

FRANCIS GALTON in 1903.

From a photograph by the Author of the unfinished picture by C. W. Furse at Claverdon.

THE

LIFE, LETTERS AND LABOURS

OF

FRANCIS GALTON

BY

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VOLUME I

BIRTH 1822 TO MARRIAGE 1853

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PREFACE

THE delay that has attended the issue of this Life of Francis Galton, of which even now only the first volume appears, is largely due to three causes. In the first place the writer has so many other duties that the time to sort out, peruse and abstract the large amount of available material has only been obtained in odd holiday intervals or by postponing the claims of students and workers in the Galton Laboratory on his attention and energy. I trust that they will for the sake of this account of the life of the man, to whom we alike owe so much, pardon the delays, which have so often been inflicted on the publication of their own researches. Secondly I had hoped that some postponement of the date of issue might lead to the discovery of more material bearing on the "Fallow Years" 1844 to 1849. This hope has not been fulfilled, and nothing has reached me1 which in any way supplies the place of the material, which appears to have existed at the date of Galton's death, judging by his own index to his letters. Hardly a letter to him of this period, which would have fixed his habitation and occupation, or have suggested his thoughts and reading, has reached The whole of his letters home from Egypt and Syria have perished, and the letters to him from his sisters, which would have told much, have been destroyed. The first realisation of this loss so depressed me, that I almost determined to give up the portraiture of a life, which could thus never be adequately exhibited in some of its most momentous phases. The five years which follow most men's University careers are the most developmental of their lives. No other quinquennium is one of such marked growth, for men usually in this period will start to think and act definitely for themselves; they must then face the fundamental problems of life relying on their own powers. Here I can tell my reader little or nothing of Francis Galton, and I would merely say that the absence of information is not due to want of

¹ I have endeavoured in vain to trace what has happened to letters written 60 to ⁵70 years ago to College friends—all long dead.

searching. It was only the feeling that, at least in one or two aspects of Francis Galton's later life and of his scientific work, I could perhaps put his contributions to human knowledge more adequately than possibly one or another who might take up the task, if I resigned it, and who would hardly grasp the bearing of that long and intimate scientific correspondence between Galton, Weldon and myself, that I persevered in my endeavour to give some account of a life, wherein an important chapter of personal development must remain largely unrecorded.

The last source of delay has been the difficulty of collecting the illustrative material, with which I determined from the start to accompany this work. The records had to be collected from many sources, and it was soon clear to me that I was collecting as much information bearing on the family history of Charles Darwin as on that of Francis Galton. It seemed desirable to place the two men to some extent in contrast in my volume, showing in ancestry, in methods of work and in outlook on life what they had in common and how they differed. Twenty years ago, no one would have questioned which was the greater man. To-day the work of Darwin is being largely undermined by a new view of heredity. We are told that "the transformation of masses of population by imperceptible steps, guided by selection, is as most of us now see, so inapplicable to the facts, whether of variation, or of specificity, that we can only marvel both at the want of penetration displayed by the advocates of such a proposition, and at the forensic skill by which it was made to appear acceptable even for a time." Foremost among such advocates were Charles Darwin and Alfred Russel Wallace. the judgment given above be correct, Darwinian evolution is only a fallacy supported for a time by "forensic skill." Its propounders must belong to a school which will leave no permanent mark on human The last twenty years have seen a continual progress, not only in the expansion of the methods initiated by Galton, but in the recognition of the purposes to which he desired their application; above all we have approached much closer to the conscious study of what makes for race efficiency—to the application of Darwinian ideas to the directed evolution of man. If Darwinism is to survive the open as well as covert attacks of the Mendelian school, it will only be because in the future a new race of biologists will arise trained up in Galtonian method and able to criticise from that standpoint both Darwinism

¹ Problems of Genetics, by William Bateson, p. 248, New Haven, 1913.

and Mendelism, for both now transcend any treatment which fails to approach them with adequate mathematical knowledge.

If this view be a true view of the evolution of biological thought in the near future, then any comparison of the relative greatness of the two men becomes superficial. Darwinism needs the complement of Galtonian method before it can become a demonstrable truth; it requires to be supplemented by Galtonian enthusiasm before it can exercise a substantial influence on the conscious direction of race Man has been directly endeavouring for a few thousand years to improve himself by improving his environment. Galton's lesson—over and over again disregarded by those who profess to be his disciples—was that little could be achieved this way, that the primary method to elevate the race was to insure that its physically and mentally abler members, not only had the unrecognised advantage of natural selection in their favour, but were directly and consciously encouraged to be fertile by the state. If my view be correct, Erasmus Darwin planted the seed of suggestion in questioning whether adaptation meant no more to man than illustration of creative ingenuity; the one grandson, Charles Darwin, collected the facts which had to be dealt with and linked them together by wide-reaching hypotheses; the other grandson, Francis Galton, provided the methods by which they could be tested, and saw with the enthusiasm of a prophet their application in the future to the directed and self-conscious evolution of the human race. It is unprofitable to discuss relative greatness, and in this work I have made no attempt to do so. I see one family which has done much for our national worth, and every fact which bears on its history and its characteristics is of interest to us all. Those who know the real history of the one occasion on which Galton and Darwin disagreed know how loyal Galton was to Darwin-loyal with a loyalty far rarer to-day. Galton would not have wished me to put him in the same rank as his master, but the reader who follows my story to the end may possibly see that the ramifications of Galton's methods are producing a renascence in innumerable branches of science, which will be as epoch-making in the near future as the Darwinian theory of evolution was in biology from 1860 to 1880, and which has encountered and will encounter no less bigoted opposition from both the learned and To work for that Galtonian renascence has been the writer's main aim in life as it was also that of his chief colleague and friend-W. F. R. Weldon. I can only hope that these volumes will contribute

to the due appreciation of what Galton laboured to do and what he hoped in the future might be done in this field.

It is only fitting that I should put on record here the ready help I have received in innumerable ways from Francis Galton's relatives and friends. For letters, papers and the reproduction of illustrative portraits I have in the first place to thank Mr Edward Wheler Galton of Claverdon; to his sister, Mrs T. J. A. Studdy, I owe also much in the way of facts and portraits. Mrs M. G. B. Lethbridge, Sir Francis Galton's niece, did invaluable work in placing in order and indexing the letters to her uncle from 1860 onwards. To the three sons of Charles Darwin, Mr William Erasmus Darwin, the late Sir George Howard Darwin and Sir Francis Darwin, I owe much information and many letters. Without their ever-ready and generous aid it would not have been possible to put before my readers so completely as I have done the ancestral history of Charles Darwin. To Mr Francis Rhodes Darwin and to Colonel C. W. Darwin I am much indebted for particulars and photographs of the Darwin portraits at Creskeld Hall, and to Lady George Darwin for kindly help after the death of her husband. Rev. Darwin Wilmot placed at my disposal most valuable manuscript material as to his grandfather, Sir Francis Sacheverell Darwin, as to his great-grandfather, Erasmus Darwin, and as to the family history of Mrs William Wavell, great-granddaughter of Erasmus Darwin, allowed me to see her Darwin portraits and manuscripts. Several other members of the family also have most kindly shown me illustrative material, or provided me with data. Many friends and correspondents of Francis Galton have allowed me to take copies of his letters, which will find due acknowledgment in my second volume, where these letters are used.

In the heavy pedigree work of this volume I have received continual assistance in search work from my colleague Miss Amy Barrington and in the laborious drafting of the pedigrees for engraving from the Hon. Secretary of the Galton Laboratory, Miss H. Gertrude Jones. My heartiest thanks are due to them both for the patience which they have brought to their tasks, and the invariable suavity they have shown to a frequently overworked and occasionally irascible taskmaster. To my friend and colleague Professor W. Paton Ker I am very grateful for a variety of suggestions and corrections during proof.

I am fully aware that the indolent reader will find much in this work which he does not want and which has but little interest for him. It is intended fundamentally as a permanent memorial to the Founder of the Galton Laboratory, and embraces material which may easily perish or be ultimately lost sight of. If the said reader will only wait a few years, I have little doubt that my material will be strained of its more solid content and presented to him in that light and cheap form, which we are told is a first necessity of the modern book market. object is a different one, namely to issue a volume to some extent worthy of the name of the man it bears,—which may be studied hereafter by those who wish to understand him, his origin and his aims, rather than to furnish an evening's amusement for readers however numerous, who would just as readily study any other biography as that of Galton, if only it chanced to be entertaining. I have been told that the genealogical section of my book will weary its readers and narrow its public. I would reply that this work is not written to gain a public, but piam memoriam prodere conditoris nostri and is intended especially for those who have known and loved Francis Galton in the past, or who may in the future desire to understand and honour him.

K. P.

THE GALTON LABORATORY,
UNIVERSITY OF LONDON.

April 8, 1914.

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RÉSUMÉ OF THE LIFE AND LABOURS OF FRANCIS GALTON

CHIEF EPOCHS IN THE LIFE OF FRANCIS GALTON

Born February 16, 1822. Died January 17, 1911

A. "Apprenticeship"

Age						Years
5	Trained under Sister Adèle					1827
67	Dame School		•••			18281829
89	School at Boulogne		• • •			18301831
10—12	" at Kenilworth					1832-1834
1315	King Edward's School, Birmingham					1835-1837
16	Medical Education, General Hospital,	Birmi	ngham			1838
17	" King's College, Lo					1839
18	1st Journey, down Danube to Smyrna		• • •			1840
18-21	Mathematical Education, Cambridge	•••	•••	• • •		1840—1843
	B. "Journeyman	a Year	rs ''			
22	2nd Journey, Egypt, Khartoum, Syris	ı				1844—1845
22-27	Hunting and Shooting					1845—1849
28 - 30	3rd Journey, Tropical Africa		•••			1850 - 1852
31	Marriage	•••	• • •		•••	1853
	C. "Master Cra	ftsmar	ı "			
32—42	Art of Travel and Meteorology New Influences:	•••	•••		· •••	1854—1864
	(a) Quetelet's Lettres sur la théo quée aux sciences morales e	rie des et poli	s probab tiques (bilités d Transla	appli- ation,	
	1849)	_	- ,			1849
	(b) Darwin's Origin of Species		•••			1859
43	First Research in Heredity (Hereditan	y Tal	ent and	Char	(cter	1865
47	Hereditary Genius					1869
50	Statistical Enquiries as to Prayer					1872

4								
Age 48	Honodita. Authorities						Years	
52	Heredity: Anthropometry		7 7	· · · ·	•••		1870 onwards	
54	English Men of Science, their	r wature	ana N	urture	•••	• • •	1874	
56	Heredity: Psychometry Portraiture work	• • •	•••		•••		1876 onwards	
61	77		•••	•••	•••		1878 onwards	
66	Human Faculty		•••	•••	•••	• • • •	1883	
00	Personal Identification (arisi of characters). Finger-p	ng from 1			perman		1888 onwards	
67	Natural Inheritance	111108	•••	•••	•••		1889	
• •	[Correlation and its applicate of the Biometric School.	ions. Th	is was	the st	arting- _]	 point	1009	
72	First academic Lectures on	Variation	and (Correla	tion ac	com-		
	panied by Laboratory we October 1894. Start of	ork starte	d at U	niversit	y Colle	ge—	10043	
74	Measurement of Plants and						1894]	
67, 77	Law of Ancestral Heredity				.		1896	
79	· ·	writes a				•••	(1889) 1897	
10	sulting Editor		pretace	ana o	ecomes	con-	1901	
79—89	Eugenics movement				•••		1901—1911	
82	Research Fellowship in Eu						1001 1011	
	"Eugenics Office"				• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •		1904	
85	Transformation of "Eugenics	Office" in	to the	"Euger	nics La	bora-		
	tory" and its association	n with the	e Biom	$\operatorname{etric}^{ullet}\mathbf{I}$	aborate	ory	1907	
89	Death and by bequest Found	dation of	the Ga	alton P	rofesso	rship		
	and Endowment of the		_	_	nics in		1011	
	University of London	•••	•••	•••	• • • •	• • •	1911	
	CHIEF P	OSTS AND	Honou	JRS				
Royal G	eographical Society, Gold Me	dal (Mem	ber of	Counci	l for n	nany		
year		,		-		•	1853	
Fellow of the Royal Society (Gold Medal, 1886; Darwin Medal, 1902; Copley Medal, 1910; Member of Council, 1865-6, 70-2, 76-7, 82-4)							1856	
British Association (Sectional President, three times, Geography 1872,								
Ant	hropology 1877 , 1885 , and 0	deneral Se	ecretarý	7 1863-	-7, M ei	mber		
	Council; twice asked to be P	,						
	of Meteorological Committee		•	• • • •	•••	•••	1868 - 1901	
	n of the Kew Observatory C		•••	• • •			1889 - 1901	
-	ological Institute (President,	•	Huxley	v Meda	1, 1901	.)		
Linnaear	n Society, Darwin-Wallace M	edal	•••	•••	•••		1908	
Cambrid	ge: Rede Lecturer	•••	• • • •		•••		1884	
, , ,	Honorary D.Sc	•••	• • • •		•••	•••	1895	
"	Honorary Fellow of Trie	nity Colle	$\mathbf{g}\mathbf{e}$	•••	•••	•••	1902	
Oxford:	Honorary D.C.L	•••	•••	•••			- 1894	
,,	Herbert Spencer Lecturer	•••	•••	•••	•••	•••	1907	

¹ The Laboratory existed from this date; the name *Biometric* was given to it after the naming in November 1900 of *Biometrika*, when the term Biometry was invented, see Life of Weldon, *Biometrika*, vol. v, p. 35.

ANALYSIS OF FRANCIS GALTON'S WORK

_										
									,	Years
I.	Travel.	(i)	Practi	se	•••	•••	• • • •	•••	1840,	1844, 1850–2
		(ii)	Art:	of Travel	• • • •	•••	•••		•••	1855
				of Campaig	ning (Le	ectures a	t Alde	ershot	camp)	1856
	•			Vacation T		•••	•••	••		1860
				Last Memo (15 mem	_		-		•••	1881
II.	Physics.	Me	eteorolo	gy: (12 m	emoirs) o	chiefly	•			1861—1873
	g =			Instrumen			•••		•••	1850—1906
III.	Heredity	<i>)</i> .	,						•	
	First	Pape	er: He	reditary Te	mperame	ent and	Charac	ter		1865
	Hereo	litary	/ Geniu	s	•••	•••	•••			1869
n	(i) Phonetry, 187			acters, Anti	hropo-	(ii) <i>Psycho</i>				Experimental
Inf		Tow	n and	Country (1 Schools (1	1873). 1874).	Measuren	rent d	of the	Sens	es, Auditory Visual (1884),
t t 1	hropomet hropomet Records o	ric I ric I	aborato nstrum	e" (1876). ory (1882). ents (1877- (1884). etc	Au- 2 89).	(1879),	of M Visio	ons an	d Ima	ses, Free will gery (1879—
(over 30 i (iii) <i>H</i>	memo	oirs).			(18 me	emoirs)	}•		l (1894), etc.
	(iii) H	uman of	oirs). n <i>Facul</i> Family	ty (1883).	(Life H	(18 me	emoirs)	}•		1 (1094), etc.
	(iii) H	wman of	oirs). n <i>Facul</i> Family iture :	ty (1883). Faculties,	(Life H	(18 me	emoirs)	}•	Record	
	(iii) H	memo of ortra Cor	oirs). n Facul Family iture: mposite	lty (1883). Faculties,	(Life F 1884.) 	(18 me	emoirs)	and I	Record 	1878—1885
	(iii) H	memo of ortra Cor Jus	oirs). n Facul Family iture: mposite st perce	ty (1883). Faculties, Portraits ptible Diffe	(Life F 1884.) 	(18 me History A 	emoirs)	}•	Record 	1878—1885 1893
	(iii) H	fumar of ortra Cor Jus Phe	oirs). n Facus Family iture: mposite st perce otograpl	Lty (1883). Faculties, Portraits ptible Diffens of Pedig	(Life F 1884.) 	(18 me History A k	emoirs)	and I	Record 	1878—1885 1893 1898
	(iii) H	fumar of ortra Cor Jus Phe	oirs). n Facus Family iture: mposite st perce otograpl meralise	Ety (1883). Faculties, Portraits ptible Differs of Pediged Profiles	(Life F 1884.) rences ree Stoc	(18 me History A 	emoirs)	and I	Record 	1878—1885 1893
	(iii) H	uman of ortra Cor Jus Pho Nu	poirs). If Facult Family iture: mposite st perce otograph meralise etc. etc.	Portraits ptible Differs of Pediged Profiles tc. (12 men	(Life H 1884.) rences ree Stoc noirs)	(18 me History A	emoirs)	and I	Record 	1878—1885 1893 1898
	(iii) H	wmemo of fortra Con Jus Pho Nu	iture: mposite st perce otograpl meralise etc. e Experis	Portraits ptible Differs of Pediged Profiles tc. (12 menuments and	(Life H 1884.) rences ree Stoc noirs)	(18 me History A	emoirs	and I	 	1878—1885 1893 1898 1910
	(iii) H	wmemore of fortra Cor Jus Pho Nu	oirs). In Facult Family iture: mposite st perce otograph meralise etc. et Experientsfusion	Portraits ptible Differs of Pediged Profiles tc. (12 men	(Life H 1884.) rences ree Stoc noirs)	(18 me History A k tons on A	emoirs	and I ty:	 	1878—1885 1893 1898 1910
	(iii) H	uman of ortra Cor Jus Pho Nu irect Tra	n Facui Family iture: mposite st perce otograph meralise etc. e Experiansfusion ins	Portraits ptible Differs of Pedig ed Profiles to. (12 men ments and mand Pang	(Life H 1884.) rences ree Stoc noirs) Observation genesis	(18 me History A k cons on A	emoirs)	and I	 	1878—1885 1893 1898 1910 1869—71 1876
	(iii) H	uman of ortra Cor Jus Pho Nu irect Tra Tw	n Facui Family iture: mposite st perce otograph meralise etc. e Experiansfusion ins	Portraits ptible Differs of Pedig ed Profiles tc. (12 ments and and Pang	(Life H 1884.) rences ree Stoc noirs) Observation genesis	(18 me History A k cons on A	emoirs	and I ty:	 	1878—1885 1893 1898 1910 1869—71 1876 1886—1887
	(iii) H	memoriuman of Cortra Cor Jus Pho Nu Virect Tra Tw	n Facui Family iture: mposite at perce otograph meralise etc. et Experi insfusion ins m: Sta eet Pea	Portraits ptible Diffens of Pedig ed Profiles tc. (12 men ments and and Pang ture, Eye C	(Life H 1884.) rences ree Stoc noirs) Observati genesis Colour, T	(18 me History A k cons on A Cemper	emoirs	and I	 	1878—1885 1893 1898 1910 1869—71 1876
•	(iii) H	memory of tumar of tu	n Facui Family iture: mposite at perce otograph meralise etc. e Experi ins m: Sta eet Pea ligree M	Portraits ptible Differs of Pedig ed Profiles tc. (12 ments and and Pang	(Life F 1884.) rences ree Stoc noirs) Observati genesis Colour, T ing	(18 me History A k cons on A Cemper	emoirs	and I	 	1878—1885 1893 1898 1910 1869—71 1876 1886—1887 1886
	(iii) H	memoriuman of uman of Coortra Coortra Pho Nu irrect Tra Tw Ma Swe Pec	n Facui Family iture: mposite at perce otograph meralise etc. e Experi ins m: Sta eet Pea ligree M	Portraits ptible Differs of Pedig ed Profiles tc. (12 men ments and and Pang ture, Eye Comments and ture, Committed	(Life F 1884.) rences ree Stoc noirs) Observati genesis Colour, T ing	(18 me History A k cons on A cemper	emoirs)	and I	 	1878—1885 1893 1898 1910 1869—71 1876 1886—1887 1886
	(iii) H	memoriuman of uman of Coortra Coortra Pho Nu irrect Tra Tw Ma Swe Pec	iture: mposite st perce otograph meralise etc. et Experimasfusion ins m: Sta eet Pea digree Moultion ssett Hessett Hessett Hessett	Portraits ptible Differs of Pedig ed Profiles tc. (12 men ments and and Pang ture, Eye Comments and ture, Committed	(Life H 1884.) rences ree Stoc Observation genesis Colour, T ing tee	(18 me History A k cons on A Cemper	emoirs)	and I	 	1878—1885 1893 1898 1910 1869—71 1876 1886—1887 1886 1887 1896

Résumé of the Life and Labours of Francis Galton xxiii

							Years
IV.	Development of Statistical Theory:						
	Departure from Quetelet	• • •	•••	• • •			1869
	Statistical Scales	ر: ٠		•••	•••		1870
	Percentiles and Grades	• • •		•••	• • •		1870—1907
	Ogive Curves		• • • •	• • •	• • • •		1875
	Geometrical Mean (Fechner's	Law)		•••			1879
	Regression						1885
	Correlation and its Measurem		•:•	• • •	• • •		1889
	"Ranks" and the Correlation		1889				
	First and Second Prizes, i.e. 1	bility	1901				
	(16 memoirs)						
V.	Application to Theory of Heredity	<i>:</i>					
	English Men of Science						1874
	Laws of Heredity					• • • •	1876-7
	Inheritance and Regression						1885
	Natural Inheritance			•••			1889
	[Point of Departure of Biome	etric S	chool				
	Law of Ancestral Heredity		•••	• • •			(18891), 1897
	Noteworthy Families				•••	• • •	1906
	(36 memoirs and books, e	etc.)					
VI.	From the measurement of characteristics arose the problem of their problem	erman	ence:		natu	rally	
	(i) Personal Identificatio			iption	• • • •	• • •	1888
	(ii) Finger Print Investig	_		•••	• • •	•••	1891-—1902
	(13 memoirs, etc	c.)					
VII.	Application to Human Affairs: Ex	ugenics	:				
	Hereditary Talent and Charac	ter					1865
	Gregariousness in Cattle and	\mathbf{Men}		•			1872
	Hereditary Improvement	•••		• • •	•••		1873
	Marks for Physical Fitness	•••	•••				1889
	Possible Improvement of Hun		reed			• • •	1901
	Eugenics Addresses and Essay	7 8			•••		1901-10
	(17 memoirs, etc.)						

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

CHARLES DARWIN.