

**“Playing God with People’s Lives”:
Leilani Muir**

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Senior Division
Group Exhibit
Student-Composed Words: 500
Process Paper: 473 words

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Leilani Muir was a victim of the Alberta Sterilization Act, which called for the sterilization of those deemed as “defectives” in society. We decided to focus on this topic after seeing repeated eugenics propaganda appear in *Schindler's List* when we viewed the film in history class, leading us to discover that it was a worldwide movement that included the United States and Canada. With the theme of tragedy and triumph in mind, we sought out an individual who had stood against eugenic ideals despite being a victim, leading us to Leilani Muir — the first person to file a successful lawsuit against the Albertan government for wrongful sterilization.

For our research, we began by gathering background knowledge on Muir's case and the eugenics movement using various Canadian databases and the Living Archives Project, providing factual data. To understand the perspectives of sterilization victims and integrate an emotional aspect into the exhibit content, we consulted numerous interviews by Muir and others institutionalized at the Provincial Training School in Alberta. While researching, we had discovered many relevant pieces written by Daniel Kevles, a professor of the history of science at Yale University, and reached out to him for an interview. This provided us with a new perspective on the eugenics movement and an additional synthesis to present-day gene-editing technologies. Furthermore, vital sources to our research include a transcript of the *Muir v. the Queen in Right of Alberta* court case, Muir's own book: *A Whisper Past*, along with the *Surviving Eugenics* documentary made shortly after Muir's court victory. These valuable sources contained specific details from Muir's perspective that realistically portrayed her life experiences.

We decided that this information would be best presented as an exhibit, where the primary source information could be formatted into comprehensible visuals that would most effectively capture the reader's attention. The exhibit allowed us to display photographs, pages of the court case, propaganda pieces, audiovisual pieces, as well as interviews, all of which combine objective and subjective information in a visually coherent way. The four-sided exhibit allowed us to section the exhibit into definitive categories while continuously providing historical context throughout each panel with a timeline at the bottom of all four sides. The tree placed at the top of the exhibit serves as a visual motif of

the eugenics tree propaganda, a notable symbol for the eugenics movement as it draws from various fields of science.

The tragedies that Muir and countless others faced show the monumental loss of human rights as sterilization was utilized as a biological method of bringing Darwinist ideas into tangible fruition. The social stigma that surrounded eugenics victims followed them throughout their lives as seen when Muir was unable to adopt children due to her history of institutionalization after learning she was sterilized. However, her unwavering strength and dedication to reversing discriminatory beliefs led to her role as the first to triumph against official sterilization laws. Her actions finally brought these injustices to public attention and initiated a chain of formal government apologies throughout North America, starting with her homeplace, Alberta. Since then, hundreds of other victims have pursued legal action, having been inspired by Muir's courage to speak out and become the face for a modern change.

Annotated Bibliography

Primary Sources:

Books

Galton, Francis. *Inquiries into Human Faculty and Its Development*. London, 1883.

This book was written by Francis Galton, an English psychologist and geneticist who began exploring the social sciences behind “genius and greatness”. In this book, he coined the term “eugenics” and described his observations about selective breeding in humans. By reading through pages of Galton’s work, we were able to gain an understanding of the main ideas driving the development of eugenics and portray that understanding as we wrote our student text. This also led us to explore the related topics that had inspired Galton, such as Mendelian inheritance and the findings of Charles Darwin, in order to gain a more well-rounded view of the historical context related to eugenics.

Muir, Leilani. *A Whisper Past: Childless after Eugenic Sterilization in Alberta: A Memoir*. Victoria, B.C.: FriesenPress, 2014.

This was a memoir written by Leilani Muir about her experiences starting with an abusive mother to the impact she has left through her successful court case. With specific details about her family status at home, her abusive mother, and her Irish-Catholic background, Muir paints a picture of exactly what happened in her life before and after the sterilization and its implications for the rest of her life. While other sources were able to provide facts about these experiences, *A Whisper Past* was able to fill in the gaps with sentiments and showed us a more personal point of view in her history. Therefore, we incorporated many quotes from this source on the tragedy and triumph slides of our exhibit to portray that side of her story.

Additionally, as we were reading through this book, we found some information that did not completely align with what we had already learned about Leilani. According to multiple sources, including a transcript of the court case, Muir was institutionalized at the age of 11

after being left unwanted. However, in her book, Leilani describes how she faced her mother's abusive nature every day of her life until she was 21. We attempted to find an answer or an explanation as to what truly happened, however, we could not come across any solid research. When this happened, we consulted the director at our Indiana Historical Society and she let us know that in analyzing history, piecing together facts may become difficult especially when the topic is shied away from as it was a dark period in Alberta's history. Thus, we all acknowledged that this was a challenging gap in our history project that we could not uncover.

Court Case

Muir v. The Queen in right of Alberta (Alberta Court of Queen's Bench January 25, 1996).

This document is a transcript of Muir's case against the Albertan government for her wrongful sterilization. This source provided in-depth and accurate details about Muir's childhood, her time at the Provincial Training School, and her sentiments not only about her sterilization but also about the social stigmatization she faced throughout her life. Specifically, we used Dr. le Vann's exact written diagnostic notes word for word about Muir and formatted this into three different medical forms that are displayed on the tragedy panel of the exhibit. It should be noted that Leilani's name has been spelled as "Lellani" in these records as well, which accounts for differences in name spelling on the forms displayed on the exhibit. Various quotes from the doctor at the Provincial Training School showed us the perception of "mental defectives" as inferior to the "normal child" that prompted sterilizations. Lastly, we used quotes from Justice Joanne B. Veit on the tragedy panel to show how Muir's sterilization has continuously affected her throughout her life. Several verdict quotes also acknowledge the limitations to this triumph as Muir went through years of suffering and was ultimately unable to regain what she lost due to her sterilization.

Documentary

The Sterilization of Leilani Muir. Directed by Glynis Whiting. 1996.

This documentary was made in the year following Muir's court victory and contains various interviews from Muir herself, her lawyers, various professors from the University of Alberta, and former member of the Eugenics Board Margaret Thompson. This provided direct first-hand information about Muir's experiences throughout her life, and prompted us to read Muir's autobiography, *A Whisper Past*, and search for similarly detailed interviews from other victims as well.

Interviews

University of Alberta Living Archives Project. "Leilani Muir." Youtube, 8 Nov. 2015, www.youtube.com/watch?v=F5Lp9Ga3HY4.

This was a recorded interview by Leilani Muir given to the University of Alberta that reinforced our findings about the tragedies that victims endured. Her compelling words and meaningful memories of her childhood exemplify anti-immigrant sentiments, nuclear family troubles, impoverished conditions, and various other factors that heavily led to her biased diagnosis and imminent sterilization.

Alberta Hansard for Legislative Assembly of Alberta, March 16, 1998, 1:30 p.m.

This was an interview with the current Premier in Alberta at the time, Ralph Klein, about Bill 26. Throughout the interview, the Speaker and Mr. Klein address the government's decision to withdraw Bill 26. Both claim that it was due to public pressure and opposition, which proved to us the power of Leilani's case. First, she catapulted the movement for sterilization victims to stand up for their lost rights, and next, she put a halt to an attempt at limiting the victims' compensation by bringing the injustices to light. While this was an important triumph on her behalf, we chose not to include it on our exhibit as it was more of a public triumph than Leilani's alone.

In the end, the Bill was never passed; however, it was only under the conditions that victims were only allowed to sue if details of their cases

were not released. Therefore, we were unable to incorporate any other victim's quotes about Leilani's inspiration in helping them gain compensation for Alberta's wrongdoings on our impact panel.

"Leilani Muir." Interview. *University of Alberta Living Archives Project*, November 8, 2015. Eugenics Archive.

This interview was conducted by the University of Alberta Living Archives Project as one of many of Muir's interviews given, and specifically details her sentiments after her sterilization, specifically stating that she could not bring herself to accept that she was sterilized. She also states that she never asked anybody questions and that she simply followed what she was told, which led to her forced sterilization. Further, in this particular interview, Muir speaks about how she had prepared extensively for her adoption and how much she was looking forward to having a child, and explains the heartbreaking moment when she was told the adoption fell through. Immediately after, Muir explains that her marriage quickly fell apart. Muir's sadness and anger in response can only be conveyed through the audio in this interview, and we decided to include it as an audio component on the exhibit as well. Also, this interview prompted us to refocus our research more towards obtaining qualitative and emotion-based information that had a greater impact than simply facts and statistics about the eugenics movement. Muir's moving words are included on the tragedy panel of the exhibit.

Legislation

Act, Sexual Sterilization. "Statutes of Alberta." (1928).

This is the official Sexual Sterilization Act that was passed in Alberta in 1928. This Act created a Eugenics Board to make decisions about the candidates, consisting of two medical professionals to make approvals along with two non-medicine affiliated people as well. Second, it specifies those who are sterilization candidates, targeting those in mental institutions who have been recommended for review. Third, it outlines conditions required for sterilizations, including those who are

“at risk” of having children with any disability. Lastly, the Act specifies that those physicians who perform sterilizations cannot be held civil or criminally liable. A print of this Act is displayed to provide a visual balance to the student text and quotational information on the first panel of the exhibit.

Act, Sexual Sterilization. "Revised Statutes of Alberta." (1937).

This legislation was passed by the Legislative Assembly of Alberta in 1937 to modify parts of the original document. It showed us that the Albertan government began to extend its powers over the sterilization of its people as each section of the amendment was aimed at redefining a “mentally defective person” and “psychotic person”. While most of the reasons behind these amendments were clarificatory and legal, we learned that it also gave the government more legal protection and increased the range of the Act’s application. We kept this in mind as we wrote our student text in order to capture the reasons behind the excessive number of sterilizations as well as the longstanding power the government held over sterilization victims.

Act, Sexual Sterilization. "Revised Statutes of Alberta." (1942).

This shows the second amendment made to the Albertan Sterilization Act which extended the category of mental patients who could qualify for sterilization and also increased the number of sterilizations that could be performed without consent. We saw that in passing the second amendment, it was a deliberate attempt by the Albertan Eugenics Board to increase the pace of sterilizations. Similar to what we learned from the first amendment to this Act, it was useful in providing the context behind Muir’s sterilization and the thousands of other victims who suffered alongside Muir because of it.

“Bill 26: Institutional Confinement and Sexual Sterilization Compensation Act.” *The Legislative Assembly of Alberta*. 1st Reading 1998, 47 Elizabeth II, 24th Legislature, 2nd session. (1998).

This bill was a government response to the vast number of cases brought to court against the government by previous eugenics victims after Leilani did so. Bill 26 was introduced in 1998 as an attempt to

limit the amount of monetary compensation to \$150,000 for victims of sexual sterilization in their settlement cases. Finding this information was shocking for us to see the limitations that sterilization victims had to face even 26 years after the Sterilization Act had been repealed. To portray this, we included a quote and picture covering this under the limitations section on our triumph panel.

Journal Articles

Allen, Garland E. "Eugenics and American social history, 1880–1950." *Genome* 31, no. 2 (1989): 885-889.

This source details the reasoning behind progressive support for eugenics, citing that the idea believed social issues present in society were caused by those who had bad heredity. Eugenic practices would then act as the biological means by which these traits could be curbed, such as through sterilizations ("negative" eugenics) and encouraging marriages between people having "desirable" traits ("positive" eugenics). An extension of the American Progressive movement in Canada is titled the Laurier movement and similarly supports eugenics. A quote from this source is included on the exhibit's timeline and demonstrates widespread social ideas that resulted in little opposition to unethical practices such as sterilization.

Baragar, C. A., Geo A. Davidson, W. J. McAlister, and D. L. McCullough. "Sexual sterilization: Four years of experience in Alberta." *American Journal of Psychiatry* 91, no. 4 (1935): 897-923.

Written by the Commissioner of Mental Institutions and Director of Mental Health for the Province of Alberta in 1935, this article reported about sterilizations performed in Alberta in the four years after the Sexual Sterilization Act was passed. The statistical figures presented about patient diagnoses along with statements about morality were used under the background section of the exhibit and provided historical context specific to the province of Alberta.

BOW, MALCOLM R., and F. T. COOK. "The History of the Department of Public Health of Alberta." *Canadian Public Health Journal* 26, no. 8 (1935): 384-96. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41979367>.

Through this report, we learned that the Sterilization Act was passed under the umbrella of public health policies, notably after the Public Health Act, the Venereal Diseases Act, the Marriage Act, the Division of Social Hygiene and the Mental Defectives Act from the years 1900 to 1930. Many descriptions of these earlier Acts were connected to Progressive and Laurier mindsets of bettering society and a new focus on society and welfare. This prompted us to investigate the Laurier Era in Canada and research reasons for its support of the eugenics movement.

Cance, Alexander E., Irving Fisher, Prescott F. Hall, and ROBERT DEC WARD. "WAR, IMMIGRATION, EUGENICS: Third Report of the Committee on Immigration, American Genetic Association." *Journal of Heredity* 7, no. 6 (1916): 243-248.

This source states that WWI was prompting more immigration from European countries to North America, and this was increasing the number of people perceived to have a lower "mental and physical character". Such commentary shows that the strong nativist sentiment contributed to the idea that immigrants were prone to "defective" traits, which mobilized the sterilization of these targeted individuals. As a woman of Irish-Polish and Catholic background, Leilani Muir was subjected to similar unfair treatment under sterilization policies, which we continued to find throughout our research.

Chamberlain, Joseph P. "DEPARTMENT OF CURRENT LEGISLATION Eugenics in Legislatures and Courts." *American Bar Association Journal* 15, no. 3 (1929): 165-169.

This source details legislation in North America that has been passed in regards to eugenics, and revealed that Alberta's Eugenics Board and Sexual Sterilization Act mirrors the legislation passed in California, both of which require medical professionals to collaborate with government officials in order to make decisions about sterilization candidates. This source allowed us to understand how the eugenics movement gained traction and was applied in Canada and also

showed the large support and integration of the academic and governmental fields in sterilization approvals.

Farrar, C. B. "STERILIZATION AND MENTAL HYGIENE." *Canadian Public Health Journal* (1931): 92-94.

Published by the Canadian Public Health Association, this source states that the basis for eugenics is to prevent the inheritance of "inferior" traits. After seeing conflicting reasonings for eugenics, mainly 1) reaching human perfection and 2) preventing deterioration of society by stopping the inheritance of "inferior" traits, this source prompted us to investigate various other primary sources. After further research, we found that both of these reasonings co-existed among eugenicists at the time.

Pocock, Hilda F. "Sterilization in the empire: An account of the working of the Alberta act." *The Eugenics review* 24, no. 2 (1932): 127.

This article explains the reasonings cited behind Alberta's sterilizations, the required approval by its Eugenics Board containing medical professionals and government officials, and details how salpingectomies are performed on these individuals. The source also states that there was "little active or persistent opposition" to all of the sterilizations in Alberta as of 1932, allowing us to understand how "defectives" are viewed in society and the general acceptance of such unethical practices. This led us to research more on popular social ideas that contributed to this acceptance of eugenics, notably Progressivism and the Laurier movement, both of which supported eugenics with the aim of bettering social conditions.

Ward, Lester F. "Eugenics, euthenics, and eudemics." *American Journal of Sociology* 18, no. 6 (1913): 737-754.

This journal article explains the difference between “positive” eugenics (encouraging reproduction of “good” traits) and “negative” eugenics (preventing reproduction of “defective” traits), and also provides several graphics that show the division of society into categories such as “genius”, “mediocrity”, and “feeble-minded”. These diagrams also contained a “limit to usefulness” that embodied the motivations behind negative eugenics, later justifying sterilizations. This source allowed us to understand how Galton’s initial ideas were consolidated and organized into tangible branches that could be legalized and put into tangible practice.

Newspaper Articles

“Eugenists Dread Tainted Aliens.” *The New York Times*, 25 Sept. 1921, p. 25, www.nytimes.com/1921/09/25/archives/eugenists-dread-tainted-aliens-believe-immigration-restriction.html.

This newspaper article revealed the strong anti-immigrant sentiment that existed in North America, specifically directed towards Eastern European people. Knowing that Leilani Muir was of Irish-Polish and Catholic background, this gave us another historical complexity as to why she was diagnosed as “feeble-minded” and how her own personal background contributed to her being sterilized.

“Heredity Is Big Problem.” *Burlington Free Press*, 29 Oct. 1926, www.uvm.edu/~eugenics/primarydocs/onhpbfp102926.xml.

This article reprimands parents for their “feeble-minded” children and promotes eugenic ideas, with clear references to selectivity in reproduction and definite bias against the “feeble-minded”. Muir’s diagnosis as “feeble-minded” and “moron” makes her the target of such newspapers, revealing the severe social stigmatization Muir faced post-diagnosis and post-sterilization even after she left the institution. In fact, her attempted adoption fell through due to her history of institutionalization, which is included on the context panel of the exhibit.

Hodson, C. B. S. "Sterilization of The Feeble-Minded." *British medical journal* 1, no. 3515 (1928): 878.

Soon after the Sexual Sterilization Act was passed in Alberta, this article addressed the objection that sterilization ineffectively prevents the reproduction of "defective" traits and states that the Act is still valid and necessary due to the belief that any and all measures must be taken to "lessen the burden for future generations". This illustrates that objections were not focused on the unethical practice of sterilization but rather, focused on the effectiveness of sterilization in pursuing eugenics — this showed us the widespread societal support of eugenic ideas and also the consistent belief that "defectives" were burdensome upon society.

"Sterilization of Unfit Advocated." *The Montreal Gazette*, 14 Nov. 1933, p. 9, montrealgazette.com.

This newspaper article features a prominent physician's support of Canadian eugenics programs. It portrays the headline: "Feeble-Minded increasing at disproportionate rate in Canada. Case for Eugenics". Again, we thought that this piece provided insight on why eugenics was so widely accepted in society, and what was driving it. We included this newspaper article on our context panel.

"Victims of Sterilization Finally Get A Day In Court." *Google News*, December 23, 1996.

<https://news.google.com/newspapers?id=1VoyAAAIBAJ&sjid=kecFAAAAIBAJ&pg=5397,1039102>.

This newspaper article describes Muir's court case and showcases how Muir's case was a defining moment in bringing Alberta's eugenic history back to public attention. Further, the article contains quotes by Muir's lawyer, Jon Faulds, and provided us a glimpse of the court setting that this was taking place in, as this case was the first of its kind and had encountered significant resistance from the opposing side, which this article provides further details about. Further, this clipping shows the widespread media attention that Muir was receiving and how this encouraged This is displayed on the verdict section of the triumph panel.

Photographs

Allen, Edward. "Leilani O'Malley shares a moment with Jenny McKillop, who portrays Leilani in *Invisible Child*." *Invisible Child Release*. 7 August 2012.

This was taken from a collection of photographs taken by Allen Edward which shows the proceedings with the release of *Invisible Child*, a play written about Leilani's experiences. We used this as a visual on the impact slide as it puts a picture to the words describing how her successful court case spread hope to other victims and helps in preserving the history of eugenics in Alberta. Her advocacy shed light on not only eugenics, but also institutionalization, human rights for those with disabilities, and self-advocacy as well.

"1998 Bill 26." *The Legislative Assembly of Alberta*. 1st Reading 1998, 47 Elizabeth II, 24th Legislature, 2nd session. (1998).

This is a print of the Bill 26 legislation that was proposed by the Albertan government after facing a class action lawsuit by other sterilization victims who were inspired by Muir's court victory. This is included below a quote and serves as a visual for the above explanation of the Bill. This illustrated that Muir's case was large enough to attract attention of hundreds and led to such drastic action taken by the government after they realized they would lose nearly every sterilization lawsuit in the years coming.

McKay, John. 1995. *Victoria Times-Colonist*, The Canadian Press.

This photograph shows Muir holding case files from her court case in 1995, likely containing the exact medical records that were included in the court case transcript and used as evidence. This photograph let us to search for resources containing these exact medical records, which led us to the court case transcript and information that was formatted into the three medical forms on the tragedy panel.

"Leilani Muir." *Leilani Muir: Forced Sterilization*, Canada Museum for Human Rights, humanrights.ca/?pedisable=true.

This photograph shows Leilani Muir when she was a child. Although it is unclear whether it was taken before or after her enrollment into the Provincial Training School for Mental Defectives, we chose to incorporate this into the exhibit in order to provide a visual to balance with facts detailed in the court case. This is displayed on the triumph panel of the exhibit.

"Muir, Leilani." *A Whisper Past: Childless after Eugenic Sterilization in Alberta: A Memoir*. Victoria, B.C.: FriesenPress, 2014.

This photograph of Muir giving a speech is displayed on the triumph panel under the limitations subheading. Muir's continued presence in anti-eugenics movements and dedication to the movement by giving periodical speeches helped us understand how she brought widespread public attention and awareness to Alberta's eugenic past. This particular photograph was during her time as a Board member of the Living Archives Eugenics Project by the University of Alberta, where she had an active role in encouraging other victims to give interviews about their sterilization experiences as well.

Wahlen, D. "Leilani Muir with Her Friends." 1955. *Eugenics Never Went Away*, aeon.co/essays/eugenics-today-where-eugenic-sterilisation-continues-now.

This photograph depicts Leilani with three of her friends at the institution. This was taken in 1955, the first year she was admitted into PTS. We decided to include this in the childhood section on our tragedy slide as it shows the start of her journey at the institution. We learned that Muir had a difficult childhood due to her treatment by her mother, and eventually at the institution as well. Although Muir was a bright child, she was subjected to the title of a "mentally defective moron" and we wanted to provide a visual to embody that.

"Pedigree exhibit: Family Stock of G. Washington," 3rd International Eugenics Conference. *The Harry H. Laughlin Papers, Truman State University, photograph, Blk Photo 1,23*. (1932).

This is a photograph taken of an eugenics exhibit at the International Congress of Eugenics. Its purpose was to "take stock of man's present knowledge about the inborn element in human qualities, physical,

mental, and spiritual, and about the control of such qualities in family-stocks." In short, the exhibit was displayed to show the improvement in the breed of man through George Washington's pedigree. We thought that this captured the extent to which eugenics spread throughout the world and included it on our context slide to parallel a quote we found about the spread of eugenics internationally.

"Pedigree of Galton-Darwin-Wedgwood family," 3rd International Eugenics Conference. *The Harry H. Laughlin Papers, Truman State University, photograph, Blk Photo 1,23.* (1932).

This is a photograph taken of another eugenics exhibit at the 3rd International Congress of Eugenics. Its purpose was to portray a group of closely related family-stocks who have been characterized by outstanding capacities in philosophy, science, and art. We thought this reinforced the earlier ideas we showed throughout the context slide about the international spread of eugenics and decided to include it as another visual supporting it.

Provincial Training School. Red Deer and District Archives (N 2690). Red Deer, Alberta, Canada.

eugenicsarchive.ca/discover/institutions/map/517da50e9786fa0a7300000.

This is a photograph of the Provincial Training School for Mental Defectives. This was where children were placed after they were deemed "defective" by society. After completing the diagnostic IQ test to determine their eligibility for a sterilization procedure. This was the location where many tragic stories began, and so we wanted to incorporate it onto our tragedy slide to provide a visual that goes along with this idea.

The Sexual Sterilization Act of Alberta. (1928). The Alberta Law Collection. Retrieved from <http://www.ourfutureourpast.ca/law/page.aspx?id=2906151>

This is a photograph of the Alberta Sexual Sterilization Act document. The passing of this document was integral to the legislations that allowed the sterilization of thousands of victims and Leilani. This Act authorized sexual sterilization and specifies the conditions and procedures for doing so. It became the first Canadian eugenic

sterilization law and was directed at institutionalized individuals. At the end of Leilani's court case, it was ruled that her sterilization had been a violation of the act because she did not truly qualify as a "mental defective". Therefore, we decided to include a picture of the Sterilization Act on the context panel of our exhibit to provide physical copy of the Act we continuously address throughout our exhibit.

Snowdon, Wallis. 2016. CBC Edmonton.

This photograph shows Muir speaking in a microphone to the CBC Edmonton radio and journalism station, and was taken a few months before she passed away. Along with this photograph, we decided to include an audio component with Leilani Muir speaking onto the exhibit.

"Some People are Born to be a Burden on the Rest".

<https://pics.me.me/hudutv-such-as-tha-insanc-some-people-are-born-to-23073488.png>

This photograph depicts a brick wall that is covered with many propaganda posters. They all present a similar message that promotes the ideas behind eugenics. For example, the biggest one claims, "Some people are born to be a burden on the rest". This clearly shows how blunt the messages of eugenics were, as well as their reasons behind pushing sterilization of thousands. We chose to add this onto our tragedy slide in order to provide a visual that showed the social belief victims such as Leilani were subjected to.

"A Whisper Past". Friesenpress,

books.friesenpress.com/store/title/119734000013125148/Leilani-Muir-A-Whisper-Past.

This photograph is a striking one taken of Leilani Muir while she was giving a speech on her past experiences. We wanted to incorporate a picture of her that also exhibited how emotional this topic was to Muir. Even with the haunting tragedies that she will never forget, Muir continues to spread awareness, and aid to those that suffered alongside her.

40th Anniversary of the Repeal of the Sexual Sterilization Act. March 19, 2013. Alberta Eugenics Awareness Week, City Hall, Edmonton, Alberta.

This photograph shows Muir speaking to the crowd on the 40th Anniversary of the Repeal of the Sterilization Act in Alberta, and is included on the triumph panel of the exhibit. This photograph led us to the actual speech given by Muir during this event, and illustrated to us how Muir continued her prominence in the anti-eugenics movement even years after the Act's repeal. This significantly showed us how important of a role she took on when she sued the province, and also how her legacy continued on as well.

Propaganda

"Eugenics Tree." *Eugenics Movement in America*, www.american-historama.org/1913-1928-ww1-prohibition-era/eugenics.htm.

This image depicts the eugenics tree, a well-known symbol for the eugenics movement during the period. The image portrays a tree growing from roots labeled with different aspects of scientific study, including anthropology, biology, genealogy, mental testing, politics, economics, and many more. This is impactful in showing the multiple motivations behind eugenics along with the numerous fields that supported its practices. At the top of the exhibit's first panel, a large tree is printed and displayed along with an overlapping banner that stylistically parallels this piece of propaganda.

"Release the Strangle - Hold of Hereditary Disease and Unfitness." The Eugenics Society Archive. <https://wellcomelibrary.org/collections/digital-collections/makers-of-modern-genetics/digitised-archives/eugenics-society/>.

This propaganda piece supports the eugenics movement by portraying the image of a man using pliers to remove the vines off of a tree. The original document has a slogan over the top that claims mankind must release the strangle of hereditary disease and unfitness. In other words, the tree symbolizes eugenics and the vines symbolize the unfit traits that are holding the tree back. This propaganda piece calls for humans to cut off the vines, or cut out the undesirable traits holding

society back. We thought this was a good way to portray society's view on eugenics at the time and decided to include it on our context slide as a "badge".

"The Population Bomb." JSTOR. Retrieved from *The Development of Demography in the United States. The Princeton University Library Chronicle* Vol. 65. No. 2 pp. 282-316.

This propaganda piece depicts the globe shaped as a bomb with a pair of scissors cutting off the fuse. The two words on the scissors are "Population" and "Control". This was another poster used in the United States to support eugenics and we thought it was an interesting way of looking at eugenics as population control. Therefore we decided to use it on our context slide as further visual impact supporting that shows support for the eugenics movement.

"Unfit Human Traits. The Triangle of Life". *The Politics of Black Eugenics*.
<https://nursingclio.org/2017/06/01/the-black-politics-of-eugenics/>

This picture shows a sign that describes the "triangle of life", which lists out many traits considered "undesirable" at the time. In order to clearly and accurately state the motivations behind eugenics and specifically which groups were targeted, this propaganda piece is displayed on the first panel of the exhibit.

Research Papers

Frost, E. Mary. "Sterilization in Alberta: A Summary of the Cases Presented to the Eugenics Board for the Province of Alberta from 1929 to 1941." Ph.D. diss., University of Alberta, 1942.

This is the Master's thesis written by the Chief Psychiatry Social Worker in Alberta, and she concludes that the Sterilization Act had not been performing enough sterilizations due to a shortage of social workers at the institutions who were responsible for follow up work. This source was able to show us the integration of eugenics under broader public health programs and the Progressive and Laurier mindsets of bettering society, as her thesis aimed to create national organization

and representation of social workers through the use of eugenics institutions. We used this source to establish historical context and investigate the connection between social welfare programs and eugenics, leading us to various other sources

le Vann, Leonard J. "Trifluoperazine dihydrochloride: an effective tranquilizing agent for behavioural abnormalities in defective children." *Canadian Medical Association Journal* 80, no. 2 (1959): 123.

This research paper is conducted by the head physician of the Provincial Training School at Red Deer where Leilani Muir was institutionalized and sterilized. The study results is based on unethical experimentation le Vann conducted upon the patients at the institution by administering certain drugs to control their "defective" behavior. In fact, Muir recounted receiving such drugs and medications during her stay at the institution, which we included on the tragedy panel of the exhibit in order to illustrate how Muir was unfairly treated at the institution solely on the basis of her mother's testimonies, her socioeconomic status, and her immigrant background, all of which were repeatedly noted by le Vann on Muir's medical history forms.

Speeches

University of Alberta Living Archives Project. "Leilani Muir, on the Repeal of Alberta's Sexual Sterilization Act." YouTube. March 19, 2013. Accessed June 08, 2019. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TWS3dr4pv0E&t=9s>.

This source was a speech given by Leilani on the repeal of Alberta's Sexual Sterilization Act. She mentions the team she put together to stop the sterilization act and claims that the public's attention needs to be continuously drawn to its wrongdoings in order for history to not repeat. While the Act had been repealed there is still injustice and discrimination against people with disabilities, Leilani's words remind people that change can happen. We used Muir's sentiments to show the lasting consequences and loss of human rights that had gone largely unnoticed by society during the fervor for eugenics, until her

victory in court brought its immorality to mass public attention. This speech influenced our layout for the lasting impact slide as we shaped around her words; we shaped it around how she has been able to bring change to sterilization victims and beyond.

Radford, John P., and Deborah C. Park. "The eugenic legacy." *Journal on Developmental Disabilities* 4.1 (1995): 73-84.

The Ontario Association on Developmental Disabilities released this report containing various papers written by modern-day historians, who recount eugenic policies that condemned disabled people to a life of humiliation and loss of human dignity after sterilization. We used this work to make connections between the motivations of eugenicists in the past with social issues that still exist today.

Secondary Sources:

Articles

Krueger, Ralph R., and Norman L. Nicholson. "Canada - The Laurier Era." Encyclopædia Britannica. June 04, 2019.
<https://www.britannica.com/place/Canada/The-Laurier-era>.

This source addressed the similarities between American Progressivism and the era in Canada that was inspired by it, known as the Laurier Era. After reading of the impact that progressive ideas had on the acceptance of eugenics in society, we wanted to see if there were connecting ideas in Canada. This article showed us that Laurier liberalism reflected the degree of social activism in the Progressive movement. Because of this, we were able to gain a better understanding as to why the Albertan government and people were so willing to go through with the sterilization act. We incorporated this into our exhibit by portraying it in the student text and eugenics propaganda.

Books

Davenport, Charles Benedict et al. *Eugenics: Twelve University Lectures*. New York: Dodd, Mead &, 1914.

This book was written by Charles Davenport, a prominent eugenicist, alongside many others. It contains a number of lectures given in various universities throughout the United States covering the topic of eugenics. In one, he comments on the motives of eugenics as well as the difference between "positive" and "negative" eugenics in society. We thought these were valuable definitions that elaborated on our student text so we decided to include them as quotes on our context panel.

Dowbiggin, Ian Robert. *Keeping America Sane: Psychiatry and eugenics in the United States and Canada, 1880-1940*. Cornell University Press, 1997.

This book references the sterilization of Leilani Muir and the mutually supportive connection between psychologists and eugenicists. We incorporated Dowbiggin's thoughts on Leilani's case on our impact slide through a quote that discusses her ruling. He claims that it opened the door on behalf of 700 other sterilization victims to gain compensation in Alberta. We thought this was useful in showing the changes Leilani was able to instigate through taking action.

"Eugenics in North America," in Robert A. Peel, ed., *Essays in the History of Eugenics*, (London: The Galton Institute, 1998), pp. 208-226.

This is a source that Professor Kevles wrote that provides a detailed chronology of the North American movement in context of global use of eugenics. We used sections of this writing that discussed the relationship between eugenics and gene editing technology in the future and the necessity to remain ethical in medical pursuits to prevent the horrors of eugenics in the past.

Paul, Diane B. "Darwin, social Darwinism and eugenics." *The Cambridge Companion to Darwin* 214 (2003).

This source comments on the connection between the philosophical ideas of Social Darwinism and the tangible application of this idea through eugenics and explains that the war aftermath created the belief that eugenics was crucial to collective survival. Darwin's *Origin of Species* was a catalyst for eugenic ideas, and the term was coined by Galton soon after its publication. This deepened our understanding of social ideas that surrounded eugenics and why it was generally accepted by society despite its unethical practices at the time, and we applied this source while writing the student text.

Leonard, Thomas C. *Illiberal reformers: race, eugenics, and American economics in the Progressive Era*. Princeton University Press, 2017.

This book explains the connection and differences between Social Darwinism and progressive ideals of eugenics, as the "survival of the fittest" and "natural selection" were producing unacceptable results, and that more drastic measures, such as forceful sterilization of certain groups, was absolutely necessary in order to deal with social

issue at the time. The term “social selection” demonstrated that sterilization was a biological method of eliminating those “bad” social traits that were assumed to be inherited.

Sándor, Judit. "Society and genetic information: Codes and laws in the genetic era." (2003).

This book is written by lawyer, bioethicist, and professor Judit Sándor and contains detailed discussions about the ethical conversations around gene editing. Specifically, the book includes quotes by the co-discoverer of the DNA molecule, James Watson, and his quote that it is the responsibility of scientists to rid society of certain genetic ills. He uses the phrase “play God with people’s lives”, providing a frightening connection to the eugenics movement and Muir’s words as well. This quote is included on the timeline at the bottom of the triumph panel.

Broadcasts

Tremonti, Anna Maria. “Game Changers”. *Canadian Broadcasting Corporation; The Currents*. (2011).

This Canadian radio show served to recognize several people who have created “moments that changed ordinary lives in ways we could not anticipate”. In 2011, the host Anna Tremonti interviewed Leilani to be featured on the show. The program was broadcast across Canada and was a way for Leilani to spread her story. We mention this indirectly on our impact slide when we address the public attention Leilani drew to Alberta’s Sterilization history.

Interview

Ye, Morgan, Nanditha Kolur, Daniel Kevles. 9 Mar. 2019.

In order to gain an interesting perspective from a knowledgeable professional, we conducted an interview with Professor Daniel Kevles, who has published various books about North American Eugenics and currently teaches in the Department of History at Yale University. His insight into the connection between society’s actions during the 20th

century and the modern day were included on our exhibit. He also reflected upon Muir's lasting impact as a reminder to modern science to remain ethical in pursuits and the importance of speaking out against unjust and oppressive human rights violations.

"Jon Faulds - Full Interview." Interview. Eugenics Archive. November 6, 2015.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6qkqoUXQICQ>.

This interview was given by Muir's lawyer, Jon Faulds, several years after the court case. He speaks about the class action lawsuit that was pursued by other victims after being inspired by Muir's court victory. He also comments about the important role of governments and the immense power they held during the eugenics movement, which is included on the triumph panel. This assertion aligned with primary sources such as the Albertan Sterilization Act Amendments that extended government ability to sterilize whomever they deemed "unfit".

Journal Articles

Allen, G. E. "Eugenics and American Social History, 1880-1950." *Genome*. 1989.

Accessed May 21, 2019. <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pubmed/2698847>.

This source was a journal written by professor G.E. Allen from the Biology Department at Washington University. Throughout his journal, Allen described the progressive line of reasoning, aimed at addressing the social issues present in society, and how they connect back to the eugenics movement. We were able to incorporate this idea onto our exhibit by pulling a quote to use on our timeline under progressivism. We established the idea that progressivism was an important contributor to the development of the motives behind eugenics. The "undesirable" traits in society could be eliminated through sterilization

Cairney, Richard. "'Democracy was never intended for degenerates': Alberta's flirtation with eugenics comes back to haunt it." *CMAJ: Canadian Medical Association Journal* 155, no. 6 (1996): 789.

This article writes about Muir's lawsuit against Alberta for wrongful sterilization, and repeatedly points out that this was the first time the province has been held accountable for actions taken under the Sterilization Act. This showcases Muir's role as the first to pioneer against such unjust laws and shows the wide extent to which her victory was publicized. From this article, we learned that since the Sexual Sterilization Act was repealed in 1972, such large public attention had not been given to Alberta's eugenic history since, illustrating Muir's significant role in bringing it to national news in Canada, importantly encouraging other sterilization victims to come forward and take legal action as well.

Caulfield, Timothy, and Gerald Robertson. "Eugenic policies in Alberta: from the systematic to the systemic." *Alta. L. Rev.* 35 (1996): 59.
<https://heinonline.org/HOL/LandingPage?handle=hein.journals/alblr35&div=12&id=&page=&t=1559936480>

This source is a commentary on the eugenics movement in Alberta from the initial Sterilization Act, the two Amendments, and its repeal as well, providing valuable context from a third person objective perspective. This provided a framework of objective data that needed to be included in the exhibit along with statistical information that was utilized while formulating the student text.

Clément, Dominique. "Alberta's rights revolution." *British Journal of Canadian Studies* 26, no. 1 (2013): 59-77.

This paper describes the rights revolution following the election of the Progressive Conservative Party in Alberta in 1971, which advocated for the repeal of Alberta's Sexual Sterilization Act. The actions of David King, a member of this party, was a major forerunner of this movement, and largely contributed to the Act's repeal in 1972. Through deeper research, we found that this was the last well-known public addressing of Alberta's eugenic past until Leilani Muir brought the issue back to national headlines with her court case in 1995, prompting us to research more about the role of public attention and advocacy groups that led other victims to sue as well. Related

information is displayed under the category of New Awareness under the lasting impact panel of the exhibit.

De C. Ward, Robert. "National Eugenics in Relation to Immigration." *The North American Review* 192, no. 656 (1910): 56-67.
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/25106709>.

This source exemplifies the nativist and anti-immigrant sentiment that existed in North America by stating that Anglo-Saxons, Germans, Irish, and many other Eastern European immigrants were inherently less intelligent and prone to feeble-mindedness. It states that the ideal eugenics aim would be to analyze each immigrant pedigree and determine which individuals must be targeted, but acknowledges that this is impossible and that a more realistic approach would be to perform physical examinations and administer tests to determine which people of immigrant status must be "prevented from breeding". After learning that Leilani Muir was Irish-Polish and Catholic, we were prompted to research more about how her Eastern European heritage impacted her institutionalization and sterilization, as many immigrants were targeted through eugenic practices.

Graycar, Regina. "Compensation for the stolen children: Political judgments and community values." *UNSWLJ* 21 (1998): 253.

<https://heinonline.org/HOL/LandingPage?handle=hein.journals/swales21&div=26&id=&page=&t=1559942789>

In 1998, shortly after Muir's court case victory against Alberta in 1995, Graycar wrote this work to voice her belief that government compensation cannot make up for the pain endured by sterilization victims. This helped us recognize the limitations to Muir's victory in court against Alberta. However, Graycar's belief is similar to what we had learned through our interview with Yale University's Professor Daniel Kevles, both exemplifying the bridge between history's acceptance of limited human rights to a new era of intolerance for unjust policies.

Grekul, J., Krahn, H., & Odynak, D. (2004). Sterilizing the "Feeble-minded": Eugenics in Alberta, Canada, 1929-1972. *Journal of Historical Sociology* 17: 358-384.

This source analyzes each section within the Sterilization Act in Alberta. Specifically, in reading through the third section, we found that it created a Eugenics Board which was intended to make the decisions about their sterilization candidates. In other words, they had the power to authorize those deemed “mentally defective”. We saw how the Eugenics Board was made in order to administer the sterilization act, and the tragedies it created for victims like Leilani. While we did not mention it on our exhibit, we saw value in researching this as it provided us with a better and in-depth knowledge of Leilani’s case.

Therefore, we chose to include a quote from this source under her childhood tragedies that discussed the impacts of nativism on eugenics. Grekul addresses how, at the time, eugenicists believed that eastern European immigrants were prone to feeble-mindedness and insisted on institutionalization and sterilization of those that were feeble-minded. We thought this was a good way to portray that Leilani’s Irish-Polish and Catholic background played into her institutionalization at Red Deer.

Kazak, Anne E. *Usa Today Article: Topics by Science.gov*, American Psychological Association, 1 Jan. 2009, [www.science.gov/topicpages/u/usa today article.html](http://www.science.gov/topicpages/u/usa+today+article.html).

This source provided us with the first quote used on the timeline displayed on the exhibit, explaining the evolving of Darwinist ideals into more eugenic ideas, which were introduced by Francis Galton. These concepts were the basis for and continuation of discrimination towards people considered “abnormal” from the typical white citizen at the time. Thus, laying the foundations for the support of eugenic breeding.

Wahlsten, D. (1997). "Leilani Muir versus the philosopher king: Eugenics on trial in Alberta". *Genetica*, 99: 185-198.
combinationjournals.library.ualberta.ca/pi/index.php/pi/article/view/18879/14667

This source gave us an interesting perspective by placing the eugenics movement in Canada in context with sterilization measures during

WWII. It concludes that the Alberta Sterilization Act was passed and implemented with cavalier disregard for the principles of genetics as well as basic human rights. We used this source to reinforce the unethical practices and monumental role of government in determining the future of thousands of sterilization victims. Further, the source provided many details depicting the admission of Leilani into the Provincial Training School for Mental Defectives as well as her road to sterilization and the court verdict. We took such information from this source to shape our student text and quotes to expand on those ideas on each slide of our exhibit.

One detail that really stood out to us in Wahlsten's analysis was that in 1989 Leilani took another I.Q. test to see if she would be a good prospect for group therapy and scored an 89. This surprised Dr. George Kurbatoff, who was administering her test, as it was well above the level of a "mentally defective moron" as she was earlier diagnosed. Because of her harsh childhood environment, doctors came to believe that Leilani never had a mental deficiency, but an emotional trauma. While we believed this was an important factor in leading her to sue the Albertan government, in the end, we chose not to incorporate this into our exhibit as we came to find that her decision to sue was also driven by her stigmatization and unfair treatment throughout life. We believed that her road to seeking justice could be better portrayed through that.

Newspaper Articles

"FIRST INTERNATIONAL EUGENICS CONGRESS." *British Medical Journal* vol. 2,2692 (1912): 253-255.

This was a newspaper article written about the first international eugenics congress that took place in 1912. There was a total of three congresses that took place, and it created a location for researchers over the world to discuss the application of eugenic programs to improve heredity. This source showed us that the ideas developed by Galton had won many adherents globally. We decided to include this on our timeline at the bottom of the context panel in order to portray

the idea that the fervor for eugenics began picking up, ultimately spreading to Canada.

Play

Cherios, David. "Invisible Child: Leilani Muir and the Alberta Eugenics Board." (2012).

This source was a play produced by David Cherios based on Leilani's story. It has served as a reminder as to how important Leilani's past is to learn about, and helps to keep the history of eugenics in the minds of people in Alberta and beyond. We decided to include an image of the playbill for *Invisible Child* on the triumph slide of our exhibit and indirectly address this on our impact slide when we talk about the change and influence Leilani's case brought to researchers and Albertans.

Photographs

Brad, Plumer. *What Is CRISPR? And Why Should You Care?* August 6, 2018. Genetic Literacy Project.

An infographic clipping is included on the exhibit from this source, showing a scientist's hand editing a DNA molecule. This photo is utilized as a visual balance to the quotational information under this genome editing section of the lasting impact slide.

"Can CRISPR Really save Lives?" Genetic Literacy Project. January 09, 2019.

<https://geneticliteracyproject.org/2017/12/15>.

This source contains an infographic clipping that was used on the lasting impact slide of the exhibit, and serves as a visual break between quotational information. The genome editing portion of the exhibit is intended to provide an interesting and present day issue concerning the history of eugenics and how the abilities of new technologies can potentially evolve into "newgenics".

Canadian Province of Alberta Seal. *VH Blackinton*.

This is photograph taken of an official seal for the Province of Alberta. While this source did not provide any information about context to Leilani's sterilization, we decided to use it as a visual balance, or a mirroring "badge" to the propaganda as we thought it was an easier way for people to see where Leilani's story takes place.

"Leilani Muir". *The Canadian Press, Edmonton Journal*. (1994).

This photograph of Muir was taken right before the verdict was announced in her court case. We paired this picture with a quote of the verdict under the sentiments section on the tragedy slide to show the lasting consequences and loss of human rights that had gone largely unnoticed by society during the fervor for eugenics.

"Leilani Muir victim survivor share her story a Whisper Past". (last updated 2 June, 2018)

This photograph shows Leilani holding up her book, *A Whisper Past*, in which she recounts on her experiences with an abusive mother, at the institution, and after her sterilization. At the end of this book, she mentions that she hopes to continue to speak out about her story through books, speeches, etc. She does not want for history to repeat, especially if it is such a dark chapter. We thought that this showed the impact she has had in Alberta and decided to include it as a visual to support the quotes that described her impact.

"Look back in Anger - Leilani outside Red Deer" Playing God with people's lives. Emily Buchanan *Guardian Weekly* March 23 1997.

This photograph was taken of Leilani Muir on a visit to the place where her sterilization had occurred. According to Buchanan, the reporter who was with her at the time, Leilani had tears rolling down her face as she reminisced: "How could a mother hate her daughter so much to have left me here?" We thought this was a powerful visual as it embodies the sentiments slide perfectly, thus, we placed it on the slide next to a quote which highlights the haunting memories Muir took away from her time at the institution.

"Muir v. The Queen in Right of Alberta." *Graham Thomson: Leilani Muir Helped Shine Light on Alberta's Dark Past*,
edmontonjournal.com/news/politics/graham-thomson-leilani-muir-helped-shine-light-on-albertas-dark-past.

This is a photograph of Leilani Muir in the courtroom. She is pictured as the focus of this photograph, wiping away tears that had gathered in her eyes. The person that captured this moment claimed, "It [Leilani's story] was the only story I have ever covered that made me furious. Not just angry or frustrated, but tears-in-my-eyes outraged". Under the Albertan legislation about sterilized, thousands of Albertans were sterilized after they were diagnosed as "defective" and therefore unable to produce children. This was, as Edmonton put it, a disgraceful chapter in Alberta's history and largely forgotten until Leilani's lawsuit. She was an unlikely and reluctant hero that combated the tragedies of Alberta's sexual sterilization acts. She encouraged hundreds of other victims to champion this cause as well, and rebuild a united society. Thus, we wanted to show her importance through this photograph of her tears, symbolizing the struggles she went through in order to regain justice for victims that had gone through wrongful sterilization.

"She was an inspiring woman': Albertans honour Leilani O'Malley". Global News. *The Canadian Press*. (16 March, 2016).

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Research Papers

Bowal, Peter, and Kelsey Pecson. "Eugenics and Leilani Muir." (2011).

Reporting about the aftermath of Muir's case victory in Alberta, this paper details the government response and how Premier Klein reacted to not only her victory but also how the government responded after anticipating hundreds of sterilization victims to sue the province as well. In efforts to curb such large compensation to each victim, Bill 26 was introduced and attempted to limit compensation given to each sterilization victim to \$150,000 and also established a cap to all claims. This bill was quickly dissolved due to

popular opinion, illustrating to us the large anti-eugenic social response that Muir's case encouraged by achieving national headlines throughout Canada. This source helped us understand key government limitations placed on sterilization victims even after the Act's repeal. Information about Bill 26 was included in student text as well as in limitations to Muir's victory under the triumph panel.

Park, Deborah C., and John P. Radford. "From the case files: reconstructing a history of involuntary sterilisation." *Disability & Society* 13, no. 3 (1998): 317-342.

This source analyzes various sterilization cases sent to Alberta's Eugenics Board and contains clinical reports, diagnoses, and various patient histories, many of which parallel Muir's experience at the Provincial Training School at Red Deer. This paper also provides detailed information as to why each individual was sterilized and provides trends and patterns seen throughout all cases, citing general "feeble-mindedness" and the frequent use of IQ tests to diagnose and condemn patients to sterilization. Muir was diagnosed as a "mentally defective moron" due to her IQ score of 64, and this source contains other scores under 70 for other sterilization victims. When we conducted further research, we found that Muir retook an IQ test and scored much higher, suggesting that such IQ tests were faulty at the time and many of these victims were in fact sterilized for other biased reasons. This led us to research the anti-immigrant sentiments in North America, the role of socioeconomic status in sterilization approval, and the social ideas of Progressivism and Laurierism that supported eugenics for social betterment.

MacKellar, Calum. "Gene Editing and the New Eugenics." *Dignitas*. January 01, 1970. <https://cbhd.org/content/gene-editing-and-new-eugenics>.

This paper described the possibility of editing the genome revolutionizing biological research. It mentions CRISPR-Cas9 editing, somatic, and germ-line editing within cells. It discusses all of the implications of such technologies and touches on the ethical side as well. Here, MacKellar connects such ideas to the previous history of eugenics by portraying the idea that germline selection needs to be examined closely in order to prevent procedures that could be

considered eugenic. Therefore, we were inspired to include a synthesis section on our exhibit in which we discussed the correlations between modern technologies and Leilani's story, which reminds modern science to remain ethical.

Malacrida, Claudia. "Contested memories: efforts of the powerful to silence former inmates' histories of life in an institution for 'mental defectives'." *Disability & Society* 21, no. 5 (2006): 397-410.

This paper details the difficulty in obtaining the physical records from sterilization patients and the heavy reliance upon testimonies from sterilization victims to formulate court cases against the Albertan government. This gave us few details about the other victims cases since many of their individual court details were not as readily available as Muir's case. This aided in the formation of student text for the lasting impact slide of the exhibit.

Textbook

Brinkley, Alan. *American History: Connecting with the past*. New York, NY: McGraw-Hill Education, 2017.

This textbook was written by Alan Brinkley which covers the key concepts and themes throughout United States history. In reading this, we came across our inspiration for this topic. Previously, neither one of us was aware that the eugenics movement existed. We were both fascinated and horrified by this topic, yet Brinkley's textbook had only a brief excerpt describing this period in United States history. This called us to pursue further research in the eugenics movement. Additionally, this textbook was also able to provide us with a detailed description of the historical context pertaining to the eugenics movement. Brinkley's text gave us insight about the progressive era and nativist sentiments that arose during peak periods of immigration, and how those contributed to the ideas leading up to eugenics.

Video

Surviving Eugenics. (2015). [video] Directed by J. Miller, N. Fairbrother and R. Wilson. Alberta: Living Archives on Eugenics in Western Canada project.

This is a documentary about the history and ongoing significance of eugenics which provides a unique insider's view of life in institutions for the "feeble-minded", and raises broader questions about disability, human variation, and contemporary social policies. This film features Leilani Muir and details her experiences at the institution and her sterilization, providing us with additional insight on her story and her raw sentiments towards this period in history. From here, we took our quote which is featured on the context slide of our exhibit and details the horrors of eugenics. We were also able to incorporate the trailer for this documentary as an audio component on our impact slide as we thought it brought a compelling view to revealing what life was like for sterilization victims.

Websites

"Alberta Sterilization Act." *The Eugenics Archives*, eugenicsarchive.org

This source described the Alberta Sterilization Act that was passed in 1928. It details each section and the four main points of the Act, including the creation of a Eugenics Board and the conditions required for sterilization. We thought this was a condensed excerpt discussing the Act and decided to use it as our fourth timeline quote.

"Eugenics' Coined by Galton - Eugenics Timeline." *The Eugenics Archives*, eugenicsarchive.ca/discover/timeline

This explains the emergence of Francis Galton's ideas that evolved from Darwinism and precipitated the new eugenics movement that would soon grow in fervor throughout North America and the world. This was important in establishing historical context and provided better understanding of what ideas preceded the eugenics movement.

"International Eugenics." *The Eugenics Archives*, eugenicsarchive.org

This source described the history of eugenics and how it spread from Great Britain to other parts of the world such as Germany, the United

States, Canada, France, Norway, etc. We thought this was important in portraying how the fervor for eugenics became international after Galton's theories were published. Thus, we included an excerpt from this source in our third timeline quote to show the international eugenics organizations.

Kurbegovic, E. (2013, September 14). Bill 26. Retrieved June 8, 2019, from

<http://eugenicsarchive.ca/discover/timeline/5233cd305c2ec500000000a5>

This article from the Living Archives Project by the University of Alberta is written about the Albertan government response to Muir's victory and when the government realized they would be facing a class action lawsuit from more than 700 other victims. This article explains that the government passed Bill 26, which placed a monetary limit on compensation given to all victims. This quote is included with more detail on the limitations subsection of the triumph panel on the exhibit with further details. This was important for us to see how Muir's case inspired popular opinion and social movements that were strong enough to resist such legislation, and caused it to dissolve nearly immediately after it was proposed.

Lyster, A. (n.d.). Alberta repeals the Sexual Sterilization Act. Retrieved June 8, 2019, from

<http://eugenicsarchive.ca/database/documents/517310e2eed5c60000000032>

This article provides explanation as to why the Sterilization Act was repealed in Alberta, and mentions the actions of David King, the head of Legislative Assembly, who had a large role in its repeal in 1972. A quote from this article is included on the timeline on the triumph panel, which details that the Act violates the basic rights of many and that the province can no longer uphold such unjust policies.

Lyster, C. (2013, September 14). Newgenics. Retrieved June 8, 2019, from

<http://www.eugenicsarchive.ca/discover/connections/5233c4395c2ec5000000008a>

This article describes the connection between gene editing technologies and the ethical dangers of renewing eugenics by using such technology. Without established legislation or guidelines to be

followed internationally, there is a chance that eugenic ideas can be renewed in the future. A quote from this article is included on the lasting impact panel in order to explain this connection.

"Muir, Leilani." *The Eugenics Archives*, eugenicsarchive.org

This source described the process of Muir's institutionalization and sterilization with details of her diagnostic testing and approval process. We thought this was also an adequate, condensed excerpt discussing Leilani's story and decided to use it as our fifth and sixth timeline quotes respectively.

Report of the IBC on Updating Its Reflection on the Human Genome and Human Rights. 2015, *Report of the IBC on Updating Its Reflection on the Human Genome and Human Rights*, unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000233258.

This report released by UNESCO contains a section used for the last timeline quotation displayed on the exhibit. The report is about the dangers of a renewed eugenics movement amidst new gene-editing technologies and how this can be prevented by placing guidelines to be followed when conducting such research. This provided us with implications in the future of Leilani's case, as her and countless others' tragedies remind modern and future society to remain ethical in scientific pursuits that include genetic composition editing.