoritarianism that still maintained the same relations of power. The regents, faculty, and other powerful university visionaries who spoke at Barrows's inauguration set up this false dichotomy explicitly, discussing the two possible conceptual futures of universities "as roads to power and privilege, to be fought over, to be reddened with human blood, or shall they be the highways of friendship and mutual aid in sharing all the blessings of a complete human civilization."[491] The implication in this is that the latter, these "highways of friendship" are not violent or shot through with contestations of power and privilege.

This logic of cultural accumulation is about two tiers of benefit: the cultural element as additive to white Americans and their intellectual training, and the development of relations of trade and commerce in which foreign elites may participate as useful middlemen who can certainly make their own economic and political careers off of this, but in which the deck is really stacked for American trade supremacy. Following the Panama-Pacific International Exhibition in 1915, in which the guide described the Philippines as "all but untouched resources and opportunities"[492] university administrators and others became increasingly obsessed with how in "working out the Pacific problem our universities are doing their part…to make it a more prominent part of

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[487] David P. Barrows, "Preface," in *Power and Politics: The Price of Security in the Atomic Age,* by Hanson W. Baldwin, Claremont, CA, Claremont College (1950): x.
[488] Paul Samuel Reinsch, speech given at the inauguration banquet of David P. Barrows as the president of UC Berkeley, March 21, 1920, Bancroft Library Archives.
[489] Paul Samuel Reinsch, "The Responsibilities of Educational Institutions for the Future American Policy in the Pacific," address given at the inauguration banquet of David P. Barrows as the president of UC Berkeley, March 21, 1920, Bancroft Library Archives.
[490] Edwin R. A. Seligman, speech given at the inauguration reception of David P. Barrows as the president of UC Berkeley, March 22, 1920, Bancroft Library Archives.
[491] Paul Samuel Reinsch, "The Responsibilities of Educational Institutions for the Future American Policy in the Pacific," address given at the inauguration banquet of David P. Barrows as the president of UC Berkeley, March 21, 1920, Bancroft Library Archives.
[492] "Official Guide of the Panama-Pacific International Exposition," San Francisco, CA, The Wahlgreen Company (1915): 95, accessed from the Marin County Free Library Archives.

their curriculum that young men be prepared for foreign trade, and…may help the business men of this country in solving the problems of the Pacific."[493] This is the foundational precursor of the "educational gold rush" of the race to become the global university.[494] In order to frame itself as a leader of the next century, the U.S. university was trying to position itself as a global university driving the vision of the world, and specifically the development of trade. As Barrows said directly in an address at his inauguration: "We teach… hundreds of students who come from all these surrounding countries ….in order that they may serve the relations between these people, but primarily that they may serve trade. …They are right here, growing up, young, susceptible men, desirous of your friendship, desirous of forming those attachments that will be relatively profitable to you and to them."[495] This was a fundamental component of the development of the global university as a driver of the modern era, as the "relation of the universities to the problem is interwoven with that of industry and commerce. The realization of our opportunity depends upon the coördination of the great influences of education, commerce, and industry in molding our national policy."[496] Those who were to do this coordinating and molding were the visionaries intelligent and civilized enough to drive and design the direction of progress and development. A university regent toastmaster laid out this logic clearly at a celebratory reception entitled "The Pacific Problem," as that:

> The University not only trains men for use in commerce, in banking, in all industrial enterprises; it not only develops the technical methods in business, chemistry, and engineering, but it also gives that general bird's-eye view of development by which after all the individual firm and the individual enterprise must be guided, which it must get in some way—an orientation which is necessary for intelligent planning. There is the basis for coöperation.[497]

This view incorporates the spectrum of technical expertise to broad visioning and planning, assuming that those best suited for this role would be the most "intelligent," and that this development could be understood through the neutral frame of "cooperation," as opposed to imperialist violence or capitalist extraction.

Throughout, the claims not only to optimizing the lives of others but also to monopolizing routes for "intelligent" development, with the only legitimate possibility other than direct authoritarian control as this management by the scholarly class, was a narrowing of sociopolitical options intended to solidify white futures. In a certain theoretical sense, this is no different than the speculation on settler futures discussed in

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[493] William Sproule, speech given at the inauguration banquet of David P. Barrows as the president of UC Berkeley, March 22, 1920, Bancroft Library Archives.
[494] Eng-Beng Lim, "Performing the Global University," Social Text 101 27, no. 4 (2009): 27.
[495] David P. Barrows, address given by Barrows at his inauguration banquet as the president of UC Berkeley, March 22, 1920, Bancroft Library Archives.
[496] Wigginton E. Creed, address given at the inauguration banquet of David P. Barrows as the president of UC Berkeley, March 22, 1920, Bancroft Library Archives.
[497] Ibid.

the previous chapter, or the discussion in the chapter before that of how the algorithmic predetermination of criminality overdetermines state violence at the source. These colonial bureaucrats and academic administrators were running up against what their contemporary DuBois diagnosed as the color line, and what they called the "pressing problems of the twentieth century…occasioned by racial contact and collision" and their diagnosis of the problem and its solution is that "the white man is master of the political fortunes of the backward and dependent peoples of other races, but it is doubtful if he can longer generally maintain his superior position except by generous concessions. The future is full of trouble and will tax the capacities of the white race as perhaps they have never been taxed before."[498] This is an important question on which to leave the data discussion of this chapter. What were the "generous concessions" that were and continue to be offered by those in power in order to bolster, justify, and perpetuate this entire apparatus? When can we understand these "concessions" as a Gramscian war of position, a way to leverage advantage through cracks in the hegemony, and when are they merely a pacifying pantomime? What appears to be a concession, an improvement, "progress," and so on, such as access to schooling and education, and inclusion within a fundamentally eugenic system? What does it tell us that this system has become wary of the "beliefs and biases" of open white supremacy but remains unabashed about the productivity drive of racial capitalism, and the naturalization of hierarchy and relations of power that this system entails?

Conclusion

I've spent a lot of time in the past decade in schools of education, and a chunk of that in spaces of international education development and reform, so much of which is steeped in, to Tania Li's point, claims to optimizing the lives of others. While I was writing this chapter I was receiving emails from my master's program in international education, advertising a job in supporting equity and gender and racial justice, alongside an internship in education policy for the American Enterprise Institute, alongside a job helping adolescent girls in Africa by working to "support investments that transform their lives." While it's no longer in fashion to openly cite the "white man's burden" in as many words, the logics of development, and specifically of educational development, continue to weaponize structures of schooling to naturalize and perpetuate the hierarchies and relationships of racial capitalism. These structures underlie both the desperate attempts of the scholarly class of the U.S. to maintain control and legitimacy as our flailing empire begins to slide into ever more obvious decline, and the persistent overrepresentation of educational, schooling, and teaching reforms as the idealized intervention.

In this chapter, I add to the myriad critiques of schooling systems as perpetuating racial hierarchies and reproducing class structures by suggesting that this function of schooling is fundamentally eugenic, with entangled logics of racial betterment and capitalist productivity. In my previous two chapters I critiqued policing and prison reform

[498] David P. Barrows, "What May be Expected from Philippine Education," *Journal of Race Development* 1, no. 2 (1910): 157.

as a professionalized move from a eugenic logic that is intended to legitimize the entire violent system, and I critiqued the democratization of access to land and education as intended to make the violence of settlement seem egalitarian. In this chapter, I again address the sleight of hand of false dichotomies, and how the apparatus of educational development and eugenic frameworks of schooling frames itself as the progressive, ideal solution to social "problems," and the only alternative to authoritarianism and raw extraction. I hope in this chapter to show to an exhausting extent how the still-ubiquitous models of education as productive betterment for capitalism cannot be disentangled from the structures of white supremacy and labor extraction.

When I began thinking of this chapter, I was struck by a parallel to the observation made by some scholars that artists often function as the shock troops of gentrification, raising property values in low-income areas and clearing the ground for real estate speculation and displacement.[499] The point here is not that "art is bad/artists are bad" but rather that we have to understand social phenomena, and our constitutive positions, as a part of the processes in which we are embedded, and we can't get stuck on the dangerous simplification of "art for art's sake." This struck me because of how often education becomes abstracted and decontextualized from the assemblages of which it is a part, learning meshed together with schooling, and "education for education's sake" simplified into something good in and of itself. The presentation of education as a solution, ignores how assemblages of schooling function as a key means of reproducing these hierarchies, and are a "key method of imperial state formation, hierarchical social ordering, labor control, and xenophobic nationalism….[that functions to] divide the international working class and consolidate imperial, racial-capitalist, state, ruling-class, and far-right nationalist rule."[500] The incorporation and containment of social critique within the abstraction of the academy more often than not presents schooling as the solution, while ignoring that schooling has a role in creating and recreating the systems they claim to be fixing. Michael Dumas writes, speaking specifically of Black students, about how the suffering through schooling is the suffering that education research is least willing to acknowledge, especially when education remains the common-sense route to individual and collective improved life chances.[501] My aim with this chapter is to make us suspicious of schooling and education interventions when overrepresented as the solution to violences--imperialism, settlement, white supremacy, state repression, capitalist exploitation--in which schooling is engrained, and participates, and structures.

But this suspiciousness should not be demobilizing. Returning to the connection I opened this conclusion with, the take-away from the critique of how we are made complicit in others', and eventually our own, displacement is that looking at art and artist's work in *context* has the possibility to open up new avenues for solidarity and contestation. The take-away for gentrifiers is not (necessarily) to sit sadly in the only

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[499] Daniel Makagon, "Bring on the shock troops: Artists and gentrification in the popular press." *Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies* 7, no. 1 (2010): 26-52.
[500] Harsha Walia, *Border and Rule: Global Migration, Capitalism, and the Rise of Racist Nationalism* (Herndon, VA: Haymarket Books, 2021), 2.
[501] Michael J. Dumas, "'Losing an arm': schooling as a site of black suffering," *Race Ethnicity and Education* 17, no. 1 (2014): 1-29.

room you can afford feeling bad about yourself,[502] but rather to sidestep the trap of putting artists and longtime residents of rapidly-gentrifying neighborhoods into demobilizing and distracting conflict--a conflict that isn't going to do much good in destabilizing the power structure that allows for speculation on real estate and wholesale displacement. I do think it's a problem when people with a radical or revolutionary bent get stuck on "consciousness raising" as the entire theory of change, sucked into academia as a place and paycheck and identity--the "professionalization of the critical academic"[503]--and demobilized under the forever-deferred justification that at least we're teaching something valuable or producing critique for the next generation. Political education becomes a dead end. This is not to say that this work isn't important, but rather that it gets overrepresented as the entirety of the goal instead of a part of the constellation of means.

Even in advocating for a different type of education than the system in which we currently teach and learn we must take a closer and more critical look at our assumptions about what the current system *is,* and what it *should be*. Do we see injustices as merely remaining imperfections in an overall modernist trajectory of eugenicist progress that we accept both as an accurate view of history and a desirable vision for our future? Then, building on this foundation, what do we understand as the antidote to oppressive systems, the solution to injustices, and the end goal of our re-imagining? How do these imaginations and futures get structurally co-opted when we don't rethink our default assumptions about what is possible? Continuing the metaphorical parallel to artists, understanding the context of gentrification in a less romanticized way can open possible avenues for solidarity along the lines of tenant or anti-displacement organizing that understands all of us as differently-situated workers, and aligns the artists and existing residents against the real estate corporations, the speculators, and the city. A useful understanding of the context of schooling, education, and intellectual work cannot romanticize either critique or "uncritical liberal discourses [which] identify greater inclusion of women, queer folks, and people of color into white spaces, or the very existence of multiracial people, as the solution to the structural violences of white supremacy, heteropatriarchy, settler colonialism, and racial capitalism."[504]

Additionally, particularly for critique, reforms, and interventions that originate in the U.S., we need to be developing a better understanding of the tactics and epistemologies of this necrotic world order built on the warped skeleton of empire and settlement, frameworks that we are sometimes confronting, sometimes reproducing, and usually a messy mix of the two. In order to imagine a different kind of future outside or

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[502] Which is not to say that feeling bad about yourself doesn't have a useful place, but rather that all of these complicated conversations about privilege, complicity, how we live our contradictions in an impossible system, how we make excuses and justifications and moves to innocence, how we avoid hard questions and decisions, how wallowing in these conundrums can sometimes be necessary and sometimes demobilizing, are all complex and embedded in shifting social relations. There is usefulness and insight in being uncomfortable but this is best grappled with through struggle and not in a philosophical or abstracted way.

[503] Stefano Harney and Fred Moten, *The Undercommons: Fugitive Planning and Black Study* (Brooklyn, NY: Minor Compositions, 2013), 28.

[504] Maile Arvin, Possessing Polynesians: the science of settler colonial whiteness in Hawai'i and Oceania (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2019), 10.

underneath or against or beyond the narrow racial capitalist possibilities that eugenic education tries to offer as the only available options, we need to be asking harder and more specific questions about how to build flexible and durable anti-imperialist movements. The future we want might be called communism, it might be called decolonization, or it might be a word not in English.[505] But we won't even begin to ask the right questions in order to develop better frameworks if these questions and their prepared responses are eugenically predetermined, overdetermined, and fatally compromised from the outset.

[505] Wilfred Chen, "Episode 106: Be Water w/ Wilfred Chen," *The Antifada podcast*, July 29, 2020. I don't always completely agree with Chen's Twitter takes on the PRC but I appreciated his analysis on this episode of internationalist and anticolonial possibilities of Hong Kong and mainland China working class solidarity and I enjoyed this phrasing.

Conclusion

I will never not be angry that my many years in California schools had me building missions out of sugar cubes but never adding any real kind of contextualization to our histories. Through reading this dissertation the reader should have learned along with me about the eugenics movement and its ubiquity, internationally but especially in California, and its connection to universities and schooling. Even though this can be a tempting bludgeon as a counterpoint to the smug self-image of the progressive, egalitarian West Coast, the point is not to add to the narrative a history of California's atrocities, however true this may be. The point is that the things we continue to value and laud about ourselves and our institutions--professionalized expertise, public and democratic access, educational development and optimization of others' lives--share a common root with the ideologies and structures of the eugenics movement and its accompanying system of terror. They form a false binary that constricts our imaginations of the possible, and if we want to really work towards justice we are going to need to shift this dichotomous trap. Returning to my point from the introduction, there are a lot of us on the left or with left-leaning potential that still have some of the more poisonous elements of this framework deeply embedded in what we think of as possible tactics or possible social worlds, and we don't put as much effort as we need to into killing the liberal in our heads.

My project of driving some nails into the liberal coffin took various forms throughout these chapters. In the first chapter, I discussed prisons and policing, and particularly the move to reform prisons and professionalize policing. I talked about the false dichotomy of schools and prisons and how the idea of the educable and the delinquent created the necessity for expert management and justifying the continuance of these hierarchies. I mapped this discussion onto the logic of the bell curve and showed how the overlapping logics constitute racial capitalist regimes. I connected this discussion to algorithmic thinking, and how the supposed empiricism of science eschews responsibility for the design of this system by making it seem objective. I ended by orienting this chapter towards the futurity of abolition. In the second chapter I explored the land grant movement, though widening the discussion past those technically considered "land grants" and including private schools founded on railroad money or speculating with land scrip. I discussed the mythologies and materialities of democratic, public access, to both land and education, and the overall structure of settler colonialism in which these struggles for equal access take place. I explored, through the additional context of the environmental conservation movement, how the solutions proposed to the crises of capitalism come from the same source of exploitation and accumulation that created these crises in the first place. I ended by orienting the chapter towards decolonization, and what these imaginations would require differently of us. In the third chapter I expanded the conversation past the location of the continental United States, although keeping the focus on U.S. institutions, to examine the context of colonial education in the Philippines during and directly after the Philippine-American War. I explained in detail the imbrication of race and productivity in the logic of the eugenics movement, and the connections between eugenic anthropological study and the

management of labor markets. I connected this conversation to the rhetoric around elite international students, and how this cosmopolitanism, framed as the counterpoint to racist and xenophobic nativism, was intended to create managers for global capitalism to entrench accumulation by U.S. elites and corporations. I discussed the limits of educational intervention and educational development, particularly when schooling is overrepresented as a progressive solution to social problems. I ended by orienting the chapter towards anti-imperialism.

As discussed in the introduction, bringing these complex topics together is not a comprehensive treatment of these multifaceted histories, but rather a curated study intended to shift the perspective by putting these carefully-selected theories, archives, and events into conversation with one another. The elements of racial capitalism, settler colonialism, and imperialism are fundamentally entangled, and even though some chapters focus more heavily on one, the threads run throughout the entire project. Likewise, there are many more opportunities than I had room for to interrogate connections *across* the different themes policing, public space, and global trade. Were future scholars interested in taking up other aspects of this inquiry, the affordances of different fields--notably gender and sexuality studies, and critical disability studies--would greatly enhance and expand this analysis.

Scavengery

Throughout this project I have been thinking a lot about the poetics[506] of scavenging. It strikes me as a separate process than either deconstruction--to Linda Tuhiwai Smith's point on the usefulness and limits of this work in that deconstruction can provide words to explain certain experiences, but it does not prevent someone from dying[507]--or recuperation of tools that I tried to show throughout this project are fatally corrupted and, to Lorde's never-not-relevant point,[508] don't have the shape to dismantle what we need them to. Deconstruction is certainly easier, and a lot less vulnerable. Especially among those of us with pretensions to be "critical," whatever that means, it can become an arms race to always deconstruct one step further than the next person. It's a spiral of theory as commodification[509] which always seems to entail one step further into abstraction and away from doing the messy, contingent work of organizing with other messy, contingent people and compromised and deconstruct-able tactics. This is why we have, as @hermit_hwarang put it on Twitter, "too many 'scholar activists' and 'public intellectuals,' not enough scholar guerrillas and public revolutionaries."[510] This

[506] This phrasing comes from Édouard Glissant, in that the poetics of relation is "forever conjectural and presupposes no ideological stability." Édouard Glissant, *Poetics of Relation,* B. Wing, trans. (Michigan: University of Michigan, 1997), 32.
[507] Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing methodologies: Research and Indigenous peoples*. (New York, NY: Zed Books, 1999), 3.
[508] Audre Lorde, *Sister Outsider: Essays and Speeches* (Berkeley, CA: Ten Speed Press, 2013).
[509] Barbara Christian, "The race for theory," *Feminist studies* 14, no. 1 (1988): 67-79. Thank you to Darius Gordon for the thoughtful citation.
[510] @hermit_hwarang, March 18, 2021, https://twitter.com/hermit_hwarang/status/1372556192057323523

dissertation is largely deconstructive--which I gravitated towards at least partially out of a skepticism of any time "research" falls into the boundless optimism of building or creation, because most of the time what it's building is settlement or empire. But it's also partially because I'm a coward and it's safer in the academy to cover your analytical tracks by retreating into abstraction. These days I'm trying to listen more carefully to those who know that "as seductive as this critique may be, as provoked as it may be…it is not love."[511]

This is why I've been finding the role of scavenger more useful, because it's not usually positioned as glorious. It situates me as a vulture, feeding on the dead and piling up bones, working with the rotting things we've got. I think vultures get a bad rap anyhow, they're not prey but they also don't need to kill to live. Scavenging isn't building--maybe it can be, but it doesn't have to be--and it's not a mode of production; there's an illicitness to it, an illegibility, gnawing at the edges. When we've cluttered a colonized world with both scarcity and hyperaccumulation of disposable, corroding overabundance, already seeped into the soil and oceans, when we've overpoliced and overdeveloped and overeducated, building more things doesn't seem to be the move. Even if we manage to destroy the university, and capitalism, and the settler state, we're still going to have the detritus to deal with, piles of scrap metal of such poor quality that we can't even smelt it to forge something different, and we certainly can't put the metal back into the ground or the tops back on strip-mined mountains. At this point there's microplastics in the oceans, and apparently now in the air, and corrosive micrologics in how we make sense of ourselves, and the world, and our sense of the possible. So, in reflecting on this dissertation as a failed project it's reassuring to remember that failing at building something and failing at tearing it down is different than failing at scavenging. This type of scavenging is supposed to be done with a pack of other roving rejects, and I don't have singular responsibility for what we make of that pile of bones. And that's good because, really, it shouldn't be just up to me.

[511] Stefano Harney and Fred Moten, *The undercommons: Fugitive planning and black study* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2013), 38.

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