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## Memoirs of a Dissident Psychologist

Richard Lynn

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To write an autobiography is an egotistical exercise and I would not have thought of undertaking it had not two or three friends urged me that they, and they believed others, would be interested in my impressions of a number of eminent people whom I have known, and who include Nobel Prize winners Cecil Powell, William Shockley, Francis Crick and Jim Watson, and numerous Fellows of the Royal Society, the British Academy and the American National Academy of Sciences. People would also be interested, they said, in hearing how I came to develop my controversial conclusions regarding racial and sex differences in intelligence. For several years I demurred, but eventually my friends have prevailed and so now, as I approach the age of ninety and likely at any time to cross the bourne from which no traveller returns, I have acceded to this suggestion and begin to tap the keyboard.

And so to begin, I was conceived by mistake on a hot June day, or more probably night, in 1929 in New York and nine months later I was born in the London suburb of Hampstead on the 20<sup>th</sup> of February, 1930. It was there that I spent my first five years. My mother and I lived in a flat quite close to Hampstead Heath, famous from the paintings of Constable, and now a haunt of homosexuals cruising for casual partners, but in those days a thoroughly respectable place. My earliest memory dates to when I was three and is of being lost on the Heath. Some kindly person found me wandering alone and took me to the Police Station, where in due course I was collected by my mother. This was perhaps an early instance of my propensity to strike out in new directions, which has been an abiding characteristic. The child is father to the man.

My mother was a single parent, so I had something of a deprived upbringing. My lack of a father was to some extent compensated for by my mother's parents William and Agnes Freeman who lived close by and we had lunch with them every Sunday. They kept a box of plasticine for me to play with. I looked forward to this and asked to be allowed to take the plasticine home, and I was quite disappointed when this was refused. No doubt this was because its function was to keep me occupied and quiet. It was at one of these Sunday lunches that I made my first recorded utterance, which was "I had better shut the door, otherwise a giraffe will come in".

My mother was born in 1905 and christened Marjorie Freeman. She disliked her Christian name and when she was eighteen she announced that she wished to be known as Ann. This was an early sign of her unconventionality which she was to display throughout her life. She spent her first eleven years with her parents in Trinidad and then went to live with her aunt Louisa in Bournemouth where she attended the girls' High School. When she was fourteen, a wealthy family

friend offered to pay for her to go to Harrogate Ladies' College. This was a socially superior institution at which the girls played lacrosse rather than netball that was played at more downmarket schools. Her parents accepted this offer. When she was sixteen, she took the Matric examination, so called because those who passed adequately obtained the matriculate qualification needed for universities and other tertiary colleges. My mother scraped a pass but did not excel in this and blamed her modest performance on her interrupted schooling. There may be some justification in this, but I believe the truth is that my mother did not have the necessary IQ to do well. I think that her IQ was about average. This was a considerable regression to the mean because both her parents and two of her brothers (Frank and Edwin) had graduated in science at Imperial College so their IQs must have been at least 125. Possibly she had suffered some degree of oxygen deprivation at birth, or had inherited an adverse new mutation or an adverse recessive gene from both her parents that impaired her IQ. This would have been inherited by an average of one in four children, in accordance with Mendel's famous ratio, and my mother happened to be one of these. If this is so, I will be a carrier. We all have several of these adverse recessives which generally have no effect, except when we mate with someone who has the same one.

Some time after leaving school, my mother joined her father in Trinidad, where he was the Director of Agriculture, to act as his house keeper, as his wife did not like the climate and had returned to England. Her father was a keen bridge player and used to rope her in to play when a fourth was needed, but she did not excel at the game which requires a high IQ to play well.

My father was Sydney Harland, a geneticist who was working at this time in Trinidad on the genetics of cotton and of whom I will give an account at the end of the chapter. He knew my grandfather who also worked on the genetics of various plants, so naturally they were acquainted and through this Sydney Harland came to know my mother. The two of them evidently developed a romantic relationship that was difficult to conceal in the small world of ex-pats in Trinidad. Accordingly, in 1929 my mother went to New York and looked for a job. After a number of unsuccessful applications she obtained an interview with a carpet manufacturer who asked her if she could design carpets. "Oh sure" my mother replied, although she had no experience of any kind in carpet design. She was however offered the job and worked for a while designing carpets in the debased Persian style fashionable at that period. This was the time of the great depression when there was high unemployment, and my mother later told me that she saw a number of homeless men sleeping in the parks, and this convinced her that capitalism wasn't working and she became a communist.

In the early summer of 1929 my mother was joined by Sydney Harland and they lived together for a short while during which my mother conceived me. Sydney Harland was married at the time

although separated from his wife, so my mother's pregnancy was a problem. A possible solution would have been for my mother to have her baby in New York and give it up for adoption, but she decided that she would keep her baby. They decided between them that the only solution was for my mother to return to England to have her baby and live near her mother and father, who had now retired and were living in London. My father thought it would be desirable for my mother to be married so he invented the name of Richard Lynn and paid a taxi driver to marry her in a New York registry office, from which she acquired a marriage certificate. He then bought her a wedding ring, gave her £100, bought her a single ticket for the ship to Southampton and saw her off to England. My father has described all this in his autobiography *A Yorkshire Scientist*.

After my mother's voyage across the Atlantic, she arrived in England in the fall of 1929 and went to stay with her mother and father. She told them that she was pregnant and that while she was in New York she had met and married a certain Richard Lynn, a mining engineer, who had unhappily been killed in a mining accident shortly after their marriage. Her parents must have thought it strange that my mother had not written to them and told them of these events and I don't know whether believed this story but whether they did or not, they tactfully accepted it. My mother had her baby in February, 1930. It was a boy, and she called him Richard in memory of her late lamented fictitious husband.

We remained in Hampstead for the next five years. When I was five my mother obtained a job in Croydon, a suburb in the south of London. Her father brought her a two-down three-up house like the many millions of others built between the two world wars. My mother let the first floor rooms and we lived on the ground floor. I went to the local state primary school. My mother had not taught me to read, as many mothers do, so I was still not able to read when I started school. I well remember that when we were being taught to read in the first year class there were some little girls who were already fluent readers, while I sat staring at the incomprehensible hieroglyphs on the printed page in front of me. This was the first occasion in my life that I was conscious of an uncomfortable feeling of inferiority.

Once I was able to read I cannot say that I became a serious reader. I cannot claim that my reading matter was in any sense highbrow or even middle brow. The only books I remember reading were Rachel Crompton's William stories (*Just William, More William* and so on) about a mischievous 11-year-old boy and his band of friends, known as "The Outlaws" who was always getting into scrapes, disliked washing and hated girls. Apart from these, my taste in reading lay in the direction of comics rather than books, although my preference was for the more

cerebral ones that contained stories rather than strip cartoons. My favourite was called the *Hotspur*, long since defunct, which appeared weekly, and I looked forward eagerly to Fridays when each new issue came out. It ran several story lines in which the same characters appeared in each issue. My favourite was set in Greyfriars, a posh boarding school where the boys were toffs who wore black jackets, white shirts with starched collars and pin-striped trousers, as was common at public schools in those days, and had adventures like midnight feasts, raiding the boys of other houses and attacking them with pillows and so on. It was through the *Hotspur* that I gained my first knowledge of the world of public schools like Eton and Harrow that were attended by boys of the upper and upper middle classes.

In most ways I believe my childhood was quite ordinary and normal. I was not at all intellectually precocious. I certainly did not write a history of the world at the age of five, or read and write in Latin, Greek or French, like John Stuart Mill and Francis Galton, or compose sonatas and give virtuoso performances like Mozart and Beethoven. My mother was not ambitious for me to excel academically and did not make any efforts to accelerate my intellectual development.

I had a couple of friends who were of course boys with whom I played boys' games. They were both cubs, so I too joined the cubs, but I cannot say that I was a committed member of the pack. Cubs were encouraged to pass tests of various accomplishments and if you passed one of these tests you were given a badge which was sewn on the upper arm of the uniform. The only one of these I acquired was for learning the names of different kinds of knots and knowing how to tie them. I dutifully learned how to tie the reef knot, the clove hitch, the half-hitch and the like, although I don't think these skills have ever been of any value to me, and I acquired the badge, which my proud mother sewed on my uniform. If you acquired six of these badges you became a sixer, but I never achieved this distinction. The truth is that I was not that bothered about acquiring a lot of badges and becoming a sixer. This was an early indication that I am not designed by temperament to join organizations and make my way up their hierarchies. My son Matthew has inherited this characteristic.

One of my early memories at this time is of a train journey during which I was plying my mother with questions. They must have been things like "Mum, why is the sun hot?", "Mum, why is the moon yellow?" and so on. My mother was not scientifically knowledgeable and

was rarely able to answer these questions. Eventually she became exasperated and burst out “Oh why, why, why? Do shut up”. I was quite hurt by this rebuff. I think this may be an early indication that I have a strong need for knowledge and stimulation. I have often noticed that many people in railway carriages, doctors’ waiting rooms and so on sit and stare into space. I find this unendurable and always make sure I have a book or newspaper to read.

Political events did not impinge much on my life in these early years. However, in 1936 I became aware of the furore over the newly crowned king Edward VIII and his desire to marry Mrs Simpson. The general feeling among us six year olds was against this union. We sang the ditty “She’s been married twice before/Now she’s knocking at Edward’s door”. The prime minister, Stanley Baldwin and the Archbishop of Canterbury, Cosmo Lang, apparently agreed with us and engineered the king’s abdication at the end of the year.

When I was eight my two friends and I went to a cubs’ summer camp, where we played games like rounders and Cowboys and Indians, rambled through woods, lit fires and so on under the supervision of three or four adult scout masters. We slept in rows of tents and the doors of these were normally left open during the day. One day as I was walking past the row of tents I noticed one had its door closed and I felt an impulse to peep inside. What I saw was the naked body of one of the scout masters spread-eagled over a cub. I still retain a vivid memory of this bizarre scene. I did not fully understand what was going on but I sensed that it was something improper and I beat a hasty retreat. This was my first introduction to one of the less edifying manifestations of human sexuality.

We used to visit my grandparents quite often and during these visits my grandfather William Freeman taught me to play chess. I took to the game and we played it quite often. I liked both the challenge of the game and the romance of the kings, queens, bishops, knights and castles, all with their different strengths and weaknesses, just like human beings, and the humble pawns or foot soldiers that could only move forwards one step at a time, except for their first move, and were so often sacrificed for the greater good. However, my grandfather pointed out that there is some social mobility in chess, as in life, as when a pawn who manages to reach the last row becomes a queen.

My grandfather also taught me to play bridge. He was a keen player and taught me several of the

basic principles such as how to finesse, second player plays low, as defender not to lead away from aces and kings, as well as useful dicta including “Many a man sleeps on the Thames embankment because he failed to draw trumps”. Sometimes he would rope me in to make up a four. I found bridge a fascinating game and have continued to play it on and off throughout my life. To be really good at bridge requires a very high IQ including a capacity for inductive and deductive logic, the assessment of probabilities and a good working memory, i.e. the ability to hold information in a short term memory store while attending to the problem in hand. Later when I came to know Hans Eysenck, I was interested to learn that he was a keen bridge player during his adolescence in Berlin and used to make a small income by playing for money and fleecing old ladies.

One of the things I have noticed playing with fairly good players at bridge clubs is that people with quite distinguished professional careers are not invariably good players. I have known several professors who are quite indifferent players and some physicians who are quite poor. These must have quite modest IQs and it is a bit scary that they make life or death decisions about their patients. Conversely, I have encountered other players who have modest careers and even some who do semi-skilled work who are excellent players. These must have high IQs. I have learned from this that there are many people who do not use their high IQs to their full advantage and that there is much more than IQ to success in life, including motivation, application and, of course, luck.

It was that from my grandfather that I learned about evolution. He explained how Alfred Wallace discovered evolution independently from Darwin, although Darwin unjustly received all the credit, and he told me about how those who disputed evolution raised the problem of “the missing link”, as it was called at that time, between apes and humans, and that this problem was solved when Raymond Dart discovered “the missing link” (the *australopithecines*) in the 1920s. I was fascinated by all this and was disappointed when I was taught biology at school and again when I studied psychology at Cambridge to find that there was no mention of evolution.

During my childhood I was a keen collector of various items. At different times I collected postage stamps, birds’ eggs, coins, match box tops, butterflies and cigarette cards. The last of these were cards that were included in cigarette packets. They came out in series of around fifty bearing different pictures on a particular theme, such as birds, cricketers, soldiers of different regiments, warships and the like. Collectors of these cards endeavoured to acquire a complete set and paste them into albums that were printed for this purpose. I and other small boys used to search the streets for discarded cigarette packets in the hope of finding a card inside. Occasionally I would strike lucky and find one that I did not already have. It was one of life’s disappointments if there was a card inside but on inspection I already had it, though there was the consolation that it might be swapped for one I needed. I liked building up these collections. In later life I secured the same

satisfaction from building up collections of the IQs of different peoples and nations.

I built up quite an extensive collection of stamps which I used to get out and show to my mother's friends when they visited. It took a long while to work through my album and my victims must have grown quite weary, but they were generally too polite to stop me until the task was completed. As with other collections, the objective was to acquire complete sets such as all the values of British stamps issued in the reign of George VI. A lot of stamps could be acquired free from envelopes, but they could also be purchased from dealers. Stamp collecting was much more common in those days than it is today, when children have so many other more interesting alternatives.

It must be difficult for young people today to understand the poverty of the 1930s. Few people had cars, central heating, telephones or refrigerators, things that even many of the poor possess today. I remember my first ride in a car when I was about seven as a great adventure. There were numerous tramps who slept rough and went from house to house asking for a cup of tea. These are rarely seen today but were a common sight in my childhood and I would often see them picking up cigarette butts, extracting the remains of the tobacco and saving it in a tin. When they had built up a sufficient store they would roll their own cigarette from these discards and light up. But although we are so much more affluent today, psychological research has shown that we are no happier. Happiness seems to consist mainly of satisfying personal relationships, work and doing better than other people.

My childhood was happy and not particularly eventful until I was half way through my ninth year, when we declared war on Germany because of Hitler's invasion of Poland. I well remember the solemn broadcast to the nation by Neville Chamberlain, the Prime Minister, over the radio on 3 September, 1939, announcing that "we are now at war with Germany", and I was old enough to understand the worrying import of this ominous news. Everyone was issued with gas-masks which were quite scary and had an unpleasant rubbery smell. People were apprehensive that the Germans might invade in a week or two, or that they might bomb London and other cities, and many children were evacuated to the country for safety. My mother shared these concerns. She had some friends called

Hayes who lived in the village of Ambleside in the Lake District in the north of England, and she persuaded them to take me in as an evacuee. The Hayes ran a nursery garden business and were much more affluent than us. They lived in a large house with a large garden and employed a maid who wore a black dress with a white pinafore. She was called Mary Bow and was about twenty. I was conscious of having moved up socially in the world. However, I was not to enjoy this elevated status for long. After I had been with the Hayes for a month they decided I was too much trouble and arranged for me to move to the maid's family. This consisted of Mary and her mother and father who lived in a humble terrace cottage. The lavatory was in a shed some way down the garden. Below the seat there was a pit which had a distinctive and not wholly unpleasant smell - a cocktail of faeces, urine and disinfectant. If I were to smell it today, I would be immediately transported back in time in a Proustian remembrance of things past. Mr Bow was a labourer and swore like a trooper which I considered rather improper. I became aware that after I had moved up socially in my brief sojourn with the Hayes, I had now gone down quite a number of rungs in the social hierarchy. This was my first experience of the notorious English class system.

On Saturday mornings I used to go with few of my friends to the local cinema that we knew as "the Flicks". The films were of four principal types – romances, westerns, African missionary dramas and slap-stick comedies. We boys did not think much of the romances. The ones we liked best were the westerns. The African missionary dramas always had the same story line consisting of a couple of white missionaries who are captured by a tribe of natives. The natives plan to kill them and then cook them in a large pot and while they are planning this do a lot of chanting and jumping up and down. The men have oval shields and spears and their faces are painted with white streaks. Eventually a small group of whites comes to the rescue and, although greatly outnumbered, kills most of the blacks and rescues the captives. There must be dozens of these long forgotten films gathering dust in some archive. The slap-stick comedies were of the Charlie Chaplin genre in which people threw custard pies at each others' faces. I found that nearly all the audience laughed uproariously at these, but I did not find them at all funny. This

has often been my experience in later life. This was an early sign of my limited sense of humour.

These visits to the local cinema further heightened my consciousness of class distinctions. We boys sat in the front row in the cheapest seats, which cost three pence. The next three or four rows behind were considered more desirable and cost six pence. These were occupied by girls from a local private girls' boarding school. These girls wore smart green school uniforms and I was aware they were clearly of a higher social class than us boys from the council school.

Despite a growing awareness of my social inferiority, I was quite happy living with the Bows for the next few years. Ambleside is at the north end of Lake Windermere, in which my friends and I used to swim during the summer months. There was a raft moored about a hundred yards offshore and we would swim out to it and lie in the sun for a while, and then swim back to shore. Lying in the sun to dry off after a swim was one of my minor pleasures, and remains so to this day.

The winter of 1940-41 was exceptionally cold. There were heavy falls of snow that was shovelled into banks by the roadside, leaving in minor roads only a small passage for pedestrians. Lake Windermere froze over and people were able to skate on the ice. I managed to borrow a pair of ice skates and join them. It is quite hilly in that part of England, so we boys had a lot of fun tobogganing down the hillsides.

During the evenings I sat with the Bows in their living room and either read or listened to the radio or wireless, as it was called in those days. Sometimes I would hear Vera Lynn singing *Someday we'll meet again* and *The white cliffs of Dover*. She was known as the forces' sweetheart and I proudly but incorrectly believed she was a relation. I also heard the news and was able to follow the progress of the war. Throughout 1940 the news was dire as Germany defeated and occupied Belgium, the Netherlands, Denmark, Norway and northern and western France, and established a puppet regime in the remainder of France. In May, the army we sent to northern France was heavily outnumbered and outgunned by the Germans who defeated it, captured a lot of our armaments and killed around 60,000 of our soldiers. The rest had to be rescued from the beaches at Dunkirk which was presented as a kind of victory which of

course it wasn't. Germany was joined by Italy, Hungary, Romania and Yugoslavia, and the Italians invaded and occupied Greece and Crete. By the end 1940 the whole of continental Europe was occupied by Germany and her allies, apart from Finland, Sweden, Switzerland, Spain, Portugal, and the Soviet Union.

Towards the end of 1940 the Germans began to bomb British cities, starting with London and Coventry. This became known as the Blitz. My mother decided that she would be safer out of London. She decided to move to Bristol because she was very friendly with my half-sister Margaret who was only about ten years younger than her and was a junior doctor. The Blitz continued into 1941, during the course of which all major British cities were bombed, including Bristol.

In June, 1941, I heard on the radio that the Germans invaded Russia. I was elated by this news because I knew that Napoleon had invaded Russia and been defeated not so much by the Russians as by the harsh winter known as General Ice and Marshall Snow, and I thought it likely that the Germans might suffer the same fate. However, the Germans were spectacularly successful and pushed far into European Russia up to the outskirts of Moscow and Leningrad. The Russians managed to hold the two cities but it was not until the winter of 1942 that they defeated the Germans at Stalingrad. I well remember hearing this news on the radio. There was more good news in December, 1941, when the United States entered the war following the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbour.

These events made me and many of us in Britain more optimistic about the eventual outcome of the war. With Russia and the United States as our allies, we had many more men than the Germans and her allies, and it seemed common sense that the side with the largest numbers was likely to win.

By the end of 1943 I was becoming increasingly conscious that my life at the Ambleside village school was on a slow track to no-where, and that if I was to make anything of my life I needed to get a decent education at a good school. The German bombing of British cities had largely ceased and the obvious thing seemed to be for me to join my mother in Bristol. I looked up the Bristol schools in a reference book in the Ambleside public library and found that the leading academic school in the city was the Bristol Grammar School, which the burghers of the city had founded in 1532 for the education of their sons. I wrote to my mother suggesting I should join her in Bristol and seek admission to the school. My mother was always indulgent to my requests and agreed to this one, and so in the late December of 1943 I left Ambleside and arrived in Bristol, where my mother arranged for me to sit the entrance examination for the Bristol Grammar School. When I

took the examination I had a bit of a shock. The papers in mathematics and history contained quite a lot of questions that I could not answer adequately or even at all because I had not been taught them at the Ambleside village school. Nevertheless, my performance was evidently sufficiently satisfactory for me to be admitted to the school.

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I will pause here to give an account of my father, Sydney Harland. He was born in 1891 in Snainton, a village in the North Riding of Yorkshire, about twelve miles inland from Scarborough. He went to the village school and at the age of ten won a scholarship to Scarborough Municipal School. In 1909 he won one of three university scholarships awarded by the North Riding authority and he went up to King's College, London, to read geology.

When he was a student Sydney lodged with his brother Oswald and with Margaret Storm Jameson, who had been at Scarborough Municipal School with them. They shared a house in Herne Hill, from which they walked past the Elephant and Castle and over Waterloo Bridge to King's College in the Strand. Sydney was a leading member of a society called the Eikonoklasts, a group of young socialists and anarchists dedicated to the critique and derision of bourgeois values and beliefs. Margaret Storm Jameson wrote an account of Sydney in her autobiography. She describes him as a schoolboy as "eccentric, tumbling from scrape to scrape, suspected of insolence, blasphemy and genius, and pouring out a torrent of ideas on socialism, atheism and anarchy", and as a student "his mind was an active volcano of ideas and speculations; the label fixed on him was: brilliant but probably unsound". Subsequent events were to show this description was close to the mark.

After graduating, Sydney obtained a job in 1913 as a teacher at a school in St. Croix in the Caribbean. He was shortly recruited by Dr Longford Smith as an assistant at the Agricultural Experiment Station to work on the genetics of cotton. This lasted for about a year and soon afterwards, in early 1915 he was obtained a job as assistant agricultural officer in St Vincent to do further work on the genetics of cotton and a number of other plants. In the same year he had an affair with a young Mulatto woman called Ann De Lairre, as a result of which she had a son George who later emigrated to New York. Later in 1915, he married Emily Cameron. Their daughter Margaret was born in 1916 and their second daughter, Elizabeth, was born in 1917.

In 1916, Lloyd-George, the British Prime Minister, introduced conscription to produce more men to replace the several hundred thousand who had been killed fighting in France. Sydney was not conscripted because he was born with a club foot, as a result of which he walked with a limp. If it had not been for this, he would have conscripted and might well have been another of those whose bodies lie under the white crosses in Flanders Fields.

During the five years that he spent in St Vincent, Sydney published a number of papers on the genetics of cotton. In 1919, he submitted these to the University of London for a D.Sc., which he was awarded. In 1920, he returned to England to take up an appointment as head of the Botany Department at the Shirley Institute for research on cotton in Manchester. In 1923, he was appointed Professor of Botany and Genetics at the Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture in Trinidad. Later in the 1920s, the Empire Cotton Growing Corporation set up a station in Trinidad and appointed Sydney to continue his research. From 1923-35 Sydney worked in Trinidad on the genetic analysis of the various strains of cotton. He published many papers on this and became the leading world authority. He summarised his work in his book *The Genetics of Cotton* published in 1939.

In 1932, Nicolai Vavilov, the leading Russian plant geneticist, invited Sydney to Russia to discuss their work and visit a number of the institutes for cotton research he had established across the southern republics of the Soviet Union. In his autobiography, Sydney describes Vavilov as the best man he ever knew. A few year's later, Stalin dismissed Vavilov and replaced him with Trofim Lysenko. He had Vavilov sent to a concentration camp in Siberia where he died in 1943 at the age of 56.

But while Sydney's scientific work went well during these years, his marriage deteriorated. His wife Emily disliked the humid climate and the limited social life of the West Indies. When Sydney went to Trinidad in 1923, Emily remained in England and they separated. In the early 1930s he and Emily were divorced in legal proceedings which generated much unwelcome publicity in Trinidad. In addition Sydney retained his intolerance of authority and the progressive ideas which he had displayed as a student. He had also the blunt and outspoken ways of North Yorkshire and he did not fit in well with the bridge playing and gin drinking set of the British in Trinidad. In the early 1930s, he married his Chinese research assistant, Olive Atteck, and this also was not approved of among the British establishment in Trinidad. Sydney had a gift for annoying people in authority that I have inherited. The Empire Cotton Growing Corporation authorities kept a file of his misdemeanours and this file grew steadily thicker and in 1935 dismissed from his position. He sued the Corporation for breach of contract in the Old Bailey in London in one of the most spectacular legal cases of the year. Sydney won the case and received damages but he was not reinstated. At the age of 45 he had lost his laboratories and botanical specimens and was out of a job.

Later in 1935 Sydney obtained the position of General Adviser to the State Cotton Industry in Sao Paulo, Brazil, and stayed there for four years. He told me that while he was there he was appointed external examiner for a Ph.D. and the candidate had offered him a certain sum of money to pass him. Sydney consulted a colleague about this and was told that the sum offered was insufficient and that the going rate was double. Sydney seems to have annoyed his employers again as his contract was terminated in 1939. He and his wife and son Erasmus returned to England and

lived for a while in Cliff Grange, a Georgian Manor house in Snainton, which Sydney had bought for £600. For some months he was again out of a job, but in 1940 he was offered an appointment as Director of the Institute of Genetics in Lima, Peru, and he took this up. His task was to improve Peruvian cotton that had succumbed to parasites and he had to breed a new strain that was resistant to these. In 1943 he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society. A few days later he was in his club in Lima when the British ambassador came up and greeted him, saying "Congratulations on your election that I've read in *The Times*, Harland, I didn't know you painted". The ambassador had evidently confused the Royal Society with the Royal Society of Arts. My father liked telling stories about the ignorance and stupidity of public school men, of whom the ambassador was of course one. In 1949 Sydney returned to England to become Reader in Genetics at Manchester University. In 1950 he was appointed Professor of Botany and he held this position until his retirement in 1958.

In addition to his scientific work, Sydney had wide cultural interests. In music he loved Beethoven, Bach and Mozart, and in literature he loved Shakespeare and *The Ruba'iyat of Omar Khayyam*, from both of which he could recite long passages from memory. In his late eighties he wrote to me that he was haunted by the lines "Oh, how shall summer's honey breath hold out / Against the wrackful siege of battering days", and asked me if I could locate it for him. I was able to tell him that it came from Shakespeare's sonnet 65.

After his retirement Sydney and his wife lived for some time in Blackheath. They then moved back to his house and small estate in Peru, about fifteen miles from Lima. He continued to write papers on genetics and published his last paper in 1970 when he was aged 79. Finally he and Olive returned to Cliff Grange in Snainton. It was here, in the manor house of the village where he was born, that he died on 8 November 1982, and was buried among his forefathers in the grounds of the village church.

An account of Sydney's life and scientific work is given by his one time assistant Professor Sir Joseph Hutchinson in the *Biographical Memoires of the Royal Society*. He writes of Sydney's "brilliant analysis of the genomes of the New World cottons" during the nineteen twenties and thirties, and concludes: "This was Harland, unassuming, forthright, and of an independent mind. He was trained in geology and spent the whole of his working life in genetics. He identified and attacked fundamental problems in the relation of genetics to taxonomy and to plant breeding that did not receive general attention for another generation. All this he studied with small teams in the comparative isolation of colonial and Third World territories".

## Chapter 2. My Forebears

I suppose I should give an account of my forebears. As I noted in the last chapter, my mother's maiden name was Freeman. This name was acquired in the early Middle Ages when most people were serfs, had to work for their lords and were little better than slaves. Some of these serfs ran away to the towns and became free and for this reason a number of them were called Freeman. I like to think I have inherited this rebellious streak from some distant ancestor.

The earliest of my Freeman forebears that I have traced is George Edward Freeman who was born in London about the year 1820 and lived in Castle Street in Holborn. Also living in Castle Street at that time was a certain Augustus Wood, his wife and his daughter Harriet. Harriet was the girl next door, or at least at a door down the street, and it seems that she and George got to know each other, fell in love, and were married. The marriage took place at the church of St Martin in the Field on 11th August 1849. The young couple found a home at 11 Green St, close to Leicester Square and Long Acre and now no more. George is described on his marriage certificate as working for a "dealer in curiosities".

George and Harriet had a son, George Augustus Freeman, who was my great grandfather. He was born at Green Street on 30 May 1851. He acquired some kind of qualification in chemistry at one of the London colleges. He obtained his first position as a teacher in Falmouth in Cornwall, and it was here that he met and married one of his former pupils, Mary Helen Stevens, of Cornish stock. After two years, the couple moved back to London where George obtained a position teaching chemistry at St. Olave's Grammar School in Peckham in south London. It later moved to Kent where it still exists as one of the few survivors of the destruction of most of the grammar schools in the 1960s by the Labour Government.

George and Mary had two children, William George and Louisa. William George Freeman who was my grand-father was born in 1874 and was brought up in Peckham in London. He attended St. Olave's Grammar School where his interests and abilities lay largely in science. From there he went to the Royal College of Science (later Imperial College). He graduated with a first class degree in Botany and won the Forbes Medal, awarded for the best student of the year. From 1897- 99 he worked as demonstrator in Botany at the College. It was at this time that he met Agnes Annie Wallis, a student at the College. Evidently, they developed a romantic attachment in the Botany labs of the College and were married in 1900.

Shortly after their marriage, William was appointed Scientific Assistant at the Imperial Department of Agriculture for the West Indies, located at Barbados. Three years later he returned to England as Superintendent of the Botanical Collections at the Imperial Institute in London. He and Agnes had four children: Frank (1901), my mother Marjorie Ann (1905), Basil (1907) and Edwin

(1909). In 1911 William went out again to the West Indies to take up an appointment as Assistant Director of Agriculture in Trinidad. This position involved carrying out research for the improvement of agriculture and William worked on the genetics of cocoa, the results of which he published in a number of journals of agriculture and botany. In 1917 he was appointed Director of Agriculture for the West Indies. He continued his scientific work and publications and wrote two books: *The World's Commercial Products* (jointly with S.E. Chandler) and *Nature Teaching* (jointly with Sir Francis Watts).

In the nineteen twenties William was much involved in the foundation of the Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture in Trinidad. One of the streets in this institution, now part of the University of the West Indies, was designated Freeman Avenue in recognition of his services. William hoped to be appointed principal of the Imperial College, but in 1929 he was passed over for this position. He resigned his job in protest at what he considered a personal slight and returned to London. He lived in Hampstead and obtained a position in the intelligence section at the Imperial Institute. The precise nature of his duties at the Institute was unclear, as indeed was the work of the Institute itself. On one occasion when I asked him what the Institute did, he replied "Gawd knows", mimicking a popular comedian of the time.

William was by nature a conservative. He read *The Daily Telegraph* because he found *The Times* too liberal. He once told me that he believed there was much truth in W. S. Gilbert's observation in one of his light operas that "every little boy and girl that's born into this world alive, is either a little liberal or else a little conservative" and that he had been born a little conservative. Although William had a good IQ and was successful he lacked the ambition and drive required to reach the very top of his profession. During the day, he did the job he was paid to do competently, and he generally spent his evenings playing bridge. He had quite wide literary interests. He was particularly fond of the poetry of Matthew Arnold, which he knew well and of which he had several editions.

He was rather unworldly and had little interest in either money or possessions. In his will, his estate amounted to only £2,000, of which he left half to my mother and the rest equally between his three sons. He also bequeathed three silver cigarette boxes he had acquired as presentation gifts at various stages in his career to his three sons, the largest to Edwin, the second largest to Basil and the smallest to Frank. This was his final expression of the esteem in which he held his three boys.

William never bought a house, although he could easily have afforded to have done so. He preferred to live in guest houses where all his meals were provided. He lived in one of these in Beckenham, a southern suburb of London, during the Second World War and I visited and stayed with him there on a number of occasions. It was there that he died in December, 1949, when I was a student at Cambridge. My mother did not notify me of his death, so I was not able to go to his

funeral. She did not understand that the funeral of my grandfather was an important event for me which I would have liked to attend.

As I have noted, William married his former student, Agnes Annie Wallis, who was my grandmother. She was born on 14 May, 1877, at a farm in South Willingham, a village some twelve miles north east of Lincoln. Her father was Frank Wallis and her mother was Anne Williamson. They had seven children, three girls and four boys. Frank Wallis was quite clever but he was emotionally unstable, given to violent outbursts and was not a successful farmer, so the family lived in considerable poverty. He was also a bit of a rogue. Agnes told me that he made her sell butter adulterated with margarine at the market in Lincoln, for which he was detected, prosecuted and fined. When Agnes was seven, in 1884, Frank left home and went to London, where he enrolled in the Royal College of Science to study agriculture. He graduated with first class honours in 1887.

Agnes attended a local primary school from which she won a scholarship to Lincoln High School for Girls. At the school she was nicknamed "drain pipe drawers". At that period girls wore ankle length drawers the ends of which were visible below their skirts. These drawers were normally embellished with lace trimmings, but Agnes's family were too poor to afford this adornment, and hence the sobriquet by which she was known. The county of Lincolnshire awarded two university scholarships a year. At the age of eighteen, Agnes won one of these and went up to the Royal College of Science in 1895 to study biology. She graduated in 1898 with first class honours. In later life, she painted flowers and exhibited several of these paintings at the Royal Academy. She was rather neurotic and had bouts of severe migraine that knocked her out for two or three days. She died in 1947.

Agnes's mother, Anne Williamson, was born near Everton in Nottinghamshire. Once when I was staying with my grandmother, she showed me a family prayer book in which her ancestors had recorded their births, marriages and deaths. The first of these was the marriage of Francis Williamson to Ann Cartwright in 1715 in Norwich cathedral. In the 1841 census, the family are recorded as having a farm of 300 acres. Some years later, the farm was broken up and the proceeds divided between the children. My grandmother told me that in the early seventeenth century, one of her more distant ancestors had married Anne Disney of the Disney family of Norton Disney, a village in Lincolnshire. She told me that the Disneys were descended from Robert D'Isigny of the village of Isigny in Normandy, known today for the production of Camembert. Robert D'Isigny was one of William the Conqueror's knights when he invaded England in 1066 and was rewarded with an estate in Lincolnshire. After a couple of centuries, his descendants became anglicised and changed their name from D'Isigny to D'Isiny and then to Disney.

In 1986, I went to a conference in Nottingham to give a lecture and took the occasion to drive about twenty miles to Norton Disney. I found it was no more than a hamlet. There was a pub, the

Vincent Arms, at which I had lunch. I introduced myself to the handful of drinkers as a descendant of the Disneys and asked whether they knew anything of the family. They told me that no Disneys had been known within living memory. One of them informed me that a number of years ago someone had written to Walt Disney – presumed to be a descendant of the family - and requested a donation for the restoration of the church. He told me that Walt Disney had graciously replied and sent a signed drawing of Mickey Mouse, which was auctioned and realised the sum of five pounds.

I then visited the church which was the smallest I had ever seen measuring about twenty by thirty feet. I found some stone effigies of former Disneys. One of these was a knight in armour with a sword, with his feet crossed, who had evidently been a crusader. Another was of a woman below whom I was just able to make out an inscription in mediaeval French: Ici gist Joan, qui fust la femme Moun Gillam Disni et fille de Moun Nicholas de Landford. Dieu eite merci de sa arme.

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As I recorded in the last chapter, my father was Sydney Harland. He was born in the North Riding of Yorkshire, which is the epicentre of the Harlands. Harland is a place name derived from the old Norwegian *har* meaning a rock. One of the moors in the North Riding is Harland Moor and it was from this desolate spot that the Harlands originated. My uncle, Oswald Harland, describes a visit to Harland Moor in the late nineteen forties in his book *Yorkshire — North Riding*. I made the same pilgrimage some forty years later in the summer of 1986, in the company of my half brother Erasmus Harland. It was a fine sunny day; the heather was in bloom and the moor gave off a wonderful mauve glow. But there was a chilly wind and I reflected that in winter it would be a quite inhospitable. Over the centuries many Harlands had evidently experienced this and migrated south to the fertile lowlands.

Among these were my Harland ancestors. They have been described by my father in his autobiography *A Yorkshire Scientist*. The earliest of which we have any knowledge was my great great-grandfather William Harland who was born around 1810 in Snainton, a village about twelve miles inland from Scarborough. He had a tailoring business that employed four or five men to make clothes for the local people. He was converted to Methodism by John Wesley when he came to preach in the village. His son was my great-grandfather Thomas Harland (1839–1924). He inherited the tailoring business and my father described him to me as having a carefully trimmed short white beard, spoke in a soft voice and said little. Like his father, Thomas was a devout Methodist and was outraged in 1904 when the Education Act provided financial support for Church of England Schools out of the rates. Thomas regarded the Church of England as a heathen sect, and he was naturally bitterly opposed to this legislation. He therefore held back a part of his rates and many Methodists did likewise. They were called "passive resisters". Every year the Local Authority would recover the withheld portion of the rates by holding an auction sale of some articles of furniture in front of

the house. These were promptly bought by the villagers and returned to my great-grandfather. It is curious to reflect that he saw no inconsistency in sending the five children to the village school which was Church of England.

My great-grandfather disapproved of alcohol and tobacco but my great-grandmother used to brew wines of various kinds, ginger, cowslip, elderberry and so on. The alcoholic content of these was apt to be pretty high but she used to say "Noo it wean't hurt ye. There's nowt in it but what ah put in misen". After a few glasses the faces of visitors took on a slightly glazed appearance and they would say "Aye, missis, it's grand stuff this".

My great-grandfather refused to drink these potent brews and never took tea or coffee. He only drank cocoa, a special brand known as Dr. Tibbles Vi Cocoa. He was a strong opponent of the demon drink. Every chapel had its "Band of Hope" consisting of children of adults who signed "the pledge" to abstain from alcoholic liquor for the rest of their lives. The chapel used to have revival meetings in which the preacher, called an evangelist, passionately besought sinners, amid cries of "praise the Lord" and "Hallelujah", to come to the penitent form - a bench at the front - and declare themselves followers of the Lord Jesus Christ. My father told me that even before he was ten he was sceptical about religion and never had any inclination to step up to the penitent form.

My great-grandfather Thomas Harland was an evangelical Methodist. For many years he would get up early on Sunday morning and walk up to eight miles to preach. He would be given lunch and tea and then preach again at 6 p.m. Then he would walk home arriving at about midnight. The weather had to be very bad to stop him preaching. He said the bible told you to do it — "Go into all the world and preach the gospel to every people".

Thomas died at the age of 84. One Tuesday morning he came down to breakfast in his Sunday clothes. He had never been known to do this. After breakfast he said he was tired and would go back to bed to rest a bit. He died the same night. There was nothing organically wrong with him. He just went out like a candle. My father told me that for many years after, whenever his name was mentioned in the district, somebody would say "Aye, he was a good man was Thomas Harland".

A cousin of my great-grandfather was Edward Harland who was born in Scarborough in 1831, studied engineering in Edinburgh and in 1861 went to Belfast, where he acquired a small shipbuilding business. He took on an assistant, Gustav Woolf, and set up the firm of Harland and Woolf. They built the firm up and in the late decades of the nineteenth century it became the largest shipbuilding firm in the world. They built the *Titanic* that sunk in 1912 after hitting an ice-berg on the way to America. I have been assured that there was nothing wrong with the ship and that it was the incompetence of the captain that was responsible for the catastrophe. Edward Harland was created a baronet and served for a while as a member of Parliament. Harland and Woolf still build ships and when I see the cranes with H & W on the horizontal arm I feel a certain pride at the

achievements of my remote cousin many times removed .

Thomas Harland's wife was my great-grandmother and was born Anne Cross. She was the daughter of Robert Merry Cross and Mary Burnett. She had bright red hair and the gene for this has from time to time appeared in various members of the family. It is evidently a recessive. My grandfather Erasmus Harland and his wife must have been carriers of the recessive because two of their five children, Winifred and Oswald, both had red hair. Thus, the red hair recessive appeared more or less in the one to three ratio discovered by Mendel in his path-breaking research on peas in his monastery in Bratislava in the mid-nineteenth century. My father may have been a carrier because when he was a young man he had a red moustache.

My great-grandmother Anne Cross spoke in the North Riding dialect which resembles that used by Tennyson in his poem *The Northern Farmer*. For example, she pronounced boots as "beeats". She died at the age of 83 of septicaemia. She got a thorn in her hand while picking fruit. Nowadays she would have been given an antibiotic and would have survived. My father told me that almost the last thing he heard his grandmother say was a remark to her husband. He was standing hesitantly at the door and she said "What's thoo stannin there for, Thomas, genning like a splentan dish". My father thought that "genning" was not grinning but "girning" indicating an expression of dissatisfaction mixed with discomfort. He also heard her say, of a child who had just stood up straight for the first time, "He steead up as brant as a hoose end". Brant is Swedish for perpendicular.

Thomas Harland and his wife Anne had six sons one of whom was my grandfather, Erasmus Harland. He left school at the age of fourteen and was apprenticed as a tailor in his father's tailoring business, but he did not care for the trade and abandoned it after two or three years. He was something of a rolling stone and worked at various times as an insurance salesman and second-hand furniture dealer. He married Eliza Fitzgerald in 1888 and they had five children. The eldest was Stanley of whom nothing is known. The second was Sydney, my father. The third was Oswald who won a scholarship to King's College, London, where he read English and became a teacher at Wetherby Grammar School. The fourth was Bernard who also won a scholarship to King's College, London, and of whom I will write later, and the fifth was Winifred, who became a nurse.

My grandmother, Eliza Fitzgerald, was the daughter of Ellen Fitzgerald and John Petch. Ellen was married to John Fitzgerald, an Irish labourer who was killed when working on the building of the Grand Hotel in Scarborough about the year 1866. Ellen Fitzgerald and her husband lived in Scarborough in a slum called Friar's Entry that has long since been demolished. The architect of the Grand Hotel was John Petch and he called on the young widow after her husband's death to pay his condolences. Apparently, this visit was favourably received and was followed by another, and then by a third. In due course he and Ellen became lovers and Ellen conceived Eliza my grandmother.

She put Eliza into the workhouse in Scarborough, and from there Eliza was taken into foster care by Harker and Mary Ann Summersgill of Snainton. She grew up there and met and married my grandfather Erasmus Harland.

My father recorded that John Petch was the architect responsible for many of the fine buildings on the Crescent and the South Cliff in Scarborough, that he was a great traveller, linguist and a lover of women, and that he was an alderman in the Scarborough Council but never became Mayor because he was too forthright and independent of spirit to cooperate with his colleagues. My father told me that he had evidently inherited some of these characteristics.

It will be seen from this account that apart from my father none of my Harland forebears displayed any exceptional talent. They were all quite humble folk and the only moderately successful one among them was the architect John Petch. It was from this ordinary family that my father Sydney sprang, did ground-breaking work in genetics and became a Fellow of the Royal Society. This was quite common before the late nineteenth century. For instance, it was shown by Otmar Freiherr von Verschuer, the German geneticist, that none of the Schumann family displayed any musical talent until Robert (1810-56) appeared. The explanation for this is that exceptional achievement requires the genes (strictly speaking “alleles”, the alternative forms of genes) for both high intelligence and strong work motivation, and it is highly unusual for these to appear together in a single individual. There are many people who have a high IQ but lack strong work motivation, so they don't achieve much. There are also many people who have strong work motivation but lack a high IQ, so they don't achieve much either. Even those who inherit a high IQ and strong work motivation, need to have the opportunity for these to flourish. This is generally through education. It seems that Sydney Harland happened to inherit both a high IQ and strong work motivation, and had the opportunity to realise these through the scholarships that he won that enabled him to go to the Scarborough Municipal School and then to King's College, London. If it had not been for the expansion of educational opportunity in the late nineteenth century, he would have remained one of the many “mute, inglorious Miltons” of previous decades and centuries.

By the early decades of the twentieth century it became less common for those born in humble families to reach the highest levels of achievement and more of those who reached these came from middle and professional class families. The explanation for this is that from the late nineteenth century many of those who had the high IQ and strong work motivation alleles required for high achievement had through social mobility risen into the middle and professional class and the alleles for these became to some degree segregated by social status. This was pointed out by Sir Ronald Fisher in 1929 his *The Genetical Theory of Natural Selection*: “Social classes have become genetically differentiated, like local varieties of a species ...by agencies controlling social promotion or demotion”(p. 245) and “populations are already stratified in respect of the innate characters

which have, in recent centuries, favoured social promotion” including intelligence and “a number of qualities of the moral character, such as the desire to do well, fortitude and persistence in overcoming difficulties” (p.281). This position was later endorsed by Sir Cyril Burt and is generally accepted today by experts although not always by those who criticise the under-representation of those from lower socio-economic families in elite universities and the professions.

### Chapter 3. Bristol, 1944-48

Although I managed to pass the entrance examination to the Bristol Grammar School I did not distinguish myself. The school was streamed or, as the Americans say, “tracked”. There were four streams in the school, the A stream for the brightest boys, the B stream for the next brightest, the C stream for the least bright, and a classical stream for boys who studied both Latin and Greek. I found on my first day at the school that, on the basis of my dismal performance in the entrance exam, I was placed in the C stream for the dull boys. This was a most mortifying experience and a serious blow to my self-esteem.

I discovered that at the end of the academic year the boys in the A, B and C streams all sat the same exam and on the basis of the results were reallocated to the A, B, and C streams for the next academic year. Generally, the boys in the A stream did best and moved up to the next year A stream, while the boys in the B stream did next best and moved up to the B stream, and similarly with the boys in the C stream, but there were exceptions and a few in the B and C streams who had done well were moved up, while others in the A and B streams who had done badly were moved down. I resolved to be one of those who moved up and I have never worked harder than I did in that year to get promoted to the A or at least to the B stream. My industry paid off and I managed to do sufficiently well in the end of year exams to get into the A stream for the next year. Once I had achieved this I was content to rest on my laurels and to coast along somewhere in the middle of the A stream, but taking care to do sufficient work not to be demoted to the B or (horrors!) the C stream.

My shock at being put in the C stream on entry to the school was certainly traumatic but it taught me three useful lessons. The first was that I can empathize with failure and know its bitterness from this early experience. The second was that failure need not be final and can be overcome by determination and hard work. The third was that a traumatic experience can be positive and stimulating. Many years later one of my former students, Stephen Joseph, was to write an excellent book on this theme *What doesn't kill us* - taking the title from Nietzsche's dictum *What doesn't kill us makes us stronger* - in which he showed that even traumatic experiences much worse than mine often have positive effects.

The subject I liked best was history. I was fascinated by the power struggles between individuals and groups, and by the growth and decline of empires. When I was fourteen I kept an exercise book in which I drew maps of the growth of the Roman Empire from its early beginning as a small city state until it grew into a huge empire. I also liked mathematics and English literature. I particularly liked the World War One Poets – Wilfred Owen and Siegfried Sassoon and a number of others – and I was greatly affected by these. Every year the school had a poetry reading competition and when I was fourteen I entered for this. I read John McCrae's *In Flanders Fields*, although I did not win.

*In Flanders Fields the poppies blow  
Between the crosses, row on row  
That mark our place; and in the sky  
The larks, still bravely singing, fly  
Scarce heard amid the guns below.*

*We are the dead. Short days ago  
We lived, felt dawn, saw sunset glow  
Loved and were loved, and now we lie  
In Flanders Fields.*

The Bristol Grammar School had a number of after school clubs. At various times I joined these for chess, bridge, music and play-reading. I took chess quite seriously for a while and acquired a chess book that gave the games played by former grandmasters like Alekhine, Morphy and Capablanca, and I worked through them. I believe that chess provides a valuable training for thinking through the consequences of taking hostile action against people. It teaches that one should think of how they are likely to respond and what one should do next to deal with this response. It teaches caution and the inhibition of impulsive actions. However, I did not to pursue chess for long. I found the game too slow and found myself too frequently bogged down in stalemate draws.

I preferred the bridge club because bridge is much faster than chess. Both chess and bridge are intellectually demanding and I noticed that the best players at both were invariably in the A or the classical streams. Many years later I was to carry out a study with Marcel Frydman of the University of Mons in Belgium in which we showed that competition level chess players have high IQs.

I attended the music club because I was curious to find out about classical music. My mother had no interest in classical music so I was totally ignorant of it. However, she played the recorder reasonably well and she taught me a number of traditional folk songs, which we used to sing together, or I would sing while she played the recorder. Among these were “Drink to me only with thine eyes”, “Hearts of oak are our ships” and “Clementine”, about the untimely death of the daughter of one of the miners in the 1849 gold rush and which I found most affecting. For some reason she was particularly fond of Scottish folk songs. One of our favourites was *The Bonnie Banks of Loch Lomond* which goes

O ye'll tak' the high road, and I'll tak' the low road,  
And I'll be in Scotland a'fore ye,  
But I and my true love will never meet again,  
On the bonnie, bonnie banks o' Loch Lomond.

We were puzzled by this and could not understand why the two lovers were not able to meet again after they had both reached Scotland, albeit by different routes. I am glad to have learned these traditional songs which are part of the British heritage and which I suppose few children know today.

I learned about classical music at the school music club which was run by one of the masters who would talk to us about a composer and play some of his works on a machine called a gramophone but is known today as a record player. The gramophone worked by a spring which had to be wound up and drove a turntable. This played records – now known as discs- that would only play for about five minutes and then had to be changed. It was in this club that I was introduced to the great classical composers including Brahms, Schubert, Tchaikovsky, Debussy, Mahler, Wagner and Mozart. One day the master gave a talk on Stravinsky and played parts of *The Rite of Spring*, and explained how this caused a near riot when this ballet was performed in Paris in 1913 and the audience, expecting something in the tradition of *Swan Lake*, were given Stravinsky's discordant but dramatic chords.

At this club, I discovered that my favourite composer was Beethoven and after him J.S. Bach. I thought that Beethoven got better and better as he got older and the pinnacle of his achievement was his late works, especially

the Choral symphony, his last five string quartets, the great fugue and his last three piano sonatas which I have come to know well. When many years later I read Thomas Mann's *Dr Faustus* I found that the musician hero, Adrian Leverkühn, delivers an hour long lecture on why Beethoven only wrote two movements to his last piano sonata Op 111 and concludes that the explanation of this is that he had said everything that could be said in the first two movements so it was impossible to compose a third. I was amused by this because I knew that Beethoven did write a third movement but he ran the second into the third without a break, as he occasionally did in his symphonies. I have not found many people who share my high opinion of Beethoven's late works, and it has often surprised me that most people go through life without ever coming to know and love these sublime compositions.

At the play-reading club we read a number of the great classical plays including several by Ibsen and Chekhov. At my first attendance we read Chekhov's *The Seagull* and I was given the part of Nina. I liked Chekhov's gloomy pessimism and strong sense of boredom, from which I suffer readily if I am deprived of constant stimulation. Once a year the club put on a public performance at Bristol's Victoria Rooms. I acted in one of these when I played Fenton in *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, which I considered a very boring play. It ran for five nights. Somewhere in the middle of the play I had a long speech, and on the first night I forgot my lines about half way through. I can still remember my mind going a complete blank and hearing the prompter shouting the next line from the wings, which I was eventually able to pick up and resume. This was another mortifying experience although not nearly so bad as being placed in the C stream on my first day at the school.

The headmaster of the Bristol Grammar School was named John Garrett. He was quite flamboyant and a bit of a bully, and also a homosexual although in those innocent days we boys were not aware of this, or at least I wasn't and it was never discussed in my circle of friends. Every morning we boys had to meet in the Victorian Gothic great hall for assembly. At 9 o'clock precisely the door would be flung open by the porter and the headmaster would march in through the serried ranks wearing his mortar board and flowing gown. We had to sing a hymn and say a prayer. All my family were agnostics or atheists and I had imbibed their scepticism about religion. It never occurred to me that there might be any truth in it. After these rituals the headmaster sometimes

made announcements. Occasionally these would be that a boy had won a scholarship to Oxford or Cambridge, and sometimes that some boy had been detected breaking a school rule and was to be punished. On one dramatic occasion he announced that a prefect had been spotted having a beer in a pub and for this heinous offence the unhappy boy was forthwith stripped of his office. Sometimes he had boys flogged for what today seem quite minor offences. On one occasion an acquaintance of mine was having a cigarette in a hotel foyer and had the misfortune that the headmaster happened to come in and recognized him. The next day Garrett summonsed the boy to his study and looked on while he had him flogged by the school porter. It was said by those who had experienced one of these floggings that when they were concluded it was possible to discern a swelling in the headmaster's crotch, but fortunately I never had the opportunity to verify this from personal experience.

Although these occasional floggings seem barbaric today, I have to say that for us they served as effective deterrents from breaking school rules. One of these was that we should always wear a school cap, which was not something I particularly wanted to do, but as I feared punishment if I was detected bare-headed, I scrupulously complied with it. I have often been surprised at the frequent assertion by psychologists and criminologists that punishment doesn't work, because the possibility of punishment certainly worked for me and my fellow students at the BGS and I cannot believe we were that unusual.

The BGS required us to read two books every holiday. On the first day of term we were tested on them and if you didn't do reasonably well in the tests you were punished. The only reason we read them was to avoid being punished and very likely flogged if we displayed no knowledge of the books. Boys like me skim read these set books in the last couple of days of the holiday and did sufficiently well to avoid punishment. We got to read quite a lot of books this way that I would never have read voluntarily, and some of them I liked. One of these was Anthony Trollope's *Barchester Towers* with its memorably feeble Bishop Proudie and his formidable and bullying wife. At various times in my later life I have read and enjoyed a number of Trollope's novels. When I read Harold Macmillan's autobiography many years later I found he had the same taste and used to say that after a hard day he liked to relax in bed with a Trollope. Another of these books that I liked was E.M. Forster's *Howard's End*. I would have been surprised to know that when I was later at Cambridge I came to know Morgan, as we called him, quite well. Yet another was W.H. Hudson's *A*

*Shepherd's Life*, an autobiography of a shepherd in Wiltshire in the mid-nineteenth century. I don't know why I liked it so much because I tried to read it again when I was in my fifties but found it unreadable.

The BGS was not a socially elite school. It catered for the Bristol middle and professional classes and a small number of clever scholarship boys from the skilled working class. For the enlightenment of non-English readers, I should explain that at the top of the British school social hierarchy are the major public boarding schools like Eton, Harrow, Rugby, Winchester, Charterhouse and a few others. At that time they were barbarous places not greatly dissimilar from Rugby as described in *Tom Brown's Schooldays*, where prefects beat small boys for trivial offences or sodomized them, and frequently did both. Below these public boarding schools came the old city grammar schools like the Bristol Grammar School, generally founded in the Tudor times in the 1500s. Below these came the state grammar schools mainly established in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century, like the Scarborough Municipal School that my father had attended, and below these the other secondary schools. The grammar schools tried to ape the public boarding schools by attaching much importance to religion, the cadet corps in which boys received military training, competitive games, and having the paraphernalia of prefects and "houses". In the public boarding schools, boys live in different houses and so these are natural units with which boys identify. The city day schools like the BGS attempted to mimic the houses of the public boarding schools, so they created "houses" and arbitrarily assigned boys to them. These "houses" competed against each other in games, but as these "houses" were quite artificial entities with no actual existence, it was difficult for some boys to identify with them. This was especially so for boys like me who were temperamentally averse to identification with groups.

The public boarding schools attached great importance to games, so the city grammar schools and BGS in particular tried to ape them in this too. We had to go to games on one afternoon a week. We had to report to a prefect that we had turned up. These games were rugby in the winter and cricket in the summer. I am not a natural team player and I had no interest in these. Cricket went on for hours and half the time was spent hanging around while two of one's team were batting. I found this immensely tedious. Fortunately, I found that a permissible alternative was running which I was quite good at. I could run the quarter mile in slightly under a minute and I ran the quarter mile for the school team on one occasion. The main attraction of running was that it only took a minute and I could then go home.

The school frequently fielded teams to play other schools at rugby and cricket and we were often compelled to attend these matches to cheer on the school with cries of "Play up, BGS". On these occasions I did not identify with the school in the way most boys did. I found most boys

participated enthusiastically as cheer leaders but I was not among them. In fact I could not have cared less whether the school won or lost. I think this was an early sign that the world is divided into conformists and dissidents, and that I was born a dissident.

In 1944 the Bristol Old Vic was established in the Theatre Royal and my mother and I went to see all the productions. The first was *Macbeth* which I did not know and was the first time I heard Macbeth's speech of disillusionment towards the end of the play when he is told that his wife has died and he says simply "She should have died hereafter" and then continues with one of the greatest of Shakespeare's soliloquies "Life's but a walking shadow, a poor player That struts and frets his hour upon the stage And then is heard no more. It is a tale Told by an idiot, full of sound and fury Signifying nothing".

This my first realisation of the genius of Shakespeare.

The second play was an adaptation of *Madame Bovary*, which I did not like so much. After Charles Bovary botched the operation of his patient with the defected foot, we were treated to Charles sawing off the gangrene infected leg to the accompaniment of ferocious screams, and then to the final act of Emma Bovary's desperate infidelities.

In those days the National Anthem was played at theatres and cinemas at the end of the performance and everyone stood to attention during this. My mother was a republican and remained seated which I found rather embarrassing, so I stood up and dissociated myself from her. My mother was a non-conformist and I have probably inherited a non-conformist temperament from both her and my father.

As well as being a republican my mother was a communist. As I have noted, she had witnessed the mass unemployment in 1929 in New York that made it appear that capitalism had failed, and she persuaded me that communism was a better system. This was quite plausible at the time. Many prominent intellectuals approved of communism in the Soviet Union, such as Sidney and Beatrice Webb in their book *Soviet Communism: A New Civilisation?* (1935) in which they praised Stalin's collectivisation of agriculture in the first Five Year Plan (1928-1933), which is now known to have been a disaster responsible for many thousands of deaths from starvation. Furthermore, the Russian victories over the Germans from 1942 onwards made it seem that the planned society worked better than unplanned capitalism. Communism also seemed to have the moral high ground with its noble

principle of “from each according to his ability, to each according to his need”, and in which production was organized for the good of all by selfless and altruistic communists, while in capitalist countries businesses were run by greedy rich men smoking cigars and seeking only to maximise their own profits.

My mother took the *Daily Worker*, the Communist Party newspaper, which was my main source of news. It carried a weekly column on science by J.B.S. Haldane, the well known geneticist and communist, who eventually became so disgusted with capitalist Britain that he emigrated to India. I enjoyed Haldane’s articles and learned some useful things from them. One of these was about the supposed decline of the national intelligence because the working class had more children than the middle class. This theory had been advanced by R.A. Fisher and other eugenicists but was pooh-poohed by Haldane, who argued that as the working class had more children than the middle class it was fitter and therefore superior. I was not persuaded by this and could see that the argument rested on an ambiguity in the term “fitter”, which was used by Haldane in the technical sense of having more children, and did not imply superiority. This was my first introduction to the problems of eugenics and dysgenics which interested me for many years and on which I was later to write a number of papers and two books.

When I was fourteen I joined the Young Communist League (the YCL). This was an entrée into a new world which was very different from my school. The YCL ran social events most week day evenings and at the weekends we took off on bicycles, camping during the summer and staying at youth hostels during the winter. In the summer camps we lit a fire in the evenings and sat around it singing communist songs like *The Red Flag* (“The peoples' flag is deepest red, it's shrouded oft our martyred dead”) and the injustice of capitalism like “It's the same the whole world over, It's the poor as gets the blame, It's the rich as gets the pleasure, Ain't it all a bleeding shame”.

There were about equal numbers of boys and girls in the YCL, so I came to know a few girls which was a new experience for me because the Bristol Grammar School was for boys only. However, I was too shy to get involved in any romantic relationships. The YCL was designed for adolescents aged between 14 and 20 but had a couple of adults to oversee

it. I was surprised to find that one of these was a master at the BGS. He was in his mid-thirties, unmarried and probably a paedophile, but I knew nothing of these predilections in those days.

My mother and I also enjoyed a social life with a number of adult communists. One of these was Cecil Powell and his family. Powell was professor of physics at Bristol University, a Fellow of the Royal Society, and had won the Nobel Prize for Physics in 1950. They had a daughter called Anne who was about my own age and with whom I was friendly, and I went round to their house quite often and sometimes talked with the communist professor. I was impressed that a university professor, Fellow of the Royal Society and Nobel Prize winner, was a communist and this strengthened my belief that the future lay with communism. I have since learned that many professors and even Fellows of the Royal Society can be quite dumb outside their own specialisms.

For a year or so I was mentally in thrall to the communist and Marxist ideology. These provided a theory of everything and the skilled ideologue that I became could answer all objections. For instance, when people objected that communist Russia was not a democracy because it only permitted one party, I was able to explain that capitalist countries needed two parties, one to represent the capitalists and one to represent the workers, but as communist societies have only one class – the proletariat – they only need one party. I am temperamentally disposed to like big theories and this was the first of several I have taken up. However, by the age of fifteen I became disillusioned with communism. I began to see through the specious arguments in its favour. I remained for a while in the YCL because I enjoyed the social life but secretly I had turned into more of a Fabian socialist. I had taken my first step on the long road from left to right.

In 1944 and 1945, we the British carpet bombed many German cities that was of no military importance. These bombing raids were planned by Air Marshall Sir Arthur Harris, who became known as Bomber Harris, and were approved by Winston Churchill. They targetted civilian areas with the intention of killing as many German civilians as possible in the belief that this would make the Germans would surrender but it did not have this effect. The most notorious of these was the bombing of Dresden which killed about 25,000 mainly the elderly, women and children. We also carpet bombed several other German towns and cities including Essen, Leipzig and Pforzheim. These bombing raids cost about 55,000 lives of British

aircrew who were shot down. Many years later when I came to know Norman Stone, Professor of Modern History at Oxford, he told me that most authorities regard this bombing of civilians as a war crime.

In May, 1945, Germany surrendered bringing World War Two in Europe to an end and there were great celebrations. In July there was a general election and the Labour Party won with a large majority. I was at a meeting where this was announced and well remember experiencing the elation of this electoral victory. I looked forward to a socialist future in which industry would be nationalised and the workers would work with enthusiasm for the good of the country rather than reluctantly for the profit of greedy bosses. There would be no more strikes and there would be a welfare state in which the rich would look after the poor, the strong would look after the weak and, as Simon Mawer was later to put it in one of his novels, the intelligent would look after the stupid.

In August of 1945 the war against Japan came to an end with the Japanese surrender after the Americans dropped the atom bombs in quick succession on the cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. I was quite shocked by this. In both cities about 120,000 civilians were killed outright by these bombs and many more sustained serious injuries. I thought the right thing to have done would have been to drop one of these bombs on a remote country area to let the Japanese see the devastation it caused. The Americans should then have told the Japanese that if they did not surrender the next one would be dropped on one of their cities. I thought that if the Japanese did not surrender after this, the Americans would be justified in dropping the bomb on one of their cities, but that dropping the bomb on two cities without an example of its power could not be justified. I thought that if the Japanese had won they would no doubt have tried President Truman, who ordered the bombing, as a war criminal and I thought they would have been quite justified in doing so.

In England teenagers in grammar and public schools at this time took a public examination in about nine subjects when they were sixteen. This was called the School Certificate. In later years its name has been changed twice but the substance has remained much the same. The exam took place in June, and in the preceding December of 1945 we took a practice exam called "mocks". I had not done much work since I had got into the A

stream and had a full social life with the Young Communists and I was not well prepared for these mocks. After they had been marked and the results put up on the board I found that I had not done well. Our form master, Fred Perry, who was also our English master and whom I liked, asked me to stay behind after school, which I duly did. "Now Lynn", he said, "I don't know what to make of you. You seem to be intelligent but your performance in the mocks has been most disappointing". He asked me how much homework I did each night and I said about half an hour. He was – or pretended to be - quite shocked at this. He said I was on course to becoming a dilettante. This was the first time I had heard this word although I knew its meaning. He urged me to pull myself together and do at least three hours homework a night. He said he thought that if I applied myself I might get a scholarship to Oxford or Cambridge, but if I continued on this rake's progress I would end up serving behind a counter or maybe as a clerk in some office. Usually advice is so much water off a duck's back but in this case it turned my life around. I left the YCL and worked hard for the School Certificate examination and managed to do quite creditably.

During my mid-teens I went to London from time to time to go to the theatre and then stay with my grandparents. Among the plays that I went up to see were *Anthony and Cleopatra* and *Hedda Gabla* with the eponymous heroine played by Peggy Ashcroft. In the summer of 1946 I went up to see *Die Fleidermaus* and again stayed with my grandparents. After breakfast the next morning, my grandmother took me aside and said she had something important to tell me and I should prepare myself for a shock. She then informed me that my father was not Richard Lynn, as I had been told, but Sydney Harland. She said she had consulted the vicar about this and the vicar had said "That boy is living with a lie and you should tell him the truth". My grandmother said she thought the vicar was right and she was taking his advice. She said my father was a very clever but very immoral man which sums him up pretty accurately. This was the last time I saw my grandmother and although it was a bit of a shock, I think she was right to break this news.

Sydney Harland's elder daughter Margaret was at this time a junior doctor in Bristol and lived quite close to us. She and my mother were on friendly terms and in the summer of 1946 we had a call from Margaret to

say that her father was staying with her and would like to see me but not my mother. I went round and met my father for the first time. He asked me about my political views and I said I was a socialist. He told me that he too had been a socialist at my age but that he was now a liberal. He gave me a copy of Wilfred Trotter's *Instincts of the Herd in Peace and War* and told me it was an important psychological study, and suggested I might consider studying psychology. I read this book that proposed that people have an instinct to identify with the groups and follow them, that religion plays an important part in binding groups together, and this is one of the causes of wars. I found this very interesting and began to think about studying psychology.

When I returned to school in September, 1946, I entered the sixth form to take a two year course for the Higher School Certificate, as it was called then, and later designated A levels, and the Oxford or Cambridge scholarship examinations. For the Higher School Certificate we had to take three main subjects or two main and two half subjects. There were four sixth forms to choose from. These were Six Science to take Physics, Chemistry and Biology, Six Mathematics to take Pure and Applied Mathematics, Six Economics which was a kind of limbo for the less bright where it was mistakenly thought they would learn about business, and Six Modern to take Modern Languages, History and English Literature. I did not consider Six Science because although most of my family were scientists, I never cared much for science at school. The sciences were rather unimaginatively taught and I found them quite boring. I had a mild form of ADHD (Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder) that made it difficult for me to pay attention to tedious lessons in science and maths. I had to master these subjects by reading up on them at home. I also found the science teaching was quite dull. It was all concerned with the minutiae of science. In Chemistry we learned things like how potassium turns into potassium sulphate when you pour sulphuric acid on it. Not only were we told this, we had practicals in which we demonstrated that it was so. Similarly, in Physics we learned that when metal is heated it expands and we had practicals in which we heated up strips of metal and measured by how much they expanded. I was quite prepared to take all of this on trust and could not muster any enthusiasm for these practicals. Biology was all

about stamens and pistils. We never learned anything about the big questions of science like evolution and the origins of the universe. I thought more seriously about Six Mathematics. I quite liked mathematics but I never became obsessed with it the way some boys do. There was a boy in my class who was obsessed with numbers. He could calculate problems like dividing one four figure number by another in a matter of seconds and if he saw a car registration number he would say something like “That’s a very interesting number – it’s the cube of 9090”. I didn’t think I could compete with this and I preferred History, so I opted for this and took English Literature as my second main subject because I liked this too, and I took French and Latin as half subjects. I don’t have any flair for languages, but I had taken on board my form master’s sobering warning that I was on course to becoming a dilettante and his advice that I should apply myself to work for the Oxford or Cambridge scholarship examinations. These included language papers, so I had to keep my French and Latin going.

One of the main reasons I liked History and English Literature was that we were encouraged to make up our own minds about controversial issues. For instance, our history teacher asked us to consider whether Henry the Eighth was to all intents and purposes a fascist, and which side was in the right in the English and American civil wars, or in the disputes in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries between laissez-faire capitalism and socialism. We were encouraged to think through these questions for ourselves. Similarly, in English literature the master would ask “Is Shakespeare any better than Pearl Buck (a popular writer of family sagas set in China who amazingly won a Nobel Prize for literature) and if so, why?” I found all this much more interesting than science and mathematics which just entailed learning what was already well known.

We covered most of what is worth covering in English literature and during these two years I read most of Shakespeare's plays, Chaucer, Milton and the nineteenth century romantics among whom I liked Tennyson best. I thought Wordsworth a great bore drooling over a crowd of dancing daffodils. I couldn't understand what was so special about daffodils that are seen in such profusion everywhere that they are hardly better than weeds and I could not understand why he was so highly rated. I read most of the

Victorian novelists and the one I most admired was Thomas Hardy. I read several of his novels and persuaded my mother to visit Dorchester that appears as Casterbridge in Hardy's novels, and Salisbury plain that appears as Egdon Heath. This expedition was a disappointment as I found Dorchester quite an ordinary little town while Salisbury plain had nothing of the sinister appearance of Egdon Heath.

I also read Emily Bronte's *Wuthering Heights* and regarded it as perhaps the greatest English novel. I did not care for Dickens whose plots appeared to me to be implausible and characters unreal with their bizarre names like Pickwick, Snodgrass, Micawber, Pecksniff and Smike.

For French, we read a certain amount of French literature. Among the poets, I particularly liked Verlaine and his *Les sanglots longs des violons de l'automne blessent mon coeur d'une langueur monotone*. Among the novelists, I found I had a blind spot for Flaubert whose descriptions of landscapes I found too long and quite boring but I liked Balzac's *Le Père Goriot* although I was surprised when I read that his married daughter Anastasie had a lover. No married women had lovers in the English Victorian novels I had read.

I worked hard at this time and at the end of the first year, I was awarded the History Prize. Those who had won prizes were invited to choose two from a number of books. There was a rather poor selection, from which I chose Samuel Pepys' *Diary*, which disappointingly turned out to be the expurgated edition, and Thomas Hardy's *The Dynasts*, which I found unreadable.

In the December of 1947 I was summoned to the headmaster's study. I was a bit apprehensive that I had been detected in some misdemeanour for which I was going to be flogged, but as it turned out that he told me that King's College at the University of Cambridge was offering three exhibitions (i.e. scholarships) in English and History for which examinations were to be held in the following month, and he suggested I should try for them. I readily agreed, and so on a cold January morning I took the train to Cambridge. The candidates were put up in the college and it was freezing cold. The bedrooms provided jugs of water and bowls for washing. One of the other candidates told me that in his room the water had frozen solid, but I told him that in mine the ice

was only about a quarter of an inch thick and if he gave it a hard knock he would probably strike water.

When I arrived for the morning of the first paper I found there were about a hundred youths, so I did not rate my chances highly. The exam consisted of papers in History, English, a general paper and a foreign language translation paper. The foreign language paper contained two passages in each of French, Latin, Greek, German and Spanish, and the instructions read “Candidates should attempt three or four passages”. I thought the French would be easiest so I did two of them first and reckoned I had translated then reasonably well. I then looked at the Latin. One of these was a passage from Pliny describing a volcanic eruption which I found fairly easy, but the other was by Virgil, which I reckoned was too hard for me. Rather than make a fool of myself by making a hash of the Virgil, I decided to take the instructions at their word and leave it at three. The exam was spread over three days, with two papers on each of two successive days and the last one on the morning of the third. We were told that after lunch on the third day a list would be put up on the notice board of those who would be interviewed in the afternoon.

After lunch on the third day we all crowded round the notice board to see who was on the short list for interview. There were five names for the three exhibitions and mine was one of them. The interview was chaired by the Provost of the college, Sir John Shepherd, and conducted by George Rylands, an English don, and Noel Annan, a history don, later to become Provost of King’s and subsequently Provost of University College, London. Our headmaster had held occasional classes for about a dozen boys who were to take the scholarship examinations, and he had advised us to be controversial and take an unconventional line in order to stand out from the crowd of conventional answers.

I remembered this advice as I entered the interview room and I seized the opportunity of following it when Noel Annan asked how I would appraise Neville Chamberlain. Reversing the conventional consensus, I said I thought Chamberlain’s appeasement of Hitler at Munich following the German invasion of Czechoslovakia was thoroughly sensible – Czechoslovakia being, in Chamberlain’s memorable phrase, “a faraway country of which we know little”. However, I continued, I thought Chamberlain’s decision to declare war on Germany following the invasion of Poland in September 1939 was a mistake because we were not militarily prepared to take on Germany. We would have been better to have kept out of the war, I said, and let Germany and Russia slog it out. Probably, I continued, warming to the theme, Russia would have won anyway, just as it had defeated Napoleon’s invasion in 1812. But even if Germany had won, we had defeated the German plan to invade us in 1941 in the battle of Britain and could have prevented a future invasion. By staying neutral we could have built up our defences further and developed a nuclear

weapon to deter an invasion. After all, I said, there's no point in going to war if you don't win, and it's not as if we won the war.

“Not won the war?” reposted Noel Annan, “how do you make that out?” “Well”, I said, “we entered the war to preserve Poland's independence, and at the end of the war Poland had lost its independence and was effectively occupied by the Soviet Union, so in this sense we lost the war”. The rest of the interviewing panel seemed a bit taken aback by all this because none of them took it further. I wondered whether I'd blown it by taking our headmaster's advice to be controversial a bit too far. I was really just making debating points in presenting this argument, but I still think the case for having remained neutral in World War Two is quite a good one. Many years later Patrick Buchanan took the same view in his 2008 book *Churchill, Hitler and the Unnecessary War* and the British historian Robert Crowcroft also took this view in his 2019 book *The End is Nigh: British Politics, Power and the Road to the Second World War*.

We were told we would be informed in due course of the outcome of the examination and for the next couple of days I was on tenter-hooks awaiting the result. On the third day I received a telegram – a long defunct method of communication that will be unknown to younger readers and consisted of a short message coded by the word, delivered in a brown envelope generally by a young man on a bicycle. I tore open the envelope and read “Congratulations, exhibition awarded”. This news threw me into a state of hyper-manic euphoria whose intensity I had never experienced before or was never to experience again. This lasted for a couple of days during which I was too excited to read and spent the time making some bookshelves. By the third day the euphoria began to subside and I was able to resume working for the Higher School Certificate that I was to take in June.

It was not necessary to do well in this because I had a place in Cambridge so I gave more thought to what I would read when I went up to the university. I thought that history left a lot of questions unanswered such as why humans incessantly fight wars. I began to think that psychology might provide answers to some of these questions. I read a few psychology books to get a feel of the subject. One of these was William McDougall's *Introduction to Social Psychology* which set out his theory of the instincts of aggression, home-making, social bonding and so on. I was quite favourably impressed, not realizing that all of this was passé. I began to

think seriously about reading psychology when I went up to Cambridge, as my father had suggested when I met him two years earlier. I also read some of the great classical histories, including Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, and some of the great novels including *War and Peace*. In addition I read some history of art and architecture, and made a number of visits to the Bristol art gallery and the medieval churches of the city and surrounding countryside. I took the Higher School Certificate in June and left school without regret. On several occasions avuncular figures had told me that I should enjoy my school days as they would be the best days of my life. I hoped this would not turn out to be right.

#### Chapter 4. Military Interlude, 1948-49

At this time all British 18 year old boys were conscripted into the armed services and in early July, 1948, I received my call up papers requiring me to report for military service at a barracks in Aldershot at the end of the month. It was not a future to which I particularly looked forward. When I arrived I found I had been assigned to the Royal Army Service Corps. I spent the first fortnight undergoing the most basic military training with a random assortment of conscripts. During this time we were interviewed and assessed for training in one or other arms of the Corps. Those few who had passed their Higher School Certificate at the age of eighteen were picked out as possible potential officers and sent to what was called a "Junior Leaders' Course" in Yeovil, a small country town in the west of England. We were to be there for eight weeks during which we were to receive more military training and in the course of which we had to go to a WOSB (War Office Selection Board) for three days to be assessed for suitability for officer training.

There cannot have been a less enthusiastic soldier than I was. As I have recorded in my account of my schooldays, I do not readily identify with groups, and least of all with those like the army. None of my family had been in the military. At school, I had not joined the cadet corps in which boys received military training because of my indifference to the army.

I did not have a high opinion of the training we received at Yeovil.

Much of it consisted of drill, which involved “presenting arms” and “sloping arms”, which consisted of throwing one’s rifle up onto the shoulder and then taking it down again, and marching up and down to orders barked out by a sergeant. Every evening we had to polish our boots until you could see your reflection in them, clean our brass cap badges and other bits and pieces, and smear a white substance called blanco on our belts and gaiters. This was known as “Bull” and I could not see any point in it. We had driving lessons which was more sensible because the task of the Royal Army Service Corps was to service the infantry and other arms of the military that were doing the fighting by bringing them supplies in lorries and it was evident that for this we should be able to drive. It was also thought, again apparently sensibly, that we should be taught to drive lorries. In practice, however, it is difficult to learn to drive on a lorry so hardly anyone passed the driving test. It would have been much more sensible to have taught us to drive jeeps, so that we could have passed the test and then graduated to lorries. We had rifles but we never received any instruction in how to fire them which I thought was curious as I supposed that this is the main skill a soldier needs to acquire.

My fellow conscripts at Yeovil were a congenial crowd. Many of them had been to the major public schools so this was my first encounter with these socially superior beings. Most of them were going to universities after their military service and I was spoiled for choice in making new friends. The first friend I made was Michael Codron who was a sophisticated Londoner from St Paul's School, was going to Oxford and was passionate about the theatre. After a few weeks in the army he had a nervous breakdown and was invalided out but we continued to be friends and used to meet from time to time in London where he took me to L’Escargot and some of the other French and Italian restaurants in Soho, the only place in London where these could be found at this time. After Oxford Michael had a successful career as an impresario and was knighted in 2014.

After Michael left, the next friend I made was John Elliott. He had won a scholarship to Eton at the age of twelve and then won a scholarship to Cambridge, where he intended to read history. We had

common interests not only in history but in literature, art and architecture, as well as a shared antipathy for the army. We used to spend the weekends hitch-hiking around the country to visit country houses and churches, which in those days were open. Towards the end of the twentieth century churches were frequently locked because if they were open anything worth taking from them would be stolen, and if there was nothing worth stealing they would be vandalised. John Elliott had a very high verbal intelligence. He was an excellent linguist and was fluent in French and German. I thought that if the army had had any sense they would have sent him on a Russian language course. He could have acquired the language in several months and could have been used as an interpreter for translations or for negotiations with the Russians, Germans and French. As it was, he was sent on a typing course. John and I have remained close friends. He had a brilliant career as a historian, first at Cambridge, then in the United States at the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton, and finally as the Regius Professor of History at Oxford. He was knighted in 1994.

In our barracks we were given a pin-board by the side of our beds on which most of the lads pinned photos of their girl friends and family. As I did not have a girl friend and my only family was my mother, I pinned up a photo of her and a post card of Vermeer's well-known painting of a girl with a pearl ear-ring. One day this caught the sergeant's attention and he inquired if this was a picture of my girl friend. I replied that it was but unhappily she had been dead for the last three hundred or so years.

All groups develop their own jargon and linguistic usages and the army was no exception. The most striking linguistic peculiarity was the omnipresent use of "f\*\*k" and its derivatives while at the same time the word had become devoid of its true meaning. This peculiar usage is illustrated by the following anecdote told me by Michael Codron. In the army it was an offence to contract a venereal disease, and a soldier who had committed this offence was summonsed before his commanding officer to explain how this had occurred and then be punished. On this occasion the soldier offered the following explanation: "Well sir, it was like this. I was having a drink in this f\*\*king pub with me f\*\*king

mates, and after we had had a few f\*\*king beers this f\*\*king bird comes up to me and begins chatting me up. Well, sir, I bought her a f\*\*king drink and after a bit we left the f\*\*king pub and walked to a f\*\*king wood. We went into this and lay down for a bit of f\*\*king hanky panky”. “I see,” said the commanding officer “and what happened next”? The soldier replied “I had intercourse with her, sir”.

After about four weeks at Yeovil it was my turn to attend one of the WOSBs (War Office Selection Boards) for assessment for suitability for officer training. Although I had no enthusiasm for the army, I decided I would try to make the best of it and that it would be better to become an officer, so I determined to try to pass this hurdle. Quite a number of us had already been to a WOSB and only a few had passed, so I was not confident on purely actuarial grounds, especially as I had not joined the cadet corps at school. The WOSB was in Chester. When I arrived I found that thirty young men had been summonsed from various camps around the country. We were divided into three groups of ten, each under the supervision of a major. During the three days we were put through various tasks. In the first session, we sat in a circle and the major threw a bunch of keys on the ground and said “Now start a discussion”. Aware that we were being assessed for initiative and leadership qualities I decided I had better speak up so I said “These keys remind me of the story of a British lecturer who was giving a talk in Portugal on the British novel. At the end of the talk, someone in the audience asked “Could you comment on *The Sickies of Sickingdom*”. The lecturer paused for a moment or two and then replied “I think you are referring to *The Keys of the Kingdom*, a novel by A.J.Cronin...”.

After this, we were put through several military exercises, one of which was being put in charge of the group and organising it to cross a river and attack an enemy on the other side. We also had to take an intelligence test called the Progressive Matrices. This was my first encounter with this test, which I was later to use in research and on which I was to publish a number of papers. We were also required to make a ten-minute speech. I elected to make mine advocating a united Europe on the grounds that this would prevent future wars between the European peoples.

Somewhat to my surprise, I passed the WOSB and in September I entered the Officer Cadet Training School (OCTU) at Mons Barracks in Aldershot. The course lasted about five months. The first half consisted of basic military training which was mostly more of the same that we had had at Yeovil, while the second half was more specialist training for our particular arm of the army. During the early weeks we received instruction that included the role of the junior infantry officer in leading an attack on an enemy position. The gist of this was that you led your men towards the enemy position while the enemy fired at you. If you were lucky, they missed and when you got near to their position you could shoot them at close range, or run at them and stick your bayonet into one of them. I can't say I fancied this. When I heard about this, I was not surprised about the enormous casualties in World War One about which I had read in Robert Graves' *Goodbye to All That*. But we were not told about these.

We also had a lecture on the behaviour fitting for an officer and gentleman. This was given by the colonel which was a sign that it was important. The colonel began by informing us that when we became officers we should never discuss politics or women in the Officers' Mess. I thought this rather a pity, because these are two of the most interesting topics of conversation. He then told us that we were never to mix socially with other ranks, even if the other ranker happened to be our own brother. We were also told that when we were in civvies (civilian clothes), we should wear a suit and this should include a waist coat and the bottom button of this should be left unfastened.

The colonel also advised us that when we were introduced to someone we should say "How do you do?" and certainly not "Pleased to meet you". If the person to whom we were introduced also said "How do you do?", which he would if he was a gentleman, we should not respond "Very nicely, thanks" or "Well, I'm feeling rather down at the moment", or indeed make any other reply. Rather, the question should be ignored. Furthermore, he told us, gentlemen do not wear wedding rings. If we really had to sport a ring, the only permissible one was a signet ring worn on the little finger of the left hand. These were some of the signs, the colonel said, by which one gentleman recognised another. The advice given in this lecture is one of the few things that I remember of my five months at the Mons Officer Cadet

Training School.

Our training at Mons still contained a lot of drill some of which was taken by the legendary sergeant-major Brittan who was reputed to have the loudest voice in all England. He had a fine repertoire of colourful metaphors. On one occasion he bellowed at me “Officer Cadet Lynn, get a firm hold of that rifle, sir. You look like a virgin holding a navy’s prick, sir”. Sergeant-majors were required to address officer cadets as “sir”.

In the second half of our training at Mons, my worst experience was the day a boxing match was arranged between the platoons. The boxers who had to represent their platoons were categorized by weight into heavyweights, lightweights, flyweights, welterweights and so on. I knew nothing at all about boxing and had no inclination to learn, and I hoped I would be able to avoid participating in the forthcoming match. However, it was my bad luck that I was the only welterweight in my platoon, so I was detailed to represent the platoon in this category. The bouts began at seven o’clock in the evening and at this hour we settled into our seats in a large arena facing the boxing ring rigged up on a raised platform. I watched several matches doing my best to pick up the elements of the sport. Eventually it became my turn. My name was called and I climbed into the ring and took my seat in one of the corners. As if in a nightmare I heard the referee call out “And now the welterweights. In the left corner, Officer Cadet Johnson. In the right corner, Officer Cadet Lynn. Seconds away”. I heard the bell, rose to my feet and advanced into the middle of the ring holding up my fists in what I imagined was a boxer’s stance. As soon as I entered the ring, my opponent gave me a blow that knocked me down, but I gamely clambered to my feet only to be knocked down again. This performance was repeated several times until the bell rang to signal the end of the first round. I lasted one more round at the end of which the fight was called off.

During the course, we had to do guard duty two or three times a week. This consisted of standing guard for two hours in the night outside the door of the Officers' Mess. People differ in the amount of sleep they need, and I am one of those who need a bit more than average. The result of these guard duty nights was that I was seriously sleep deprived the next day and this impaired my ability to attend to instruction and function adequately. I

did not see the point of these guard duties. If a couple of armed potential burglars had attacked us, they would easily have over-powered us. I could not understand why they didn't keep the door of the Officers' Mess locked and issue the inmates with keys.

Our performance was assessed from time to time by exams and assessments by the officers in charge of us. Every now and again a cadet failed one these assessments and received an RTU. This stood for *Returned to Unit* and meant exactly what it said, i.e. the unhappy cadet had to return to his former unit. This was like going down a long snake in the children's game of Snakes and Ladders, or "Return to Go" in Monopoly. My performance in these assessments was generally a bit below average, partly because a lot of the time I was so sleep deprived, so I was in dread of getting an RTU, particularly after my inglorious performance in the boxing match. Towards the end, I sensed that the officers evaluating us had begun to doubt my suitability as officer material, but I scraped through and was duly commissioned second lieutenant at the beginning of February, 1949, about a fortnight before my nineteenth birthday.

I was not impressed with the training at the Mons Officer Cadet School. The only instruction we received with weapons was with the Lee-Enfield bolt-action rifles used in the Boer War, World War One and the early years of World War Two. These rifles held six bullets each of which had to be transferred manually from the magazine, making a very slow rate of fire. They had been superseded in 1944 by the Germans with the development of the StG44 assault rifle which has a rapid rate of fire, like a light hand held machine gun. The Russians produced a similar weapon in 1947, the Kalashnikov AK-47 designed by the eponymous Russian general. We were never told about these when I went through Mons in 1948-9. Nor did we ever get to fire the pistols that were issued to officers.

After we were commissioned we were given a week's leave. During this my mother and I went to Paris. We stayed in a small hotel on the Left Bank, and had coffee at the famous Café des Deux Maggots, where the great French intellectuals like Jean-Paul Sartre and Albert Camus reputedly held court and discussed existentialism, Marxism and the meaning of life. I scanned the café in the hope of spotting one or two of these celebrities but was disappointed at not being able to identify any. Naturally we went to the

Louvre and admired the Venus de Milo and the Mona Lisa, to the Orangerie where we marvelled at Monet's huge canvasses of water lilies, and to the Musée de l'Art Moderne, where we tried to understand the distorted figures of Picasso and the mysteries of cubism and post-impressionism. We visited the great cathedral of Notre Dame and made a day's expedition by train to Chartres to see the cathedral. We went to Versailles and traipsed round the palace. We did not however go up the Eiffel Tower which I considered a bit naff. The food in the restaurants was a revelation compared with that in Britain, which was notoriously terrible in those days. My mother, through her Communist Party connections, had a letter of introduction to a couple of prominent French communists, and we cold-called on these early one evening. They had a sumptuous apartment off the Champs Elysée, with a huge drawing room furnished with magnificent antiques and with paintings that looked as if they were by Picasso, Braque, Modigliani, Chagall and other famous artists. I had never seen anything like it. They were the ultimate champagne communists. I thought to myself that if the revolution they longed for ever took place, they would have been among the first to be guillotined or shot. Conversation with our new communist friends was difficult. My mother's French was not good, and I was disgusted to discover that after learning French for eight years at school I could barely understand a word, although I could read and write the language quite well. Our hosts were polite but they didn't invite us to stay for dinner.

Those of us who had been commissioned were to be posted to various British army bases and operations round the world and we were invited to express preferences for where we would like to go. One option was Malaysia, where we were fighting communists who were unreasonably fighting for independence for their country. The communists mostly hid in the jungle, and we the British went out on patrols to try to find and kill them, but quite often they killed us. I didn't care much for this prospect, so I opted for Cyprus. In the event no-one got the posting they asked for and we suspected that whoever ordained the postings had not even bothered to look at the expressed preferences. My own posting was to the Ramillies Officers Mess in Aldershot about a mile up the road from the Mons Officer Cadet School.

At the end of my leave I duly found my way to the Ramillies Officers Mess and reported to the colonel in charge. The depot to which I was posted received new conscripts for their first fortnight in the army during which they were initiated into military life and assessed for further training. I was responsible for a platoon of thirty of these lads who were taught drill and to salute officers, just as I had been taught seven months earlier. I had a sergeant and a couple of corporals to assist me in these duties. The new conscripts had one session of learning to fire an air rifle. They assembled at the rifle range and shot at a target measuring about eight square inches marked with several circles and a bull's eye in the middle. The sergeant would first instruct them in how to shoot, and then they would each take six shots at the target. I was astonished to find that most of the conscripts found this very difficult and failed to hit the target at all. I found no difficulty in doing this because I had occasionally been to fair grounds and shot at targets. It was simply a matter of aligning the sights on the rifle against the target and pulling the trigger, and the bullet went into the bull's eye or very close to it. I used to give them a demonstration of how it was done, and the sergeant would bring the target and show it to them with six neat little holes in the bull's eye. The conscripts would gather round with exclamations of "Cor, blimey, look at the officer's".

Life was quite comfortable in the Ramillies Officers' Mess. I had my own bedroom where I could read and relax. The mess resembled a small version of a London gentleman's club with a spacious sitting room with newspapers and magazines, and the walls were hung with paintings of the past military successes of the regiment. The largest was of the battle of Ramillies, in which the John Churchill, later the Duke of Marlborough, defeated the French in 1706 in the War of the Spanish Succession.

There was also a dining room, a bar and a billiards room, all similarly adorned with paintings of historic British victories. Once a month there was a formal dinner attended by all the officers at which we had to wear dress uniform. The dinner took place at a long table adorned with silver cups and candelabra. The colonel sat at the head of the table and the majors were next, then the captains, and so on down the table according to rank. I was the junior subaltern and sat at the bottom of the table. At these dinners we had wines followed by port, which was a new experience for me. When

the dinner was finished it was my job as the junior subaltern to propose the King's health. I had to stand up, rap on the table to command silence, raise my glass of port and say "Gentlemen, the King". I enjoyed these dinners and I sensed that they served a useful bonding function. Despite our differences in rank and age, we were part of a group enterprise that was symbolised by sitting down together and sharing food.

Another junior officer at Ramillies was Peter Kitcatt and he became my closest friend during this time. Peter was three years older than me because he had opted to go to university before doing his military service, and it so happened that he had gone to Cambridge and to King's where he had read English and French. He was a sophisticated companion in the otherwise rather philistine company of the officers' mess and he became my mentor. Among many other things, Peter introduced me to the *The Times*. This opened a new world to me because, as I have recorded, at home my mother took *The Daily Worker*, the communist paper. I began to read *The Times* and have done so ever since, although with increasing reluctance in recent years as it has gone down market. Peter astonished everyone, including me, by being able to complete most and sometimes all of *The Times* crossword puzzle over breakfast.

Peter also introduced me to a number of nuggets of English literature. One of these was a Mediaeval writer's "A young man and a young woman alone in a wood on a May morning... if God do not forgive it, I would". He also introduced me to John Betjeman's poetry. He was particularly fond of the *Subaltern's Love-Song* which is about the poet's love for an Aldershot tennis-star called Joan Hunter-Dunn, and which begins "Miss J. Hunter-Dunn, Miss J. Hunter-Dunn, Furnish'd and burnished by Aldershot sun". It was from Peter that I acquired an abiding liking for Betjeman's poems and his nostalgia for an England that was disappearing.

Peter warned me that King's had a reputation as a hotbed of homosexuals of which I was unaware. He told me that this reputation was to some degree deserved and he advised me "To watch my back". He told me that the Provost, Sir John Shepherd, was one of these and had been in love with Rupert Brooke, who had been a student at King's, and he had been heartbroken by Rupert's tragic death in World War One. Allegedly Sir John kept a framed autographed photo of him by his bedside. Peter told me

another homosexual I would encounter at King's was the novelist E. M. Forster, who was always known as Morgan, his second name, and that the great love of his life had been an Egyptian bus conductor whom he had met in Cairo. It was reputed that he had written a homosexual novel called *Maurice* that he had instructed was to be published after his death. This turned out to be correct.

Peter also advised me to watch out for the bisexuals like Noel Annan, about whom he told the following story. According to this anecdote, one morning in the senior common room the Provost was reading *The Times*, from which he suddenly looked up and said to the assembled dons "I say, John Smith and Jane Fairfax have announced their engagement". "Ah indeed", observed Noel Annan, "charming couple, charming couple. I've slept with both of them".

Peter had been an exceptionally able student at Cambridge and passed the examination into the top class of the civil service, which he entered when he completed his military service. He had a successful career directing British economic policy in the Treasury and then as the Secretary of the Speaker of the House of Commons, for which he was knighted. It was one of the more positive aspects of my army career that I was able to spend seven months in his company.

My chief duty was to inspect my platoon every morning at parade to ensure that they had all shaved, polished their brass buttons, cap and other bits and pieces, and blanched their webbing belts and gaiters so they looked clean and tidy. Their training was conducted by the sergeant and corporals, and I had only to look in on this from time to time to make sure everything was in order. At the end of their fortnight the platoons went on a passing out parade in which they had to march past the colonel and other senior officers. We second lieutenants had to march at the head of our platoons and keep in step with the platoon in front of them, while the men in the platoons kept in step with their lieutenants. Unfortunately, I have a rather poor sense of rhythm and I found great difficulty in keeping in step with the platoon in front of me. The result of this was that I and my platoon were frequently out of step with the others. When this happened, the sergeant major who conducted the proceedings would shout exasperatedly at me "Mr Lynn, sir, get in step, sir". From my own point of view I was the

only one in step. In my later career, I was often to be in a similar position - metaphorically.

Apart from this my duties were quite light so I had a fair bit of leisure and I was able to read widely, while my sergeant put the platoon through their paces. I read a few psychology books including Galton's *Hereditary Genius*, in which he argued that intelligence is a single entity, is largely hereditary, that high intelligence is required for civilisation and that in advanced civilisations the more intelligent individuals tend to have fewer children, with the result that the intelligence of the population declines and with it the quality of the civilisation. I found all this very interesting and it confirmed my intention to take psychology when I went up to Cambridge.

One of the books I bought and read that made a big impression on me was Bertrand Russell's *History of Western Philosophy*. I admired Russell for both his wit and his style, particularly his short crisp sentences which I endeavoured to copy. I also admired his courage in opposing World War One, for which he was deprived of his fellowship at Trinity College at Cambridge and sent to prison. It so happened that in the summer of 1949 Russell gave a lecture to all the officers in the numerous barracks in Aldershot and I was among the audience. He argued that the atom bomb was a huge danger to mankind, that although the United States was the only country that possessed the bomb at present, it was only a matter of time before other countries developed their own, and then one would use it and cause huge destruction. He urged that to forestall this disaster the United States should take control of the world and prohibit other countries from developing the bomb. I thought it was a well-argued case and admired his courageous and innovative thinking. It has all turned out pretty much as he predicted and many countries now have the bomb, although as yet none of them has been exploded.

I learned a bit of Italian in order to read Dante's *Divine Comedy* for which I bought a parallel text with the English on one page and Italian on the other. This made it easy to follow the sonorous Italian and I accompanied Dante and his guide Virgil through the gates of the *Inferno* above which were inscribed the scary words *Lasciate ogni speranza, voi ch'entrate*. From there we visited the circles and met those who had succumbed to the sin of lust, including Cleopatra, Helen of Troy, and

Tristan and Isolde. I thought Dante had been a bit hard assigning these to eternal damnation and that a few thousand years in the *Purgatorio* would have been sufficient for these victimless sins. I found the *Inferno* the most interesting part of Dante because it contained all the wicked people.

In March, I noticed in the local newspaper that there was to be a performance of *Romeo and Juliet* put on by an amateur dramatics group. I decided to go and see it and was greatly taken by the actress who played Juliet and looked about sixteen, as of course she was meant to be. I saw from the programme that she was called Joan Wright, so I found out about the amateur dramatics group and went to its next meeting in the hope of meeting her. I found she was there, so I sat down next to her and told her I had seen the play and how much I liked her performance. During our conversation I said that *Romeo and Juliet* was not really a tragedy in the Aristotelian sense, but the deaths of the hero and heroine were more a misfortune. This possibly pompous comment seemed to go down well and we appeared to hit it off, so I invited her out to dinner for the following week. She accepted and from then on we used to meet two or three times a week when my military duties permitted. Sometimes at weekends we would go cycling in the surrounding country and look at churches, or we would go to the cinema, or have dinner somewhere. She loved Beethoven, Bach and Italian opera and could sing several of the great arias including *Un bel di, vedremo* in *Madame Butterfly*, and she loved poetry, the theatre and above all Shakespeare, as I did. And so inevitably we fell in love. This was a halcyon time and we were both very happy.

Despite this comfortable and happy time, this was not a fulfilling life. I was completely out of sympathy with my role in the army, whose purpose was to deter the Russians from invading western Europe and possibly even us in Britain. I thought it extremely unlikely that the Russians would attempt this, as the Americans had the atom bomb while the Russians didn't. The Americans had dropped one of their atom bombs on Nagasaki and then another one on Hiroshima, just in case the Japanese didn't get the message. I thought it obvious that the Russians would consider it likely that if they invaded western Europe, the Americans might well drop one or two atom bombs on their cities and I surmised they would be sensible enough not to invade us. So I thought my spending time in the army trying to teach

conscript recruits how to shoot straight with out of date rifles was completely pointless. Furthermore, most of the cities in Britain had been bombed and there was a lot of work to be done rebuilding them. Although I was still quite left wing in my political views, I began to wonder about the sense of the Labour Government in keeping about a million young men in the army to deter the Russians from invading the west while so much building work needed to be done.

My friend John Elliott had not passed the WOSB and was trained as a typist. He was also stationed in the Aldershot area and we used to meet from time to time despite the rule that officers and other ranks were forbidden to meet socially. We were to be demobbed from the army in mid-September and John suggested we should take a holiday together visiting the chateaux of the Loire in the last two weeks of the month before going up to Cambridge at the beginning of October. I had never heard of the chateaux of the Loire but I readily agreed to this.

When the time came we took the train to Southampton and the ferry across the channel to Le Havre. We took a small tent and sleeping bags. Our plan was to travel by hitch-hiking and to camp or stay in modest hotels. There were few cars on the roads in those days but most of these stopped for us, so the hitch-hiking was a success and we managed to see pretty well all the major chateaux including Azay-le-Rideau, Chenonceaux, Chambord, Bois, Chinon, Langeais and Loche. I thought they were all wonderful. My favourite was Azay-le-Rideau, which is surrounded by a moat and is quite small but indescribably beautiful. We generally had a picnic lunch of a fresh French baguette, Camembert and tomatoes followed by peaches, and in the evening we had dinner at a restaurant at which I had a glass of red wine while John confined himself to water as he was a committed tea-totaller. These dinners at even modest restaurants were delicious and much better than could be obtained in England except in Soho.

At the end of the fortnight, we took the ferry back to Southampton. I took the train to London and Joan came up to meet me. She had obtained a brass curtain ring that she wore on her wedding finger in preparation for our first night together in a hotel. The next morning we went to Westminster Abbey. This was my first visit to the Abbey, and I was greatly

moved by the tombs of so many of our kings and queens and all the monuments to the great personages of our British history. But what I found most moving of all was the tomb of the unknown warrior from World War One, who had been buried there and who represented the three quarters or so million of our soldiers who had fallen in the war. The inscription on the tomb reads BENEATH THIS STONE RESTS THE BODY OF A BRITISH WARRIOR, UNKNOWN BY NAME OR RANK, BROUGHT FROM FRANCE TO LIE AMONG THE MOST ILLUSTRIOUS OF THE LAND.

Yes, I reflected, the unknown warrior was one of the hundreds of thousands of young men that died for king and country, sent to their deaths by Asquith and then by Lloyd-George who is often regarded by historians as one of our greatest Prime Ministers but in my opinion one of the worst for continuing to prosecute this terrible war when he could have negotiated peace with Germany when he became Prime Minister in 1916.

After our visit to the Abbey, Joan and I had lunch and then went to King's Cross station where I boarded the train to Cambridge. Joan waved me off as the train pulled out of the platform and took me to begin the next chapter in my life.

## Chapter 5. Cambridge, 1949-1956

I arrived in Cambridge in early October for the beginning of the academic year and enrolled in King's College. My lodging was in King's Parade just opposite the front gate of the college. One of my fellow lodgers was George Savidis, who was studying classics and was from a rich Greek family. I called on him to say hello and he gave me a glass of Madeira, the first time I tasted this exotic wine. We became firm friends, and I had lunch with him in Athens when I was there in 1971. At that time he was Professor of Greek literature at the University of Salonika. He later became Professor of Greek literature at Harvard.

I was very taken with the historic glamour of the college which had been founded in 1441 by King Henry VI, especially the chapel and the dining hall in which there were portraits of former eminent members of the college. These included Sir Robert Walpole, the first prime minister, Francis Walsingham, the spymaster of Queen Elizabeth 1, Maynard Keynes, the economist who discovered that mass unemployment can be cured by paying men to dig holes and then fill them in, and Rupert Brooke, the poet now chiefly remembered for his sonnet "If I should die, think only this of me, that there's some corner of a foreign field that is forever England", and who tragically died in

World War One on his way to fight in the Dardanelles in the disastrous campaign initiated by Winston Churchill.

I found it was not possible to read psychology until the third year. The Cambridge degree system consisted of taking one subject for the Part One Tripos and then either the same subject at a more advanced level or a different subject for the Part Two Tripos. The quaint term “Tripos” is derived from the three legged stool on which candidates for a degree were required to sit in mediaeval times while they were quizzed by their examiners, but this custom had long since been replaced by written examinations by the time I went up.

Psychology could only be studied for the Part Two Tripos, so I had to find something else to take for Part One. The college tutor was Patrick Wilkinson and it was his job to help students with problems of this kind, so I consulted him on this question. “Possibly, sir” I said, “I should do Philosophy”. “Don't call me *sir*” he replied, “call me Patrick” - King's was a very liberal college and then he explained that Philosophy consisted largely of meta-physics and logic, and that meta-physics was concerned with problems like whether tables exist in rooms when there is no one present who can see them, while logic was highly mathematical, and he concluded by saying “Philosophy is a funny subject, you know; you can spend the first month considering whether two and two make four”. I didn't like the sound of any of these so I decided to do history which I had enjoyed at school and already had some grounding in. My history tutor was called Christopher Morris. He gave me a reading list and advised me about what lectures to attend. His general advice was that most lectures are a waste of time and that I would do better to read the books. However, he suggested I should sample them and judge for myself. I took this advice and found it was sound. I have never found listening to lectures an efficient way of absorbing information and I found most of them were dire. I regard lectures as a survival from mediaeval times before the invention of printing when books were not available. In fact the only lectures I attended regularly, together with John Elliott, were a course on mediaeval thinkers by David Knowles, a Catholic Benedictine monk, and a course on the history of art and architecture by Nicolaus Pevsner.

The most valuable thing about the history course was having to write a weekly essay. For this you had to grapple with the problem, structure an argument and write it up. Once week you met your tutor and he read it, or you read it to him, and he then commented on it. Cambridge was very proud of its one to one tutorials but I can't say I found these particularly useful. I think it would have been better to have had two students writing on the same subject and have a three way discussion. I found writing the essay was generally more useful than the tutor's comments.

Social life at Cambridge was centred largely on the college, where we had breakfast if we wanted it, although I never did, lunch and dinner, and where we socialised, talked and made friends. After dinner several of us would usually gather in someone's rooms (generally we had both a sitting room

and a bedroom) where the host would make coffee and we would discuss the problems that young men always have and probably always will discuss – the meaning of life, politics, literature, history, war, pacifism, religion, and of course, sex and gossip.

King's was quite a socially elite college. The founder, King Henry VI, also founded Eton and intended that clever boys from Eton would go on to King's, and for a number of centuries King's only admitted Etonians. This association still existed in my day when many Etonians went to King's. One of these whom I knew quite well was Adrian Cadbury of the chocolate making family, of which he later became chairman. Most of the students at King's had been either to Eton or to one of the major public schools and came from upper or upper middle class families, so it might have been expected that they would be politically conservative. This was far from the case. Most of them were left-inclined, Labour supporters and Fabian socialists, as I was myself at this time. One of these whom I knew quite well was Tam Dalyell of the Binns, a Scottish laird and minor aristocrat who had been to Eton. He was a strong Labour supporter and in due course became a Labour M.P. but he was too left wing to be given a job in any of the Labour governments. Several of my fellow students, friends and some of the young fellows were Marxists and communists. One of these whom I knew quite well was Gordon Leff, who later became professor of history at the University of York. Another Marxist and communist was Eric Hobsbawm who stuck to his communist sympathies even after the Soviet invasion of Hungary in 1956 when many British communists became disillusioned with Soviet communism and left the party. It is one of the British peculiarities that although Hobsbawm would have liked to have a Russian style revolution of the proletariat in Britain and the destruction of British democracy, society and culture, he was showered with honours including Fellowship of the British Academy and numerous honorary degrees. The Queen even bestowed on him the title of Companion of Honour, one of the highest British awards.

My only friend who was a conservative was Simon Raven, who later became moderately well known as a novelist. Simon was firmly of the view that socialists are motivated by envy, malice and spite directed at those who are more gifted or more fortunate than themselves. In the 1970s the college became increasingly left wing. The fellows decided that the dais in the dining hall on which the high table stood and at which the dons had dinner was too symbolic of their superiority, so it was lowered to the same level as that of the students. Simon used to describe the college as being in "a state of terminal socialism". Simon was an engaging psychopath. He used to borrow money from other students without the slightest intention of repaying it. I was one of his many victims. He was expelled from his public school (Charterhouse) for homosexuality. While he was an undergraduate, he seduced a student, a vicar's daughter, and got her pregnant. He married her out of a sense of duty but never lived with her or even saw her after she had their child. After leaving King's, he joined the army, was commissioned and survived long enough to become a

captain but he gambled heavily at horse races and accumulated large debts as a result of which he had to resign. He then tried his hand at writing novels that were reasonably successful. Several of his novels are set in King's which he called Lancaster College. I used to see him from time to time and on some occasions he could be exceptionally generous and gave expensive dinners in London for me and a few of his friends.

Another of my friends at King's was John Hapgood, another Etonian. He was a gifted physiologist and also a committed Christian and tried to convert me but in this he was unsuccessful. I have never been able to see any sense in Christianity and its belief in miracles and prayer. I had read Francis Galton's paper on the efficacy of prayer, which he tested by examining the longevity of kings and queens. He argued that many thousands of people pray for the life of kings and queens, so these should live longer than ordinary folk if prayer is effective. He found that this was not the case and concluded that prayer is ineffective. I was persuaded by this. Many years later I was to write a paper showing that generally people who are religious are less intelligent than agnostics and atheists but I recognise that there are some very intelligent people who are believers and John Hapgood was one of these. I have come to believe that there must be a gene for religious belief – it has been shown to have a heritability of about fifty percent - and some very intelligent people have inherited it but others have not. John Hapgood was evidently one of those who had inherited the gene because he abandoned a promising career in physiology and became a priest. In this capacity he preached the virtues of poverty for a number years but he ended up as Archbishop of York and lived in the sumptuous archbishop's palace. I have often found it strange that Jesus preached the virtues of poverty but successful churchmen like bishops and archbishops have quite large incomes and live in palaces. However, after he retired as Archbishop he again became a humble priest.

Two of my other close friends were Norman Routledge and Freddie Jevons. Norman Routledge was a mathematician and as a post-grad made a significant contribution to Hilbert's  $n$ -dimensional space (whatever that is). It was while he was working on this that he received a call from the headmaster of Eton asking if he could recommend someone to come and teach mathematics. Norman replied that he would come himself and it was there that he spent his career. Freddie Jevons was a biochemist who became Professor of Biochemistry in Manchester and then vice-chancellor of Deakin University in Australia. He was Jewish and was born in Austria as Frederick Bettelheim and came to England in the 1930s and changed his name to Jevons. Several of my friends in Cambridge were clever Jews, including Peter Pulzer, Klaus Wedell, Gordon Leff, Michael Gale and Peter Mittler. Many years later, I wrote a book – *The Chosen People* - on the high IQ and outstanding achievements of the Jews.

Among my fellow history students at King's, my best friend was Roy Willis. After graduating he emigrated to the United States where he wrote several books on recent history and ended up as a

professor at the University of California at San Francisco. When he was sixty-two, the university wanted to get rid of elderly white men and replace them with females and ethnic minorities and offered him a large pay-off to retire, which he accepted. Another history student I was friendly with was Brian Rees. He had a rather chequered subsequent career. He was an exceptionally brilliant student and Sir Robert Birley, the headmaster of Eton, invited him to come and teach at the college. Brian accepted this and after a few years married Sir Robert's daughter, Julia. At the early age of 39, he was appointed headmaster of Rugby. This spectacular rise was followed by an equally spectacular fall. Julia died and Brian indulged his bisexual proclivities. He invited a male lover to stay with him for a few days in the headmaster's house. He was understandably lonely and told two of the masters and a bishop about this and his bisexuality. One of these told the chairman of the governors who demanded Brian's immediate resignation. This made him unemployable as a teacher and he became a dishwasher at a London hotel. I wrote to him to convey my sympathy for his misfortune and he replied that he quite enjoyed being a dishwasher because there were no responsibilities or stress. He later rehabilitated himself, found a new wife and wrote biographies of the composers Saint-Saens and Sir Edward German.

The college had a number of societies that met in the evenings. In my first year I was elected to the Ten Club and the Political Society. The Ten Club met to read plays and originally had ten members but when I was elected there were about twenty. At the first meeting I attended we read T.S. Eliot's *The Cocktail Party*, which I did not particularly like although when I read his last two plays (*The Elder Statesman* and *The Confidential Clerk*) I thought they were brilliant. The Political Club discussed historical and political issues. It had about twenty five members and met once a week. At these meetings one of the second or third year students read a paper. When this was over, a bag was passed round containing disks numbered 1-25. We had to take one of these a disks and then get up and comment on the paper in turn, according to the number of our disk. At the first meeting I attended John Wright read a paper on the Hell-Fire Club, an eighteenth century club in London devoted to outrageous activities. Many of the topics were very recondite and it was sometimes hard to think of anything sensible to say. When it came to my turn I gave a paper on the psychological impact of the Black Death, the plague that swept through Europe in 1348-50 and killed around a third of the population. I argued that this trauma produced a depressive reaction that lasted for around half a century. This was my first effort at psycho-history.

Cambridge colleges in those days were all single sex so we lived largely in an all-male society. This was fine for homosexuals who were able to enjoy the company and sometimes the beds of many beautiful young men (beauty and intelligence tend to go together, as Satoshi Kanazawa has demonstrated) who shared their proclivities. But it was not so good for heterosexuals many of whom were deprived of romantic and sexual relationships that are natural for young men

of this age. I remember at one all male party a German visiting scholar asked the assembled company "Tell me about zee sex lif of zee stooents. Zey don't seem to hef any". One of us replied that he was probably right in supposing that many of them didn't have a sex life. There were however some exceptions. A few found girl friends in one of the two women's colleges or from one of several English language schools that catered for foreign girls, among whom those from Sweden were particularly sought after on account of their reputedly relaxed sexual morals. There were a few like me who had girl friends in some distant place and who visited occasionally. In my own case Joan used to come up once a term. I could have had her stay with me in my rooms but if this had been discovered I would have been expelled. Although I am by nature a moderate risk taker I always calculate the costs of the risk going wrong and weigh these against the benefits of the risk coming off. In this case I judged that the risk of detection was small but the cost of being detected and expulsion was so great that it was not worth taking, so Joan stayed in a hotel. Some of my friends had girl friends in London that they would visit from time to time for the afternoon and early evening. We were not allowed to spend a night away from Cambridge and the college doors were locked at 11 o'clock at night, so these had to ensure that they were not so carried away by passion that they missed the train that arrived in Cambridge in time to get back to college before it was locked. For this reason the late evening train back to Cambridge was known as the flying fornicator.

Several of the dons were homosexuals and these socialised with the undergraduates at lunch and in the evenings. Some of them invited the more good looking undergraduates to stay with them in country houses during the vacations at what were called reading parties. I was invited to one of these by Professor Pigou, the professor of economics, at his house in the Lake District but, remembering the advice Peter Kitcatt had given me to "mind my back", I declined the offer. One of the homosexual dons I got to know quite well was the novelist E. M. Forster, who was known as Morgan. I noticed that he always wore a ring on the little finger of the left hand, but it was not a signet which the colonel at Mons Officer Cadet School had told us was the only acceptable ring for a gentleman to wear. It was a diamond solitaire like those that women wear as engagement rings. I wondered what memory it held of some past and possibly illicit romance.

Morgan was fond of observing how the generous the Americans are. He illustrated this by recounting a story about how when he was in New York and tipped a taxi driver, the driver handed it back with the remark "You keep it, guv; you need it more than I do". I don't think anyone had the heart to explain the taxi driver's intended irony. Once, when I had begun to read psychology, I was walking through the college grounds holding a book. He caught up with me and asked what my book was. I said "It's called *The Explanation of Human Behaviour*". "Ah", he said, "it must be a very long book".

Although King's had a reputation as a hot-bed of homosexuality I only received one

homosexual overture during my years at Cambridge. This occurred late one evening in my second year. I was working in my room and there was a knock at the door and in came one of my friends. "Oh, hello" I said. "Hello, Richard" he replied "would you like to come to bed with me"? "No thanks, it's not my thing" I answered, and with that he left. He apologised the next morning. I thought his approach was a bit unsubtle but reflected that he had been to one of the major public boarding schools and had no doubt been used to the direct approach. *Tout comprendre est tout pardonner.*

The virtually all male society of Cambridge was highly competitive. Those who made their mark were designated "smart" and were elected to the elite societies and invited to the "smart" parties. Invitations to parties were issued by cards that students placed on their mantelshelf, where they were displayed like trophies. The number of cards you had on your mantelshelf was an index of how "smart" you were, so we were conscious of who was and who was not "smart". The competition between the young men resembled that of young males in many animal species and primitive societies, where young males compete to be admitted to become full members of the adult group and are allowed access to women while those who fail are excluded from the group. From the 1980s the Cambridge colleges admitted women and most of the inter-male competition has gone. What typically happened that the boys and girls pair off in the first term and spend most of their time together, so the young men no longer compete so much with each other. Both the Ten Club and the Political Society, which it was such a privilege to be elected to in my day, have ceased to exist because fewer and fewer undergraduates could be bothered to turn up. Today the young men prefer to spend the evenings in the company and frequently the beds of their girl friends. This is very understandable but I think young men in the mixed sex colleges of today lose something by missing much of the all male competition and interchange of ideas that we used to have in the single sex colleges.

Although in my day we lived in a largely all-male society, we occasionally met women students at lectures and got to know them socially. In my first term John Elliott and I met two of these unfamiliar creatures, who were reading history with us. They were called Susan Maher, of whom I will write later, and Esther Moir. We became quite friends and used occasionally to go out on our bicycles with them to visit country churches and once we went as far as the cathedral at Ely. Esther's father was a vicar and she was very religious. She married Victor de Waal, a rising star of the Church of England, who became Dean of Canterbury Cathedral. Esther became the world expert on the Benedictines on which she lectured and wrote a number of books. Victor and Esther had four sons one of whom was Edmund who later wrote *The Hare with Amber Eyes*, a history of the wealthy Jewish de Waal family, which became a best seller. These were the only two girls I knew during my seven years at Cambridge.

During the summer term of 1950 John Elliott noticed an advert in the students' newspaper announcing that an enterprising student had bought a mini bus and was looking to recruit twelve students for a trip to Spain during the summer vacation. John suggested this might be fun and that we should go. I assented and Susan Maher also signed up for the trip. The party met up in Paris and we drove down through France camping or staying in cheap hotels. The first night we stayed in Tours and Susan and I felt very adventurous in sharing half a bottle of Sauternes. The next night we made Bayonne and then crossed the border into Spain and so down through Burgos to Madrid where we stopped to visit the Prado and admire the Velasquez *Los Minanos* and the Goyas. It was a high-culture tour mainly spent visiting cathedrals. John and I became quite expert on these and could date their construction to within fifty years or so. While we were in the cathedral at Seville an American couple accosted me and asked if I could tell them when it was built. They naturally assumed I was Spanish, and when I gave them the answer they congratulated me on my excellent English. We visited the Alhambra in Granada that had been built by the Moors when they occupied Spain in the middle ages. John Elliott was very taken with Spain and rapidly picked up the language. He liked the country so much that he subsequently devoted his professional career to Spanish history for which he has received numerous medals and honours including Commander of the Order of Alfonso X.

In the autumn term of 1950 I received a telegram from my father saying he was coming to Cambridge for a meeting and asking if I could join him for dinner. I did so and we had a cordial conversation. I told him I planned to read psychology next year and he approved of this. We met on two or three later occasions when he came to Cambridge for meetings. Although we did not meet often, I have certainly been influenced by my father's ideas, especially his conviction that our lives are much influenced by our genes, and also the importance he attached to eugenics. My father has also served as a role model and the distinction he achieved has given me the confidence to advance theories that have frequently been controversial.

There was a flourishing dramatics society at Cambridge and I went to a number of their plays. I well remember a production of *Twelfth Night*, in my opinion the best of Shakespeare's comedies. Viola was brilliantly played by Sasha Moorsom, who was the Zuleika Dobson of the year and not only very talented but also very beautiful and lots of the young men were in love with her. After she went down, she married Michael Young, a socialist who wrote *The Rise of the Meritocracy*. They had a son, Toby who, I believe much to their sorrow, turned out to be a conservative and whom many years later I came to know quite well.

I completed my history course at the end of academic year of 1951. I had enjoyed it,

particularly the course on political theory where we had to master, among other writers, Plato and Adam Smith. Plato's *Republic* was an introduction to the concept of a eugenic state in which people were bred for desirable qualities. I had already encountered this idea in Galton's *Hereditary Genius*, which curiously makes no mention of Plato. I was intrigued with this idea and continued to think about it for many years and I eventually wrote my book *Eugenics* about it.

Adam Smith's *The Wealth of Nations* was another revelation. As is well known, Smith argued that national wealth is developed through market economies where the suppliers of goods and services compete to satisfy the needs of consumers. Their object is to maximise their own profits but "as if by an invisible hand" the result is the generation of wealth and the maximisation of economic efficiency for the whole society. At the same time he argued that monopolies have an adverse effect in so far as they benefit principally their owners rather than the population. All of this is pretty well recognised today but in 1950 it was very little understood. The Labour Government had been busy nationalising the railways, coal and several other industries and by doing so was creating monopolies in the place of competing firms. Yet there was hardly any criticism of this programme. Even the Conservatives did not oppose it. Reading Adam Smith was a road to Damascus experience and led me to abandon my Labour sympathies. It also kindled my interest in the conditions responsible for economic growth which has been one of my major interests over many years.

Although I had enjoyed the history course I was fundamentally dissatisfied with it because it was impossible to find the patterns in it that can be found in the sciences. I was attracted by Arnold Toynbee's *Study of History* because he tried to find the patterns of challenge and response to explain the rise and fall of civilisations, but no-one at Cambridge thought anything of Toynbee. History has been described as just one damn thing after another and this did not suit my temperament. So I stuck to my resolve to take psychology for the rest of my degree.

At the end of the summer term Joan and I became engaged. I bought her a ring and she came up for the May ball. These are all night dances that are given in Cambridge colleges in June after the exams are over. I did not particularly enjoy dancing because I have a poor sense of rhythm, as I think I have mentioned. The only dances I liked were Scottish eight-some reels.

After the ball, we hitch-hiked back to Bristol for a few weeks, and then I returned to Cambridge to take an introductory course in psychology in the Long Vac term, which takes place for about six weeks in the middle of the summer vacation. We were given a course of lectures by Norman Mackworth, the director of the Applied Psychology Unit. In the first, he explained the scientific method and how it began with the formulation of a hypothesis and was followed by an experiment to test it and then, if necessary, with a revision. I discussed this with some of my fellow students afterwards and we decided it was more suitable for twelve year olds than for Cambridge undergraduates. In September, Joan and I went to France for a fortnight. Going abroad was much

more fun in those days than it is today now that people fly to their destination. On this occasion we took the ferry from Southampton to Le Havre and then hitch-hiked to Rouen where we put up for the night in a hotel and then hitch-hiked on to Paris. We stayed in a modest hotel on the left bank and went out for a drink at *Les Deux Maggots*, the watering hole of Jean Paul Sartre, Albert Camus and other famed left-wing Gaullois smoking French intellectuals who discussed their hopes for a communist revolution and the pointlessness of existence, but as had been the case when I visited the famous café in 1949, but we did not see any of them or at least none that I could recognise. Joan had obtained a place at Bristol University to read English and philosophy, starting in the autumn term of 1951.

I returned to Cambridge for the autumn term and began the psychology course with enthusiasm. Here, I thought, I would be on the frontier of a new and challenging science. I found there were two psychology groups. There was the Department of Experimental Psychology and the Medical Research Council Applied Psychology Unit (APU), which was established in 1944 to carry out research for the military. The people there did research on practical problems what I thought were rather boring. One of these was effects of sleep deprivation, and they discovered that this reduces peoples' ability to concentrate which I did not find surprising. The Department and the APU were closely interconnected, and the staff in the APU did some teaching and tutoring for the Department, so we students were taught by people from both.

The professor and head of the psychology department was Sir Frederic Bartlett who was renowned for his books *Psychology and Primitive Culture* (1923) and *Remembering* (1932). I dutifully read these books but was not impressed. I noted in my diary that I thought the *Psychology and Primitive Culture* was a truly terrible book, entirely without any substantive content. Bartlett had never visited a primitive culture and I could not find that he had anything significant to say about it. R.W. Pickford wrote in Richard Gregory's *Oxford Companion to the Mind* that "it never gained the attention it deserved". I would rather have said "it gained the zero attention it richly deserved". I thought Bartlett's book compared very unfavourably with Sir James Frazer's *The Golden Bough* (1922), an abridged edition of which had been published a year earlier, and which I also read. I found that Frazer presented a brilliant, lucid and convincing theory that primitive peoples believe in magic, and that as civilisations develop people reject magic in favour of religion, and then in more advanced civilisations the more intelligent people reject religion in favour science. In 2006 I re-read Bartlett's book to see if my initial judgement was too harsh and found that I retained of the same opinion of its vapidty.

I found that Bartlett's second book *Remembering* (1932) had more content but I cannot say that I was greatly impressed. It describes a series of observations, for they could hardly be called experiments, in which people were asked to read a rather bizarre story *The War of the Ghosts* about

some Native American Indians who went out on a hunting expedition and encountered some ghosts. They were then asked to remember it at intervals during the next seven or so years. Bartlett concluded that people do not retain accurate memories except for occasional striking events, but generally forget unusual items and reconstruct memories from “schemas”. I was not convinced by this theory and was not surprised when V.E. Wynn and R.H. Logie failed to replicate it. Bartlett also presented the same theory in a series of “portrait d’homme” “experiments” in which a blurred picture vaguely resembling a face is successively recalled as increasingly face-like. I was not surprised when many years later Carbon and Albrecht tested the “portrait d’homme” series in five “experiments” and found that it could not be replicated. I sent a letter on these replication failures to *The Psychologist* suggesting that perhaps the conclusion to be drawn is that Bartlett may have faked the results, but the editor declined to publish it. Bartlett described the conscious recall of an event as the “the organism turning round on its own schemata”, a concept to which I thought no meaning could be attached. The book was entirely devoid of any quantification, let alone statistics, and I formed the opinion that Bartlett knew nothing of these. As R.W. Pickford, one of his former students, has written “he left detailed psychophysics and statistics to others”.

Professors are supposed to give lectures to students and normally do so, but Bartlett evidently did not regard this as an obligation as he did not give any lectures to students. He did, however, give one lecture a week for one eight week term that was dutifully attended by the staff, research students and some undergraduates. I attended these lectures which were on thinking and were the basis of the book he published on this subject in 1958. Bartlett was a cricket enthusiast and many of his lectures were devoted to an analysis of how cricket is played. He explained that the batsman “thinks” by anticipating or, as Bartlett preferred to call it, “extrapolating”, the trajectory of the ball, deciding where it will bounce and at what point he should strike it. It did not seem to me that this could properly be called thinking. He described the other thinking process as “interpolation” consisting of working out what is likely to happen between two events. He elaborated these themes in his book *Thinking*, which grew out of the lectures, and has been described by Pickford in Gregory's book: “He showed that the thinker, whether by interpolation or extrapolation, deals with a present problem in terms of his past experience, and by a flexible activity brings about the completion of an open ended situation; so thinking is a kind of skill, comparable with skills seen in, for instance, ball games, which had always interested Bartlett”. This account captures well what I regarded as the shallowness of Bartlett's thinking. Despite this, he had an impressive presence derived from a high opinion of his own self-importance. I thought his real gift was in producing an unending flow of words that sounded impressive but had virtually no content.

The Cambridge department was called the Department of Experimental Psychology. I thought this was rather silly because non-experimental observational studies are an important part of

psychology. It also struck me as particularly odd because neither Bartlett nor his successor, Oliver Zangwill, ever carried out an experiment in the whole of their lives. Their work was entirely observational.

Just as I realised at school that people are divided into conformists and dissidents, and that I was by nature a dissident, I soon found it was the same in the Cambridge psychology department. As usual, the conformists were the majority. These all thought that Bartlett was a genius, hung on his every word and in their books and papers acknowledged their indebtedness to his inspiring work. Among these were Donald Broadbent and Oliver Zangwill. Broadbent even wrote in his obituary of Bartlett published in the *Biographical Memoirs of the Royal Society* that “he exerted a crucial influence over the development of psychology throughout the country and his approach has coloured all subsequent research in England”. This was far from the truth. It would have been more accurate to have written “he exerted virtually no influence over the development of psychology throughout the country”. At this time and subsequently English and British (i.e. including Scottish) work on intelligence and personality were more important and influential, and in the same obituary Broadbent admitted that Bartlett’s concept of the schema has no meaning and has been discarded into the dustbin of pseudo-science. He wrote “the schema expired unregretted” and “Bartlett later quite forgot what he had meant by “turning round on the schemata”.

The people in the psychology department struck me as like one of those extreme religious sects headed by a charismatic leader (Bartlett) which believe that they alone have the truth and are saved, while everyone else is in ignorance and are damned. The people they hated most were those of the London school, represented at this time by Sir Cyril Burt and Hans Eysenck. They never tired of deriding this group. One of their favourite targets was factor analysis, which they said was no use because “you only got out what you put in”. There is an element of truth in this, but I would occasionally explain that the point of factor analysis is that you get out less than you put in, that is to say it simplifies data, but I did not make any headway. My father told me that Sir Cyril Burt was nominated for fellowship of the Royal Society from time to time, but Bartlett invariably blackballed him.

I was not entirely alone in my scepticism of Bartlett. There were a few others who formed a poor opinion of him. Among these was Philip Vernon (the father of Tony) who graduated at Cambridge in the 1930s. I once spoke to him about Bartlett and he told me he took the same view as I did. He left Cambridge well before my time and developed interests in intelligence and personality on which he did a lot of useful work.

The only dissenter in my time who remained in psychology was Michael Argyle, whom I got to know quite well, and who went into social psychology on which he wrote several competent books. He was an agnostic but he fell in love with a girl who was a devout Christian and who would only

accept him if he converted. So he did – or pretended to do so. He then wrote a couple of books on the psychology of religious belief in which he concluded believers are less intelligent than non-believers. I have shown that this conclusion has been borne out by much subsequent research.

Among my fellow students doing psychology the ones I was most friendly with were John Beer and Klaus Wedell. John Beer was as unimpressed by Cambridge psychology as I was. He had initially taken the English tripos for Part 1 and took psychology for Part 2, and after graduating returned to English literature. He had a distinguished career and ended up as the senior professor of English at Cambridge. Klaus Wedell went into mental retardation (as it was called then but was subsequently renamed learning difficulties and then again as special needs) and ended up as a professor at the London Institute of Education. Others whom I knew quite well included Peter Mittler, who became an expert on mental retardation and a professor at the University of Manchester, and Gordon Pask, who seemed to us fellow students the archetypal mad genius. He dressed as an Edwardian dandy in a double-breasted jacket and bow-tie and retained this affectation throughout his life. He was fascinated by cybernetics, which he believed could explain everything in psychology worth explaining. No-one could match him when he expounded his theory. Many of us predicted he would take a brilliant degree and inevitably become a future professor at Cambridge, if he was not snapped up by Harvard. However, we were astonished when the results of the degree examinations were published and his name did not appear on the list. It seems that the examiners of his finals papers were unimpressed and had failed him. Despite this setback, he pursued what some believed was a brilliant career and ended up as Professor of Cybernetics at Brunel University. After he died in 1996 *The Guardian* published his obituary which said that he “spent his life developing an elegant theory of learning that stands without peer. His achievement was to establish a unifying framework that subsumes the subjectivity of human experience and the objectivity of scientific tradition. Sponsored by governments and industries on both sides of the Atlantic, his life-long research spanned biological computing, artificial intelligence, cognitive science, logic, linguistics, psychology, and artificial life. His was an original approach to age-old questions of how the human organism learns from its environment and relates to others through language. He placed himself squarely in the tradition of cybernetics, while at the same time charging ahead in a direction that was wholly new. In his lifetime he received substantial recognition. Among cyberneticians he is acknowledged as one of the all-time greats. His Conversation Theory has provided cybernetics its prescriptive power for modelling learning and agreement. Outside the field, Pask was known for the intensity and scope of his lectures; audience comprehension was more elusive. I often heard listeners say that 10% of his talk was understandable”. This was

precisely how I remember him as a student at Cambridge.

In October 1951 there was a general election which the Conservatives won. Although I was still a Labour supporter I was not devastated by Labour's defeat. I had been disappointed by the six years of Labour government. I did not think there was any improvement in the mines, railways and other industries that had been nationalised. There was no sign that the workers had become more satisfied now that they were no longer working for the profits of bosses and shareholders, as we had hoped, and they continued to strike for higher wages. I did not see any sense in the continued conscription of young men into the army now that we had the atom bomb to deter an attack by Russia and while at the same time West Indians were being recruited to fill job vacancies. I was also concerned about the Commonwealth Citizens Act of 1948 which gave all Commonwealth citizens the right to come and live in Britain. As there were about a billion of these I doubted whether this was sensible. When the wisdom of this was questioned in the House of Commons by a conservative, a Labour minister assured him that very few would actually come. A week or two after the act was passed the first immigrants from Jamaica arrived on the *Empire Windrush*. They were followed by many more and led to Britain becoming a multi-racial society and eventually, according to demographic predictions, the indigenous British becoming a minority in their own country.

At the end of the autumn term of 1951 I went back to Bristol and joined Joan who had completed her first term at the university. I went to see her acting Hedvig in Ibsen's play *The Wild Duck*. We spent Christmas together.

In 1952, at the end of my first year of psychology, Bartlett retired and Oliver Zangwill was appointed to the professorship. I looked forward to this new broom and eagerly read his book *An Introduction to Modern Psychology* that had been published in 1950. I was not impressed by this slim volume. It ran to only 220 pages and about 60,000 words and the very idea that it was possible to provide an adequate account of psychology in such a short book seemed absurd. What was the point, I wondered, of writing such a book. I found to my dismay that Zangwill had an uncritical acceptance of psychoanalysis and even wrote that "as a result of Freud's researches, psychology today differs from psychology of fifty years ago in a manner so fundamental as to justify the comparison with biology before and after Darwin". I had concluded that Freud's theories were largely nonsense and thought that to regard Freud as comparable in stature and achievement to Darwin was preposterous. Zangwill presented an exposition of Freud's theory of the Id, Ego, Super-ego, repression and the unconscious as if these were serious scientific concepts. Yet in another chapter, he dismissed the use of factor analysis to analyse the structure of intelligence as unscientific. His verdict on factor analysis was as follows: "We may submit, with due humility, that

factorial analysis, despite its impressive mathematical procedures, will strike the future historian of psychology as a brilliant but misguided departure from the central path of empirical psychology. The Spearman factors will take their not unworthy place in the limbo of the discarded elements of the mind". This tortuous prose seems oxymoronic, since if the place of the factors is "not unworthy" it must be "worthy" and would not have been discarded. Zangwill could hardly have been more wrong about this. A century after the publication in 1904 of Spearman's famous paper on general intelligence, his concept of general intelligence and specific abilities obtained by factor analysis is widely accepted as one of the major discoveries of psychology and his work continues to be cited as the foundation of the discipline of intelligence. It is Bartlett's and Zangwill's concept of the schema that has been discarded into the history of psychology. Zangwill extended his intolerance of factor analysis to Eysenck's work on the dimensions of personality which was based on factor analysis. He once told me that whenever he was asked to referee any of Eysenck's papers that had been submitted to a journal for publication he always recommended rejection on the grounds that Eysenck's work was not valid psychology.

Zangwill came from an affluent upper middle class Jewish family. His father was Israel Zangwill, a prominent and successful writer of novels and plays, and his maternal grandfather was William Ayerton, FRS, a distinguished physicist. Zangwill struck me as quite neurotic. When he was eighteen he went up to Corpus Christi College at Cambridge and took his cat to which he was very attached with him. When he arrived he found that having a cat was against college rules and he was told that the cat had to go. Rather part from his cat he looked around for another college where the cat would be permitted. Eventually he found that King's College prohibited dogs and women from living in college but there was no rule against cats, so he applied for admission to King's and was accepted.

It could be said in Zangwill's favour that at least he gave lectures for students, which was more than his predecessor Bartlett thought necessary. His lectures followed his book and I found equally unimpressive. He devoted a couple of lectures to psycho-analysis and drew a diagram of the ego, the super-ego and the id on the blackboard. He described some of Freud's case histories. These include the case of Little Hans, the small boy who witnessed an accident in Vienna in which a woman fell under a horse and was trampled. After this, Little Hans developed a phobia of horses and understandably kept his distance from them. Zangwill explained that Freud's theory was that the little boy was subconsciously afraid of his father, symbolized by the horse, because he feared his father wanted to castrate him. Really, Zangwill continued, Little Hans wanted to castrate his father to prevent him having sex with his mother, and he surmised his father would reciprocated this feeling and want to castrate him. That was why he feared his father's intentions, a fear that got transferred to a fear of horses, who were big, powerful and dangerous animals like his father. In his

lectures on psychoanalysis, Zangwill even described the work of the neo-Freudian Melanie Klein and her theory of the good and bad breast. Most of us students thought all this was a great deal of nonsense. During his lectures he paced up and down the dais from left to right and back again looking straight in front of him and never looking at the audience. It so happened that one of the students in my year was deaf and although he was an expert lip reader, he could not follow Zangwill's lectures because he could never see his lips.

I don't think Zangwill made any significant contributions to psychology. After graduating in 1936 he stayed on in Cambridge doing research on Bartlett's concept of the schema which he applied to perceptions. He never obtained a Ph.D., although he wrote a thesis that he submitted for a fellowship at King's but which he failed to get. We students found out about this and debated whether he submitted this for a Ph.D. and it was failed. As a post-grad he wrote four papers elaborating Bartlett's concept of the schema in collaboration with his friend Carolus Oldfield, who later became the professor of psychology at Oxford. I read the papers and was surprised to find that throughout they misspelt spatial as *spacial*. I thought it a bit strange that neither of this pair, who were to hold the two most prestigious psychology professorships in Britain, could not spell spatial. Spelling ability is a component of intelligence and it was difficult to avoid the conclusion that these two did not have that high IQs. I read Oldfield's book *The Psychology of the Interview* in which he suggested that interviewers should make sure that there is a mirror in the ante-room in which the interviewees were waiting so that they could comb their hair. No doubt this was good advice but it is not necessary to be a professor of psychology to give it.

Zangwill spent the war years 1940-45 at the Brain Injuries Unit in Edinburgh working on brain localization of functions. Here he had a good supply of brain damaged soldiers to study and he published several papers on the loss of function following damage to specific areas of the brain such as the normal impairment of verbal abilities after left brain damage and the normal impairment of spatial abilities after right brain damage. But all of this was already well known. In fact the localisation of verbal abilities in the left hemisphere had been discovered in the middle of the nineteenth century by the French physician Paul Broca. Zangwill made no significant contribution to brain localisation or to experimental psychology. There is no mention of his work in George Mandler's *History of Modern Experimental Psychology*.

Zangwill and his wife Joy had a son David who tragically died in a fire in 1953 when he was about a year old. They did not have any more children but they had a lot of dogs, an esoteric breed known as schnauzers. They invited me to dinner once and I saw they had about five of them, and a couple of bronze ones. I used to see Zangwill every few years when I stayed in King's, where he had become a fellow, and we had dinner together. I always found him ill at ease socially and difficult to converse with. He was one of those people who only converse by answering questions.

You would ask him a question and he would answer it and then relapse into silence. To keep the conversation going you had ask him another question and he would answer that one and then relapse into silence again. He never understood the reciprocal nature of conversation, or perhaps he regarded me as too insignificant to converse with. When I met him in his later years I sensed that he was a sad and disappointed man. He had been elected a Fellow of the Royal Society but he must have been aware that he had done nothing to deserve this honour, that his work had amounted to little and he lived to see his enemy Hans Eysenck widely acclaimed as the leading British psychologist. Shortly after he retired he suffered a stroke and then developed senile dementia. He used to spend some of the day dictating incoherently to a secretary but she couldn't stand it for long and resigned. His second wife Shirley couldn't stand it either and put him into a home, where he died in 1987.

In my first year my tutor was Christopher Poulton who was always very friendly and helpful. He was rather cynical. For abnormal psychology advised me to read Henderson and Gillespie's *Textbook of Psychiatry*, where he said I could read the case histories of the schizophrenics, paranoiacs and manics and I could have a good laugh. In later years he had a serious falling out with Donald Broadbent and if they passed in the corridor they used to cut each other.

The lecturing staff in the Cambridge department struck me a pretty mediocre lot. Charles Grindley taught perception and took practical classes. He was about fifty years old, unmarried, and seriously addicted to both alcohol and cigarettes. He turned up at his morning lectures unshaven and reeking of alcohol, and chain smoked throughout his delivery. Grindley was often hung over when he appeared for his lectures. He once turned up wearing two neckties and one of the students speculated that probably his landlady put on the first and he had not noticed and donned another. On another occasion he put a chalk between his lips, mistaking it for a cigarette, and tried to light it, slowly raising a match with his shaking hand.

In one of his practical classes he demonstrated the spiral after-effect, in which we were asked to focus on a rotating spiral. The rotation was then stopped and the viewer experiences the illusion of the spiral rotating in the opposite direction, rather similar to the illusion experienced when a train stops and then appears to be going backwards. Grindley invited us to focus on his nose, an inflamed reddish purple protuberance, which appeared to be rotating backwards. In another of Grindley's practical classes we had to pull a trigger to which a weight was attached and we were instructed to pull it as frequently as we could. The weight made it heavy so it was quite hard and we soon gave up through fatigue. We were then asked to try one more time, which we did. Grindley explained that this showed the power of the mind over the body.

Statistics were taught by Eric Chambers who took us through the very basic methods of t tests, correlations and regressions but did not cover analysis of variance or factor analysis. His only

contribution to psychology was the formulation of the concept of accident proneness on which he wrote a paper with Eric Farmer in the 1920s, in which they showed that some people tend to have more accidents than others, which has turned out to be correct, and therefore that there are individual differences in accident proneness. None of these people did any research or felt any obligation to do so.

The best lecturer was Derek Russell Davis, a psychiatrist who taught abnormal psychology. The subject is intrinsically interesting and Davis made it the more so by weekly demonstrations at the local mental hospital at Fulbourn. He would bring in a patient whom he interviewed. I particularly remember a schizophrenic who had a number of badges pinned on his jacket and explained that he was one of Napoleon's marshals and these insignia were decorations awarded by the emperor for valour in battle. On another occasion he exhibited a catatonic schizophrenic who had the classical "waxy flexibility". He lifted up one of the patient's arms into the air, and the patient just held it there like a dummy at Madam Tussaud's. Another of his patients I remember had Korsakoff's syndrome, characterised by loss of immediate memory brought on by excessive alcohol consumption. Davis first asked the patient about his early life, where he went to school and so on, which the patient would answer quite coherently. He then brought a pen out of his pocket, held it up in front of the patient, put it back in his pocket, and then asked the patient what he had just held up, and the patient had no idea. Davis wrote a few papers for medical journals that were mainly case histories with psycho-analytic interpretations.

In his lectures Davis took an extreme environmentalist position on schizophrenia, depression and mania, which he later set out in his book *Psychopathology*. I thought this was wrong because I had read Kallmann's work published in 1946 on twins which found that identical twins were much more similar for schizophrenia than non-identicals, which showed beyond dispute that schizophrenia must have a strong genetic component. This is now universally accepted. In a recent review Keller and Miller (2006) have estimated heritabilities of 80 per cent for schizophrenia, 65 per cent for bipolar disorder, and 45 per cent for depression. I was astonished that a lecturer in psychiatry at Cambridge could be so wrong about this.

Experimental psychology was taught competently if rather boringly by Alan Welford. His main research interest was in skills on which he wrote a couple of useful books. He was an ordained Church of England clergyman and sometimes wore a dog collar. I found this strange because as I have previously observed I have never been able to understand how supposedly intelligent people can be religious. Industrial psychology was taught by Farmer. I don't remember his first name, if I ever knew it. It was believed that he had a farm in Suffolk and came to Cambridge once a week to give his lecture and then returned to his farm.

The expert on intelligence was Alice Heim. I first encountered her in the autumn term of 1951

when I attended her lectures on intelligence in which she dealt with the question of race differences. She told us that blacks in the United States have a lower IQ than whites and this was attributable to discrimination, which she subsequently asserted in her book *The Appraisal of Intelligence* (1954). She also told us of the UNESCO (1951) statement that "Available scientific knowledge provides no basis for believing that the groups of mankind differ in their innate capacity for intellectual and emotional development". This was the mainstream position among social scientists at the time. However, Alice Heim did not tell us that this assertion was disputed by Sir Ronald Fisher (1951), the Professor of Genetics at Cambridge, who wrote a dissent stating that evidence and everyday experience showed that human groups differ profoundly "in their innate capacity for intellectual and emotional development" and that "this problem is being obscured by entirely well-intentioned efforts to minimize the real differences that exist".

Nor did Alice Heim tell us that Henry Garrett, the Professor of Psychology at Columbia University, had argued that genetic factors are largely responsible for the lower IQ of blacks than of whites (Garrett, 1945) so I and my fellow students at Cambridge were not well-informed about the issue of race differences in intelligence and its causes.

Alice Heim devoted most of her time to constructing her intelligence tests which she called the AH1, AH2 and so on, designed for different age and ability groups. Her AH5 was the hardest and was designed for Cambridge undergraduates and we all had to take it, so she could publish student norms. She discovered that students who did well in their exams obtained higher scores on her test than those who did poorly, although she did not give this as a correlation or the means and standard deviations, so her results were not very informative. In 1954 she published *The Appraisal of Intelligence* and gave some seminars on it, which I attended. She explained that her AH5 was constructed for the top end of the intelligence distribution. She presented a normal distribution of the scores, which she said was like putting the top end of the intelligence distribution under a magnifying glass. I said that if this was the top end of the intelligence distribution the IQs should not be normally distributed but should be negatively accelerated to the far right on the horizontal axis. She was disconcerted by this and didn't have an answer. She also contended that it was impossible to assess the relative contributions of genetics and environment to intelligence because the two could not be separated. I explained to her that Ronald Fisher, who had been the professor of genetics at Cambridge, had shown in 1918 that the genetic and environmental contributions to a trait could be quantified by analysis of variance, but I failed to get her to understand this.

As late as 1987 she wrote in Richard Gregory's *Oxford Companion to the Mind* that "the assertions made by certain psychometricists as to the degree of innateness (cf. Cyril Burt) of intelligence and the alleged constancy of its nature/nurture ratio (Hans Eysenck's 4:1) are now

largely discredited". She was quite wrong about this. The 4:1 ratio, i.e. a heritability of about 80 per cent for adults, is now widely accepted by everyone who knows anything about the matter. It might have been thought she would have understood that she was completely out of her depth in taking on people of the standing of Burt and Eysenck but she was nothing if not confident.

Her intelligence tests were not well constructed in so far as they were divided into verbal and non-verbal sections. The verbal section was a mixture of verbal reasoning and verbal comprehension, and the non-verbal section contained a variety of items whose only common feature was that they were not verbal. She never obtained norms for the population, so her tests were of little use.

Before leaving Alice Heim, I will record an incident that occurred one day at tea time in the departmental common room. A number of us were chatting when Alice burst in and exclaimed "I've got my babies, I've got my babies". Richard Gregory was there and glanced at me, at the same time putting his finger to his temple and twisting it, to suggest she had a loose screw. It turned out, however, that Alice had been trying to adopt a baby for some time, and at last she had been given two.

I spent the summer of 1952 with Joan in Bristol. We took a holiday for a couple of weeks hitch-hiking and camping in Wales. This was quite an adventure that entailed taking a ferry across the Bristol channel into Wales, where the road signs were in Welsh with English below them so it was like entering foreign country. We went as far as St David's in the far west and visited the cathedral which was the smallest in the country.

In the autumn of 1952 I returned to Cambridge. For the autumn term I was allocated to William Hick as my tutor. He was working on reaction times and showed in a famous paper that reaction times to stimuli increase (i.e. get slower) with the number of alternatives. For example, if a person is shown 2 lights bulbs and has to press a button underneath the one that comes on, his or her reaction time is quick. The greater the number of bulbs, more information has to be processed and hence, the slower the reactions. He published this as *On the rate of gain of information* and I believe this was the only paper he ever published. Hick's only subject for this work was Richard Gregory who told me that he devoted about six months to doing Hick's experiment and providing the data, and that he was quite put out because Hick didn't acknowledge his help.

This was typical of Hick. He was quite the rudest man I ever encountered, except for Pat Rabbitt who was a match for him. When visiting lecturers came to speak Hick invariably told them they were talking rubbish. On one occasion I had to write an essay for him, and he accused me of deliberately writing it illegibly in order to vex him. I also found he knew very little about psychology so he was no use as a tutor, so after four weeks I asked Oliver Zangwill if he would find

me another tutor and he allocated me to Donald Broadbent. Hick struck me as very unstable. I was not surprised to hear that later he took up psychoanalysis, and a few years after he committed suicide in his garage by inhaling carbon monoxide from his car exhaust.

Donald Broadbent and his colleagues at the Applied Psychology Unit used information theory to explain psychological phenomena. One of the concepts of information theory was *neural noise*, which they believed to be present in the transmission of information in the nervous system. The information theory people used this construct to explain weaknesses in performance. This was how they explained why reactions are slower with more stimuli and response choices: more *neural noise* is involved. Several of this group worked on ageing, including a Pole called Jacek Szafran, and these people explained that the elderly deteriorate mentally because old people have more *neural noise* in the nervous system. I concluded that *neural noise* had no explanatory value. In fact I never thought information theory provided anything more than a metaphor for psychology, and not a particularly helpful one.

Donald Broadbent was both well informed and friendly and was altogether an excellent tutor. I got to know him quite well and we remained on friendly terms up to his death. However, we did not have much of a meeting of minds. He had a different cast of mind from mine. He was interested in developing micro theories whereas I have always had a penchant for broad brush macro theories. I used to call on him sometimes to discuss some issue and he would have me sit down to be a subject in some experiment he was doing. He was experimenting on presenting digits into the different ears at the same time and seeing how his subjects recalled them. He was very interested in finding out how people recalled, say, 555 delivered to one ear, while at the same time 666 was delivered to the other ear. Would they recall them in the order 555666 or as 565656? One of his discoveries was that right handed people recalled digits delivered to the right ear better than those delivered to the left. He explained that this is because information delivered to the right ear is processed in the left hemisphere, which deals with language, so it is processed more reliably. This was typical of the kind of experiments he did and I never found them at all interesting.

Broadbent was what would be described today as a bit nerdish. He bit his finger nails down to the quick and was ill at ease making social conversation. His wife wasn't good at this either, so spending a social evening with them was rather sticky. He once had me round to dinner and by the time dinner was finished conversation had ground to a halt. Luckily, Norman Mackworth, who was the director of the Applied Psychology Unit at the time, had recently returned from the United States and brought him a recoding of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony, so we listened to that. This was quite a treat because LPs were expensive in those days. The Ninth Symphony lasts about an hour and ten minutes, so this consumed the rest of the evening and when it was concluded I was able to make my departure.

Broadbent had a promising early career. His book *Perception and Communication* (1958) was one of the first salvoes of the cognitive revolution which consisted of the rejection of behaviourism. This was well-received and he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society but subsequently I don't think he ever achieved his potential. He was appointed director of the Applied Psychology Unit at the early age of 32 and it may have been this that destroyed his early promise, since it entailed a lot of administration which is the enemy of good research. After some twenty years he gave this up and obtained a research position at Oxford, but he was not able to fulfil his early promise. Perhaps it was too late or perhaps he never had the right combination of talents that are necessary for outstanding work. It was while he was at Oxford that he divorced his wife and married Margaret Gregory, the former wife of Richard Gregory. I last met him in Oxford in 1990 shortly before he retired. I asked him what he was doing and he told me he had spent the last six months on a Royal Society committee that examined the work of those who had been nominated for fellowship of the Society. This involved reading all their works to assess whether they were fit for the honour. He said it was a difficult task to assess the merits of these candidates because they were in disciplines other than psychology. I was surprised that he had undertaken to devote so much time to this task and could only surmise that he had nothing better to do. This was confirmed when he told me that as soon as he reached retirement age he planned to have a skip delivered into which he was going to chuck all his books and papers. Academics who believe that what they are doing is worthwhile go on working after retirement so evidently Broadbent had come to the conclusion that his work was going no-where. He died three years later at the early age of 67.

Of the people in the Psychology Department the one I respected most was Richard Gregory. He was some seven years older than me and was a junior demonstrator. Like me, he did not take to information theory although he had greater respect for Bartlett than I did. His interest was in perception and visual illusions on which he became a world expert. He used to show us the famous visual illusions like the Muller-Lyer, Penrose's staircase, the Ames box, the Necker Cube and so on. I was never able to muster any interest in his visual illusions. It seemed to me that our brains do their best to interpret the external world, and can be confused by visual illusions and this is about all that can be said about them. However, although our interests were quite different, I often found he had intelligent and interesting things to say on a wide variety of subjects.

My rather negative appraisal of the lecturers was by no means unusual. It was generally considered at Cambridge that most lecturers were poor or at best mediocre and that it was more effective to read books and articles than to attend lectures. I followed this consensus and read widely, and I discovered other kinds of psychology that were much more to my taste. I was attracted by the ethological work of Konrad Lorenz and Nicholas Tinbergen, which was just beginning to become known in Britain in the early 1950s. I attended a lecture given by Konrad Lorenz in

Cambridge and I was quite taken by his work on the sign stimuli releasing mechanisms, for which he was later to receive the Nobel Prize, together with Tinbergen. I was also attracted by Clark Hull's behaviour system that consisted of a general model of behaviour which was widely followed at the time but became discredited in the later 1960s.

But my chief interest became the work on intelligence done at University College, London, inspired and endowed by Francis Galton and developed by Karl Pearson, Charles Spearman, Cyril Burt and Raymond Cattell, and extended to personality by Cattell and Hans Eysenck. I was inspired by Galton's *Hereditary Genius* (1869) in which he argued that intelligence is a single entity, is largely hereditary, that high intelligence is required for civilisation and that in advanced civilisations the more intelligent individuals tend to have fewer children with the result that the intelligence of the population declines and with it the quality of the civilisation. I believed all this was correct. Spearman devised the method of factor analysis to show Galton was right in regarding intelligence is a single entity, and Cyril Burt showed by his twin studies that it is largely hereditary, although he made some statistical slips that have led some to question his results. Both Burt and Raymond Cattell were concerned that the intelligence of the population was declining as a result of the more intelligent individuals tending to have fewer children than the less intelligent and proposed ways of quantifying this. I thought all this was much more interesting and important than the experimental psychology that was being studied at Cambridge. I found myself much more drawn to this tradition which has become known as "the London School". It was well defined by Art Jensen in 1996: "The London School is not really a school or even a doctrine or a theory. Rather, it is a general view of psychology as a natural science and as essentially a branch of biology. Its central concern is variability in human behavior. It is Darwinian in that it views both inter-species variation and an important intra-species variation (both individual and group differences) in certain classes of behavior as products of the evolutionary process. It is behavior-genetic in that the evolutionary process depends on genetic variation and selection, and the neural basis of behavioral capacities is subject to these evolutionary mechanisms the same as other physical characteristics. It is quantitative in that it emphasizes the objective measurement and taxonomy of behavior and the operational definition of latent traits or hypothetical constructs. It is analytical in that it subjects quantitative data to mathematical formulation and statistical inference. It is experimental in that it typically obtains measurements, both behavioural and physiological, under specifically defined and controlled conditions. It is reductionist in that it aims theoretically to explain complex phenomena in terms of simpler, more elemental processes. It is monistic (as opposed to dualistic) in that it neither posits nor seeks any explanatory principle that does not consist of strictly physical processes; it views complex psychological phenomena as emerging solely from interactions among more elemental neuro-physiological processes in their past and present interactions with

environmental conditions".

During the academic year 1952-3 I lodged with Lady Gray, the widow of Sir James Gray, the former professor of physiology who was the world expert on how dogs' muscles worked. In the autumn I received a registered postal packet, and on opening it I found a letter from Joan saying she had decided that we were not suited and returning my engagement ring. This was a complete bolt of the blue and I experienced the full force of the pangs of despised love, as Hamlet designated them. The weeks that followed were among the unhappiest of my life. I told Lady Gray about this and she was very sympathetic and did her best to comfort me. She told me she was often quite lonely when her husband was alive because he used to work in his lab all day and until about ten thirty every evening including Saturdays and Sundays, and that she was also lonely as a widow but that in time one gets used to it, and that she was sure that in due course I would meet someone else.

More or less opposite King's College is The Eagle, a pub much patronised by students and academics. These included Francis Crick and James Watson, whom I met there a few times. In March, 1953, they made their discovery of the double helix structure of DNA and published their work in *Nature* on April 25. This made immediate news as one of the greatest discoveries of the century for which they were awarded the Nobel Prize some years later. Shortly afterwards when I met Jim Watson again I asked him whether he thought one needed a very high IQ to make a discovery of such importance. He replied that he thought not, and that he believed his own IQ was not especially high, because when he was a student at the University of Chicago he was by no means the outstanding student of his year and that he found that mathematics did not come easily to him. He said he thought an obsessive interest with a problem combined with a fairly high IQ were the essential ingredients for a significant scientific discovery. I think he was right about this except perhaps for discoveries in physics for which a very high IQ is probably needed. Francis Crick was quite a party animal and on a few occasions he invited me to the parties he and his wife Odile gave at their pretty little house in Portugal Place. On one of these occasions I talked with him and James Watson about the probable decline of intelligence resulting from dysgenic fertility. They both agreed it was a serious problem. I found Francis Crick charming and amusing, and I found Jim Watson a touch hypomanic and I was not too surprised when on later occasions he made indiscreet remarks, culminating in some about the genetic basis of the low IQ of blacks which cost him his job in 2007.

I took the final exams in the early summer of 1953 and did my best to conceal the antipathy I had developed for Cambridge experimental psychology. Apparently I succeeded as I was awarded the Passingham Prize, which is given annually for the best psychology student of the year. On the basis of this I was awarded a three year research studentship to work for a Ph.D. I spent the summer in Bristol reading in the university library and thinking about what research to tackle. In September

I returned to Cambridge and called on Oliver Zangwill to discuss what work I should do. He was keen for me to tackle the relationship between handedness, reading ability and dyslexia. He knew a psychiatrist and some people in Paris who were working on this at the Hospital Pitié-Salpêtrière and found a grant for me to go to Paris for a few days to visit them and see what they were doing. Naturally I went and put up in a small hotel in St Germain. I went to the hospital but I was not impressed by the work they were doing. The highlight of my stay was my visit to the opera house to see Wagner's *Tristan and Isolde*. This was the first Wagner I had seen and I found the Love Duet ("Liebesnacht") was overwhelmingly moving and it has remained for me one of the most brilliant pieces of music ever composed.

When I returned to Cambridge I told Zangwill that I was not enthused about his ideas on handedness, reading ability and dyslexia, which I had a hunch would lead nowhere, but had been impressed by the work and ideas of O.H. Mowrer and in particular become interested in anxiety as a motivator and, at high levels, as a disruptor, and that I would like to examine the relation between anxiety, intelligence and educational attainment in school children. Zangwill replied he had never heard of O.H. Mowrer and was not particularly keen on this but he acquiesced and appointed Derek Russell Davis as my supervisor. Russell Davis was totally useless as a supervisor as he knew nothing at all about psychometrics so I had to work everything out for myself.

In the autumn term of 1953 I found lodgings with Frances Cornford. She was a widow in her mid-sixties and was the grand-daughter of Charles Darwin and a minor poet. She had tragically lost her son John, who was a communist and had gone to Spain to fight against Franco in the Spanish Civil War and was killed and I reflected that of all the causes for which a young man might give his life, fighting for Spanish communists against Franco must be one of the least sensible. She used to give me supper once a week, so I got to know her quite well. I enjoyed hearing about her numerous Darwin relations, several of whom were Cambridge academics including her father Professor Sir Francis Darwin, and I was particularly interested to learn about her uncle Leonard Darwin who was a keen eugenicist and at one time president of the British Eugenics Society. She once told me that when she was a child bearing the name Frances Darwin she was constantly teased at school about being descended from monkeys. She had had one or two collections of her poems published and today she is mainly remembered for her *To a Fat Lady Seen from a Train* ("O why do you walk through the field in gloves/ Missing so much and so much? O fat white lady whom nobody loves..."). I asked her why nobody loved the lady and she explained that it was because she was so fat. She said all the Darwins were rather puritanical about all forms of self-indulgence including over-eating, and they even thought it immoral to take sugar in tea.

Frances Cornford charged me a high rent that took half my income, so after a term I moved into

central Cambridge where I shared a house with two other postgrads, Ian Nisbett who was a physicist, and Robin Holliday who was doing research in genetics. Robin and I had a number of discussions on the genetic contribution to human intelligence and other characteristics and Robin persuaded me that this is considerable, contrary to the prevailing opinion at the time. Robin went on to have a distinguished career in molecular biology. He proposed a mechanism of DNA-strand exchange to explain gene-conversion events that occur during meiosis in fungi. This has become known as the Holliday Junction. It was for this work that he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society at the early age of forty four. He has also advanced the theory that DNA methylation could be an important mechanism for the control of gene expression in higher organisms, and this is a basic epigenetic mechanism in normal and also in cancer cells. I have kept up with him and we used to meet in London from time to time. He confided to me that he went through a very difficult time in years 1975-1978 when his wife Diana took a lover and he got through them mainly by concentrating on his work. They stayed together for several years but he told me he was not able to forgive her and eventually he divorced her. In 1988 he went to Australia and married again. Robin has given an account of all this in his autobiography *Origins and Outcomes*.

At this time John Elliott was in Spain working on his research on Spanish history so I was not able to see him. My best friend became John Beer who had read psychology a year ahead of me. Like me, he was a grammar school boy and felt a bit conscious of being socially gauche in the world of socially superior public school boys. We wrote a novel together about a young graduate who suffered these experiences but we could not find a publisher.

Early in 1954 Oliver Zangwill asked me if I would set up and run a Cambridge psychological society. I was not enthusiastic about this but it was a request that could not be refused so I agreed to do so. I collected subscriptions and arranged fortnightly meetings for which I invited people to give papers. In this way I came to meet some interesting people. One of these was John Bowlby whose work claiming that infants separated from their mothers develop into “affectionless characters” was famous at the time although it has since been largely discredited. At the end of his lecture I asked him why he preferred the label “affectionless character” for what have hitherto been known as psychopaths, but he was not able to give a coherent answer. Bowlby came up by train from London and when I asked him for a note of his expenses I was disgusted that he claimed for a first class rail fare.

I began my research in a primary school in the January of 1954. I could not find any tests of anxiety for children so I constructed my own and gave these together with tests of intelligence, reading and arithmetic. I completed the work I was doing for my Ph.D. in the early autumn of 1955. The results showed a positively skewed curvilinear relation between anxiety and attainment in reading and arithmetic, which was more pronounced for reading than for arithmetic. The results

were found for samples of primary and secondary school students. Oliver Zangwill arranged for me to present the results at a meeting of the Royal Society of Medicine in London and my paper was published in the *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine*. This was my first publication. Later in the year I achieved my second publication in the form of a review of Sir Cyril Burt's book *The Subnormal Mind*. I was not impressed with the book. I thought it was quite unscholarly and full of assertions that were not substantiated, so I trashed it in my review in the *Quarterly Journal of Experimental Psychology*. This was not a wise thing to do for a young man starting out on his career. I have since learned that few academics can forgive a negative review and eventually they will take their revenge when an opportunity occurs, so I have become quite wary of writing hostile reviews. I have made enough enemies without unnecessarily increasing their number. I think Zangwill, who was the editor of the journal, should have advised me to be more diplomatic in what I wrote.

In the spring of 1956 I completed the writing up of my Ph.D. thesis and submitted it for examination. Zangwill appointed Sir Cyril Burt as my external examiner and himself as the internal. I was a bit alarmed at having Burt as my external examiner because he had recently failed two Ph.D. students from Cambridge and the year before, as I have noted, I had imprudently trashed his book in a review. Perhaps he had not noticed this. At all events the viva went well and he passed my thesis.

I learned that younger half-brother Erasmus was now a student at Cambridge, so I decided to call on him at his rooms in St John's College and I introduced myself. He told me he was unaware of my existence but he was glad to make my acquaintance. We found we had musical interests and tastes in common including Bach's sonatas and partitas for 'cello and violin which he could play on the guitar. He was reading medicine and eventually became a paediatrician. He spent most of his career working abroad in Africa and Jamaica so we were not able to see much of each other, but we have met from time to time and have established a cordial but not particularly warm relationship.

I have mentioned that during my first term at Cambridge in the autumn of 1949, I came to know Susan Maher among a number of fellow students who were all reading history, and that she was one of the party with whom I went to Spain in the summer of 1950. We became friends and after she graduated she obtained a job in Cambridge and we used to see a certain amount of each other. She shared a small house in a street called Little St Mary's Passage, which some students thought very amusing. During 1955 we began to meet more often and in the summer we decided to get married. Susan's parents were not at all happy about this decision and her mother said that when Susan broke the news she cried for three whole days. They regarded themselves as socially superior to me. They were right about this. Susan's grandfather was Major-General Sir James Maher, who was not a soldier but a doctor who was born and brought up in Ireland, had graduated in medicine in Dublin,

joined the British Army Medical Corps and ended up as head of the Corps during World War One. Susan's father had been to a public school – Cheltenham – and then to Oxford and was rich. Susan had been to St Paul's School, one of the top girls' school in the country, where one of her class mates was Shirley Catlin whose mother was Vera Brittain who had written *Testament of Youth* about her experiences as a nurse in France during World War One. Shirley Catlin was later to marry Bernard Williams, a Cambridge philosopher, and as Shirley Williams became a Labour MP and education minister and closed down most of the country's grammar schools.

Susan's parents hoped that when she was at Cambridge she would find an old Etonian or at least a public school product, and she had come up with a former grammar school lad of obscure parentage from the provinces. So they were quite right in considering themselves several rungs above me on the social ladder. However, despite their disappointment and disapproval, we had it our own way, as young people generally do. Her parents wanted us to be married in church, to which I assented, so before the wedding we had to visit the vicar for a pep-talk on marriage and religion. I told the vicar that we were not church goers and he replied that in spite of this, we might need religion. He told us that religion was like the spare wheel of a car. You could drive for many miles, he said, without needing it, but at some point you would encounter a crisis and then you could use your spare wheel. I have never felt the urge to adopt this advice and regard it as a weakness to do so. Our wedding took place at St Stephen's church in London on the first of January, 1956.

Now that I had obtained my Ph.D. in the spring of 1956 I had a bit of leisure and I began reading Marcel Proust's *A La Recherche du Temps Perdu*. Morgan Forster had recommended it to me as the second greatest novel ever written, second only to *War and Peace*. From the opening pages I was entranced on entering the world of Marcel's childhood in the village of Combray, his love of Gilberte Swann, and the obsession of her father Charles Swann for Odette that he decides that he can only cure by marrying her. I read on avidly of Marcel's adolescence and his later love for Albertine and later of her tragic death, and of the Baron de Charlus, the violinist Morel and the forbidden world of *Sodome et Gomorrhe*, and of the exploration of love, sex, obsession, homosexuality, perversions, jealousy and high culture in Paris in the last decades of the nineteenth century and first two decades of the twentieth. I completed all twelve volumes and Proust's world has remained with me for the rest of my life.

My studentship ran out at the end of the summer, so I had to find a job. Zangwill was not sympathetic to my work or to the London school and told me that there was nothing for me in Cambridge. In the late spring an assistant lectureship was advertised at the University of Edinburgh. I put in an application and was called to interview together with an internal candidate. I had the

impression that the professor who interviewed me was not much interested in me and I was not surprised that the internal candidate was offered the job. I think the intention was to appoint him anyway and I was just being interviewed for the sake of appearances. A few weeks later, an assistant lectureship was advertised at the University of Exeter and I put in an application for this. I was called to interview together with Henri Tajfel and Terry Lee. Tajfel later became Professor of Psychology at the University of Bristol and Terry Lee later became Professor of Psychology at the University of Surrey and became an expert on the assessment of risk. This was quite strong competition and I was no doubt lucky to be offered the job. I readily accepted and was quite glad to be leaving Cambridge because I found the psychology department so uncongenial and looked forward to a change of scene.

### Chapter 6. Exeter 1956-1967

In the summer of 1956 Susan and I looked for a house in Exeter. My salary was £550 a year. With our savings, some help from our parents and a mortgage, we bought a five bed-room house built about 1820 in a rather run down part of the city for £1,600. Houses were cheap in those days.

At the university psychology was a sub-department attached to the education department. The head of the department was Adam Curle, a social psychologist who had been a lecturer at Oxford and done research on remote country villages in Devon. He was a Freudian and his theory was that the psychological stresses of geographical remoteness had induced regression to various stages of infantile sexuality. The less remote had regressed to the Oedipal stage and in these there were a lot of father and son conflicts, while the more remote had regressed further to the anal stage and were very stingy. I was not impressed by this research but he left at about the same time I arrived, so I saw nothing of him.

When I arrived the psychology sub-department had only two lecturers. It was run by Jacek Szafran, a Pole who had come to Britain during the war, enrolled at Cambridge and taken the psychology degree. He had stayed on at Cambridge as a post-grad working in the Cambridge tradition on reaction times and information processing. He was one of several people who worked on ageing and who attributed the deterioration of performance among older people as due to an increase in "neural noise". The other member of the psychology sub-department was Alan Staniland. He had worked as a photographer on a newspaper and obtained a lectureship in the education department as a lecturer in visual aids. This led him to develop an interest in perception.

Absurd though it must seem today, when a psychology department with fewer than thirty staff would be considered small, the three of us were able to teach the syllabus quite adequately. Szafran taught experimental and physiological psychology, Staniland taught perception, the history of psychology and statistics, while I taught intelligence, personality and abnormal psychology. In

addition, I gave a course on educational psychology to the post-graduates doing the teaching certificate. I was surprised to find that these were assessed solely by a couple of essays and were not required to take any examinations. When I asked the reason for this, I was told that the post-graduates were sufficiently mature to work and master the curriculum without any need of the discipline of an examination. The result of this was that the students regarded the year as a soft option and few of them bothered to learn anything much, apart from the topics on which they wrote essays.

During my first year we had four students taking psychology as their main subject, one of whom was Ian Gordon who did well. He stayed on as a post-grad working on perception, on which he became an expert. We became friends and worked together on one or two projects.

In these early years we never had more than four or five students. The reason for this was that students had to take an additional subject for two years, and when the degree was set up, Szafran was asked what additional subjects would be appropriate. He recommended zoology as providing useful supplementary knowledge. This was a foolish decision because the professor of zoology required all his students to have an A level (the examination taken by 18 year olds in their last year at school) with a good grade in zoology. Not many 18 year olds took zoology, so we were not able to take many students. In addition, the university zoology curriculum consisted of a large amount of taxonomy which entailed a huge memory load. The result of this was that about half our students, many of whom had done well in psychology, were failed in zoology and were sent down.

I devoted my first year to preparing my lectures and writing up papers based on my Ph.D. for publication in journals. I was also trying to find a good research topic but was not successful. I carried out a study on the Cambridge groups' theory that poor performance with ageing and on a variety of tasks is caused by a high level of "neural noise". I argued that if this was so, there would be individual differences in the amount of "neural noise" and hence performance on the tasks should be correlated. I wrote a paper reporting that they were not and concluded that this refuted the concept. I sent it to Oliver Zangwill for the *Quarterly Journal of Psychology*, of which he was the editor. He rejected it on the grounds that he did not see why performance on the tasks should be correlated but it was clear he did not understand the argument.

In July Gamal Nasser, the president of Egypt, nationalised the Suez canal and in October the Prime Minister, Anthony Eden, launched an invasion of Egypt in an attempt to overthrow Nasser and regain control of the canal. The French joined in this invasion. I did not think it mattered much if Egypt owned the canal as it would continue to allow ships to pass through it, so I did not think the invasion of Egypt a good idea. In the event the invasion failed and Eden had a nervous breakdown. I consider him one of our worst prime ministers and did not regret his resignation shortly afterwards.

Several of my new colleagues were keen bridge player and they recruited me to their number. I

generally spent two or three evenings a week playing this cognitively demanding and sometimes addictive game. I have continued to play it, on and off, for the rest of my life.

The university had several halls of residence and during this year the wardenship of one of these - Crossmead Hall - fell vacant and applications were invited for the position. I applied and the Vice-Chancellor appointed me. This gave me about a fifty per cent increase of my salary and with this I was able to buy a car. It was a 1936 Lagonda. There were no locks for the doors because these were not regarded as necessary in the 1930s. Cars could be left on the streets without any danger that anyone would steal them or their contents, such was the low level of crime at that time.

In April, 1957, I attended the British Psychological Society conference in St Andrews, where I gave a paper on mothers' rearing practices and child socialization. This was the first time I encountered Hans Eysenck. Someone gave a paper arguing that intelligence has no heritability, and Eysenck responded by giving four reasons why this was wrong. These were the high correlation of the IQs of identical twins brought up in different families, the higher correlation of IQs identical twins than of fraternal twins brought up in the same family, the large variability of the IQs of children brought up in orphanages, and regression effects. It was a masterful response.

Later in the year Eysenck published his book *The Dynamics of Anxiety and Hysteria*. In this he integrated his personality trait of introversion-extraversion with Clark Hull's behaviour theory. Many young and even middle aged psychologists today have never heard of Hull, but he built a complete theory of behaviour resembling Euclid's geometry, based on a set of axioms, and used hypothetic-deductive logic to deduce theorems that could be experimentally tested. His theory (in its simplest form, because it was quite complex) was an elaboration of Pavlov's theory that behaviour results from the balance of the positive force of excitation and the negative force of inhibition. If excitation is stronger than inhibition, a reaction will be made. In the 1940s and 1950s many regarded Clark Hull as the greatest living psychologist and the journals were full of papers reporting tests of his theories.

In his book, Eysenck extended Hull's theory to individual differences. He proposed that extraverts generate reactive inhibition (a particular kind of inhibition) more rapidly than introverts. From this assumption he derived a lot of deductions, for which he provided evidence in his book. One of the most important of these was that introverts would form conditioned Pavlovian anxiety reactions more rapidly than extraverts, and one of his researchers, Cyril Franks, demonstrated that this was so by using an eye-blink task in which a sound was delivered to the eye and followed by a puff of air. After a few trials, the subject becomes conditioned to blink to the sound. On the basis of this result, Eysenck proposed that children become socialised by developing anticipatory anxiety

reactions to disapproval and punishment, and that this process would occur more rapidly in introverts. He elaborated the theory further by proposing that anticipatory anxiety reactions are the basis of conscience and the moral sense, so it followed that introverts should develop a stronger conscience and the moral sense than extraverts. I was enthralled by Eysenck's theory. I love big theories, and this one integrated Pavlov neurophysiological concepts, Hull's behaviour system and the introversion-extraversion personality dimension.

Our first daughter Emma was born during the summer of 1957. She graduated in textile design from the University of Middlesex and worked later as a manager of shoe shops. She married Marcus Lewis, an electronics inventor, and had four children: Natasha, Morgan, Saffron and Tammy.

In 1958, I worked on a paper that was published in 1959 as *Environmental conditions affecting intelligence*, in which I argued that it was now established that genetic factors are the major determinant of intelligence, but that environmental factors are also involved. I proposed that these consisted of the quality and quantity of cognitive stimulation from others in the family. I suggested that this explained the tendency for only children to have the highest IQ, and for IQs to decline with increasing family size, and also that eldest and youngest children have higher average IQs than those in the middle of the family. Some years later, the same theory was formulated by Zajonc who managed to get his name attached to it as the Zajonc effect. However, I do not find this annoying because I now think that Joseph Rodgers has disproved the theory. I sent the paper to Sir Cyril Burt, who sent me a friendly reply saying that he agreed with me. After this, I corresponded with Sir Cyril from time to time and I always found him very friendly and helpful.

In July I went up to London to meet my father for lunch at his club, the Athenaeum, a highly establishment club whose members consisted mainly of vice-chancellors, ambassadors, senior civil servants and people of that kind, and where Anthony Trollope and William Thackeray used to meet in the nineteenth century. I commented that he had come a long way from his village school in north Yorkshire and from his rebellious student days and it seemed that having spent many years fighting the establishment he had now joined it. He agreed that this was so. He asked me how I was doing and I told him I was dispirited because I had not been able to find a good research subject. He told me that the trick for a successful academic career was to find your gold mine as early as possible, sit on it, and make your reputation developing it. He said he had found his gold mine in his early twenties when he began working on the genetics of cotton and this was the topic on which he made his name. I remember replying that I had a hunch that finding your gold mine might be easier said than done. And so it proved. For the next decade I entered the wilderness years trying to find the gold mine he recommended, but I did not do anything of significance for the next twelve

years or so. It took me that many years to find a gold mine.

I told him I was also dispirited because I had just had a paper rejected by a journal. He told me not to worry, that the academic world is full of idiot and spiteful reviewers, and just to send it to another journal. He told me that Ronald Fisher had his famous 1918 paper integrating Mendel's single gene effects with polygenetic effects rejected by the Proceedings of the Royal Society, so he sent it to the Proceedings of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, which published it. My father said, apart from the work of Mendel, this was the most important paper ever published in genetics. He said that although Ronald Fisher was brilliant, he had a rather prickly personality. He told me they were good friends until my father asked Fisher if he could propose him for an honorary D.Sc. at the University of Manchester. Fisher agreed, but the university turned him down because it already had sufficient scientists for that year. After this, Fisher never spoke to him again and cut him dead whenever they encountered each other at meetings.

After lunch we went upstairs to the drawing room for coffee and were joined by Reginald Ruggles Gates. My father introduced him as a geneticist and former Professor of Botany at King's College, London. When he heard that I was a psychologist, Ruggles Gates asked me what I thought about race differences in intelligence. I told him that when I was at Cambridge we had been informed that blacks have a lower average IQ than whites and that this is not a genetic differences but caused by discrimination. Ruggles Gates told me he thought this was incorrect and that it is a genetic difference. This was the first time I had heard this view and as Ruggles Gates was a Fellow of the Royal Society and a distinguished geneticist I took it seriously.

Ruggles Gates also asked me my opinion about eugenics and I told him I had read the studies by Burt and Cattell showing that intelligence was declining and I agreed with Cattell that eugenic measures were needed to correct this. He told me that he took the same view. My father joined in this conversation and told us that he too was a eugenicist and had been one of the signatories of the Geneticists' Manifesto that Hermann Muller had drawn up in 1939. Ruggles Gates joined the editorial board of the journal *Mankind Quarterly* when this was first published in 1962 and which I was to publish many years later.

After Ruggles Gates left us, my father told me the story of how he had married Marie Stopes, the formidable eugenicist and birth-control campaigner, and that after two years of marriage she had filed for divorce on the grounds that the marriage had not been consummated. Ruggles Gates had unwisely defended the case and it became a news story with the salacious interest of whether or not consummation had taken place. My father observed that it was apparently one of those “in-between” cases.

1959

In December I went to a conference and met Hans Eysenck. We struck up a conversation during which I told him that I found his theory that extraverts generate inhibition more than introverts very interesting. He invited me to join him and his wife Sybil for dinner which I gladly accepted. I found talking with Hans was a real meeting of minds and unlike anything I had experienced before. I told him how uncongenial I had found psychology at Cambridge, and how poor the teaching was. He said this confirmed his own experience and he told me that he had taken on Hilde Himmelweit, who was a Cambridge graduate, as an assistant and the first day she arrived he asked her to calculate a correlation. He said she spent the whole morning working on it, and then she got it wrong. Hilde Himmelweit went on to become the first professor of social psychology at the London School of Economics, where she did some indifferent work on the effect of television.

There was soon to be a general election and I had to decide how to vote. I thought that Harold Macmillan, the Prime Minister who led the Conservative government, had done well during the last two years. One of the first thing he had done was to end conscription. I thought this was thoroughly sensible, partly because it served no purpose because I thought there was no probability that the Russians would invade us, and partly because I was (and still am) a libertarian and believe that to compel young men to serve in the armed services for two years is a serious infringement of their liberty. The economy had been doing well in the last three years. Harold Macmillan declared in a pre-election speech that "You've never had it so good" and journalists designated him Super-Mac. In its election manifesto, the government pledged to restrict the immigration from our colonies. I thought this was sensible because I believed it could be anticipated from Herbert Spencer's in-group-amity out-group enmity principle, rebranded as ethnocentrism by William Sumner in his 1906 book *Folkways*, that there would be tension and conflict between the immigrants and the indigenous population. Some of these conflicts had broken out in August of the previous year (1958) when white youths in Nottingham and London attacked blacks, threw petrol bombs into their houses and smashed their windows. The proposal to curtail this immigration was strongly opposed by Hugh Gaitskell, the leader of the Labour Party.

It was principally on this issue that I decided to vote for the Conservatives. Harold Macmillan fought the election campaign with the slogan "Life is better with the Conservatives, don't let Labour ruin it" and I was pleased that he won. George Bernard Shaw wrote in one of his plays that "If one is under twenty- five and is not a socialist, he has no heart; if one is over 25 and still a socialist he has no head". And so I had displayed a heart during my first twenty five years when, as I have recounted, I was initially a communist and then a socialist, and had acquired a head a little belatedly

at the age of 29. Like so many before me, I had travelled the long path from left to right.

1960

Eysenck asked me if I would collaborate with him in a study to test his theory that extraverts are more tolerant of pain than introverts. His theory was that they should be because they accumulate inhibition more rapidly and this blocks out the pain. He asked me to run the study on students involving focussing a light through a magnifying glass onto their foreheads and I agreed to do it. The students were instructed to tolerate the pain for as long as they could bear it. This of course burned their skin and for several days they went around with blisters on their foreheads. We found that there was a significant correlation between the tolerance of pain and extraversion. Several others have confirmed this association, including Barnes (1975) and Ferracuti and Carolis (2005) in a study carried out in Italy. I don't expect this study would be permitted today but experiments of this kind did not need the approval of ethics committees in those days.

Our second daughter Sophia Albertine was born in 1960. We gave her second name in memory of the eponymous heroine of Marcel Proust's *A La Recherche du Temps Perdu* which I regarded as the greatest novel ever written. Sophia's second name has sometimes been an embarrassment to her such as when she went to Holland Park School at the age of thirteen and was required to announce her names to her classmates and was greeted with hoots of laughter and derision by the numerous Tracys and Sharrons. I don't think she has ever quite forgiven me for this commemoration of the great French novelist. Sophy graduated in English at the University of Sussex and later spent her career managing shops selling niche fashion merchandise. She married Jean-Marie Carroll, a musician, and had two daughters: Grace and Irma.

The major literary event of 1960 was the publication of D.H. Lawrence's *Lady Chatterley's Lover* that was written in the 1920s and published in Italy and France but banned in Britain as obscene. The book tells the story of Lady Chatterley's adulterous passionate love affair with her game keeper, Oliver Mellors. Penguin Books published it and was prosecuted for publishing an obscene book. The prosecuting barrister did not do a very good job and was much derided for asking the jury "Is this a book you would want your servants to read?" The defending barrister did a much better job and produced a number of witnesses who testified that the book was a great work of literature and publication should be permitted on these grounds. These witnesses included Morgan (E.M.) Forster, several professors of English literature and a bishop who asserted that it justifiably portrayed the sex as an act of Holy Communion. A young woman undergraduate from Cambridge gave evidence that she had not been corrupted by reading the book.

Penguin Books was acquitted of the offence and the trial attracted a great deal of public interest so the book sold many copies. I bought one and found it quite powerful although occasionally bordering on the ludicrous in places such as when Mellors says things to Lady Chatterley like “Ee, boot thee’s got a lovely count, me lady”. However, I was disconcerted when I read the last of the eight sexual encounters between the lovers and realised that the game keeper sodomizes Lady Chatterley and this is presented as the ultimate erotic sexual experience. Lawrence describes this act rather opaquely but I thought the meaning was unmistakable. It struck me as curious that this was not mentioned in the trial. A few months later when I was in Cambridge I asked Morgan Forster what he thought of my reading of the sodomizing episode and he said he had not noticed it and would reread the passage. A week or two later he sent me a note saying he agreed with me. It appears that neither the prosecuting lawyer at the trial nor the witnesses for the defence understood what was going on. If they had done so, the outcome might well have been different.

1961

Eysenck’s theory that introverts develop inhibition less rapidly than extraverts deteriorated in the next few years. It suffered a serious set-back when Cyril Franks attempted but failed to replicate his finding that introverts condition more rapidly than extraverts. This pretty well destroyed a major link in the theory that introverts develop a stronger conscience than extraverts because they condition more rapidly. I ran a study in which I gave the introversion-extraversion questionnaire and a questionnaire measure of moral values to a class of students and found there was no correlation between them. This also discredited Eysenck’s theory. I concluded that a beautiful theory had been destroyed by an ugly fact, as Thomas Huxley once put it. I did not publish this, because I sensed that people do not like to see their theories discredited and I valued Eysenck’s friendship too much to risk alienating him. Nevertheless, I became disenchanted with his theory and tried to find other topics to work on. It was not soon before Eysenck abandoned his theory and reformulated it to propose that introverts have higher levels of arousal than extraverts because of a more neurologically active reticular formation. Nevertheless I believe there were some elements of truth in Eysenck’s interlocking set of theories. In particular, I think his theory is sound that socialization is acquired by young children by the conditioning of anticipatory anxiety reactions to social disapproval, and hence that young children who do not form these conditioned reactions easily acquire only a weak conscience and frequently develop into psychopaths and criminals. Evidence for the theory was published by David Lykken in the 1960, and more recently by Yu Gao in a study of children in Mauritius. I think Eysenck’s mistake was to identify extraversion with unsocialized behaviour.

1962

One day in 1962, when I was reading *The Times*, my daughter Sophy now aged two and a half came and sat on my knee and I pointed to the letter T and said “this is a T”. I then pointed to the letter S and said “this is an S”. Then I turned over a page, pointed to a letter T and asked “What is this?” She answered “a T”. Then I pointed to a letter S and asked “What is this?” She answered “S”. All this may seem very straightforward and unremarkable, but at the time this discovery that a two and a half year old could identify letters was revolutionary. The prevailing theory was known as “reading readiness” and was set out by Magdalene (Maggie) Vernon (the aunt of Tony Vernon and brother of Philip Vernon), who was considered the foremost expert on perception in Britain at that time and was the Professor of Psychology at the University of Reading. The theory of “reading readiness” was that young children’s perceptual abilities are not sufficiently developed to identify letters until they are aged at least four and typically five years old and hence it is impossible to teach children to read before this age. Now I had found that in a couple of minutes that a two and a half year old could identify letters perfectly easily. It was obvious that Maggie Vernon could never have tried testing whether two year olds had the perceptual abilities to identify letters. I wrote a paper on this that was published in 1963 as *Reading readiness and the perceptual abilities of young children*. This caused a minor sensation in the worlds of education and psychology. I had a number of calls from journalists asking me to expand my revolutionary discovery and its implications and it had quite a lot of coverage in the press.

Our son Matthew was born in May. He graduated in Philosophy, Politics and Economics from Oxford and has made his career as a financial journalist, novelist and publishing entrepreneur. He married Angharad ap Gwilym, a solicitor, and they had three daughters: Isabella, Leonora and Claudia.

1963 During this year I read the work of the Russian psychologist Eugene Sokolov. I was greatly impressed by his theory that our brains contain a model that monitors what is happening in the world. If the model identifies something as new or important, it triggers an arousal reaction to deal with a possible threat. This stimulated my interest in the possibility that the Russians might be doing some interesting work in psychology that was not known in the west. My wife Susan had an aptitude for acquiring foreign languages and I persuaded her to learn Russian, and then I got hold of some Russian books and journals and Susan translated them. I found some interesting Russian work on schizophrenia which attributed the apathy characteristic of simple schizophrenics as a result of Pavlov’s concept of “protective inhibition”. I wrote up this work and it was published in the *Psychological Bulletin*.

The Conservative government passed the Commonwealth Immigration Act which ended the right of all Commonwealth citizens to come to the United Kingdom and restricted the immigration to those who had work permits. The Labour leader Hugh Gaitskell denounced the act as “miserable,

shabby and shameful” and as "cruel and brutal anti-colour legislation". This was an early instance of the different positions of the left and right on immigration with those on the left favouring the immigration of alien peoples and those on the right opposing it. This difference has been present in several countries in later years. For instance, in the United States Democrats have favoured immigration and Republicans have opposed it, and in 2018 the right-wing Italian government refused to accept more immigrants from Africa while the socialist government in Spain welcomed them. I think one of the explanations for this difference is that leftists believe in the universal brotherhood of all mankind and have faith they will all get on well together, while rightists are more conscious of the inevitable conflicts that are present when different peoples occupy the same territory. Another reason that leftists favour immigration is that most immigrants vote left.

Early in 1963 the university decided to establish an independent department of psychology and advertised for a professor and head of the department. Leslie Reid was appointed. He was an Edinburgh graduate and a lecturer at the University of Aberdeen. He was an acolyte of B.R. Skinner, the operant conditioner, and had worked with him at Harvard on teaching machines. Skinner's teaching machines were based on idea that school students could learn material presented by a machine better than being taught by teachers. The machine would explain a point to the student and then ask a question. The student had to respond, and if the answer was right, the machine would say “Good” and this would act as a reinforcer. The machine would then present the next point and the student would be tested again. If the student got the answer wrong, the machine would explain the point again and repeat the question. The student would make another attempt to get the right answer, and so on again until the student succeeded. Skinnerians asserted that the strength of the teaching machine was that students could work at their own pace and if students missed school for a few days they could resume at the point where they left off. Another advantage of the teaching machine was that teachers would become redundant and could be replaced by supervisors. Probably this is why teaching machines have never caught on.

Reid struck me as clever but he was not strongly motivated to do academic research. Once he had got his professorship he did not pursue his work on teaching machines or do any serious research. Later in life, he developed an interest in the allocation of prizes. The problem was how the percentage of prize money should be allocated to the first, second and third prize winners. For instance, if £100 is to be distributed, should the first prize be £50, the second £30 and the third £20? Or should the first be £60, the second £25 and the third £15. Reid tackled this problem empirically and reported the variety of opinions on what he regarded as a fascinating issue, but I did not share this view.

During these years when I was Warden of Crossmead Hall sometimes students would ask for my advice on a problem. One of these told me he was in a relationship with a girl but he was an atheist

and she was a Christian and he would like my advice on whether their relationship could survive this difference. I advised him to continue it and avoid confrontation on this issue although in the event it did not work out. On another occasion an Egyptian student came to me and asked if I could help him with a problem. I said I would do my best and asked him what it was. He said "I think always of sex". I told him that regrettably psychologists had no cure for this affliction.

At the end of each autumn term we had Christmas dinners at which we had one of the professors as a guest and he and I gave after dinner speeches. In the first of these I said that I regarded my responsibility as warden as the suppression of scandal rather than vice. I was rather proud of what I thought was a witty turn of phrase but it was rather injudicious. It was applauded by the students but did not go down well with the professor who frowned and apparently reported it to the Vice-Chancellor. After these Christmas dinners I organised parties at which several students sung Victorian music hall songs and I contributed to these with *Any old iron*, *You are my honey-suckle*, *I am the bee* and others of this genre.

My tenure as Warden came to end in 1963, when April I received a message from the secretary of the Vice-Chancellor, Sir James Cook, asking me to call on him at ten o'clock the next day. I duly turned up at the appointed hour and his secretary showed me into his office. I stood there while the great man continued writing something on his desk. After a while, he looked up and informed me that he was relieving me of my position of Warden of Crossmead Hall. I inquired the reason for this decision, and he told me that it was because he had been informed that the sewage outlet had become blocked by condoms and he inferred from this that I had not effectively discharged my responsibility of supervising the students' morals.

A couple of weeks later a young man called on me at my office and asked if he could talk to me about my departure from the wardenship and I readily agreed. He said he had heard that I had not been too zealous in supervising the students' sex lives and asked me if this was so. I said it was, and that I did not think it was proper to attempt to do this, as the students were adults and not committing any criminal offence by using the condoms that had clogged the drains of the sewage system. Would I say then, he asked, that I turned a blind eye to girls spending the night in some of the students' rooms. I replied that this was a fair description of the attitude I had adopted. He then asked me if he could take my photograph, to which I readily but naively assented. I thought nothing more of this until the evening when the phone rang from a national newspaper and a journalist informed me that they were carrying a story in next day's edition headlined "The don with the blind eye", and asking me to comment. I declined the invitation. Later in the evening, a number of journalists from other national newspapers rang to tell me that they were carrying the story with similar headlines such as "Girls in rooms, I don't mind says blind eyed don". The next day I bought all the papers and found my photograph and the story on the front page of all of them, except for

*The Times* and *The Financial Times*. Apparently, many of the journalists also rang the Vice-Chancellor to ask for his comments but evidently he declined to give any. I surmised that he could not have been pleased by this unwelcome publicity and that as a result of it I had seriously blotted my copy-book. I don't suppose this salacious story would be front page news today or even made it onto one of the inner pages.

1964

Hans Eysenck extended his theory of introverts and extraverts to political attitudes in his book *The Psychology of Politics*. Here he introduced William James' trait of tough-mindedness and tender-mindedness, and he proposed these are expressions of conscience in social attitudes. He linked these to his introversion-extraversion dimension and proposed that introverts who are well socialised are tender-minded and became liberals, while extraverts who are poorly socialised are tough-minded become either communists or fascists. This did not go down well at the Institute of Psychiatry because several of them, including Neil O'Connor, Jack Tizard and Monty Shapiro, were communists, and the others were very left wing, like Alan Clark, who later became Professor of Psychology at the University of Hull and his wife Ann, although they moved to the centre when they matured, as so many do. When I talked to some of them about Eysenck's conclusion, they weren't that pleased at being told they were very similar to tough-minded fascists.

In the spring of 1964 I had a letter from Alan Sugarman who was the director of the psychology section of the Neuro-Psychiatric Research Institute at Princeton. He said he had been interested to read my paper on Russian work on schizophrenia and we entered into correspondence. He was particularly interested in Eugene Sokolov's theory that our brains contain a model that monitors events in the external world and identifies everything new or important as needing attention. These include the cessation of a stimulus which is a novel event and will be noted. This is contrary to classical stimulus-response theory and more compatible with cognitive theory. Sugarman was keen to test this using the EEG evoked potential and invited me to come and work with him on this during the summer.

I readily accepted and flew to New York in early July. In those days planes could not carry enough fuel for the transatlantic flight, so we stopped in Iceland to refuel before proceeding over the desolate landscape of Newfoundland and landing at J.F. Kennedy airport. I took the bus into central Manhattan and passed through several miles of run down housing apparently inhabited solely by blacks who loitered in groups on open spaces. Many of the houses were burned out. Then we approached the dramatic skyline of Manhattan and entered what must be one of the most affluent residential districts in the world. I put up in a hotel on 44<sup>th</sup> street and spent a couple of days

seeing the sights of the city. Then I took the train from Grand Central Station down to Princeton.

I did the work at the Institute which involved taking EEG recordings of evoked potentials to a repeated stimulus. The evoked potentials gradually grow weaker and then disappear as the model, according to Sokolov's theory, decides that they are of no consequence. Then, according to the theory, the presentation of the stimulus at a lower intensity should revive the evoked potential, as the model detects a change. I found that this did in fact occur. Sokolov's theory was pretty much unknown in the west and I decided there was a useful book to be written summarizing his work and the Pavlovian tradition of which it was part and began this in the fall.

The director of the Institute was Humphrey Osmond who was British and had published a theory that schizophrenia is triggered by an adrenaline derivative. His theory was that the adrenaline that is generated by stress does not break down normally in schizophrenics but turns into some derivative that produces the symptoms of schizophrenia. I knew his work and called on him and he invited me to join him for lunch and dinner together on several occasions during which we had some interesting conversations. I was sympathetic to his approach which was very different from the environmental theory that was still prominent and I was glad to find a psychiatrist who shared my view that schizophrenia is a physiological disorder. He lent me Bernard Rimland's book *Infantile Autism* which had recently been published. At that time psychoanalysis was the dominant theory in American psychiatry and the psychoanalytic theory of autism was that it was caused by a "refrigerator mother's" subconscious rejection of her child. Treatments, prescribed by the leading authority Bruno Bettelheim and other psychoanalysts, included having children kick and spit on statues representing their mothers supposedly to get their hostility out of their system. Rimland disputed this in his book. He had an autistic son and considered that his wife was by no means a "refrigerator mother". He read the research and could not find any support for the cold parenting theory and in his book advanced the theory that autism is a genetic and neurological disorder. This has now become virtually universally accepted.

When my work at Princeton had finished at the end of September I took the train to New York and then on to Maine and stayed for a couple of days with my half-sister Margaret, her husband Ben Millard and their last child, Julie, who later became a professor of chemistry at Colby College. During the train journey to Maine, a bullet came through the carriage window and narrowly missed me. I told Margaret and Ben about this and they said it was not surprising as people often shot guns at trains in the United States. Wherever you went in the United States during this summer of 1964 you heard the Supremes' song *Baby love*. I am not normally much of a fan of pop songs but I grew to like this one.

While I was working in Princeton, I had a letter from Susan telling me that my mother had died from cancer at the age of fifty-nine. She was a very good mother to me. She was immensely

generous, warm-hearted, kind and selfless and I mourned her passing. My mother retained for the rest of her life the communist opinions that she had formed in New York in 1929 during the depression. She was also a feminist and felt acutely what she perceived as the injustice of the inferior status of women. She once told me that as a child she had heard her mother discussing with a friend what they had achieved in life, and her mother had said "Well, at least I've brought three boys into the world". My mother felt grievously slighted by this remark. She often said that when she was a child she wished she had been born a boy. During her later years she took up painting landscapes and acquired some skill, like her mother and great-grandmother Anne Williamson.

In 1949, my mother met Bernard Harland, my father Sydney's younger brother, and he moved in with her and they lived together until her death. So my mother, having started with one Harland brother, ended up after a number of vicissitudes with another. Bernard had attended the village school in Snainton, the Scarborough Municipal School and had won a scholarship to King's College, London, like his two elder brothers Sydney and Oswald, and began to read for a science degree. But he did not show sufficient diligence in his studies, had too much interest in cricket, and was failed. He returned home to Snainton and married the daughter of the local butcher, much to the disgust of the butcher and his wife who considered this a misalliance. In the 1930s, Bernard made a modest living as a stamp dealer. There was much more interest in stamps in those days and many little boys and also some adults, including King George VI, collected them. When I was a boy in Bristol in the 1940s, there was a stamp shop at the top of Park Street, the principal shopping street in the city, that has long since gone as the interest in stamps has declined. In 1939, Bernard joined the army and rose to the rank of sergeant, and he was the first of our family to serve in the army. By the end of the war his marriage had ended and he worked for a while as a gardener in the parks in Bristol. When he moved in with my mother, he resumed his profession of stamp dealer. He used to buy stamp collections at auctions and put them into booklets giving the price, and he sent these out to prospective customers who would take out those they wanted and then return the booklets with a postal order for the cost of those they had taken. It must seem incredible to contemporary readers that customers used to return the booklets with a postal orders but they did, such was the level of public honesty in those distant days.

1965

Leslie Reid had B.F. Skinner, the Harvard professor and expert on conditioning, to stay and invited a few people to meet the great man. I found myself sitting next to Skinner and I asked him whether he thought all behaviours are the result of the experiences of having been conditioned. He said he did, so I asked him whether he would not agree that there are important genetic determinants of many behaviours, such as addictions to gambling and drugs, and also some genetic fears such as those of heights, spiders and snakes. He would have none of this. I pressed him on

gambling addiction and his reply was that some unfortunate people played the fruit machines and hit the jackpot early on and this reinforced them so strongly that they became hooked. They continued playing and every now and then they would win some money so they were intermittently re-inforced on a partial re-enforcement schedule. It could happen to anyone. I thought this was all nonsense and that Skinner was extraordinarily myopic in his world view. Some years later in 1996 when I met Ulrich Neisser who had been a student of Skinner's at Harvard, he told me he agreed with me.

The major political event of 1965 was the decision of Lyndon Johnson, the American president, to send troops to Vietnam to support the south in its war against the communist north. I did not think this was a good idea because I thought it might well not succeed and I did not think it mattered much if the communists took over the country. It proved to be a disastrous intervention that cost the lives of around 58,000 American soldiers and ended in failure.

Later in the year I obtained a grant from the Medical Research Council to work on the Teplov's theory of personality. Teplov was a Russian who had developed Pavlov's theory that dogs have a strong or weak nervous system and applied this to humans. He had devised a number of measures of the strength of the nervous system and the project for which I obtained the grant was to administer these and see whether they were the same as Eysenck's trait of neuroticism. The grant was for the employment of a research assistant. The university rules stipulated that the post should be advertised and applicants interviewed, but the professors considered that I was too junior to be on the appointments committee. I found this rather annoying. Leslie Reid told me who the applicants were and asked whom I would like to be appointed. I thought the best applicant was my former student Anthony Gale and he was duly appointed as my research assistant for this work. I am afraid we did not get much out of the project. I lack the patience to be an experimentalist. It was not Anthony's forte either and he quit after a year or so. We only got one paper out of the project, which concerned sex and age differences in the capacity for sustained attention in vigilance tasks, in which we found that vigilance improved with age, girls were slightly better than boys, and that performance was unrelated to intelligence.

In the United States Congress passed the Hart-Cellar Act altering the immigration quotas in such a way as to admit many more immigrants from all over the world. This was an important change from the 1924 "national origins" law that provided large quotas for immigrants from northwest Europe and smaller quotas from elsewhere. It would inevitably entail a huge alteration in the ethnic nature of the American population. The act was inspired by John F. Kennedy's book *A Nation of Immigrants* that argued for the new policy. After John F. Kennedy was assassinated, his younger brother Teddy Kennedy took a major role in steering the bill through Congress. The two Kennedy brothers wanted to make the United States a new society and a new people, more racially,

ethnically, religiously and culturally diverse than any nation on earth. I thought there was little doubt that they would succeed in their strategy for the destruction of the American population as an ethnically homogeneous people of largely north-west European origin, and so it has proved.

Another significant event in 1965 was that Winston Churchill died at the age of 90. He has often been nominated as the greatest Englishman of all time, but it is not a view I share. I don't think he was very bright. He had done poorly at school (Harrow) and failed in his first two attempts to pass the entrance exam to Sandhurst, the British Military Academy for training officers. In 1914 he was the leading advocate in the cabinet for declaring war on Germany, which I believe we should have avoided. Patrick Buchanan in his book *Churchill, Hitler And The Unnecessary War* has contended that Churchill loved war for its own sake and that when the First World War began in 1914, two observers, Margot Asquith and David Lloyd George, described Churchill as "radiant, his face bright, his manner keen ... you could see he was a really happy man".

In 1915 Churchill was responsible for the disastrous British invasion of Gallipoli in Turkey in which nothing was achieved and about 30,000 thousand lives were lost. In 1924 he was Chancellor of the Exchequer and took Britain on to the gold standard, against the advice of Maynard Keynes. This had a deflationary effect, contributed to the subsequent depression and was another disastrous mistake. In 1938-9 he was a leading advocate for declaring war on Germany. I believe this was yet another mistake and that if we had not done so, Hitler would have attacked Russia and we could have remained on the neutral sideline like Sweden and Switzerland, while Russia and Germany fought each other to a standstill. In the event, the war cost many lives and weakened Britain economically.

After losing the 1945 election, Churchill returned to power as prime minister in 1951 at the age of 77 and held the position until 1955. There were several important things he could have done during these four years. He could have privatised the industries that Labour had nationalised and became loss-making monopolies for the next few decades. He could have repealed the Commonwealth Immigration Act that gave all the one billion or so citizens of the commonwealth the right to come and live in Britain. He could have abolished conscription which served no useful purpose because we had developed nuclear weapons that deterred the Russians from attacking us. He did none of these in these wasted years in which he achieved nothing. This is not surprising as he had had a stroke that seems to have impaired him and most of the time he was drunk and stoned by continuously smoking cigars.

After I was fired from the wardenship of Crossmead Hall, I suffered a significant loss of income and I thought about how I might supplement my modest university salary. My solution was to team up with my friend Charles Foster who had a rather unusual career. He graduated from Oxford in PPE (philosophy, politics and economics) and obtained a job in one of the big London financial

conglomerates, but after a year or so decided that this did not suit him, so he left and did a course in building. He then bought a building company in London which he ran successfully for a couple of years after which he sold it and wrote a book *Building with Men* describing his experience and which I reviewed in *New Society*. He was now at a loose end and I suggested we might buy some run down houses in Devon, restore them and hopefully sell them at a profit. Charles agreed to this plan. The division of labour was that I scanned the local papers for suitable properties and took a look at them, and Charles came down to look at those I identified as possible. During the next couple of years we bought four of these that we restored and sold for a modest profit. Charles later researched the origins of the industrial revolution in Britain which he published (jointly with Eric Jones) as *The Fabric of Society and how it creates Wealth* which I reviewed in 2013.

1966

Early in the year I read William Sargant's book *Battle for the Mind* about brainwashing. This described the methods used by brainwashers to convert people. These consisted of sending them threats followed by instructions on how to escape from the threats by accepting the brainwashers' beliefs. He applied the theory to North Koreans eliciting signed confessions from a number of American prisoners that they had used germs during the Korean War in which they were first told they would be shot and then told they would be treated as students and re-educated, if they signed the confessions and converted to communism. He also applied the theory to John Wesley's preaching in which he threatened his congregations with eternal damnation in hell and advised them that they could escape from this frightening future by adopting Methodism. I was quite taken by this theory and wrote a paper describing how brainwashing techniques were successfully used in leadership and child rearing.

I became interested in the function of the frontal lobes and published two papers on these proposing that these exert an inhibitory function on behavior, that they do not function well in this regard in young children with the result that these are hyper-aroused and hyper-active, and that the inhibitory function of the frontal lobes develops during childhood, with the result that children become less hyper-aroused and hyper-active as they grow older. In August I went to a conference in Madrid and gave a paper on this. The plan was to combine this with a family holiday. We drove down through France and spent a week in the Spanish resort of Sitges on the Costa Brava with our friend David Richards, a lecturer in Russian, and his wife Virginia and their children, and then drove on to Madrid. After the conference, we drove north through Burgos, stopping to see the great cathedral, and crossed the border into France and on through Bayonne to the channel.

Liam Hudson published his book *Contrary Imaginations* and it was widely and favourably reviewed. I read his book and found it presented his theory that there are two types of thinkers which he called "convergers" and "divergers". His theory was that convergers specialised in

mathematics and physical sciences, and thought literally, prosaically and predictably. Divergers specialised in the arts and were more capable of creative thinking. One question in the divergent thinking test was “How many uses can you think of for a brick?”. Those who put down more suggestions to these and similar questions were scored as divergent thinkers and tended to be the arts students. His theory was based on a study in which he gave the Getzels-Jackson test of “divergent thinking” to 95 schoolboys, together with a conventional intelligence test.

Hudson’s book was acclaimed by a number of those who were unsympathetic to intelligence and IQs, but it did not impress me. Hudson envisaged convergent and divergent thinking as opposite poles of a single dimension, but he made no statistical analysis to show that this is so. A possible alternative was that there could be two independent dimensions of convergent and divergent thinking. If this were so, some people would be gifted on both convergent and divergent thinking, as Mallory Wober pointed out in his book *English Girls' Boarding Schools*. This is much more probable, because obviously there have been some highly creative scientists who have high convergent and divergent ability, or more simply who have had high IQs and have also been highly creative.

Furthermore, the test of divergent thinking seemed rather unsatisfactory. When I talked to Hans Eysenck about this, he observed drily that to be a 'divergent thinker', one only had to respond to 'Name uses of a brick' with lots of silly responses like 'Smash granny's head in'. It is obviously true that there are some people who have high IQs but are not creative, while others have modest IQs and are highly creative, such as perhaps Vincent van Gogh and some other artists.

Nevertheless, Hudson quickly shot into fame in the literary and media world. Shortly after his book was published, I saw him interviewed by Malcolm Muggeridge on a TV program as “an expert on intelligence”. Muggeridge asked him how he would assess the intelligence of Shakespeare. Hudson replied that he guessed it was about average. This was an astonishing reply because Shakespeare had a huge vocabulary and general knowledge and these are good measures of intelligence. For instance, he knew the meaning of incarnadine (to make red) used in *Macbeth* and the colour of majoram buds (he wrote of the young man to whom he dedicated his sonnets that "Buds of majoram had coloured thy hair"). Yet how many people know that majoram buds are yellow? Maybe around one per 10,000, giving Shakespeare an IQ of about 160.

Hudson later became Professor of Psychology at Brunel University and his next book was *The Cult of the Fact* (1972) in which he criticized psychology for being too concerned with collecting facts. This was a fashionable position at this time among progressive educationists, who contended that it is unnecessary to teach children and students facts because these can be looked up in books. They contended that what is important is to teach children and students how to think. In fact, of

course, people have to master a great many facts before they can begin to think creatively about them. Hudson spent some of his later years working with psychoanalysts at the Tavistock Clinic. Subsequently, he took up writing novels, which I think was more suited for his talents.

In the fall I read David McClelland's book *The Achieving Society* in which he presented his theory that national differences in economic growth were attributable to "achievement motivation". This was essentially a rebranded version of Max Weber's theory of the Protestant work ethic that he proposed was responsible for the economic advances of Protestant countries of northern Europe from the seventeenth century onwards. This was a topical concern in Britain at this time because British economic growth was so poor that we had been overtaken in per capita income by Germany and Japan. McClelland did not have a questionnaire to measure achievement motivation and I thought what was needed was an achievement motivation questionnaire that could assess this and be administered in a number of countries to see if the theory held up. I constructed and validated the questionnaire and it was later published in the *British Journal of Psychology*.

In December I wrote an article on achievement motivation as a determinant of economic growth and sent it to *The Times*. Somewhat to my surprise, it was published under the title *Would Dick Whittington succeed in Britain today?* My article argued that he would not because achievement motivation in Britain was too low and that to achieve good economic growth a society needed to respect entrepreneurs and the profit motive. I had quite a large mail arising from the article including a letter from Ralph Harris, the director of the Institute of Economic Affairs in London, inviting me to lunch and tell him and his colleague Arthur Seldon more about this work. I duly accepted and met them. They had set up the Institute of Economic Affairs (IEA) in the mid-1950s as a think tank to promote free-market economics, which were very unpopular at that time when many economists supported economic planning and later the Labour government's "national plan" to promote improved economic growth. They asked me if I would write for them and I willingly did so on several occasions. At this time and in later years, the IEA have monthly lunches to which I was often invited. The IEA made me think of the possibility that I might set up a similar think tank for the application of psychological ideas to social policies, which I was to do in 1995 when I set up the Ulster Institute for Social Research.

1967

Early in the year I published my first book *Arousal, Attention and the Orientation Reaction*. It was largely an account of the work of Pavlov's and Eugene Sokolov's theory that our brain contains a model that monitors events in the external world and identifies those that are new or important and triggers an arousal and attention reaction.

At this time I was becoming increasingly discontented with my position at Exeter. Although I had published a number of papers and a book, I had not found the gold mine my father had told me

was necessary for a successful academic career. I began to feel I needed a change. In early 1967 I saw an advertisement for a professorship at the Economic and Social Research Institute in Dublin. I thought this would be like the Institute of Economic Affairs in London so I decided to apply, and I was invited for an interview in April.

Just before the date for the interview, I attended the annual conference of the British Psychological Society that was being held in Belfast. Brian Foss, who was Professor of Psychology at the London Institute of Education, had invited me to give a paper at a symposium he was organizing which I accepted and spoke on psychological values and economic growth. The theme was that in countries where professional occupations had the most prestige, the most able people were drawn into these, but were not so attracted to careers in business, and I gave Britain and Ireland as examples. The result of this was that the business sector of the country was deprived of talent and this retarded economic development. Conversely, there were other countries where professional occupations had less prestige and many of the most able people were drawn into careers in business, and I gave as examples Japan and Israel. I presented some results that supported this that had been collected for me by collaborators in these other countries.

I already knew Brian Foss and got to know him better during the conference. He had studied for a degree in mathematics and physics at Cambridge before World War Two, and after service in the war he took a diploma in Psychology at the Institute of Experimental Psychology in Oxford. He then became a lecture at Birkbeck College, London, before moving to be Professor of Psychology at the Institute of Education. I do not think he ever did any research of any significance, but he edited several useful books. He told me that Birkbeck College was situated in a red light district and that on his way walking home at night he would often be accosted by hookers. He felt sorry for these and to decline their invitations in the least hurtful way, his standard response was “No thanks, sorry, luv, I’ve just had it”. On one occasion after making this response, he fancied that the girl he had addressed looked familiar and then recalled that she was one of his students. After this embarrassing experience, he was more circumspect in his responses to these greetings.

At the end of the conference I took the train down to Dublin to attend the interview at the Economic and Social Research Institute (ESRI). It is a scenic journey, passing through the mountains of Mourne immortalised by Percy French in his song “Oh Mary this London's a wonderful sight, With the people all working by day and by night...But I'll wait for the wild rose that's waiting for me, Where the mountains of Mourne sweep down to the sea”. I stayed at the Russell Hotel in St Stephen’s Green, a fine Georgian building but since unhappily demolished and replaced by a modern block. The next morning I went to the ESRI for the interview. The appointing committee consisted of Donal McCarthy, the director of the ESRI and former head of the government statistical service, Feichin O’Doherty, the Professor of the Psychology Department at University

College and a Jesuit, the Professor of Sociology at University College who was another Jesuit, and Basil Chubb, the Professor of Political Economy at Trinity College. I was offered the position and decided to accept. The appointment was for an initial five years to be followed, if my work was considered satisfactory, by a further contract to retirement. I was not particularly worried by the possibility that the contract might not be renewed. I have always been a moderately high risk-taker both in work and in life, and I thought that if the contract was not renewed I would land on my feet somewhere. Some years later Evelyn Quinn, a psychologist whom I came to know well when I was in Dublin, told me she had asked Basil Chubb what he thought of my performance at the interview and he had replied “Lynn? Cheeky bugger”. My appointment began in September and we prepared for our new life in Dublin.

#### Chapter 7 Dublin 1967-72

We arrived in Dublin in late August of 1967 by the ferry from Holyhead to Dun Laoghaire and bought a house in Palmerston Road in Rathmines. I started work at the Economic and Social Research Institute on the 1<sup>st</sup> September. I first set about investigating the prevailing political and economic views in Ireland. I found out that there were two political parties named Fine Gael and Fianna Fáil but curiously they were not right and left but were both politically and economically centrist. They had been formed during the civil war of the early 1920s and were distinguished by taking different positions on whether to make peace in the conflict with the British. The head of the civil service was Kenneth Whitaker, who as Secretary of the Department of Finance had published his *First Programme for Economic Expansion* in 1958. This set out a national plan to increase economic growth. I was not impressed by the Irish government's economic policies. I found that these included subsidies for exports and this had the nonsensical result that manufacturers exported their products rather than sell them in the home market, while the home market was supplied by imports of the same products. There were subsidies to build houses the result of which was that throughout the country there were unsightly abandoned houses with modern houses built next to them. There was high taxation that was necessary to finance these subsidies and a number of loss making state owned enterprises such as the national airline and a chain of hotels. I did not think any of this was sensible. There was no understanding that some of the most useful things governments can do to improve economic growth is to reduce taxation and liberalise the economy to maximise the opportunities for businesses to make profits and prosper.

The purpose of the ESIR was to carry out research on the economic and social problems of Ireland and find policies that would help solve them. Foremost among these was that Ireland was quite economically backward compared with Britain and I researched the literature to see what contribution I could make to this problem. It was not long before I discovered a study by John Macnamara that reported that the IQ of Irish 12 year olds was 90 compared with 100 in Britain. I

thought this was an important study suggesting that the low IQ was likely a significant cause of the Irish economic backwardness. I knew that intelligence is a determinant of earnings among individuals and that this was also true for groups. I knew Cyril Burt's book *The Backward Child* in which he showed that children in the boroughs of London had different IQs and that these were highly correlated across the boroughs with the earnings of adults, and that this had also been shown by Maller in the boroughs of New York city. It seemed likely that the same would hold for nations and in particular for the economic backwardness of Ireland. This was how I first came to formulate the theory that differences in intelligence are an important determinant of national per capita incomes that I was to publish later, in collaboration with Tatu Vanhanen, in *IQ and the Wealth of Nations*.

As I thought about this, I decided it would be wise to check Macnamara's study reporting the low Irish IQ. I asked two of my assistants, Ian Hart and Bernadette O'Sullivan, to carry out a further study and they did this by administering Cattell's Culture Fair test to a sample in Dublin. They found their sample had an IQ of 88 compared with 100 in Britain and was therefore closely similar to the IQ of 90 that Macnamara had reported. Although this confirmed Macnamara's study, it was a disconcerting result. I wondered whether it would be wise to publish my conclusion that the low IQ was a significant factor responsible for the economic backwardness of Ireland. I doubted whether this conclusion would be well received, particularly coming from an Englishman telling the Irish that they had a low IQ problem. Furthermore, it would raise the question of what policies could be adopted to solve the problem. These would be a set of eugenic policies designed to raise the Irish IQ, such as the sterilization of the mentally retarded and incentives for graduates to have more children. Eugenic policies of this kind had been regarded as sensible by most informed people in the first half of the twentieth century but in the late 1960s they had been everywhere repudiated. In many countries eugenics societies had closed themselves down or changed their names and that of their journals. In 1968 the British Eugenics Society ended the publication of its journal *The Eugenics Review* and replaced it with *Journal of Biosocial Science* and in 1969 the American Eugenics Society ended the publication of its journal *Eugenics Quarterly* and replaced it with *Social Biology*. Neither of these new journals published papers on eugenics. In addition, although eugenics societies had been founded in virtually all economically developed countries in the first half of the twentieth century, Ireland was an exception. Ireland at that time was a deeply Catholic country and the Catholics had been the only group, articulated by G.K.Chesterton, that had opposed eugenics in the first half of the twentieth century. By 1970 eugenics had become almost universally rejected. Virtually no-one supported eugenic programmes any more and anyone who proposed doing so would be

accused of being a Nazi. For all these reasons, I did not think it would be possible to publish something on the problem of the low Irish IQ and possible solutions while I was in Dublin and I decided that to do so I would have to move.

Nevertheless, I did write something on the issue in a circumspect way. What I wrote was a monograph entitled *The Irish Brain Drain*. It reported research showing that there was a high rate of emigration of graduates from Ireland, and warned that this would reduce the average IQ of the remaining population. I advocated several policies to deal with this problem. First, the government had recently begun a programme for increasing the number of young people at universities following a report *Investment in Education* that had been published by Paddy Lynch, an economics professor at University College, that advocated a large increase in university students on the grounds that this would be an investment in the economy. I argued that the title was misleading, because there is no evidence that increasing university education enhances economic growth, and that in the case of Ireland, since so many graduates emigrated and this damaged the country by depriving it of talent, I proposed that it would be more likely to retard it. I argued that the expansion of the universities should be curtailed. I particularly homed in on the medical schools, which produced about three times the numbers of physicians that could find employment in Ireland. The result of this was that the day after graduation the newly qualified physicians chartered a plane to take them on a one way flight to the United States. I wrote that this was ridiculous and proposed that the medical schools should be cut down to a third of their existing size.

The government's programme for the expansion of university education also recommended that this should be free. I argued that this proposal should be rejected on the grounds that as students benefited financially from a university education, they should contribute to the cost. In addition, I argued that goods and services that are provided free invariably attract a large demand that eventually becomes unsustainable and has to be abandoned. This proved to be correct and eventually the Irish government imposed a charge of 3,000 euros a year for university education. I also proposed that the government's priority should be to reduce taxation, which was very high in Ireland and acted as an encouragement to the talented to emigrate and a deterrent to potential immigrants who might contribute to the economy.

I had expected that my provocative paper would be warmly welcomed as presenting a new and sensible approach to public policy, but this proved not to be the case. A number of critics argued that Ireland owed it to all her young people to provide them with as good a start in life as possible and this included those who were lucky enough

to qualify as graduates and obtain excellently paid positions in other countries. My paper was viciously attacked in *The Irish Times* by Garrett Fitzgerald, who was at that time a lecturer in political economy at University College and was later to become Taoiseach (Prime Minister). He had strong liberal-left convictions that there is an unlimited supply of public money that can be spent on subsidising desirable objectives such as free university education for all. He had recently published a book *Planning in Ireland*, which advocated “indicative planning”. This was different from the mandatory planning of the kind practised in the Soviet Union in its Five Year Plans, in which a committee set out targets for the output of every factory in the country. Fitzgerald’s indicative planning theory was that the publication of a target of higher economic growth rate would inspire business people to achieve it. This theory was copied from the British Labour government's indicative planning set out in 1965 in its National Plan that called for a 25% growth in Gross Domestic Product in the next five years. Of course, these paper plans had no effect and no-one believes in them today, but at that time they were favoured by people like Garrett Fitzgerald and Kenneth Whitaker and hitherto no-one had challenged them. At several meetings I voiced my opinion that indicative planning and the four year economic programmes were all nonsense but these observations did not go down well. The upshot of all this was that my first attempt to educate the Irish public and the governing elite did not prove a success.

Also appointed to a position at the ESRI at the same time as me in 1967 was John Raven, the son of the John Raven who constructed the Progressive Matrices tests. John Raven junior had a large collection of results from a number of countries but it apparently never occurred to him to calculate national IQs from these. He made these available to me and later I used many of them to calculate IQs for a number of countries and show that these are a major determinant of national differences in per capita incomes.

In the spring of 1968 I was invited to give a paper on the psychology of economic growth at a conference in Bristol. Another speaker was Henri Tajfel, the Professor of Psychology at Bristol, who gave a paper on his social identity theory. He described this stating that people have an “inbuilt” and presumably genetically programmed tendency, although I could never discover whether this was intended, to categorize themselves into in-groups and out-groups. Tajfel described a number of studies he had conducted in which people were divided arbitrarily into two groups, based on some trivial distinction. After a while, they began to identify with their group, preferring

other members of their group and favoring them.

In the evening I went out to dinner with Tajfel and Hilde Himmelweit, the Professor of Social Psychology at the London School of Economics, who was also at the conference, and I asked Tajfel in what way his work was an advance on the ideas of Herbert Spencer who had coined the terms in-groups and out-groups in the nineteenth century, and had proposed the theory of “amity towards in-groups” and “enmity towards out-groups”. I suggested this sounded like his own theory, but he said he was unfamiliar with Spencer’s ideas. I then asked what he thought of William Sumner’s concept of *ethnocentrism* which he had employed in his book *Folkways* to describe that people normally support, and prefer to associate with, others of their own group, but he said he was unfamiliar with this. Finally, I asked him what he thought of Sherif’s work in the “Robber Caves Study” of a group of boys at a summer camp at Robber Caves in Oklahoma. This had divided the boys into two groups and organized a number of competitive events between them and this quickly led to hostility between the two groups. Tajfel said he was not familiar with this either and he would look into it. I concluded that he had nothing new to say about the development of group conflict and he had just coined a new word for an already well understood phenomenon.

Some years later I was surprised to learn that Henri Tajfel had taken early retirement at the age of about sixty from the University of Bristol. I asked a friend at the university why this was and he told me that it was because Tajfel had a long history of sexually propositioning his female students and junior colleagues. He had even installed a bed in his office to further this objective. Eventually one of his victims complained to the vice-chancellor who told Tajfel his behaviour was unacceptable and he would either have to retire or be fired and Tajfel had opted for retirement.

On April 20, 1968, Enoch Powell made his “Rivers of Blood” speech in which he warned of the danger of the continuing large immigration of non-European peoples. He predicted that if nothing was done to check this, their numbers would increase to around ten percent of the population in twenty years’ time. He was right about this. In the 2001 census the percentage of non-European peoples was given as 12.4 percent. He predicted that there would be racial conflict - “Like the Roman, I seem to see the Tiber foaming with much blood” - and concluded “We must be mad, literally mad, as a nation to be permitting the annual inflow of some 50,000 dependents. It is like watching a nation busily engaged in heaping up its own funeral pyre”. The next day Edward Heath, the leader of the Conservative Party, sacked Powell from the Conservative Shadow Cabinet, in which he had been defence spokesman. Powell was right that there would be racial conflict. In one of the most publicised cases, in 1985 a policeman named Keith Blakelock went to investigate a crime in the Broadwater farm estate in London and was attacked and murdered by a gang of blacks. In another well publicised case, in 1993 a black teenager named Stephen Lawrence was murdered in London by two white youths. Following this, a report was published (the MacPherson Report) that

concluded that the police were “institutionally racist” for not investigating the crime sufficiently thoroughly. In 2018, the British Home Office reported that in the last year there were approximately 70,000 racially motivated hate crimes mostly between Whites and Muslims and some by Muslims against Jews. How the Atlee government of 1945-51 imagined that tens of millions of British Commonwealth citizens of different races and religions could settle in Britain without racial conflict surpasses understanding.

In the summer of 1968 I noticed in *The Irish Times* that there would shortly be an auction of a property called Burke's Court on the banks of Lough Derg in County Galway. It looked attractive and on the morning of the auction I drove down to look at it. I found it was a modest farm house rather than an impressive sounding Court, but it was beautifully situated with view over the lough so I attended the auction and acquired it for £2,000. It had no water so I found a local builder who installed this from a well. I bought furniture for it at auctions in Dublin and had this taken down and for the rest of my time in Dublin we generally went down for weekends and holidays. I bought a boat with an outboard motor and we were able to cruise in this up and down the lough and on one occasion went as far as the southern end and stopped to visit the village of Killaloe where Phinneas Finn, one of the characters in Trollope's political novels, was born and brought up.

I rather liked the sound of Burke's Court as an address and on a few occasions used it to write letters. One of these was in 1973 when I wrote a letter from it to *The Spectator* commenting on a review of A.L. Rowse's book *Shakespeare the Man*, in which he claimed to have solved the greatest mystery of English literature, namely the identities of the characters in Shakespeare's sonnets. The first publication of sonnets begins with a dedication “To the only begetter of these insuing sonnets Mr W.H...”. The first and major mystery of the sonnets is the identity of Mr W.H., the beautiful young man whom Shakespeare loved and to whom he promised immortality. Rouse contended that this was Henry Wriothesley, the Earl of Southampton. In my letter to *The Spectator* I disputed this on the grounds that the initials of the Earl were H.W, while the sonnets are dedicated to W.H, that the Earl would hardly be addressed as Mr, that it was clear from the punning sonnets that the given name of MR W.H. was William, and that he was of quite humble social standing. Rouse published a reply to my letter defending his case but I don't think he was successful in this.

1969

In the spring the Irish Institute of Management organized a conference in Killarney on the prospects for economic development in Ireland and invited me to speak on the role of entrepreneurship. The whole of the Irish establishment was to be there, including the Taoiseach,

Jack Lynch, so it was an invitation that could not be refused. In my presentation I repeated the argument I had advanced in my *Irish Brain Drain* paper to the effect that expanding the numbers of students at universities would do nothing to promote entrepreneurship and would do more to hinder it. I made a plea for the establishment of university business schools of the kind that had recently been set up in Britain, and suggested that these would channel the interests and ambitions of a greater proportion of able young people towards making careers in business.

There were a number of eminent speakers at the conference and in the evening of the second day Jack Lynch, the Prime Minister or Taoiseach, as the office is designated in Ireland, gave a dinner for them to which I was invited. Others included Lord Kearnton, the chairman of Courtaulds, and Tony O'Reilly, already a leading figure in the Heinz food business, and later to be the billionaire owner of numerous newspapers and businesses, and who devised the inspired name of Kerry Gold for the brand of butter he was marketing. During the course of the evening the conversation turned on the importance of confidence and rapid decision making for successful entrepreneurship. Jack Lynch maintained that this is a characteristic of the young and explained why it is typically young men who are the successful entrepreneurs, while the middle aged have grown too cautious. He illustrated this theory with the following story. There was once, he said, an old bull and his young son grazing at the top of a field when what should the son see but a herd of heifers entering the bottom of field. So the son shouts - "I say Dad , just look at them heifers , I say we gallop down the field and we'll each screw one of them". But the old bull answers "Steady, son, steady. Take it easy. We'll walk down the field and then we'll screw the lot of them". The Taoiseach maintained that the young bull would have made the better entrepreneur. By the time the old bull had walked at a leisurely pace down the hill, some other young bull would have got there first and pre-empted the opportunity. For successful entrepreneurship, he contended, it is essential to move fast and decisively. A result of my presentation was that the publisher George Allen and Unwin invited me to write a book on the psychology of the entrepreneur, which I accepted and published in 1974.

Later in 1969, Brian Cox, the Professor of English at the University of Manchester, and Anthony Dyson produced the first of four *Black Papers on Education*. These were an attack on progressive education, a body of ideas of the 1950s and 1960s that was designed to produce better education and a more equal society. Its policy objectives included the expansion of universities and the use of discovery methods in schools instead of the rote learning of arithmetic number bonds and tables, the replacement of learning to read by phonetics by the whole word method, the abolition of streaming by ability, the end of examinations, the disregard of correct spelling as unimportant, the closing down of the grammar schools and their replacement by comprehensives. It was believed that all these favoured middle class children and were therefore unjust. By the late 1960s many of these progressive objectives had been achieved in numerous schools. Children no longer sat in rows of

desks and listened to the teacher. The desks were thrown out and replaced by tables which the children sat around doing their own thing. All of these developments were opposed by the writers in the first *Black Paper*, one of which was written by Kingsley Amis who argued against the further expansion of universities with the phrase “More will mean worse”.

Naturally, streaming children by ability, or tracking as it is known in the United States, was disapproved of by the progressive educationists because it identified some children as more able than others. In many schools it was abolished altogether and teachers were assigned the task of teaching children of all abilities in the same class. Many head-teachers recognized that this was pretty well impossible and they devised various ways of tackling the problem. I encountered one of these in 1953 when I began my research at a primary school in Cambridge. The school had two classes for each year identified as A and B. Normally the A class would have been for the brighter children as it was when I was at the Bristol Grammar School, as I have recounted in Chapter 3. It so happened that one of the children I tested in my research was Vivian Perutz. She was the daughter of Max Perutz, a professor at the university, who a few years later won the Nobel Prize for his work in biochemistry, so it was not surprising that ten year old Vivian had a high IQ. However, she was in the B stream. I asked her why this was, and she explained that in this school B stood for brains and A stood for asses. I asked the head-teacher why the more intelligent children were placed in the B stream, while the less intelligent were placed in the A stream, and he told me it was to prevent the less bright developing feelings of inferiority. From this reply we can date the introduction of political correctness into Britain to about this time. But it was evident from Vivian’s explanation that this subterfuge did not work.

Later in 1969 Cox and Dyson produced a second Black Paper, for which Sir Cyril Burt, Hans Eysenck and I contributed articles. I wrote an article on intelligence and I argued that educational attainment is principally determined by intelligence and secondly by the values acquired from the family, that intelligence is largely determined genetically, and that there are innate social class differences in intelligence that would ensure that children from middle class families would always tend to do better in any system. I argued that the progressive agenda would reduce the educational standards of the most able and cited the much lower standards in American comprehensives compared with the selective European secondary schools as proof of this. I also argued that the grammar schools were a valuable conduit by which able working class children could rise in the social hierarchy. Sir Cyril Burt and Hans Eysenck also contributed articles and made similar points.

An important event in 1969 was Art Jensen’s paper *How much can we boost IQ and scholastic achievement?* in which he argued that the 15 IQ point difference between blacks and whites in the United States was likely to have some genetic basis or, to quote his words “it is not an unreasonable

hypothesis that genetic factors are implicated in the average Negro-white intelligence difference". This generated a storm of protest. I read Jensen's paper carefully and concluded that he was right. I discussed it with Hans Eysenck who said he agreed. About the same time William Shockley began publishing and lecturing on the same theme, and this also generated a lot of publicity on account of him being a Nobel prize-winner for the invention of the transistor.

The Irish government introduced a measure exempting writers, artists and composers from paying tax. I thought this was unjustifiable on the grounds that taxes should be paid by everyone and certainly by millionaire pop stars and wealthy writers and by those who would no doubt come to live in Ireland to enjoy their tax free incomes, while at the same time the rest of the population would have to pay higher taxes to make up the shortfall. I wrote an article making these points and sent it to *The Spectator*. The editor was Nigel Lawson, later Chancellor of the Exchequer in Margaret Thatcher's government. He rang me to say he liked the article and would publish it. After it appeared, the director of the ESRI warned me that my criticism of the measure had not been well received by the governing body. I was making the same mistake that my father had made in the 1930s of criticising those who had the power to punish me.

1970

Brian Cox produced a third Black Paper to which I contributed an article on the arguments for and against streaming children by ability. I reviewed the studies on streaming and concluded that streaming raises educational standards for all children. Looking back on these disputes of the 1960s and 1970s, I think all the points we made were valid. We lost the battle to save the grammar schools, most of which were closed down during the late 1960s by Shirley Williams and replaced by comprehensives. But this has not achieved the social equality sought by progressives. The private independent schools still exist with the result that British society has become more rigidly divided along class lines than it was previously. We won the battle on streaming and by the early twenty-first century virtually all comprehensives had adopted streaming or setting by aptitude for maths, science and foreign languages.

Now that I had decided it would be politic to avoid the problem of the low IQ in Ireland, I needed to find some social or economic problems that I could tackle and I looked at some demographic and epidemiological phenomena to see if I could find any. The first thing I noticed was that the Irish have an exceptionally high rate of psychosis. I knew from my earlier work that anxiety is low in chronic hospitalised psychotics, consisting mainly of those with simple schizophrenia. I wondered whether a low level anxiety in the population might explain the high rate of psychosis in Ireland and looked for other data that might corroborate the theory. I discovered that

the Irish had an exceptionally high *per capita* calorie consumption and that this is also a function of a low level of anxiety. The next step was to see whether there was an association between rate of psychosis and the calorie consumption across nations, so I checked this out by examining these in the 18 economically developed nations for which there were reliable statistics. I found that the correlation was 0.58. I thought this was promising start, so I began looking for other phenomena that might further substantiate the theory. I looked next at suicide rates which are a function of high anxiety, so if the Irish had a low level of anxiety they should have a low rate of suicide. I found that the rate of suicide in Ireland was extremely low, and I checked whether suicide was associated across nations with my other two variables. Again, I found that it was. The correlation the rate of psychosis was -0.50, and with calorie consumption was -0.26.

Up to this point everything seemed to fit the theory, but then I hit a problem. An obvious variable to look at was alcohol consumption and alcoholism. Alcohol is a well known anxiety reducer, so in a supposedly low anxiety country like Ireland people should not drink much alcohol and there should be few alcoholics. Yet it was widely asserted in Ireland that the Irish had serious alcoholism problems. Despite this, I remembered Einstein's observation that when the facts and the theory are opposed, it is generally the facts that are wrong. I thought the theory was sufficiently strong to be worth checking the facts on Irish alcohol consumption and alcoholism. I found that *per capita* alcohol consumption was low in Ireland by international comparison, and that alcoholism measured by death rates from liver cirrhosis (the usual index for rates of alcoholism) were also low. So I added these to the variables for the measurement of national anxiety and found they fitted in well. For instance, the correlation the death national death rates from liver cirrhosis and the rate of psychosis was -0.49.

Next I found another four variables that fitted the theory. These were road accident death rates as an index of high anxiety, and death rates from coronary heart disease, and caffeine and cigarette consumption as indices of low anxiety. They all fitted the theory. I factor analysed the inter-correlations and found a general factor that accounting for about 50% of the variance and identified this general factor as anxiety.

The final step was to treat the nations as if they were individuals and use the data to score the nations on the anxiety factor. The result was that Ireland emerged as the nation with the lowest level of anxiety. I then looked at the other nations to see if there was any general pattern. I found that the northern Europe nations also had low anxiety, while the southern European nations and Japan had high anxiety. This suggested that there could be genetic differences in anxiety among the northern and southern sub-races of Europe, and between Japanese and Europeans. This was my first excursion into the thorny field of racial differences.

Before attempting to publish my theory, I consulted Roy Geary who was formerly the head of

the government statistical office and was the first director of the ESRI, and who had stayed on after retirement as a research fellow. He was addicted to snuff, and in his room there were always about twenty snuff stained brown and rather damp looking handkerchiefs hanging on a line and from the backs of chairs. He was very unhappy about my conclusion that Ireland did not have a serious alcoholism problem and he advised against publishing this part of the theory on the grounds that the evidence was not strong enough. I ignored this advice as I was thoroughly familiar with the international statistics on alcohol consumption and on the incidence of alcoholism indexed by death rates from liver cirrhosis. I was in no doubt that both alcohol consumption and alcoholism were quite low in Ireland by international comparison.

I gave a seminar on my theory at the ESRI to make sure I was alerted to any criticisms and could deal with them or if necessary revise the theory. Roy Geary was present and objected to my theory. "Look", he said, "you haven't tested the correlations between the measures for statistical significance". I replied that as the nations were not a sample but the totality of economically developed nations tests of statistical significance would be inappropriate, and I somewhat patronisingly explained that the point of tests of statistical significance was to assess the probability that the results could have arisen by sampling error. This of course he already knew. He had no answer to my reply and this was the only occasion on which I saw his statistical expertise rebutted. Naturally he hated me for this. I had won my point but made another enemy. Some years later he availed himself of an opportunity to get his own back when I was nominated for membership of the Royal Irish Academy and, I was reliably informed, he blackballed me. It is impossible to overestimate the vindictiveness of academics who are prepared to wait years for pay-back time when they can punish those who have crossed them.

I was still interested in the psychology of economic growth and examined the national differences in anxiety I had calculated in relation to economic growth rates. There was a substantial correlation which I interpreted as showing that anxiety has an energizing effect on populations, as it does normally on individuals, except at very high levels. I wrote a paper on this and sent it to *Nature*, which somewhat to my surprise, accepted it.

My work on national differences in anxiety was my principal achievement of my years in Dublin. I published my conclusions in *National Differences in Anxiety*, an ESRI monograph, and a fuller version in 1971 in my book *Personality and National Character*. My theory was not favourably received in Ireland. I don't think anyone really understood it with the exception of Kieran Kennedy, who was my only friend at the ESRI and subsequently became its director. It was lukewarmly reviewed in the *Economic and Social Review* by Feicin O'Doherty, the Professor of Psychology at University College, who clearly did not understand a word of it.

There were several people who did not like my contention that the Irish have a low rate of

alcohol consumption and alcoholism. These had made a career out of researching the supposed Irish drinking problem and had obtained funds from government and other sources to carry out research on this and naturally these were not pleased with my work showing that this problem did not exist. Another group who did not like my conclusion was those who liked to think of the Irish as great drinking men and were rather proud of this. These too were unhappy to have this reputation refuted.

Despite this, my book was well received by the more sophisticated. I was in touch intermittently with Sir Cyril Burt so I sent him a prepublication copy asking if he would write an introduction and he replied that he would be glad to do so. He sent me a generous introduction – “What I should like chiefly to commend are the methods he has adopted”. This was the last thing that Sir Cyril Burt wrote before his death in the fall of 1971. Hans Eysenck was positive about my book which he had approved for publication with Pergamon Press. It was this work that inspired Hans Eysenck and his wife Sybil to begin collecting questionnaire data for national differences in neuroticism and extraversion from numerous countries that was to occupy them for the next thirty years or so.

I sent a copy to Raymond Cattell, who wrote me a letter about it that began "I greatly appreciate your kindness in sending me an autographed copy of your book. It arrived in late November, just as I was about to take off on a much needed Hawaiian vacation; and I took it with me to the comparatively unfrequented island of Maui. There, had you been a beach-comer, you would have seen a comparatively elderly gentleman sitting under the shade of a palm tree and reading your *Personality and National Character*. I want to tell you, straight away, that I found it a perfectly fascinating work. I see that it is a major contribution, on a par with the texts on these problems made by McDougall, Huntington and others".

The theory has survived quite well among researchers on cross cultural differences in personality. In 1985 Phil Rushton extended the theory that there are racial differences in anxiety/neuroticism in an analysis of 25 countries for which there were scores on Eysenck's neuroticism questionnaire. He reported that the highest average scores were obtained in eight East Asian samples, confirming my conclusion that the Japanese have a high level of anxiety. He showed that the next highest scores were obtained in 38 European samples, and the lowest scores were obtained in four sub-Saharan African samples. **In 2018 I published a paper in collaboration with Heitor Fernandes and Stephen Hertler confirming Phil Rushton's conclusion that blacks have a lower level of anxiety than whites.**

In 2000, David Lester expanded the theory further and found that it held up in a dataset of 32 nations. Geert Hofstede confirmed the same national differences in anxiety and in 2004 he and Robert McCrae wrote that “A breakthrough in the study of national cultures was Richard Lynn's book *Personality and National Character*”. In 2007, David Schmitt, Juri Allik and Robert McCrae

provided a further confirmation of the theory in a study of 56 nations in which the Japanese had the highest level of neuroticism, a broad equivalent of anxiety.

In the summer of 1971 I went to Belgium to a conference in Liège and gave a paper on my work on national differences in anxiety at a session chaired by Philip Vernon. Art Jensen was also at the conference and gave a lecture on race differences in intelligence. I had not met Jensen and I was interested to hear him and see how the audience reacted. As he began to speak, there were shouts of *Zeig Heil!* from the audience, but after some pleas from the chairman the shouts died down and Jensen was able to deliver his lecture. As I had read all of Jensen's work I did not learn anything new, except from the *Zeig Heil!* shouts that work on race differences excites a huge hostile emotional reaction in many people. This has always been difficult for me to understand, since for me race differences are simply a matter of scientific interest and I have never felt any emotion about the question. Afterwards I met up with Art and we had dinner together. He told me that he began looking at the evidence on the black-white difference in intelligence on the assumption that this was solely environmentally determined, but the more he considered the data, the more evident it became that genetic factors are also involved.

I made a few friends while I was in Dublin. One of these was Derek Forrest, the Professor of Psychology at Trinity College. He had written a biography of Francis Galton and we often had lunch together, sometimes in Trinity and sometimes in the Shelbourne Hotel. On one occasion he got into hot water when one of his women students called on him to say she was worried about her forthcoming exams and asked if he would give her some advice about the questions. It seems that Derek suggested he might be able to help on this if she could like to come to his rooms that evening to discuss it. She replied that she would like to think about this and would call the next day and they could discuss it further. In the evening, she told her boy friend about this implicit proposition and he fitted her up with a recorder to take with her when she called on Derek the next day. On this occasion, she switched on her recorder while Derek elaborated his proposition. She then took the recording to the college authorities who set up a disciplinary committee to listen to the recording and decide what action should be taken. In the event, they decided to send him on what is now called gardening leave for a year, which he spent in the south of Spain.

Two other good friends I made were Bruce Arnold and his wife Mavis. Bruce was a journalist and also wrote a number of novels, and who I discovered was a fellow lover of Proust. Mavis was also a journalist who achieved a great deal of publicity when she published her book *The Children of the Poor Clares*. This was an account of an orphanage run by the Poor Clares, an order of nuns, and described the appalling conditions, starvation diet and beatings that the nuns inflicted on their charges. Among many graphic examples, she described how the orphans often fought over the contents of the hens' bucket containing the scrapings from the nuns' own generous dinners.

By the summer of 1971 I had reached the conclusion that it was time for me to leave Dublin. I was keen to develop my idea that national differences in intelligence were a major factor accounting for national differences in economic development and because I had discovered the low IQ in Ireland, I did not think it possible to do this while I was in Dublin. My contributions to the problems of the Irish economy, my theory of the low level of anxiety and my conclusion that Ireland did not have an alcoholism problem had not gone down well. I had made an enemy of Kenneth Whitaker, the head of the Civil Service and the chairman of the council of the ESRI, whose economic policies I had publicly criticised. With the exception of Kieran Kennedy, I was completely isolated in Dublin from the naïve corporatist consensus of the elite which I was alone in challenging. I was conscious that my five year contract at the ESRI would end shortly and I had made so many enemies that I thought it likely that it would not be renewed. All these considerations pointed to the prudence of moving on before I was pushed. Accordingly, when in the fall of 1971 the University of Ulster advertised for a professor to set up a psychology department, I sent in an application, was offered the job, and accepted.

In the autumn of 1971 the civil unrest in Northern Ireland known as the troubles began and rapidly escalated into a low level civil-war between Catholics and Protestants. The Irish Republican Army (IRA) was dedicated to the cause of a united Ireland, while the Protestants were adamantly opposed to this. The IRA began to make frequent random bombings of city centres and shot a number of British soldiers, police and high profile Protestants. A dramatic episode took place in the city of Londonderry that became known as Bloody Sunday, in which British troops opened fire on a crowd of Catholics and killed thirteen of them. This raised further tension between the two groups. The future looked threatening and we decided it would be best if Susan and the children moved to London, where Susan soon obtained a lectureship in Russian history at the South Bank Polytechnic, later to become the South Bank University. I enrolled my daughters Emma and Sophy in Putney High School, one of the country's top academic school for girls, and later sent my son Matthew to Emanuel School, a grammar school in south London.

In the October of 1971 Cyril Burt died. I mourned his passing as he had been very good to me on several occasions after we first met in 1956 when he was my Ph.D. examiner. Three years later Leon Kamin and others started to attack Sir Cyril for some inaccuracies in his papers on the correlations for intelligence of identical and non-identical twins and tried to discredit his work on these that showed that intelligence has a high heritability. Kamin even went so far as to state that intelligence could well have a zero heritability. The only person Kamin succeeded in discrediting was himself, so overwhelming is the evidence from many studies for a high heritability of intelligence. A great deal of ink has been expended on the inaccuracies in some of Sir Cyril's figures in his later papers and whether these were slips or falsifications, and whether the two women who

were joint authors of two of the papers really existed. Nick Mackintosh even wrote a book on these problems and concluded that Burt's data had a number of inconsistencies and inaccuracies but it was not possible to reach a definitive conclusion on whether Burt fabricated some of the data or whether he was only careless in their presentation. I could not understand why Nick should have thought it worth while to devote his energies to this problem and would have thought he would have had better things to do with his time. I was told by Art Jensen that the problem was that almost immediately after his death Miss Gretl Archer, Burt's private secretary for over 20 years, asked Liam Hudson's advice on what to do with Sir Cyril's papers after his death, and Hudson told her to throw them all out, which she did. Liam Hudson was at that time professor of educational psychology at Edinburgh University, and one of Burt's most ardent opponents. This account was corroborated by Hudson himself in an interview given in 1976 with *Science* staff writer Nicholas Wade. The answers to these questions would have been resolved if Liam Hudson had had a bit more sense and advised that Sir Cyril's papers should be preserved, and great deal of inconclusive debate would have been saved.

In the autumn of 1971 the publisher MacMillan asked me write an introductory textbook on personality. I decided to do this and I dictated it on to tape in about four weeks. A secretary typed it up and it was published as *An Introduction to the Study of Personality*.

1972

The most interesting publishing event of the year for me was Ray Cattell's book *Beyondism*. This rather strange title designated a new system of ethics that he believed was needed because religion-based ethics was breaking down in the economically developed world. The new ethics would have as its objective the genetic improvement of the human species and Cattell argued that eugenic policies are required to bring this about. Negative eugenic policies should be designed to reduce the fertility of the less intelligent and competent. Unhappily, he argued, contemporary western societies have lost sight of this important principle and the reason for this is that the altruistic impulses of providing for the weak have grown too strong. This has also been responsible for the foreign aid given to underdeveloped countries. This should be stopped and these countries should be left to cope with their own problems and if they are unable to do so, they should be allowed to flounder. Positive eugenic policies should be designed to increase the fertility of the more intelligent and competent. These are broadly those with high incomes, and they should be encouraged to have more children by reducing the taxation imposed on them. Cattell's arguments would have seemed sensible to many people in the first half of the twentieth century but had become universally rejected by the 1970s. I was not surprised to see it panned by Marie Jahoda in *Contemporary Psychology*. However, I was quite sympathetic to the book and published a review of it in 1974, in which I summarised it and quoted his suggestion that, although he was by no means advocating

genocide, it was desirable that some primitive peoples should be “phased out”. This was a fine distinction, or even a distinction without a difference, and the phrase was later frequently to be attributed to me, although I made it clear that I was summarising Cattell and not endorsing his recommendation.

I thought my father would be interested in Cattell’s book, so I sent him a copy to his home in Peru. Sometime later I asked him what he thought of it. He replied that he had not received it because parcels were never delivered in Peru. They were invariably stolen and their contents sold. I replied that I thought the thief would be disappointed, because it was unlikely that Cattell’s *Beyondism* would command a high price in the second hand book market in Lima.

In April I left Dublin and drove north to begin my new life in Ulster.

Chapter 8 Ulster, 1972-86

On my drive from Dublin to Ulster I had quite a serious accident. As I came round a corner out of the small town of Tobermore I was confronted by the sight of a car in front of me totally out of control and veering from one side of the road to the other. I slammed on the breaks and unhappily went smash into the car’s passenger side. The impact put my head through the windscreen and knocked me unconscious. I remember coming to lying on the grass verge and was taken to the Mid-Ulster Hospital in Magherafelt. Luckily my car was a Jensen Interceptor, which was coach built on a heavy chassis, almost like a tank, so I was relatively unscathed. The car I hit was made of light steel and the whole side caved in. It was being driven by a young woman and her father was in the passenger seat. The impact of the Jensen killed him instantly.

For the first couple of days in hospital my chest was so bruised that moving was agony. After a week or so I was discharged from the hospital looking a decidedly unpretty sight, with a huge scab on my forehead which had been badly cut by the glass of the windscreen. The scab disappeared but left me with a jagged scar.

After leaving the hospital I moved into the Georgian house I had bought some months previously. It was called Dunderg and was about four miles south of Coleraine. It had been built in the eighteenth century on the profits of a linen business, a thriving Ulster industry at the time, and had 18 acres of pasture and woodland. It was beautifully situated in rolling countryside and had a river running through the grounds. The house was full of character, but with the decline in the linen industry in the nineteenth century the owners had not been able to afford to maintain it and it was in a bad state of repair. It had ten bedrooms and four reception rooms and I decided that half of these were beyond restoration, so I pulled down the more dilapidated half and set about renovating the half that remained. This entailed a lot of work taking out rotten timber and repairing the roof and windows. I did quite a lot of this myself and I enjoyed the work and spent the next twenty five years restoring the house. The satisfying thing about building work is that it is always possible to find a

solution, whereas in psychology some problems are intractable.

My first task was to appoint two lecturers so that we could teach the students who would arrive in the fall. I appointed Ed Cairns and Ken Heskin. Ed Cairns stayed with me for the rest of his career and made some useful contributions to ethnic conflict, while Ken Heskin shortly left for Australia. Our first intake consisted of about thirty students.

In the summer of 1972 I went to conference in Munich at which Hans Eysenck invited me to contribute a paper on my national differences in anxiety to a session he was organising on national differences in personality. I gave my presentation during a morning session and had lunch with Hans and his wife Sybil. I am not fond of listening to lectures at any time and least of all on sunny summer afternoons, so after lunch I walked down the Marsstrabe towards the river Isar. On the way I passed a busker playing the chaconne from Bach's second partita for solo violin. I never get tired of this piece so I waited the ten minutes or so until he finished and placed a donation in his cap. Then I walked on to the river where I was astonished to see several topless frauleins swimming and sun bathing on the rocks. This was a new sight for me as we do not allow this in England. This was my most enjoyable and memorable afternoon in Munich.

Our first students arrived at the end of September. At the end of the term I gave a party at my house for my students and lecturers. As the students left I heard one of them say to another "He must be lonely living in that great house all by himself, poor old bugger". He was right about this. I have never been entirely happy living on my own.

1973

I found that setting up and running the psychology department was quite onerous and I needed a research assistant if I was to make progress with my research. I was able to obtain a grant of £20,000 for this from the Esmee Fairbairn Foundation. I appointed Susan Hampson, who was to be an invaluable assistant for a number of years.

In May a dramatic event occurred when Hans Eysenck began to deliver a lecture at the London School of Economics. In 1971 he had published his book *Race, Intelligence and Education* in which he summarised the evidence that blacks have lower IQs than whites. It was on account of this that he was attacked by a number of students as he was about to begin his lecture. Phil Rushton was present and endeavoured to protect him with some degree of success. Hans was not seriously injured but had his glasses broken and sustained a cut. The Director of the LSE made no attempt to punish the students involved. He probably thought he would settle for a quiet life. I asked Hans about this, and he told me that the police had asked him whether he wished to prefer charges against his assailants, and he had said he did not wish to. I was a bit surprised by this, as I thought many would have done so in his position.

The attack on Eysenck was widely publicised in the press and a day or two later the features

editor of the Daily Telegraph rang me up and asked me if I would write a piece for them on the low black IQ. I agreed to do so. A few days later I was at a lunch at the Institute of Economic Affairs and found myself sitting next to Kingsley Amis, who had become quite famous on account of his novel *Lucky Jim*, a thinly disguised tale of his life as a junior lecturer at the University of Swansea and his pretentious professor. Kingsley told me that he had read my article with interest and told me of an experience of his young daughter when she entered an egg and spoon race at her primary school. In an egg and spoon race the contestants have to cover a hundred yards or so holding an egg in a spoon. If they run, the egg is likely to fall out of the spoon, so they can only walk quickly. One of the contestants was a black child who put his hand over the egg and sprinted to the finishing line. This was of course against the rules but put the supervising teacher in a dilemma over whether to award the child the prize or disqualify him. She resolved this problem by awarding him the prize. This was met with much indignation by the white parents and children. This early instance of positive discrimination, Kingsley said, illustrated the wider problems that arise when immigrants join those with whose cultures they are unfamiliar.

The major publishing event of the year in psychology was Harry Jerison's book *Evolution of the Brain and Intelligence*. In this he set out the general principles of the evolution of greater intelligence in successive species over the course of some 250 million years and showed that this occurred from time to time when species have occupied new environments or niches that have required increased cognitive demands. When this has occurred these species have responded by evolving larger brains with which to accommodate greater intelligence. He argued that there have been four principal evolutionary jumps of this kind consisting of the evolution from reptiles to mammals and to birds, and then to primates and hominids. It was a masterly analysis which curiously has not been given the recognition it deserves.

1974 John Baker published his book *Race*. He argued that the Caucasoids (Europeans and South Asians) and the North East Asians are the two most intelligent races, and the sub-Saharan Africans and Australian Aborigines are the two lowest intelligence races. The Native American Indians are intermediate. He argued that this explains the race differences in the development of civilisations. He drew up a list of 21 criteria of a civilisation, e.g. the use of writing, arithmetic, substantial buildings, a legal system and the domestication of animals. He concluded that all 21 had been developed by the Chinese about 4000 BC and by the South Asian Caucasoids in India and Iraq at about the same time. He concluded that 10 of the 21 had been developed by Native American Indians and that none of the 21 had been developed by the sub-Saharan Africans and Australian Aborigines. It is remarkable that the book was published by the Oxford University Press. It would never have published such a book in the twenty-first century such has been the development of informal censorship among publishers in recent years.

Another significant book of the year was Leon Kamin's *The Science and Politics of IQ* in which

he argued that there is no sound evidence that intelligence has any heritability. There was so much evidence to the contrary that Kamin destroyed his credibility with this contention.

1975

Sir Keith Joseph, a prominent British Conservative politician, made a speech deploring the large numbers of children produced by the underclass and the dysgenic effect of this. To reduce this, he advocated the free distribution of the contraceptive pill to less educated girls. This eugenic proposal aroused a storm of criticism, even from the centre right press, including *The Sunday Times*, and ruined his political career. If he had not made this speech, he would likely have become leader of the Conservative Party and later prime minister. In the event, Margaret Thatcher was elected leader and the rest is history.

In October James Callaghan, the Prime Minister, called for a national debate on how to raise standards in education. I contributed to this in a letter to *The Times* that was published on 20 October, advocating that all 16 year olds should take a school leaving certificate examination as an incentive for them and their teachers to work hard in order to do well.

The most important publishing event of the year for me was Edward Wilson's book *Sociobiology*. As the title implies, this was a synthesis of sociology and biology. It showed that many of the sociological characteristics of human societies are also present in animal societies, such as competition between males for status, dominance hierarchies, hostility to out-groups, territoriality and the like. Wilson argued that these characteristics are genetically programmed. I had been thinking along the same lines for a number of years, and I found Edward Wilson's book a brilliant exposition of my half formed views. But it aroused huge hostility from the political left. At Harvard, where Edward Wilson was based, several of his colleagues led by Richard Lewontin and Stephen Jay Gould regarded his book as racist and set up The Committee Against Racism to combat it. This held anti-sociobiology events, at one of which Edward Wilson was persuaded to appear and defend his thesis. Hardly had he begun, than a student went up to him and poured a jug of water over his head. The hostility to sociobiology was so ferocious that its exponents changed its name to evolutionary psychology. As such, it has flourished and I regard this as one of the most important developments in psychology during my life.

1976

In July, I contributed to the controversy on *Sociobiology* with an article *The sociobiology of nationalism*. In this I argued that nationalism defined as identification with one's own nation was a further sociobiological characteristic. I supported this position by describing the view of Charles Darwin that "a high degree of in-group loyalty, in combination with hostility to outgroups, makes

the group a better fighting force, and more likely to survive” and that was elaborated by the Scottish anthropologist Sir Arthur Keith in his largely forgotten 1948 book *A New Theory of Human Evolution* in which he argued that people have an instinctive preference for maintaining the independence of their group and for breeding within it. I predicted from this that in the UK many of the Scots and Welsh would come to demand independence from England, which has proved to be the case. I sent my piece to Edward Wilson telling him that I had read of the hostility he had encountered at Harvard and assuring him that he had a supporter in Ulster, and he replied thanking me and sending me a humorous sociobiological analysis of The Committee Against Racism in which Richard Lewontin and Stephen Jay Gould were the alpha males.

I spent much of 1976 working on the intelligence of the North East Asians and published my first two papers on this in 1977. The first gave a calculation of the IQ in Japan as 106.6, in relation to an American mean of 100. The second gave a calculation of the IQ of the Chinese in Singapore as 110, while the Malays in Singapore had an IQ of 96.

My calculations regarding the higher IQ of the North East Asians were disputed by Harold Stevenson and his colleagues at the University of Michigan. They gave a number of tests to samples of 6 and 11 year olds in the cities of Minneapolis in the United States, Sendai in Japan and Taipei in Taiwan. They concluded from these that there were no differences in the IQs obtained by children in the three cities and therefore that they had refuted the claim that North East Asians have a higher IQ than Europeans. I published a reply that while Sendai and Taipei may be acceptable as reasonably representative for urban children in Japan and Taiwan, the same cannot be said of Minneapolis as representative of American cities. Minneapolis is the principal city in Minnesota and there is considerable evidence that the intelligence level is higher in Minnesota than in the United States as a whole. It was shown by Ashley Montagu that in the military draft in World War I, the whites from Minnesota obtained the highest score on the Army Beta Test of all American States. It was shown by Jensen (1973) that in the military draft for the Korean War the percentage found unacceptable for military service on account of low intelligence in Minnesota was the second lowest among the American states. All these studies showed that Harold Stevenson had made a poor choice of Minnesota as representative of the United States. In fact, his finding that the IQ in Minneapolis was the same as that in Sendai and Taipei was further evidence corroborating my work showing that the IQ in North East Asians is several IQ points higher than in Europeans. In recognition of his studies on this, Harold Stevenson was later awarded one of the American Psychological Association’s medals for outstanding lifetime achievement.

Studies of the intelligence of American ethnic North East Asians in the United States were later summarized and discussed by Philip Vernon (1982, p.28) who concluded that they have a verbal IQ of 97 and non-verbal and spatial IQs of 110. If these are regarded as three abilities and averaged

they give an IQ of 105.7 and are therefore consistent with my estimates of the IQs of indigenous North East Asians. Subsequent research has confirmed that American ethnic North East Asians have higher average IQs than American Europeans and also higher educational attainments so that they are over-represented in elite universities.

1977

Brian Cox produced the fourth and last Black Paper on education. I contributed an article on the merits and demerits of competition between children in schools. It is one of the articles of faith of progressives that competition is undesirable and should be discouraged, and children should instead be taught to cooperate. I argued to the contrary that competition is an important motivator for achievement and introduces children to the experience that effort is required for success and that success is rewarding.

Phil Rushton published a paper giving the twenty-five most cited British psychologists, assessed by the Social Science Citation Index. Hans Eysenck was top followed by Jerome Bruner at Oxford. I came in at nineteenth. Zangwill was not among them, confirming my assessment that he had made little contribution to psychology.

1978

I went to the United States to attend a small conference convened by Jared Taylor at a hotel in Long Island to discuss the problems of racial conflict and black underachievement. Among those who attended were Phil Rushton and Dick Herrnstein, the senior professor of psychology at Harvard. I had read and liked his book *IQ in the Meritocracy* in which he argued that the United States is a meritocracy in which intelligence and effort led to achievement. He told me his parents had been radical Jewish political activists in Hungary in the 1930s and had fled to the United States. I put to him that the increasing numbers of non-European immigrants in the United States would likely continue, the higher birth rate of these peoples would also likely continue and consequently Europeans would probably become minorities sometime in the second half of the twenty-first century. And, I added, would this would surely mean the end of European civilization in the United States. I was expecting he would refute this prediction, but his reply was short and laconic. "Yes", he said, "it's inevitable".

The meeting was held in a room which had doors that could be opened up to another larger room. Shortly after the start of our discussions we could hear a great deal of noise of clapping and chanting coming from the adjoining room, and Jared opened the doors to reveal about fifty blacks holding a religious revivalist meeting. The noise was so great that we could not make ourselves heard and it was impossible to continue, so we abandoned the room and found a quiet one where we could continue. As we left, Dick Herrnstein looked at me, lifted his eyebrows and observed "Says it

all, doesn't it?"

Susan and I had grown apart with her living in London and me living in Ulster. We decided to divorce, but I am happy to say we have always remained on good terms.

1979

In the summer I attended a NATO conference on intelligence in York (England). My son Matthew and I invited ourselves to stay with my father in Snainton, the village in north Yorkshire where he grew up. His wife Olive was not strikingly friendly and I sensed she was somewhat hostile, as stepmothers stereotypically are. We talked about the dysgenics of immigration, which my father agreed was a problem. I asked why none of the leading geneticists of his day had alerted public opinion to this, and he said it had become too controversial for anyone to raise.

At the conference, I gave a paper on the social ecology of intelligence in the British Isles, France and Spain, showing that in these there were regional differences in the IQs and that these were positively related to educational attainment, earnings and employment. When I came to the British Isles, I said that the IQ is highest in London at 102 and declines by about 1 IQ point for every 200 miles from London into the provinces, so that it reaches 98 in Scotland and 96 in Ireland. This raised a laugh. I don't know why people laughed at this – perhaps because it made them uncomfortable - but as I have previously noted, I have a limited sense of humour and I have often been in audiences who are all laughing their heads off at something I did not find in the least funny. Afterwards, Sandra Scarr took me aside and told that it would be impossible to say something like that in the United States showing that many Americans had become hyper-sensitive about group differences in intelligence. Later in the year I published my work on regional differences in intelligence in the British Isles. These estimates were confirmed in 2016 by Noah Carl.

In Britain there was an election in 1979. The Labour government headed by Harold Wilson from 1974 to 1976 and James Callaghan from 1976 to 1979 had performed poorly. In 1975-6 there was a financial crisis made by their very high levels of spending which led to a run on the pound and they had to go to the IMF and beg for some additional borrowing. The historians Alan Sked and Chris Cook have summarised it: "If Wilson's record as prime minister was soon felt to have been one of failure, that sense of failure was powerfully reinforced by Callaghan's term as premier. Labour, it seemed, was incapable of positive achievements. It was unable to control inflation, unable to control the unions, unable to solve the Irish problem, unable to solve the Rhodesian question, unable to secure its proposals for Welsh and Scottish devolution, unable to reach a popular *modus vivendi* with the Common Market, unable even to maintain itself in power until it could go to the country at the date of its own choosing".

The last year of the government was known as the winter of discontent, in which the trade unions

called a number of strikes for higher pay, rubbish in the streets was not collected and in Liverpool the dead went unburied. The Conservatives led by Margaret Thatcher won the election.

1980

I published my work on regional differences in IQs in France showing these were highest in Paris and lowest in Corsica and that these IQ differences are associated with per capita incomes and intellectual achievement.

Hans Eysenck established a new journal for personality and invited me to join the editorial board. His first plan was to call it *Personality Research and Development* but I suggested it would be useful if its scope could be widened to include intelligence, so he changed it to *Personality and Individual Differences*. He was very accommodating about things like that. He appointed seven other people to join the editorial board. These were Peter Broadhurst, Lindon Eaves, Michael Eysenck (his son), Art Jensen, Charles Spielberger, Robert Stelmach and Marvin Zuckerman. The first number appeared in 1980 and Eysenck wrote an editorial in which he wrote “We believe in letting the author tell his own story, without having referees acting as nannies and telling him how he could tell his own story better”. He was true to his word and I thoroughly approved of his attitude. There are few things more tiresome than having to write things into a paper you don’t believe to accommodate some officious referee.

The journal was published by Pergamon Press, which was run by Robert Maxwell. All the eight members of the editorial board were to be paid a fee of £250 a year, which was quite a significant sum at that time. I thought this was a gratifying but unnecessary expenditure for the Pergamon Press, since I had never heard of the members of the editorial board of any academic journal being paid a fee for what is normally an honorary position. Maxwell had a reputation for being a brilliant business man, but this was just throwing money away. Years later he mysteriously fell, jumped or was pushed off his yacht and drowned. His business affairs unravelled and I was not surprised when it transpired that he had accumulated huge debts and that his main skill was raising money from banks and juggling it around and that he wasn’t all that good at prudent financial management.

1981

In the fall Michael Argyle invited me to Oxford to speak to his social psychology group on my work on regional differences in intelligence in the British Isles and France. I went to Oxford in the morning and had lunch with my son Matthew, who was in his first year at Balliol College reading PPE (Philosophy, Politics and Economics). He told me he was determined to make a career in journalism, which he later achieved on *The Sunday Times*, and subsequently diversified into writing books on the pharmaceutical and aerospace industries, and then adventure fiction first under the

pen-name of Chris Ryan and then under his own name abbreviated to the appropriately macho-sounding Matt Lynn. He appears to have inherited the workaholic gene which was transmitted to me from my father.

In the evening, Michael Argyle took me out to dinner together and told me about his recent visit to the United States and that when he was there, he was appointed external examiner for a young woman's Ph.D. thesis. The evening before the *viva* he was introduced to her at a social function, during which she had whispered to him "We will be meeting tomorrow for my *viva*. Would it help if I came to your room tonight?" Michael answered "No, why should it?" To which she replied "Well, it always has in the past". I told him I had had a somewhat similar proposition from one of my women students who called on me and said "I am so worried about the forthcoming exams. Could you give me some advice on the questions? I would do *anything*, and I mean *absolutely anything*, to pass". I parried this implicit proposition by telling her that I had forgotten what the questions were so I was not able to help her. It is not unknown for academics to accept these propositions and provide help on forthcoming examinations in exchange for sex. Such are the temptations and potential pitfalls of the academic life.

I edited a collection of papers on the work of Hans Eysenck in honour of his 65<sup>th</sup> birthday, published as *Dimensions of Personality. Papers in Honour of H.J. Eysenck*. Donald Broadbent contributed an introduction where he wrote "Eysenck is the most influential of psychologists writing in this country since World War Two". The contributors were Chris Brand on personality and political attitudes, Peter Broadhurst on selective breeding, Raymond Cattell on the future of motivation research, Gordon Claridge on psychoticism, David Corcoran on introversion-extraversion, Tony Gale on EEG studies of introversion-extraversion, Tony Gibson on hypnosis, Jeffrey Gray on the psychophysiology of anxiety, Don Kendrick on personality in clinical psychology, David Nias on humour and personality, Stephen Rachman on behaviour therapy, Richard Savage on personality in the aged, Glenn Wilson on personality and sex, and myself on cross-cultural differences in neuroticism, extraversion and psychoticism.

I arranged a dinner in London for the contributors and a few others to celebrate the publication. Among those I invited was Michael Eysenck, Hans' son by his first marriage. Michael accepted but he didn't show up or give any explanation for his absence. This was the first intimation I had that Michael was not on good terms with his father, for which I later had confirmation.

Later in the year, a wave of violence and looting broke out in Brixton, a largely black district in south London.

1982

I continued to work on the Japanese IQ and published a paper in *Nature* showing that this had

increased from the 1930s up to the 1970s and proposing that improvements in nutrition have been largely responsible for this increase. The paper received quite a lot of press publicity and inspired Jim Flynn to see whether the IQ had increased in the United States and two years later he reported that it had (Flynn, 1984). This led Dick Herrnstein and Charles Murray in their book *The Bell Curve* to designate increases in intelligence the “Flynn effect”. As I had shown the increase two years earlier, several people subsequently designated it the Lynn-Flynn effect and Heiner Rindermann (2018) designated it the LFlynn effect. None of these designations was appropriate because increases in intelligence had frequently been reported during the previous half century by about twenty people including Tuddenham (1948) in the United States and Cattell (1950) in England and many others that I have summarised in a paper published in 2013. However, the Flynn effect designation has stuck and Flynn has been widely credited with the discovery of the increases.

On 2 April we were astonished to hear on the morning news that Argentine forces had invaded and occupied the Falklands Islands, a British dependency in the south Atlantic. The Argentinians asserted that the islands belonged to them while the British government disagreed. Apparently General Galtieri, the Argentinian president, believed we British would not attempt to retake the islands, or if we did, they could defeat us. In this he misjudged the British prime minister Margaret Thatcher, who was not for nothing dubbed “the Iron Lady” by the Russians. She sent out a naval and military task force that landed on the islands, defeated the Argentinians and retook the islands. One of the mistakes made by General Galtieri was to send a conscript army for the invasion, while the British army was composed of professionals who were much better trained and relished the prospect of the forthcoming battle. As one of them later remarked in an interview “If the Argies had had any bottle, they could have given us a good fight!”

On November 18, I read my father's obituary in *The Times* following his death ten days before at the age of 91. On reading the obituary, I rang my niece Frances Millard, at this time a lecturer at the University of Essex, to tell her I had just read of Sydney's death. “Oh yes”, she said, “I know, we were all up at Snainton last week for his funeral”. This was a surprise to me, as I would have expected my half-brother Erasmus to have invited me to the funeral along with the rest of the family or at least to have informed me of our father's death. My father's obituary notice began “His distinguished career as an applied botanist was marked by a remarkable blend of the agricultural and the academic for although he made outstanding contributions to the improvements of tropical crops, most notably cotton, his work also had a profound influence on evolutionary theory and the understanding of gene complexes”.

Looking back on my upbringing without my father, I was undoubtedly handicapped by missing the intellectual stimulation and not acquiring a great deal of the knowledge and understanding of the

world that I would have gained from him. The result of this was that when I went to Cambridge I found myself at a disadvantage in conversations with more sophisticated fellow students who had mostly been brought up with distinguished fathers. However, if I had been brought up with him, he would likely have persuaded me to make my career in medicine, as he did my elder half-sister Margaret and my younger half-brother Erasmus, and my career would probably have been less satisfying and productive.

I do not resent my father's minimal presence in my life. We were on cordial, if not affectionate, terms and had intermittent meetings and correspondence. On several occasions when I was a student at Cambridge and he was there for meetings, he invited me to dinner. He came to see me and my family a few times in Exeter and Dublin, and later he had some of us to stay on a couple of occasions with him in Snainton. When I wrote to him, I always addressed him as Sydney. I was never able to address him as Dad because he had not been a one for me except biologically.

1983

In the fall, my daughter Sophy went up to the University of Sussex to read English. After a month or so, she rang me to tell me about it. She said the department was split between Freudians and Marxists, and to get good marks you had to tailor your essays to the appropriate tutors. She had rapidly cottoned on to this, and wrote an essay on Hamlet's Oedipus Complex for one of the Freudians, while for one of the Marxists she wrote an essay deploring the lack of any awareness of the class struggle in the writings of Jane Austen. She told me she had been complimented on both efforts.

1984

In July I received an invitation to go to a small university in Florida to give a lecture at a conference of teachers on the high educational achievements of the Japanese, the Japanese IQ and the Japanese education system. I went and stayed a few days. While I was there, I had a phone call from Travis Osborne to say he would come over and take me to lunch at the Military Officers' Club at Cape Canaveral, which was close by. Over lunch, he told me about the Pioneer Fund, of which I had not previously heard, and that it might support my research. After lunch he took me to a store and bought me a bag of oranges. Evidently he thought we were very poor in England and that the oranges would be a treat.

A number of people at the conference asked me if I was going to Disneyland in Orlando and I replied "Good Lord no; of course not". They were very surprised at this because they had never before met anyone who had been to Florida without visiting Disneyland.

Later in the summer the Galton Institute invited me to give a lecture on race differences in intelligence at its annual conference. I accepted and the gist of my lecture was that Galton had been

right in the estimates he gave in his *Hereditary Genius*, although it was a pity that he had omitted the Chinese and Japanese who according to my calculations had IQs about 5 IQ points higher than Europeans. In previous years all the lectures delivered at the annual conferences had been published in a book but on this occasion mine was omitted as it was apparently considered too controversial – another instance of *la trahison des clerks*.

In the fall I send a grant application to the Pioneer Fund to continue my work on the intelligence of the Chinese and Japanese. A few weeks later I had a call from William Shockley saying that he was in London and would like to meet me, and could I come over. As I have previously noted, Shockley had won the Nobel Prize for his discovery of the transistor and then taken up the issue of the black-white difference in intelligence, which he proposed was largely genetic. I knew about this, so I readily assented and went to meet him for dinner at the St Ermine's hotel in London, where he and his wife Emily were staying. During dinner he told me that he was in England to receive an honorary degree from the University of Leeds but at the last moment some students discovered that he had written on race differences in intelligence, and had lobbied the Vice-Chancellor, Sir Edward Boyle, to withdraw the invitation, which he duly did. Shockley issued a press statement on this and the story was covered in a number of newspapers. He loved publicity. During the dinner, he told me he had called Enoch Powell and suggested they meet to discuss race differences in intelligence, but that Powell had declined, replying "I don't think we would have anything to talk about". I thought this was an example of Powell's rather poor emotional intelligence.

Later during dinner he pulled out my application to the Pioneer Fund, which Harry Weyher, the director of the Fund, had sent him for his opinion. We talked about it and he said it was an interesting project and he would support it. He also pulled out a piece of paper and wrote out a number of equations on the IQ difference between identical and fraternal twins. I was not able to follow this so I remained silent as he developed his exposition. At one point he said "When I show this to my students, the brighter ones say *Ah ha!* As I had not said anything, I took this as a put down. Sometime later, I recounted this to Hans Eysenck, who said Shockley had done exactly the same thing with him and that he had replied "Well, you're not getting any *Ah ha!* out of me, I don't understand a word of it".

I invited Shockley to come and give a lecture at Ulster and he agreed to do so, provided his expenses and those of his wife were paid. Although he was a multi-millionaire, Shockley was very close with his money. I assented to this and he duly arrived and gave his lecture on the black-white difference in intelligence, which passed without incident. After the lecture, a few of us took the Shockleys to dinner at a restaurant. The party include Ronnie Wilson, our lecturer on genetics, who said he thought it could plausibly be argued that there is some genetic basis to the black-white

difference in intelligence but he did not think this could be quantified. Shockley replied that the only useful statements were those that could be quantified. He told Ronnie to put a £1 coin on the table, which he duly did. Shockley pocketed this and gave him a ten pence coin in return, saying “This will teach you the importance of quantification”. Shockley was notoriously abrasive. However, he was apparently as good as his word in supporting my grant application to the Pioneer Fund, which was approved a few weeks later.

The great political event of 1984 in Britain was the coal miners’ strike. This was occasioned by the decision of the Coal Board to close a number of pits that were uneconomic because coal could be bought much more cheaply from Poland. The strike was called by the miners’ union leader, Arthur Scargill, seeking to stop the closures. In the 1974, Arthur Scargill had led a miners’ strike that forced the Conservative government led by Edward Heath to hold an election which he lost to Labour. Scargill thought he could do this again, but Margaret Thatcher, the Conservative prime minister, was too many for him. She planned for the strike by passing laws curtailing the power of the trade unions and by stock-piling coal to keep the power stations working for generating electricity. After several months, the strike was defeated and the Coal Board closed down many more uneconomic pits. This was a turning point in the reduction of the power of the trade unions that had damaged the British economy since the end of World War Two and one of Margaret Thatcher’s most significant achievements in the rebuilding of Britain’s economic power. Later she privatised a number of loss-making nationalised industries including gas, water, steel and electricity and transformed them into profitable enterprises.

1985

The most significant event of the year in psychology was Phil Rushton’s publication of his r-K life history theory of race differences. The theory is drawn from biology, in which species are categorized on a continuum running from r strategists to K strategists: r strategists have large numbers of offspring and invest relatively little in them, while K strategists have fewer offspring and invest heavily in them in that they feed and protect them during infancy. For instance, fish, amphibians and reptiles are r strategists, with large numbers of offspring and minimum investment, while mammals are K strategists, with fewer offspring and greater investment. The K strategy is particularly strong in monkeys, apes and humans. Species that are K strategists have a syndrome of characteristics of which the most important are large brain size, higher intelligence, long gestation and slow rate of maturation in infancy and childhood.

Rushton applied this theory to the three major races of *Homo Sapiens* and proposed that Mongoloids (North East Asians) are the most K evolved and Negroids (sub-Saharan Africans) are the least K evolved, while Caucasoids (Europeans, South Asians and North Africans) fall intermediate between the two although closer to the North East Asians. He supported the theory

with a large amount of data including race differences in intelligence, brain size, numbers of children, sex drive, length of gestation, and rate of maturation in infancy and childhood. My work on the high intelligence of the Mongoloids was one of the components on which the theory was built. He subsequently elaborated the theory in a number of papers and in his book *Race, Evolution and Behavior*. It was a highly original and very controversial theory and has been generally confirmed by subsequent research.

A major publication event of 1985 was Jean Raspail's novel *Le Camp des Saints*. Its theme is the mass migration of Indians into France. It begins with a flotilla of nearly a million starving, disease-ridden Indians setting sail for Europe. They proclaim that they are tired of being poor and intend to settle in France and enjoy its affluent life-style. On Easter Sunday, the creaking hulks reach the French Mediterranean coast and the new arrivals pour out onto the beaches. As the immigrants advance in the south, the French flee northwards and the Indians take possession of their abandoned homes. The liberals and Christians welcome them as brothers and urge the French to take them into their homes as guests. Left wing journalists write that the Indians will establish a new multi-racial society that will enrich France. In the schools, liberal teachers make students write essays about the value of diversity. All over France, Algerian immigrants working on factory assembly lines kill their French bosses and take over their factories. In Paris, African street cleaners move into expensive apartments.

Politicians and public figures are too cowed to speak out against the invasion for fear of being denounced as racists. Immigrants take over of the country. A new government is established in Paris, headed by a triumvirate consisting of a Vietnamese student, a radical French student and an African street cleaner. The government appoints a French woman married to a black as Minister of Population to set an example of the new order. This is welcomed in the liberal press as the solution to the race problem, consisting of the destruction of the European people by racial mixing with non-Europeans.

In other parts of the world, impoverished peoples invade western countries and demand equality. Millions of Chinese and Muslims cross into Russia, millions of North Africans cross the Mediterranean into Europe, millions of Mexicans cross the Rio Grande into the United States, millions of shanty-town dwellers of Africa and South America invade the exclusive, fortified estates of the whites. More fleets of beggars set sail from South East Asia for Australia and New Zealand. In Britain, the queen is forced to agree that one of her sons marries a Pakistani woman. In New York the mayor is made to share his house with three black families from Harlem. The only country to hold out against the immigrants for a while is Switzerland, but eventually international pressure forces it to open its borders. Jean Raspail concludes: "The proliferation of other races dooms our race irretrievably to extinction in the century to come, if we hold fast to our present moral

principles. No other race subscribes to these moral principles because they are weapons of self-annihilation". It was a prophetic book.

1986

Colin Cooper joined our department at the University. We found we had a lot of interests in common and wrote two papers together on the differentiation hypothesis, i.e. the lower contribution of *g* among those with higher intelligence.

One of my students, Claudia Pagliari, told me that her parents worked in Hong Kong, so I suggested to her that she could collect intelligence data there. She did so and obtained an IQ of 108, providing further confirmation of the high intelligence of the North East Asians.

In the fall, my niece Jane Harland (Erasmus' daughter) invited me to Oxford, where she was a student reading Human Sciences, to give a talk to her fellow students on dysgenics and the decline of genotypic intelligence. Several of the students told me they were unaware of this and very interested to be informed of it, as they recognised that it is evidently one of the most important problems of the economically developed nations.

Chapter 9 Ulster 1987-98

In 1987 Chris Brand invited me to the University of Edinburgh to give a talk on my work on race differences in intelligence in which I presented my theory that the North East Asians have the highest IQ, followed successively by the Europeans, South Asians and North Africans, sub-Saharan Africans and Australian Aborigines. It was here that I first met Ian Deary who had graduated at the university as a physician and had gone on to London to qualify as a psychiatrist but later returned to psychology in Edinburgh and was working on intelligence which he found more interesting than medicine. He went on to become a professor, published numerous papers and built up an impressive team of researchers including Tim Bates and Stuart Ritchie. I have met him frequently in subsequent years and he has invariably been kind and supportive. He has achieved many well deserved honours for his work, much of it on cognitive ageing, including becoming a fellow of the British Academy and the Royal Society of Edinburgh and receiving the life time achievement award from the International Society for Intelligence Research. He has avoided publishing anything on the controversial issues of race and sex differences which would have instantly destroyed his chances of getting any more grants to support his extensive research.

In December, Rick Heber, a professor of psychology in the United States, died in an air crash in Africa. He achieved fame and fortune with his work in Milwaukee claiming that the Head Start programme that provided nursery schooling for disadvantaged children greatly increased their IQs. Environmentalists and the media loved it and so too did government funding agencies that gave him large grants to continue the great work. I was sceptical and so were others who dubbed the claimed

IQ increases "The Miracle in Milwaukee". Subsequently, it came out that Rick Heber had diverted much of the numerous grants he obtained to support his work on "The "Miracle" into his own bank accounts and spent them on the acquisition and breeding of Arabian horses that he kept on his ranch in Wisconsin. He was put on trial and jailed for several years for misallocation of funds.

1988 I published a book *Educational Achievement in Japan*. Several studies had shown that this is significantly higher than in Europe and the United States, and I discussed the reasons for this. I attributed it to the higher average IQ, the longer school year, the well-disciplined classes and the competitive examinations. The last of these take place for fifteen-year olds for entry to selective senior high schools and motivate young adolescents to work hard to get into the best of these. The book had a mixed reception. Arika Tachikawa of the International Christian University wrote "It is a first rate work of conscientious scholarship... It offers a new model for scientific studies in education. ..". A.P. Altbach of SUNY wrote "An excellent summary of literature relating to school achievement in Japan". However, some progressive educationist reviewers were unhappy with my conclusion that competitive exams motivate children to work hard.

I contributed a paper *On the necessity of teaching children moral restraint* to a collection of essays published by Digby Anderson on how children should be brought up in the post-permissive society. My colleague Gerry Mulhern also contributed a paper *The rote learning of arithmetic* summarising his research that primary school children gained from rote learning the tables and number bonds. This unfashionable conclusion obtained some press publicity and was greeted by a storm of protests from progressive educationists who disapproved of rote learning.

The most significant political event of the year occurred in Russia where Mikhail Gorbachev introduced *glasnost* and *perestroika* which allowed the Soviet people to set up and own shops, restaurants and businesses in services and manufacturing. This was an acceptance that communism had failed and ended the long struggle between communism and capitalism that began in 1848 with the publication of Marx and Engels' *The Communist Manifesto* which predicted that communism would eventually replace capitalism. It was remarkable that after the the publication of Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* in 1776, pretty well everyone in the early decades of the nineteenth century accepted that capitalism was the most effective system for delivering economic prosperity but that this understanding became lost towards the end of the century and into the twentieth, when many intellectuals came to believe that socialism do be better. I heard Frederick Hayek speak about this at one of the Institute of Economic Affairs' dinners. Hayek suggested that in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century most politicians and intellectuals had family estates or businesses through

which they had personal experience of how well capitalism worked, but towards the end of the century there emerged a class of intellectuals like Sidney and Beatrice Webb and H.G.Wells who lacked this experience and so were beguiled by the false promise of socialism.

1989

William Shockley died in August. He devoted the last twenty years of his life to arguing the case that the black-white difference in intelligence has a genetic basis. In a debate with William Buckley he stated “My research leads me inescapably to the opinion that the major cause of the American Negro's intellectual and social deficits is hereditary and racially genetic in origin and, thus, not remediable to a major degree by practical improvements in the environment”. Shockley also argued that the higher birth rate of the less intelligent was having a dysgenic effect. To counteract this, he proposed that all those with IQs below 100 should be paid \$1,000 for every IQ point below this figure to be sterilised. This was not a well thought-out proposal because obviously those taking it up would act dumb to register a low IQ and receive a larger payment.

Because of his status as a Nobel Prize winner, Shockley gained a lot of publicity for these contentious assertions and proposals but he did not make any significant contribution to the issues. He had established a charity into which he channelled a number of grants he obtained from the Pioneer Fund, but it is not clear what he did with this money. I suppose he used some of it to pay his travelling and other expenses. He made a considerable amount of money from his Nobel Prize and patents, but he did not leave anything to advance the understanding of the problems. He left much of it in trust for his wife, and after her death to establish a 28 acre park valued at approximately one million dollars to be named the Professor & Mrs William Shockley Park. I was disappointed by this. I think he would have gained more posthumous respect by leaving at least some of his money to promote the causes he professed to believe were so important for the future of civilisation.

This year saw the fall of the Berlin Wall that had been built across Berlin in 1961 to prevent people in communist east Germany migrating to the more prosperous capitalist west. Even the Germans in the east could not make communism work efficiently.

1990

Susan Hampson had been my devoted research assistant for a number of years. In April I asked if she would do me the honour of consenting to be my wife. She accepted and we were married in Malvern on the 30th of June. The reception was held at the home of Susan's sister Sharman.

In the summer I organized a conference in New York for a number of people to discuss race differences, dysgenic fertility and related topics. It was held in the Metropolitan Club, a magnificent

building overlooking Central Park. Those who attended included Dick Herrnstein, Phil Rushton, Art Jensen and his wife Barbara, Hans and Sybil Eysenck, Frank Miele, Linda Gottfredson, Chris Brand, John Loehlin, Charles Murray and Marian van Court. Chris Brand has recorded some impressions of the occasion: “Undoubtedly the most stunning person in attendance was the delightful Mrs Barbara Jensen - a leading Republican lady who was properly concerned at the idea that she should take a walk through crime-prone Central Park with slummy intellectuals like me in ill-fitting suits. Better conversational value than most of the psychologists put together, Barbara was willing to field my questions about what it was like to be married to a really rich and successful psychobabbler like Art. 'Well, yes,' she replied, 'we had indeed hoped that *Bias in Mental Testing* {Art's *magnum opus*} would sell.' 'So didn't it?' I questioned in astonishment. 'After five years of poor sales,' she said, 'we did a survey of 100 university psychology libraries and found that only seven of them had purchased the volume.' I was staggered. This was my first glimpse of the opposition to the London School being so strong that many university libraries would not buy books even by the School's leading scholar. Even a pretence of open-minded scholarly discussion was no longer considered desirable”.

A few weeks later Susan and I went to Italy to attend a conference in Cortona which Roger Pearson had organised on the evolution of mankind. We flew to Florence and stayed there a couple of nights. We met Brunetto Chiarelli, a professor of anthropology at the University of Florence, who drove us to Cortona. Most of the papers were on the single origin theory and the alternative multi-regional theory of human evolution. I gave the last paper on the evolution of race differences in intelligence, in which I presented my data and cold winters theory stating that the higher intelligence of the Europeans and North East Asians had evolved in response to the problems of surviving during the harsh winters. Among those present was the anthropologist Milton Wolpoff who made an ugly scene at the conclusion of my paper. He said that my paper was racist, a disgrace, should never have been permitted and stormed out of the lecture room. Roger Pearson commented "He couldn't stand the heat, so he got out of the kitchen". Among those present was Robert Foley, an anthropologist from Cambridge who is an expert on evolution. He was very friendly and supportive over the confrontation with Wolpoff. I think he secretly agreed with me, but he has always been very cautious about expressing his views in public.

This was the last trip Susan and I made abroad. Susan had a form of arthritis that caused a weakening of her bones and later in the year her health took a downturn and she was not sufficiently well to travel. Her doctor advised her that the vertebrae in her neck had deteriorated to such an extent that any jolt could break them and she would then be totally paralysed from the neck down. This made taking holidays abroad too great a risk and even short car journeys were risky although we did take them occasionally when she particularly wanted to go somewhere.

I published a paper on the increases in intelligence that Herrnstein and Murray designated the Flynn effect and argued that improvements in nutrition have been the main factor responsible for the increases of intelligence. Art Jensen wrote me saying he agreed with me.

1991

In January Susan's sister Sharman rang to tell us that their six year old son Tommy had died from a brain tumour. We went over for his funeral at Droitwich. Sharman's husband is a Roman Catholic, so the service was held in a Catholic church. The Irish priest delivered the address in which he said we should not grieve about Tommy, that he was happy playing games in heaven and God loves him. As I listened to this I thought that God had a funny way of showing His love and that if I had given the address I would have said that Tommy's death was a tragedy and that the ways of God are difficult to comprehend.

When we arrived home, we found that the front door had been smashed open and house had been broken into. We found that the only things that had been stolen were four Georgian chairs. This was surprising because generally burglars take the television set and a number of other things. It was easy to figure out what had happened. A few days previously, an upholsterer had been round accompanied by a youth, who he explained was unemployed and had a criminal record and whom he had received a subsidy to employ. As the pair left, the upholsterer pointed to the four chairs and observed that they were valuable. Evidently, the youth had noted this and come round, broken in and taken them. We explained all this to the police but they were not able to catch him.

During 1989 and 1990 I had returned to the problem of the contribution of personality factors to economic growth. I organized a study whose aim was to measure the strength of achievement motivation, the work ethic, competitiveness, achievement via conformity, valuation of money and attitudes to savings by questionnaires administered to samples of students in as many nations as possible. I succeeded in finding collaborators in 43 countries to administer the questionnaires and send me the results. The study was reported in a book – *The Secret of the Miracle Economy* - published by The Social Affairs Unit, a think-tank set up by Digby Anderson. The results were that competitiveness and a valuation of money were positively associated with economic growth and negatively with per capita income. I interpreted the results as showing that in poorer countries a high level of competitiveness and valuation of money motivate people to work hard and hence promote economic growth, while in affluent nations these two motivations decline in strength. An interesting spin-off of this research was that my collaborators had collected scores for men and women separately. When I looked at these I found that in virtually all the countries men scored higher on competitiveness than women, and attached greater value to money. I proposed that the

reason for this is that males are more competitive than females, as they are in all animal species, and that attach greater value to money because the possession of money is a sign of competitive success.

Throughout the 1980s I spent much of my time collecting IQs for all countries in the world and I published these in 1991. I set the British IQ at 100 with a standard deviation of 15, and calculated the IQs of other peoples on this metric. The results were that other Europeans also had an IQ of 100 except in the south where it declines to the mid-90s. The IQs were 106 for North East Asians; 92 for New Zealand Maori; 86 for Native American Indians; 86 for South Asians represented by India; 70 for sub-Saharan Africans; and 79 for Australian Aborigines. Subsequent studies have shown that these IQs are about right except for Australian Aborigines for whom in my most recent the IQ compilation published in 2015 is estimated as 62. I also carried out some studies on race differences in reaction times on 9 year olds and showed that these were fastest among Chinese in Hong Kong, and successively slower in Japanese, British, Irish and blacks in South Africa. Thus, these reaction time differences were highly correlated with the intelligence differences in these five populations and showed that the race differences in intelligence are at least partly determined by the efficiency of the nervous system assessed by reaction times.

Later in 1991 I published my theory that these race differences evolved when early humans migrated out of Africa around 100,000 years ago into the temperate environments of North Africa and South Asia, and then into the cold environments of Europe and North East Asia. I argued that these more northerly environments were more cognitively demanding because plant and insect foods were not available in the winter and spring, and people became wholly dependent on hunting to obtain meat. This is more difficult because it requires group ambush strategies and good cutting tools to dismember the bodies of animals that have been killed into pieces that could be carried back to camp. There were also the problems of making shelters and clothing to keep warm. The populations that migrated into these colder environments evolved higher intelligence as an adaptation to these more cognitively demanding conditions. The colder the environment, the higher the IQs that evolved. Hence there is a high correlation between latitude and IQ. The populations that migrated into these colder environments also evolved lighter skin as another adaptation because light skin allows the absorption of vitamin D from sunlight and reduces the risk of rickets. Skin color therefore provides a measure of the coldness of the climates inhabited by the ancestors of contemporary populations. This explains the correlation of 0.92 between skin colour and IQ across 113 nations reported by Rushton & Templer (2009). This theory has now become widely accepted, e.g. by Edward Miller (1991), Phil Rushton (2000) and Heiner Rinderman (2018).

I well remember how I came to formulate this theory that it was the cold environments of

Europe and North East Asia that were the selection pressure for increased intelligence in the Europeans and the Mongoloids. I was reading *The Memoires of Sergeant Bourgoyne*, the autobiography of a sergeant who served in Napoleon's army that invaded Russia in 1812. As everyone knows, they reached Moscow, but the Russians would not concede defeat, so Napoleon decided to retreat, and the sergeant describes how they made this arduous journey back to France. By the time they had made about four hundred miles and were approaching the Polish border it was mid-winter. It was bitterly cold and for food they had to kill a horse from time to time. The sergeant describes how it was so cold that when the horse was killed it would soon freeze solid, and then it became impossible to cut it up into pieces that could be cooked. To overcome this problem, they had to cut it up it into small pieces quickly, so that later they could thaw out one of these and cook it. I realised that this must have been what the Europeans and the North East Asians would have had to do during the last ice age, and they only had primitive flint tools with which to do it. In those days I used to shoot rabbits and cut them up for stewing. I found that it is quite hard to cut through the ligaments even with a sharp steel knife and it must have been much harder to cut through ligaments of large animals with a flint. This was when I realized that the European and North East Asians must have evolved a high IQs to survive during the 28,000 years or so of the last ice age.

Shortly after I published these papers two coaches of people from the Anti-Nazi League came to the university and disrupted my lecture and put up posters demanding "Sack racist Lynn". The university administrators did not call the police or make any attempt to stop them.

In the summer of 1991, Paul Irwing joined the psychology department and we soon found we had a lot in common. A few years later we began working together on sex differences in general knowledge and intelligence. Paul is a brilliant statistician and his statistical expertise has been invaluable in our collaborative work. Over the subsequent years he has become one of my closest friends.

1992

I spent much of the year working on the question of sex differences in intelligence. One of the things that all the experts from at least World War One were agreed on was that there is no difference in intelligence between males and females. In 1916, Lewis Terman (1916, pp. 69-70) published his American standardisation of the Stanford-Binet test, and reported, on the basis of his sample on approximately 1,000 4-16 year olds, that girls obtained a slightly higher average IQ than boys but "the superiority of girls over boys is so slight ... that for practical purposes it would seem negligible". Terman also discussed the question of the variability of intelligence in males and females and wrote that "it is often said that women are grouped closely around the average, while men show a wider range of distribution".

In the following sixty years or so numerous scholars whom I respected repeated this assertion

that there is no sex difference in intelligence. The consensus view, asserted by virtually all scholars over the decades, was summarized by Eysenck (1981, p.42): “While men and women average pretty much the same IQ score, men have always shown more variability in intelligence. In other words, there are more males than females with very high IQs and very low IQs”. Herrnstein and Murray (1994, p. 275) reached the same conclusion: “The consistent story has been that men and women have nearly identical IQs but that men have a broader distribution...the larger variation among men means that there are more men than women at either extreme of the IQ distribution”.

I saw no reason to question this consensus. In all fields of scholarship we have to take a lot on trust. If all previous scholars are agreed on something, we take it for granted that they must be right. However, early in 1992 I was shaken when Dave Ankney and Phil Rushton independently published papers showing that men have larger brains than women, even when these are controlled for body size and weight. Ankney calculated the average male brain, adjusted for larger body size, is 100 grams heavier than that of the average female brain. Rushton calculated from another data set of 6,325 military personnel that the average male brain, adjusted for larger body size, is 1,442 cc and the average female brain is 1,332 cc, a male advantage of 110 cc. One cc of brain tissue weighs approximately 1 gram, so the Ankney and Rushton results are closely similar.

It was evident that these results presented a problem. It is well established that brain size is positively related to intelligence at a correlation of about 0.4. As men have larger brains than women, it seemed to follow that men should have a higher average IQ than women. Yet all the experts were agreed that males and females have the same intelligence. I grappled with this problem for about six months. I went through dozens of studies and the experts seemed to be right that males and females have the same intelligence. Then at last I found the solution to the problem. When I looked at the studies in relation to the age of the samples being tested, I found that males and females do have the same intelligence up to the age of 15 years, as everyone had said. But I found that from the age of 16 years onwards, males begin to show higher IQs than females. I showed that if intelligence is defined as the sum of the three major abilities of reasoning, verbal comprehension, and spatial abilities, the male advantage reaches about 4 to 5 IQ points by adulthood, consistent with their larger average brain size.

1994

In the summer I went to the ISSID (International Society for the Study of Individual Differences) conference in Baltimore and presented my conclusions on sex differences in intelligence. Although these seemed likely to ruffle feathers, my paper was received without any hostility. Phil Rushton was there and we took advantage of being fairly close to Charles Murray’s home in Maryland to visit him. He and his wife gave us lunch and took us round their large garden in which there was a

lake. It was very so hot that I asked if I could take a dip to cool off, but Charles said that there was a turtle in the lake who regarded it as his territory and was apt to bite swimmers, so he advised against it.

Later in the summer I presented my conclusions on sex differences in intelligence at a conference in Plymouth in England. On this occasion I encountered some hostility from Pat Rabbitt, who button holed me in the bar afterwards, told me I was poorly informed and that I should spend some time in a library and get to grips with the research on this issue. I told him to get lost. The next year, he himself published a study finding that men have a higher average IQ than women by 3.3 IQ points.

A important publication of this year was Dick Herrnstein and Charles Murray's book *The Bell Curve*. The principal points it made were that low intelligence is a significant determinant of low income, poverty, welfare dependency, crime and births out of wedlock. They gave IQs for the major races in the United States as Jews – 112.6, East Asians – 103, whites – 100, Hispanics 86, and blacks – 82. There was nothing much new in these figures or in their correlates, but the book created a terrific storm of protest. Liberal opinion was outraged and the book was widely attacked. The editor of the New Republic magazine (Andrew Sullivan) published a summary and the staff would not speak to him for some weeks, although he published a number of criticisms at the same time. Some of the critics asserted that the book claimed that the racial differences in IQs have a genetic basis, but this was incorrect. They wrote that they were agnostic on this issue, which some of us regarded as a cop out. Dick Herrnstein sent me the book before publication for my comments and I replied that it was all fine except that I could not understand why they had designated the increases in intelligence that had been recorded in several countries from 1918 onwards as the “Flynn effect” after Jim Flynn who published a couple of papers on it in 1984 and 1987. I suggested it should be called the “Tuddenham effect” after the author of the first major study to report this in 1948 in which he showed that the IQ of American military conscripts increased from World War 1 to World War 2. However, they took no notice of my suggestion and many people now believe that the increases in intelligence were discovered by Jim Flynn.

Dick Herrnstein died shortly before *The Bell Curve* was published. He was in some respects a typical American Jew. He was a brilliant scholar who came top of every exam and went to Harvard. He initially became a follower of the behaviourist B.F. Skinner and made important advances in conditioning theory, and he succeeded Skinner in becoming the senior psychology professor at Harvard. But he had wider interests and also wrote on intelligence and crime. He was not however a wholly typical American Jew in so far as he married a gentile, and he was by nature a conservative whereas most American Jews are left-leaning. Shortly before the publication of *The Bell Curve*, Dick notified some of his friends including me that he had begun to cough up blood, and that his

physician had told him that he had lung cancer and could expect to live for only a few weeks. He wrote us observing wryly that one of the advantages of dying was that “At least I won’t have to meet any of these damned Harvard liberals any more”.

1995

This year saw the publication of Phil Rushton’s book *Race, Evolution and Behavior* in which he set out in fuller detail his theory of race differences in  $r$ -K life history. I thought his theory was convincing and I regard it as one of the most brilliant that has appeared in psychology. However, he received a lot of criticism for his work. There were a number of calls for his dismissal from his professorship at the University of Western Ontario but he survived these. The university officials decided that there would likely be violent disruptions of his lectures and it would be best for these to be delivered as films, so he ended up in the happy position of being able to give more time to his research.

In the summer I went to the Galton Institute's annual conference in London. Also at the meeting were Ian Deary, Phil Rushton and Juri Allik, the Professor of Psychology at the University of Tartu in Estonia. The four of us had lunch during which we tried to persuade Phil that the method of correlated vectors is flawed because  $g$  varies in accordance to the kind of tests from which it is extracted, but we failed to convince him. We also discussed whether Galton was a genius and decided he was, and whether Hans Eysenck was a genius and decided he wasn't but he was nevertheless a very smart person. After lunch, I took Juri Allik to Apsley House, the former home of the Duke of Wellington. We looked at some of the portraits at one of which Juri paused and said: Ah: Pope Innocent X – Velasquez. He was right about this.

I retired from my position at the University of Ulster at the end of September. Although I had had some harassment from periodic attacks by the Anti-Nazi League who disrupted my lectures and put up posters demanding I be fired, this was mild compared with the physical attacks on Hans Eysenck and Edward Wilson and the hostility that Art Jensen and Phil Rushton had encountered. I was quite proud of some of the staff and graduates of the department that I founded and built up. Among the staff, some excellent work was done by Julian Leslie on learning theory and more recently on genetics, by Colin Cooper on intelligence, by John Beech on reading and by Paul Irwing on both intelligence and personality. Among our graduates, Stephen Joseph has done some excellent work elaborating the principle of the traumatic experience that “if it doesn’t kill you, it strengthens you”, Tony Cassidy on intelligence and educational and occupational attainment, Claudia Pagliari on the differentiation theory of intelligence that abilities are more independent among the highly intelligent, and John Mallon as head of the statistics unit of the government of Northern Ireland. I welcomed retirement because I became able to work full time on my research, free of the demands of students, administration and especially committee meetings which I found generally discussed issues that

held little interest for me. For instance, at one meeting of the Senate we spent a good hour discussing the demands from Catholic students that they receive their degree certificates printed in Irish. Some supported this on the grounds that in Wales, students can opt to receive their degree certificates printed in Welsh so it should be allowed. Opponents countered that Welsh is an official language in Wales, whereas Irish is not an official language in Ulster. Furthermore, they averred if we allowed this, students from Africa might demand to have their degree certificates printed in Swahili. I could not decide which of these positions to support. On another occasion, there was a long discussion of whether a girl student who was pregnant could retake an exam in which she had performed poorly because she was ill and we debated at length the pros and cons of whether pregnancy could be regarded as an illness. I suppose problems like these need to be discussed and resolved, but I was rarely able to contribute to them because I could not make up my mind which side I agreed with. I have noticed that some people really like discussing these sort of issues in committees and try to prolong them. I think they enjoy them as a legitimisation of social interaction and, as H.G.Wells said of writing books “It’s better than working”.

1996

On February 29, my friend Christopher Brand at Edinburgh University published a book on intelligence, *The g Factor*. On April 14, newspaper reports of interviews with him began to appear saying that he thought Blacks had lower IQs than did Whites and that the cause was probably in part genetic. Brand addressed a press conference at which he told journalists that he agreed with “scientific racism”. On April 17, the publisher Wiley denounced Brand’s views as “repellent” and withdrew the book from publication, stopped distributing it and withdrew copies from book stores. A blizzard of “refutations” of Brand appeared in the UK media under outraged headlines. There were student boycotts of his lectures and calls for his resignation by faculty of the University of Edinburgh. Brand later made matters worse by asserting that sexual encounters between boys and adults did not do so much psychological damage to boys aged 12 years and above as is commonly supposed. This contention was supported by research but was an embarrassment to the university. On August 8, the University of Edinburgh sacked him for bringing the university into disrepute. Chris Brand took legal action against his dismissal and won, winning the maximum compensation of £12,000 but he was not re-instated. He worked for a while as a waiter in Edinburgh hotels, produced The William McDougall News Letter on the Internet, and also made a modest living as a private tutor, proof reader, translator and consultant researcher.

When I was a student in the early 1950s I became interested in dysgenics and the possibility of finding eugenic measures to counteract it. I read the papers of Sir Cyril Burt, Sir Godfrey Thompson and Ray Cattell showing that Galton was right in contending in his *Hereditary Genius*

that the intelligence of the population was declining because people with high intelligence were having fewer children than those with low. I thought this must be an enormously serious problem. I joined the British Eugenics Society in 1964 hoping to find others who thought the same way, but I was disappointed. In 1969 the people who ran the British Eugenics Society had become scared of the concept and changed its name to The Galton Institute. They closed down its journal *The Eugenics Review* and replaced it with the *Journal of Biosocial Science* which became a bland journal largely concerned with contraceptive practices, or the absence of them, in third world countries. The American Eugenics Society also ran for cover at about the same time, and changed the name of its journal *Eugenics Quarterly* to the blander *Social Biology*.

In the early 1990s I began to work on dysgenics and eugenics. I published several papers showing the presence of dysgenic fertility for intelligence in the United States and Britain, and one showing that there is also dysgenic fertility for moral character that can be inferred from the high fertility of criminals. In 1996 I published a book *Dysgenics: Genetic Deterioration in Modern Populations* which set out the evidence that modern populations have been deteriorating genetically from around 1880 in respect of health, intelligence and moral character. The reason for the genetic deterioration of health was that improvements in public health, medical treatments and welfare were reducing the mortality of those with genetic diseases. Many of those who would formally have died in childhood were surviving and having children, to whom they were now transmitting their genes. The reason for the genetic deterioration of intelligence and moral character was that the more intelligent and those with stronger moral character began to have fewer children, with the result that the genes for these qualities were being reduced in the population. The principal reason for this *dysgenic fertility*, as it came to be called, was that once the modern condom was invented and marketed in the early 1870s, the more intelligent and those with stronger moral character used this to limit their numbers of children more efficiently than those with low intelligence and weak moral character. Later in the twentieth century other methods of contraception were invented and I concluded that once modern reliable contraception had been invented, dysgenic fertility became inevitable. I estimated that the rate of decline of genotypic intelligence (the genetic component of intelligence) has been around 1 IQ point per generation. I concluded that although it is not possible to quantify the deterioration of conscientiousness it has probably been of about the same order and contributed to the increases in crime that have been present in most economically developed countries during the twentieth century.

*Dysgenics* was generally well received by reviewers in academic journals. Tom Bouchard (1999, p.294) reviewed it and wrote that “Lynn is a first class scholar who has thought long and hard about these issues” and “it is a must read for scholars”. Victor Serebriakov (1997, p.19), the president of British MENSA, wrote that “This might be the most important book published in the decade”.

*Dysgenics* was reviewed favorably by William Hamilton, Fellow of the Royal Society and research professor in evolutionary biology at the University of Oxford, who wrote that "Lynn. . . does an excellent job with the facts... and discusses the large bank of evidence that still accumulates on the heritability of aptitudes and differentials of fertility, and shows in this book that almost all of the worries of the early eugenicists were well-founded, in spite of the relative paucity of their evidence at the time". He described *Dysgenics* as a "brave and fertile book", and described me as "brave, thick-skinned, and very persistent to swim against. . . popular anti-realistic currents."

I circulated a press release on the theme of the book that modern populations have been deteriorating genetically for approximately a century, but none of the papers ran the story. I sent review copies of *Dysgenics* to a number of quality papers and magazines but none of them reviewed it. This was my first experience of the reluctance of the media to give any publicity to politically incorrect books. The only publicity I was able to get for my book was an interview on the BBC Radio Four Today programme. I was invited to summarize my conclusion that intelligence has been deteriorating genetically for approximately a century, and then the interviewer asked the eminent population geneticist Sir Walter Bodmer to comment. Sir Walter asserted that my conclusion was completely wrong because he had looked at the evidence some twenty years ago and found it was inconclusive. I retorted that much more evidence had appeared in the last twenty years and that Sir Walter showed a lack of integrity in rubbishing my book without having read it. He did not have a reply to this and I thought it astonishing that he was willing to go on a radio programme and criticise a book he had not read. Subsequent studies by Michael Woodley and Gerhard Meisenberg have confirmed my conclusion regarding the genetic deterioration of intelligence as a result of dysgenic fertility.

In the spring of 1996 I had a call from Ulrich Neisser inviting me to a conference on intelligence that he was organizing at Emory University in Atlanta. I readily agreed to come and speak on the role of nutrition in the increase of intelligence and also on dysgenics. Neisser met me at the airport and drove me to my hotel. I told him that on the plane from London I was reading Thomas Mann's *Dr Faustus* and I asked him what he thought of Mann. He said he had not read him and that he disliked the Germans so much that he never read German literature. He explained that the reason for this was that he was Jewish and his father had emigrated from Germany in the 1930s to escape persecution.

Among the speakers at the conference was Sam Preston who also spoke on dysgenic fertility and argued that it had no long term effect on the genetic quality of the population because the IQs of the children, grandchildren and later generations of low intelligent parents would gradually improve

and eventually reach the average of the population in accordance with the principle of regression to the mean, and similarly the children, grandchildren and later generations of high intelligent parents would gradually deteriorate and eventually reach the average of the population. This is of course nonsense because regression to the mean ceases after the first generation and if it were correct evolution could not occur, but I was surprised to find when the proceedings of the conference were published as *The Rising Curve* that Neisser agreed with it. I wondered how he could be so intelligent and yet at the same time not understand this simple fact.

Others who attended the conference were Steve Ceci and his wife Wendy Williams with both of whom I had some friendly conversations and felt I established some rapport although they were more environmentally inclined than me. This was the first occasion on which I met Jim Flynn. I found him friendly and liked him. He told me about how poor his family had been when he was a child, his early identification with the underdog and his participation in a number of civil rights marches. Although we have taken different positions on a number of issues, I have generally found him a good scholar who has made some excellent contributions, although I think that sometimes he has allowed his prejudices to over-rule his reason. For instance, he has maintained that there are no genetic differences in intelligence between blacks and whites, and supported this by asserting that there have been many brilliant blacks such as Victor Hugo and St. Augustine. There is a portrait of Victor Hugo which shows he had no black features. We do not have a portrait of St. Augustine but he came from North Africa and there is no probability that was black.

On the last day of the conference Ulrich Neisser gave a party for those who were attending at which he asked me "Do you feel you're among enemies here?" I said I didn't because I have never thought of these environmentalists as enemies and it is difficult for me to understand that this is how many of them regard me and others who regard genetic factors as important.

Later in the year Robert Graham invited me and several others to a conference on eugenics at a hotel close to his home in southern California, about twenty miles outside San Diego. I decided to go and flew first to Washington where Roger Pearson put me up in the Military Club. I noticed that throughout the club there were pictures of Americans defeating the British in the war of independence and in naval battles in the war of 1812. We had dinner at the club at which all the diners were white and all the waiters and waitresses were black. It seemed that not much progress had been made in establishing racial equality.

The next day, I flew to San Diego for Robert Graham's conference. Robert Graham was an ophthalmologist who had invented the plastic lens and made a fortune from it. He was an enthusiastic eugenicist and to promote eugenics he established the Repository for Germinal Choice which became popularly known as the high IQ sperm bank. His plan was to get Nobel prize-

winners to donate semen which he would freeze and make available to women who requested it. He told us that he had only been successful in getting two Nobel prize-winners to donate – Hermann Muller and William Shockley – so he had broadened his net to include men who were eminent in other fields. He had a catalogue listing these and their characteristics. He said about a hundred women had taken advantage of his facility, but it was too early to see how they turned out. After his death his wife closed the Repository down.

Among those attending the conference were Phil Rushton, Raymond Cattell, Art Jensen and his wife Barbara, Marian van Court, Jared Taylor, John Tanton, Garrett Hardin and Sam Francis. Much of the conference was devoted to discussing what could be done to revive eugenics and make it acceptable. Garrett Hardin suggested we should try to find a new name under which to promote it and then it would take about fifteen years before people realised we promoting eugenics under a different name. Jared Taylor commented on this suggestion: “Fifteen years? I should think it would take more like fifteen minutes”.

After dinner I gave a talk on the eugenic ideas of Marie Stopes and how she had disinherited her son Harry because he married Mary Wallis, who had myopia for which she wore glasses. Marie Stopes considered this a genetic defect and disapproved of what she regarded as a dysgenic marriage. I said that of course this was nonsense because myopia can easily be corrected with glasses and is associated with above average intelligence. Furthermore, Mary Wallis was the daughter of Sir Barnes Wallis who invented the bouncing bomb that was used to destroy the German dam and flood the Ruhr during World War Two. Marie Stopes' son Harry could hardly have found a more eugenically suitable wife.

Robert Graham's wife believed that meat poisoned people and food should be reduced to a minimum, so we were given tiny meals consisting generally of a couple of lettuce leaves, a tomato and a bread roll. We supplemented these with hamburgers from the hotel's bar.

At the end of the meeting, Raymond Cattell invited Phil Rushton and me to dinner in San Diego. There was ostrich on the menu and I decided to be adventurous and have it but I found it rather tasteless although it was an improvement on the fare provided by Mrs Graham at the hotel. Cattell lived in Hawaii and told us that William Shockley would often ring him in the middle of the night to ask a question about intelligence. I asked why Shockley rang at this inconvenient hour and he explained that it was because calls were cheaper. I was not surprised by this because I had already found that Shockley was rather mean. During the dinner I asked Cattell what he thought of Hans Eysenck. He paused for a moment or two and then replied “I think he's really a journalist”.

After the end of the conference Phil Rushton and I decided we would visit Mexico and we took the train from San Diego down to the Mexican border. We found that the gates into Mexico were strictly one way, arranged so that it was easy to get into Mexico but not to get out. As soon as we

had entered Mexico we were besieged by hordes of men offering to sell us watches, take us to prostitutes, or taxi us to Tijuana. We declined the first two and opted for the taxi. When we got to Tijuana we walked up the main street consisting of run down shops and seedy looking bars. About every few yards there was an Indian woman sitting on the side-walk, holding a baby and looking up with doleful eyes holding out a cup soliciting money. It was an immense contrast with affluent America just a few miles to the north. No wonder so many Mexicans try to get into the United States.

1997

On September 7 Hans Eysenck died of a brain tumour at the age of 81. He had been a loyal and much valued friend for almost forty years and I greatly mourned his passing. A few weeks later the Institute of Psychiatry held a memorial function for him that I attended. Encomiums were delivered by my old student Tony Gale, Helmuth Nyborg, Ian Deary, Phil Rushton and Jeffrey Gray. Tony Gale devoted much of his address trying to explain why Eysenck had never been elected an honorary fellow of the British Psychological Society, an honour bestowed on a number of people including Gale himself. He was not very successful in this, since Eysenck was far and away the most distinguished British psychologist and without any question he should have received this honour. The American Psychological Society honoured Eysenck by awarding him a medal for outstanding achievement, but the British Psychological Society snubbed him. Helmuth Nyborg took up the same theme of why Eysenck never received any public honours in recognition of his work, or been elected to a fellowship of the Royal Society or the British Academy. He concluded "As a Dane, I say something is rotten in the state of England". Probably the reason Eysenck did not receive any public honours and was not elected to the Royal Society or the British Academy was the book that he had published in 1973 on race and intelligence in which he concluded that blacks are genetically less intelligent than whites and this was regarded as too controversial. It was probably for a similar reason that Charles Darwin never received any honours in recognition of his work, which was considered too controversial at the time, although his contemporary the poet Alfred Tennyson received a peerage, and several less distinguished people had been knighted including the novelist Sir Walter Scott and the astronomer Sir William Herschel. In the United States, Art Jensen was similarly boycotted and never received any of the many medals that the American Psychological Association hands out each year to nonentities.

Eysenck's son Michael from his first marriage was present at the memorial function and I thought I would greet him. He was talking to several people so I hovered around waiting my turn during which I chatted to his wife. There were several children milling around, so I asked his wife whether some of these were hers. She said no, so I asked why they had not come to their distinguished grandfather's function. She said Eysenck had virtually never visited them or shown

the least interest in them, so they were unwilling to come.

Eysenck once told me that when he was offered the chair at the Institute of Psychiatry he said he would accept, on the condition that he was not required to attend any committees. This was one of many things we had in common for I could never summon any enthusiasm for committees. Eysenck could be quite witty. On one occasion he said to me “I’d be no good as a girl, as I find it almost impossible to say no”. Of Philip Vernon he said “He knew everything about art, but he didn’t know what he liked”. And he told me that when he was an adolescent in Berlin he discovered that Kant Strasse was very aptly named, as it was the centre of the red-light district.

Eysenck made a number of important contributions to psychology. He was right in his criticisms of Freud and psycho-analysis at a time when these were widely accepted; his development of behaviour therapy at the Institute of Psychiatry made a valuable contribution to the promotion of clinical psychology in Britain; he was the first to show that political affiliations have some genetic basis; and he did much useful work on the measurement of the personality traits of neuroticism and extraversion. His third personality trait of psychoticism was not so successful but nevertheless his work was one of the foundations of the contemporary consensus on the Big Five personality traits consisting of neuroticism, extraversion, agreeableness, conscientiousness and openness to experience. On the other hand, some of his bolder theories have not stood the test of time. In particular, his theory that introverts condition more rapidly than extraverts was a key element in his socialisation theory but was discredited when Cyril Franks failed to replicate it.

Some of Eysenck’s work is open to the criticisms that Roderick Buchanan has made in his aptly titled book *Playing with Fire*. Some of the more important of these are his claim that smoking does not cause lung cancer for which he received around £800,000 research funding from the tobacco companies, his support for astrology and parapsychology, and his acceptance of Ronald Grossarth-Maticek's questionable data on the alleged link between cancer and personality.

As regards his personality, Eysenck once told me that he was highly introverted, very un-neurotic and a bit above average on psychoticism. Art Jensen told me that he believed Eysenck had Asperger’s disorder and that it was as if there was always a glass wall between him and other people. Art told me that on one occasion Eysenck’s secretary had been on vacation for a couple weeks and her first day back he summoned her with a bell. He handed her an assignment and did not greet her or ask her if she had had a nice vacation. That was the last straw for her and she immediately quit. I agree with this diagnosis. His Asperger’s disorder was particularly evident in his neglect of Michael, his son from his first marriage, whom he never saw after he left his first wife until when Michael was sixteen they met in a café. Michael wrote very bitterly about this in an essay (*Lost in the Shadows*).

Helmuth Nyborg has told me that on two occasions he asked Eysenck whether he was a genius.

On the first occasion, Eysenck replied psychology was not yet sufficiently developed to produce a genius, and on the second occasion that his psychoticism was not high enough for a genius. My own view is that his psychoticism was somewhat higher than average and sufficiently high for genius but I agree with his own verdict that he was not a genius although he was certainly very clever and right about a number of issues.

Although Eysenck wrote a great deal about intelligence, he had surprisingly little knowledge of the practicalities of intelligence testing. On one occasion he asked me to administer a test he had constructed for primary school children for a book he was writing *Test your Child's IQ*. He sent me the test and one of the items was headed *Identify the antonyms of the following words*. Some of these were fairly unusual and well beyond the vocabulary of primary school children. I rang him up and explained that they and even some of their teachers wouldn't understand the meaning of antonyms. He replied he thought it would be OK and asked me to do it. I dutifully did so but many of the children began crying because they couldn't understand what the test was about. On another occasion, in 1989 a philanthropist had the idea that intelligence might be improved by nutritional supplements and donated a quarter of a million pounds to fund a study of this. He recruited a group of those he considered the most eminent experts to carry out the study. These consisted of Eysenck for the intelligence test, John Yudkin, a professor of nutrition, and two eminent statisticians. They found a school that agreed to take part in the study. They planned to give nutritional supplements to one group of around 300 children and give placebos to a matched group and test their IQs after some weeks to see whether the group that had received the nutritional supplements had an increase in IQ. Eysenck decided the children should be tested with the Wechsler, an individually administered test that takes about an hour to administer. The experiment went ahead and at its conclusion numerous psychologists were brought in to administer the test, but there were not sufficient rooms where this could be done or time in which to do it and the study was never completed. Eysenck should have recommended a group test and was evidently unaware that there is group version of the Wechsler that could have been used.

Despite some of these shortcomings, I have a huge respect for Eysenck's work. As I wrote in a review of Philip Corr's book *Hans Eysenck: A Contradictory Psychology* "Eysenck remains a giant of twentieth century psychology. He illustrates that highly creative people are not afraid to present and proselytize for their unconventional theories and occasionally go public with erroneous theories such as the one about smoking being harmless".

1997

The American Psychological Association announced that it would give a life time achievement award to Raymond Cattell, to honour his distinguished work on intelligence and personality, but a furor broke out over this proposal in which Cattell was accused of having advanced racist and pro-

eugenics views. While the Association was considering what to do about the accusation, Cattell declined the award to avoid further controversy but also said that he was not a racist and that critics had distorted his ideas. In my view the critics were right in their accusations. Cattell had undoubtedly advanced these views in his book *Fight for the National Intelligence* and in his two *Beyondism* books. William Tucker has examined this dispute in *The Cattell Controversy: Race, Science and Ideology* and took the same view.

My old friend John Beer, now Professor of English at Cambridge, sent me a copy of Simon Mawer's book *Mendel's Dwarf* and told me that I appear in it. I found it was a work of "faction", a combination of fact and fiction and a brilliant book. The factual part is about Gregor Mendel, the Slovakian monk who in the 1860s discovered the basic principles of genetics consisting of the action of dominant and recessive genes. Mendel's work was so innovative and so far ahead of his time that none of his contemporaries understood its significance. Mawer regards him as far more gifted than his contemporary Charles Darwin and I agree. The fiction part is about Benedict Lambert, a great-great nephew of Mendel. He is a geneticist and a dwarf, and his research is devoted to trying to identify the dominant gene, generally a mutation, responsible for dwarfism. The plot hinges on the dominance of brown eyes over blue. My appearance in the book occurs when someone asks him his opinion of my work on dysgenic fertility and the low IQ of blacks, about which he is non-committal.

1998

Enoch Powell died on 8 February. He is remembered principally for his "rivers of blood" speech delivered on 20 April, 1968, in which he deplored the large numbers of immigrants entering Britain. Enoch Powell had a very high IQ, graduating as an outstanding student at Cambridge and obtaining the professorship of Greek at the University of Sydney at the age of twenty six, but his social skills were poor. I met him on one occasion when he came to the University of Ulster to speak. He was shouted down by the students, so a group of about twenty of us went to a local hotel, where he gave his lecture. He began by describing how he had been a brilliant student at King Edward's School in Birmingham and had to decide whether to go up to Balliol College, the top college in Oxford, or to Trinity College, the top college in Cambridge. He had opted for Trinity College and had graduated in classics as the top student of his year. I didn't think any of this was very tactful because none of those present had managed to get in to Oxford or Cambridge let alone had the problem of which college to go to. In his speech he argued that universities should be endowed with large capital sums, so they would be independent of state control and influence, and the academics would then be able to carry out and publish controversial research without fear of dismissal. When questions were invited, I said that this was in fact the state of the English universities until the twentieth century,

but that during the course of some eight centuries they had produced very little important work. Apart from Issac Newton who produced his work at Cambridge, virtually all the significant English scholars had done their work outside the universities, including Thomas Hobbes, John Locke, Charles Darwin, Michael Faraday, John Dalton, Edward Gibbon, Thomas Carlyle, Edward Jenner, Francis Galton, Thomas Macaulay and William Herschel, the astronomer who discovered the planet Uranus.

After the lecture, we had dinner at the hotel and I sat opposite him so we had an hour or so of conversation. This consisted entirely of me asking him questions and of him giving replies. He did not address a single question to me or express the slightest interest in me, or in the others on either side of him. I formed the impression that he was a bit aspergic. I was not surprised to read in Simon Heffer's biography of Powell that when he was in the army in 1942 his old Cambridge friend and academic colleague, Glyn Daniel, invited him to meet for a drink or dinner, and Powell declined as he said he was devoting his limited leisure time to studying the poet John Donne.

In April the annual conference of the British Psychological Society was held in Brighton. I organized a session on intelligence at which the speakers were Ian Deary who spoke on Spearman's  $g$ , David Benton who gave an account of his work on the effects of nutritional supplements on intelligence, Phil Rushton who spoke on his theory of race differences in  $r$ - $K$  life history, while I spoke on dysgenics in which I presented my estimate that genotypic intelligence (the genetic component of intelligence) has been declining in Britain, the United States and other economically developed nations by around 1 IQ point a generation for the last century or so. There were about sixty people in the audience. There were a few desultory questions but none of the audience expressed any interest in my paper. I had expected someone would say something like "I say, you mean the national intelligence is deteriorating genetically? Wow! This sounds really serious. What could be done about this?" But I did not get a single question. My paper was greeted with total indifference. This confirmed my previous experience that one of the strange things about psychology is that there are a few really interesting and important questions but hardly anyone is interested in them. I have always found that at psychology conferences virtually all the papers are concerned with trivia and are infinitely depressing.

During this year I worked with my half-brother Erasmus on a study to examine whether supplementing the diet of children with iron had a positive effect on their IQs. Erasmus was a consultant paediatrician and responsible for the medical side of the study and I responsible for the intelligence testing. We had an experimental group who were given the supplements for a number of weeks and a control group who were given placebos, and used the Progressive Matrices as a group test to examine whether the supplements had any effect. We found that the supplements had

no effect on the majority of the children but did increase the IQs by about 5 points of a minority who were iron deficient.

Art Jensen published *The g Factor*, a masterly exposition of the state of knowledge on intelligence that included race and sex differences. The *National Review* asked me to review it and I sent it a supportive review although I disagreed with his conclusion that men and women have the same *g*, but they declined to publish the review.

In June Susan's health took a sharp downturn. She had suffered from Still's disease, a form of rheumatoid arthritis, from childhood and had been in a wheel-chair for several years. In 1992 she suffered kidney failure and was put on dialysis. I would put her on the machine at about 9 p.m. every evening and the machine did its work during the night. On weekdays, a nurse would come and take her off the machine in the morning and at weekends I would do this myself. In June her dialysis machine failed to function for several days. She went into the City Hospital, Belfast, to the specialist renal unit but even there the consultants found it difficult to diagnose the problem and put it right. She was discharged from the hospital after a few days but her dialysis machine never worked perfectly again. She developed a number of deep mauve blotches on her thighs which were intensely painful but whose cause none of the doctors were able to diagnose or treat. The pain caused by these when she moved was excruciating. Despite her increasingly fragile health, she bore her illness and the pain she had to endure with great fortitude. She never complained of the poor hand that fate had dealt her and even when she was in great pain she commented on it with her wry sense of humour. On one occasion she said to me "I've come down a long snake" and on another "My mind is fine. What I need is a body transplant". And on another occasion when her doctor visited her and she was in too much pain to move she said to him "I can't move, doctor; I'm like a beached whale". In July and August she began to crack up. She said several times that her quality of life had become so poor that there was no point in going on and she would have to end it. She went into the Belfast City Hospital several times, generally for a week or so, during the summer and then she would be discharged somewhat improved but not cured. In August her doctor prescribed a variety of pain killers but they had no effect and in early September she was put on morphine. Even this did not work because she was taking a number of other medications to control her various symptoms, and when she took the morphine pills she vomited them all up. On 5 September she was feeling very ill and I persuaded her that we should ask her doctor to come and see her. She was very reluctant because she knew this would probably mean she would have to go into the Belfast City Hospital again and she hated it in the City. However, I prevailed on her and called the doctor, who did indeed say that she would be better in the care of the specialists in the City, and between us we persuaded her that she should go in. Accordingly, the doctor called an ambulance and she was taken there.

I spoke to her on the phone on the 6th and 7th and she seemed reasonably comfortable, but in the early evening of the 7th I had a call from the nurse to say that Susan was very ill and would like to see me. I drove straight to the hospital and arrived about 8 o'clock. Susan was in bed with an oxygen mask clipped to her nose and was deeply sedated. I bent down and whispered into her ear "Hello my darling, it's me, your Richy". She moved her lips slightly but it was impossible to make out what she was trying to say. The nurse told me that she had contracted peritonitis, that she had been put on antibiotics and that there was a good chance that these would clear it. I stayed with her during the night, during which the nurse came to feel her pulse at hourly intervals. Her pulse became progressively weaker and as the night wore on it began to look increasingly less likely that she would pull round. At 4 am her pulse was very weak and at 4.30 she died. I thought of the ups and downs of the years we had spent together and of her long and courageous fight against her illness, which she had now finally lost, and my eyes filled with tears.

There was much to do in the next few days. Although Susan and I were not believers, I wanted a funeral service for her according to the rites of the Church of Ireland, and I was determined to have her buried. I found a local undertaker who helped with these arrangements. He said I would have to choose a coffin and invited me view his selection, which were set out on shelves made of different woods and at various prices. I also had to make arrangements for the funeral. Susan's father, sister Sharman and brother-in-law Mike came over for this, and also my daughter Sophy and my son Matthew and his wife Angharad. The undertaker asked if we would like to see "the remains" (I thought this a rather insensitive term) the evening before the service and after some hesitation I agreed. This was the first time I had seen a dead body but I was glad I did so. We assembled in the church and were invited to come up and see Susan lying in her coffin. As I passed, I lent down and kissed her and murmured in her ear "Goodbye, my darling, and thank you for all your love and all the work you have done for me".

The funeral service was held next day. John Bach, the university chaplain, gave the address in which he spoke of theodicy – the problem of the unjust suffering that fate inflicts on some and in particular had inflicted on Susan. We sang Susan's favourite hymn – Jerusalem. My son Matthew read one of her favourite poems, the dirge from Cymbeline

Fear no more the heat o' the sun

Nor the furious winter's rages.

Thou thy worldly tasks hath done

Home art gone and ta'en thy wages.

Golden boys and girls all must

As chimney-sweepers, come to dust.

After the service was concluded, four of us – Susan's father Harry, brother-in-law Mike, my son

Matthew and I – carried her coffin to the hearse and proceeded to the cemetery in Portstewart. The priest read the burial service “Man that is born of woman, hath but a short time to live, and is full of misery. He cometh up, and is cut down like a flower ... For in as much as it hath pleased Almighty God of his great mercy to receive unto himself the soul of our dear sister here departed: we therefore commit her body to the ground; earth to earth, ashes to ashes, dust to dust”. As her coffin was lowered into her grave, I picked up a handful of earth and threw it in. I arranged for her headstone to follow the Ulster custom which is to have the bare surname at the top of the stone, so that it reads

#### LYNN

In memory of Susan Lesley, who died on 8 September 1998,

aged 54 years, beloved wife of Richard

"Fear no more the heat o' the sun"

And so Susan now lies in the cemetery in Portstewart that looks west to the hills of Donegal. A few weeks after her burial, I visited her grave with Julian Leslie and planted some snowdrops on it.

Susan's death was one of the two most traumatic experiences of my life and from which I took a long time to recover. Our years together had been a time of great happiness. We restored the house and made a larger garden. And we did a great deal of productive work. Susan fulfilled her role brilliantly as checker, advisor, Girl Friday and restrainer of my more injudicious statements. She insisted on reading everything I wrote and struck out passages of which she disapproved saying “I'm not allowing this”. It was during these years that with her help I made many of my contributions to intelligence.

At the end of September, I went to Estonia at the invitation of Juri Allik, the Professor of Psychology at Tartu University, to give a lecture to his students. My son Matthew came with me because he was writing a novel set in Estonia and wanted to get some local background. We flew from London to Tallinn and stayed for the night in the old historic city in the best hotel that had been the headquarters of the Russians when they occupied the country. The next day we took a bus to Tartu which lies about eighty miles to the east and not far from the Russian border. The landscape was open countryside interspersed with coppices of silver birches. After my lecture, Juri Allik and his colleague Jan Mikk took us out to dinner. The menu listed over-baked lamb stew which I took to be a misprint for oven-baked and which I chose. Juri Allik told us that his father had been the Professor of Mathematics at the Technical University in Tallinn and had been conscripted into the Red Army during World War Two as a reluctant radio communications officer. The next day one of Juri's students drove us south to Latvia. On the way, we stopped for a modest lunch at a house whose the front room had been opened to provide refreshments. The student told us that it was illegal to run a modest café of this kind when the country was occupied by the Russians. After lunch

the student drove us on to Riga where we climbed the spire of the cathedral and looked over the city. We stayed for the night in Riga. The next day I flew back to London while Matthew went on to Lithuania to get more colour for his novel which he published as *The Month of the Leopard* under the pen name of James Harland, and which opens in Tallinn.

In the fall I went to Edinburgh to act as external examiner for Claudia Pagliari's Ph.D. thesis on the differentiation hypothesis, which I approved. I stayed the night with Ian Deary and his wife Ann.

#### Chapter 10 Herefordshire, 1999-2001

The months following Susan's death were desolate. I decided that if I remained in Northern Ireland I would be too isolated from my family and that it would be best to return to England. And so in the January of 1999 I sold my house in Ulster, drove south to Dublin, and stayed the night with Bruce and Mavis Arnold. The next morning I drove on to the car ferry at Dun Laoghaire and we set sail for England. Once the ship was under way, I went to the stern and looked back at the receding coast of Ireland that I had first seen thirty two years previously, in 1967. I somehow felt that this was the last time I would see Ireland in which I had spent mostly happy and productive years. I was now returning to my roots and about to begin a new chapter of my life in England.

Although I had decided to move to England I was uncertain about where to go. Eventually I decided to go to Herefordshire near Monmouth where my daughter Emma and her family lived and she had a shop and it was there that I moved January.

Early in the year I read a one page article in a German journal by a certain Sylwia Wilberg on sex differences in historical knowledge and school grades in twenty six nations. The study was based on fifteen year olds and in all these countries boys had more general historical knowledge than girls, although girls obtained better grades for course work than boys. I wrote to her asking for more details and she sent them to me. I thought the data deserved a fuller presentation so I wrote it up giving greater detail and we published it under our joint names. This set me thinking about the possibility that males have more general knowledge than females. Later I worked on this theory with Sylwia and after this with Paul Irwing and we published several papers showing that it is correct.

Sylwia was working at the University of Marburg and invited me to visit the university give a lecture on my work on dysgenics. I accepted and stayed with her in the city for a few days. Sylwia was born and brought up in Poland and moved to Germany on marrying a German. She gave me a CD of the Polish composer Henryk Gorecki's third symphony in the last movement of which a mother laments the death of her son. I did not know it and found it a very beautiful piece. Fortunately, I had brought with me a bottle of best Scotch whiskey for her. The head of the psychology department at Marburg was Professor Detlef Rost who is an expert on intelligence. We

had dinner with him and some of his colleagues one evening, and I found his views on intelligence very sensible, in so far as on all the contentious issues he agreed with me. I have remained in touch with him and regard him as a good and supportive friend. The dinner ended quite late and after it was over we had to walk a couple of blocks. The intersections had traffic lights but there was no traffic, so when the lights were red I would have crossed, but the party dutifully waited until they turned green. Very stereotypically German, I thought.

The annual conference of the Galton Institute took place in the summer at the London Zoo. I was scheduled to speak on dysgenic fertility on the first day and *The Guardian* reported my talk and summarised as follows: "Professor Richard Lynn argued that natural selection had effectively stopped working because "less fit and intelligent people" and those with "weak moral character" had higher fertility rates than fitter, more intelligent ones. But he said that there could be a brighter genetic future ahead because of the New Eugenics, which meant the use of biotechnology to improve genetic quality. The methods he discussed included sperm banks for those with IQs over a certain level, pre-natal diagnoses and pre-implantation screening for in vitro fertilization. He foresaw that human cloning would be used in "state-driven eugenics", with cloning of the most intelligent people by repressive societies, while eugenics would be individually-driven in free societies".

My presentation went off peacefully but the second day was different. Art Jensen was scheduled to give the Galton Lecture on the nature of g, and the first speaker was Glayde Whitney who was scheduled to give a lecture on "Reproduction Technology for a New Eugenics". As he was about to begin, the meeting was disrupted by a group calling themselves People Against Eugenics, who stormed the lecture hall and shouted their protests. The chairman, Dr John Timson, promptly closed the meeting. I thought this was rather supine and that he might have called the police, since the protesters were invading private property and causing an affray, or possibly a riot. But he was a "discretion is the better part of valour" man, although he did say "They are fascists preventing us speaking and I hope none of them are British because I'd hate to have to share a nationality with them". So we dispersed and went our several ways. All previous and subsequent papers given at The Galton Institute's annual conferences have been published as books, with the exception of my own paper delivered at the 1984 conference, but this year's were never published although Art Jensen's paper was later published in the *Journal of Biosocial Science*. I suppose the people who ran The Galton Institute decided that they the papers by me and Glayde Whitney were too controversial to endorse.

In 1994 I had published my solution to the Ankney-Rushton paradox that males have a larger average brain size than females and that brain size is associated with intelligence, but that all authorities had asserted that males and females have the same intelligence. My solution was that

while males and females do have the same intelligence up to the age of 15 years, from the age of 16 years onwards, males begin to show higher IQs than females reaching an advantage about 5 IQ points among adults.

I had supposed that my solution would be widely recognized and adopted but I found that it was virtually universally ignored. Art Jensen ignored it in his 1998 book on *g*. He presented the results of five studies. The results were that males obtained higher IQs of 5.49 IQ points on the ASVAB (Armed Services Vocational Aptitudes Battery-18 to 23 year olds), 0.18 on the American standardization sample of the WAIS (25-34 year olds), and 2.83 on the American standardization sample of the WISC-R (5-16 year olds), while females obtained higher IQs of 0.03 IQ points on the BAS (British Ability Scales-14 to 17 year olds) and 7.91 IQ points on the GATB (General Aptitude Test Battery-18 year olds). From these inconsistent results he concluded that “the sex difference in psychometric *g* is either totally non-existent or is of uncertain direction and of inconsequential magnitude” (Jensen, 1998, p.340). The problem with this analysis is that different test batteries produce different *g*s, as is apparent from Jensen’s results, which show that the sex difference in *g* wanders all over the place from one test battery to another. I think Jensen had a blind spot on this problem. He suggested that the resolution of the problem that males have larger average brain size than females yet according to his analysis males and females have the same average IQ may be that males and females have the same number of neurones but the female ones are more densely packed into a smaller brain (p.541). It is improbable on general biological grounds that a sex difference of this kind would have evolved and it has been dis-confirmed by Packenberg and Gunderson (1997) who found that men have more neurones than women (22.8 billion compared with 19.3 billion) but there is no difference in neuronal density between male and female brains.

In the next few years many people continued to assert that men and women have the same intelligence. For example, Butterworth (1999, p.293) asserted that “women’s brains are 10% smaller than men’s, but their IQ is on average the same” but he offered no solution to this paradox.

The only person who accepted it immediately was Hans Eysenck who was always receptive to new ideas and endorsed my conclusion in his last book *Intelligence: A New Look* (1998, p.76), published after his death in 1997. The only person who attacked it was Nick Mackintosh, the Professor of Psychology at Cambridge. Mackintosh was primarily an experimental psychologist but he also had an avocation in intelligence. He took the opportunity to speak on sex differences in intelligence at the 1996 conference of The Galton Institute and devoted most of his paper to attacking my conclusion. He contended that the Progressive Matrices is an excellent measure of intelligence and of Spearman’s *g*, that it had been shown by Court (1993) that there is no sex difference on the Progressive Matrices, and

therefore that my claim is refuted. He proposed that the larger average male brain is a by-product of the larger male body. He made no mention of my maturation theory that it is only from the age of 16 years that males begin to show higher IQs than females. I responded to Mackintosh's criticism but decided that to establish my theory I had to do more work on the issue and I published a further review substantiating my theory in 1999. The first person to publish data supporting me was Helmuth Nyborg at the University of Aarhus in Denmark. He was heavily attacked for this politically incorrect study. In the next few years I published several more studies that confirmed this solution, including two meta-analysis that I published with Paul Irwing in 2004 and 2005.

1999

In the summer my son Matthew was married to Angharad ap Gwilym, a young journalist of Welsh heritage, who had graduated in French and Italian from the University of Edinburgh. The marriage ceremony was held in the morning with the new prayer book version in which the husband says "everything I have I give to you" that has replaced the old version "with all my worldly goods I thee endow". In the Church of England, as frequently elsewhere, progress has meant deterioration. After the service, we repaired to Cardiff Castle for the reception that began about noon, when we were offered drinks, and was followed by lunch at which both Matthew and Angharad spoke, and also her father Eurful, who spoke in Welsh. All Angharad's family were Welsh nationalists and committed to the cause of Welsh independence. After the lunch, the guests circulated in the grounds and were offered more drinks. I left about six and began to drive back to my house near Monmouth, about an hour's drive away. On the way, I was flagged down by a police car and the police told me I had been swerving around and asked me whether I had been drinking. I admitted that this was so, and they said they would have to breathalyse me to see whether I was over the limit. I was apprehensive about this, as I had consumed quite a few drinks at the reception. I hyperventilated vigorously because I remembered having read somewhere that if you did this, the effect of alcohol is mitigated. The police produced their breathalyser and told me to blow into it. It consisted of a tube and as you blew into it, a marker move up from blue into pink and went on into red if you were over the limit. As I blew, the marker moved up towards the red, and one of the policemen said "Come on, Richard, blow harder". When I was young, policemen used to address one as sir, but today they address you by your Christian name or as mate. I was greatly relieved that the marker stopped just short of the red so the police, no doubt reluctantly, waved me on. This was fortunate, because I was not insured. Insurance was done for me by Susan and I had not noted that it had expired.

2000

In March I flew to Washington D.C. to attend the American Renaissance conference in northern Virginia organised by Jared Taylor. I was the first speaker on Saturday morning and gave an account of the history and impact of third-world immigration in Britain. I noted that despite Enoch Powell's warning in 1967 that "we are building our own funeral pyre" non-white immigration had continued and that this was attributable to arranged marriages, false documents, chain migration and the haphazard enforcement of immigration laws, and resulted in a ten-fold increase of non-whites from about 300,000 in 1961 to about three million in 1991. I said that there was a great deal of racial conflict and violence and that blacks in Britain - particularly those from the Caribbean - resemble those in the United States, with high rates of unemployment, crime, illegitimacy, low IQ and poor educational attainment, while the Indians and Chinese are generally better adapted. I concluded that unless current trends were halted, whites could become a minority throughout western Europe by 2100. This prediction was later confirmed by the David Coleman, the Professor of Demography at Oxford.

Phil Rushton was at the conference and gave a lecture on his recent trip to South Africa. He had tested the IQs of black university students in the expectation that they would score approximately 15 IQ points higher than the general population, as is the case with European students. He found that the average IQ of black African university students was 84 and concluded that this supported my work estimating the average IQ of around 70 for the black population as a whole. He also argued that racial differences in IQ have genetic origins and supported this with slides showing that Europeans have brains six percent larger than those of blacks, and that North East Asians (Chinese and Japanese) have brains eight percent larger than those of blacks. He proposed that biological differences between the races affect many kinds of behaviour including rates of HIV and AIDS such that over eight percent of black African adults have HIV compared to 0.2 percent of Europeans and 0.05 percent of Asians.

In the question-and-answer period Phil Rushton discussed reasons why Asians appear to be less dynamic and creative than Europeans despite their higher IQs. He mentioned several theories, including differences in temperament, a larger standard deviation in the distribution of the European IQ, and the possibility that higher achievement by Westerners over Asians "may be only a temporary blip in history".

In the afternoon session, Jared Taylor discussed the prospects for whites in the coming century. He said that "the twentieth century has been a disaster", that only 100 years ago whites had unchallenged global power and influence. Since then, two world wars, non-white immigration and a dramatic loss of confidence have made whites unable to defend their own interests. Whites are now, he said, almost at the point of "reconciling themselves to oblivion". He said that we have essentially

made a “state religion” out of diversity and egalitarianism, and that no white can rise in the media, academia or politics without professing allegiance to this cult. As in the Soviet Union under communism, few people really believe the cult’s absurd dogmas, but most are afraid to speak out. Still, he saw evidence that more and more people are challenging orthodoxy and are starting to say publicly what most believe privately.

The after-dinner speaker was Frank Ellis from the University of Leeds. Frank had been forbidden by the university's Vice-Chancellor to attend the conference because he had caused a controversy in England when *The Guardian* and other newspapers reported he was to speak to the American Renaissance conference on race relations in Britain. His Vice-Chancellor ordered him to be at the university throughout the week thinking this would stop him from coming. However, he could not forbid him to come on Saturday and Sunday, so he flew in on Saturday afternoon, delivered his speech that evening and flew back again early Sunday morning to be back in time for his classes on Monday morning, after a stay in the United States of a little over 12 hours.

Frank is an expert on the Soviet Union, and he described how today’s political correctness in the US and Britain exerts the same intellectual tyranny that was present in the Soviet Union under communism. He cited as an example of this the recent McPherson Report on alleged police mishandling of the 1993 murder in London of Stephen Lawrence, a black teenager, by two white youths. The perpetrators had not been found and McPherson Report alleged that the police were “institutionally racist” and had not investigated the crime because of “police bigotry”. The report also alleged that the white youths killed the young man out of racial hatred. Frank pointed out that this was by no means established, yet the government and media accepted it uncritically. He asserted that the media rarely show any interest in possible racial motivation when blacks attack or kill whites which is considerably more common than the reverse.

The conference resumed on Sunday with a lecture by Robert Weissberg, a professor of political science, on the relationship between blacks and Jews. He said that despite their private fear and dislike of blacks, Jews have frequently supported black causes. He noted that Jews created the NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored Peoples), provided lawyers to fight civil rights cases, and supplied more than half of the “Freedom Riders” and “Perhaps only Israel has drawn more fervent support in the pantheon of Jewish causes”. The paradoxical result has been an increase in black anti-Semitism and frequent attacks on Jews by black leaders. Robert Weissberg argued that despite public professions of solidarity, Jews fear black crime and violence, and dislike what he described as black ineptitude. He said that Jews are the first to move away when blacks move in to their neighbourhood and rarely socialize or intermarry with blacks, and that their support for blacks is attributable to the Jewish desire to use blacks as a potential ally against white gentile

anti-Semitism. He said Jews fear the potential anti-Semitism of white gentiles far more than the day-to-day criminality of blacks, and that this fear is deeply ingrained. At the same time, he predicted that a growing number of Jews will come to ally themselves with whites as today's "politically homeless" Jews are becoming increasingly disenchanted with liberalism.

The last speaker was Roger McGrath who described the *reconquista* or "reconquering" of California by Mexicans. He noted that 70 percent of the students in Los Angeles County public schools were Hispanic and about half of them were illegal immigrants. The county spends \$10,500 per student - well above the national average of \$6,000 - with most of the difference due to the expense of teaching children who cannot speak English. Even so more than half of the students cannot meet the requirements to proceed to the next grade, although any attempt to maintain standards is met with accusations of racism. He said that now the *reconquista* is claiming northern California as well. In 1965, 95 percent of the students in San Francisco were white. Today, only 12 percent are white. He said that California's generous welfare attracts immigrants. Over 60 percent of births in Los Angeles County are to illegal immigrants who come to California because they can get free American medical care and citizenship for their babies. Immigration also brings crime, with Mexican gangs now committing more murders in California than black gangs. He concluded that the expenses of crime, education and social services of illegal immigrants cost the average California family about \$1,200 a year.

In October, Sylwia Wilberg who had invited me give a lecture at the University of Marburg in 1999, invited me to visit the University of Luneburg, to which she had moved, and to speak at the University on my work on dysgenics. I did so and stayed with her for a few days. We were quite close to the river Elbe which was the frontier between West and East Germany before unification and Sylwia drove us to see the East German look-out posts that were placed every two hundred or so yards along the bank of the river and had been manned by soldiers to observe and shoot anyone trying to escape across the river from the East. We crossed the river by ferry and had a meal at a little restaurant on the east bank. There was horse steak on the menu and as I had never had this before, I decided to try it. I found it was not to my taste. Later in the week, we took the train to Berlin. This entailed going through the former East Germany. We had to change trains at Stendal and had about an hour to wait before taking the connection through to Berlin. We took advantage of this break to take a look at the town and found about half the shops and houses were deserted, a result of the mass emigration to the more prosperous west following unification.

We stayed a couple of days in Berlin and visited several of the famous sights of the city including the Reichstag, the Unter den Linden, the Potsdamer Platz, the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe and the magnificent Brandenburg Gate which I thought more impressive than

Marble Arch and the Admiralty Arch in London. I found the city rather lacking in charm because so much of it had been rebuilt after the war, but it was also dramatic and a little disturbing as the source of so many horrible events that had taken place there.

In November I went to London to meet Tatu Vanhanen, a political scientist in Finland, to discuss the possibility of working together on the question of whether national differences in IQs could explain some of the national differences in economic development. We agreed this would be a feasible project and a valuable integration of psychology and economics. We sketched out the plan in which I would be responsible for collecting IQs for nations, and Tatu for providing the economic and political science data and expertise. I worked on this for the next year and we published our conclusions in 2002 in our book *IQ and the Wealth of Nations*.

## Chapter 11. Bristol 2001 -2009

I was finding my home in Herefordshire too remote so in October, 2001, I moved to Bristol to the wing of a sixteenth century mansion named Siston Court where I was able to work in the libraries of the universities of Bristol and Bath and able to get to London more easily.

I published *The Science of Human Diversity: A History of the Pioneer Fund*, summarising the work of the scholars who had been supported by the Pioneer Fund that had been set up in 1937 by Wickliffe Draper to promote eugenics. It was well received by several reviewers including David St.Clair of the University of Aberdeen Medical School who wrote “This is a highly readable and informative book”.

I also published *Eugenics: A Reassessment*. It is divided into four parts. Part 1 gives an historical introduction with an account of the ideas of Francis Galton and the rise and fall of eugenics in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Part 2 discusses the objectives of eugenics and identifies these as the elimination of genetic diseases, and the improvement of intelligence and moral character. Part 3 describes how eugenic objectives could be achieved using the methods of selective reproduction and concludes that there is not much potential for these. Part 4 discusses how eugenic objectives could be achieved by the “new eugenics” of biotechnology using embryo selection, and how these are likely to be developed in the twenty-first century. I concluded by predicting the inevitability of a future eugenic world in which couples will select genetically desirable embryos for implantation and there will be considerable improvements in the genetic quality of the populations of economically developed countries where these technologies are adopted.

My *Eugenics: A Reassessment* was an attempt to rehabilitate the concept of eugenics from its virtually universal rejection from the 1960s in the western democracies. Otherwise sensible geneticists asserted that all genes are equally valuable, that disease is just as good as health, or

possibly better because Beethoven might not have composed his late works if he had not suffered from a hereditary form of deafness, and Toulouse-Lautrec might not have painted his charming pictures of Parisian dancers if he had not suffered from numerous genetic disorders. It was asserted that intelligence and moral character have no genetic basis but are wholly environmentally determined, and that it was consequently impossible to improve them. It was asserted that Hitler believed in eugenics and this proves that eugenics leads ultimately to the gas chambers. It was even asserted that the eugenicists did not understand genetics and if they had done so they would have realised that eugenic programmes would not work because eugenics was a pseudo-science, like astrology. When it is considered that virtually all the most eminent geneticists of the first half of the twentieth century endorsed eugenics, including Sir Ronald Fisher and the Nobel prize winner Hermann Muller, the assertion that the eugenicists did not understand genetics was ridiculous. All of these assertions were nonsense. Nevertheless, they were confidently made and books containing them were favourably reviewed in the literary pages of journals, newspapers and magazines. No-one dared contradict them for fear of being accused of supporting eugenics and being a Nazi.

Contemporary sensitivity about eugenics was strikingly illustrated in 2000 when an infertile woman placed an advertisement in the Cambridge University magazine *Cam* seeking to buy an egg from a female student. No doubt this woman thought she would get an egg with good genetic qualities from a Cambridge undergraduate and in this she was likely correct. The advertisement attracted some protests and the editor apologised profusely for allowing it to appear. He said “It all sounds faintly eugenic” and assured his readers that no such advertisement would ever be accepted in the future.

At the beginning of the twenty-first century a position has been reached that is unique in the history of science. From time to time scientists have advanced theories that are deeply unpalatable to contemporary beliefs. Galileo’s heliocentric theory of the rotation of the planets around the sun and Darwin’s theory of evolution are the leading examples. These theories were bitterly opposed by the church and many others, but they were quite quickly accepted by experts and became part of the accepted body of knowledge. This is not what has happened with eugenics. The eugenicists established a body of knowledge that is indisputably correct. The core propositions of this body of knowledge are that throughout most of the world populations are deteriorating genetically in regard to their intelligence and moral character, that this is a serious problem that needs to be recognised and ways found of overcoming it. Yet this is no longer mentioned or discussed in serious magazines or papers. Eugenics has become the truth that dare not speak its name.

During the summer I met a widow, Gill, and we got on quite well. She had graduated in French and had wide cultural interests that we were able to share. However, she was very left wing and would frequently say of someone “He is a good socialist”. She had two sons who were also very

left wing. One of her sons had a daughter aged about three who asked for a doll. Her parents would not give her a doll because they were concerned that it would promote gender stereotyping, so they gave her a car. She threw this away and repeated her demand for a doll. Her parents sought to compromise by giving her a black doll to foster an acceptance of the multiracial society, which they welcomed, but she threw this away and demanded a white doll. Eventually her parents capitulated and gave her white doll. Their socialist principles foundered on the rock of human nature. We had too little in common for me to pursue this brief acquaintance with the family.

I had a visit from Jan te Nijenhuis from the University of Amsterdam. He told me about his work on the intelligence of immigrants to the Netherlands in which he had found that those from Surinam and the Netherlands Antillies have an average IQ of 85.

2002

Tatu Vanhanen and I published our *IQ and the Wealth of Nations*. This presented IQs for 185 nations, consisting of all nations whose populations were greater than 50,000 in 1990 and gave the correlation between national IQs and per capita income (real GDP) in 1998 as .63. We argued from this that national IQs are an important determinant of national per capita income together with the degree to which nations have free market economies and valuable natural resources.

I sent a copy of our book to the *Economist*, but they did not review or mention it. There were mixed receptions by those who did review it. Phil Rushton wrote "This is one of the most brilliantly clarifying books that this reviewer has ever read". But Susan Barnett and Wendy Williams described our national IQs as "virtually meaningless" and Earl Hunt and Robert Sternberg described them as "meaningless". However, Earl Hunt later changed his mind about the validity of our national IQs because in his book *Human Intelligence* (2011, p.440) he wrote "Lynn and Vanhanen's conclusions about the correlations between IQ estimates and measures of social well-being are probably correct".

In May, Stephen Jay Gould died. He achieved fame through his book *The Mismeasure of Man* (1981) in which he contended that intelligence is not a valid construct and there are no race differences in intelligence or brain size. His book was widely praised by the media, became assigned reading for many college students and was accepted by many of the informed public, but was shown to be fraudulent by experts. Edward Wilson, the author of *Sociobiology*, said in a 2011 interview "I believe Gould was a charlatan. I believe that he was ... seeking reputation and credibility as a scientist and writer, and he did it consistently by distorting what other scientists were saying and devising arguments based upon that distortion". A much better book published in this year was Steven Pinker's *The Blank Slate* that refuted Gould and argued that we are not born with "blank slate" minds but, to the contrary, with innate traits including genetic differences in intelligence.

Daniel Kahneman was awarded the 2002 Nobel Prize in Economic Sciences. He is the only psychologist to get a Nobel Prize which he received for his work on the psychology of judgement and decision-making. This challenged the assumption of human rationality prevailing in modern economic theory. I can't say I was impressed by this work. I believe that humans are generally rational in their behaviour and judgements. Nor I was impressed by his theory on happiness. He argues that we seek it but I don't think this is right. I think we seek objectives that bring happiness, especially personal relationships and fulfilling work but not happiness as such.

In the October of 2002 I met Joyce Walters. She was a widow whose American husband had been a Lt Colonel and fought in the Vietnam War in which the Americans dropped agent orange on large areas of land to defoliate them. Unhappily, it also infected a number of the Americans and this caused cancer from which many American servicemen died, including Joyce's husband. Joyce had read Greats (classics and philosophy) at Oxford and become a school teacher, and later headmistress of St. Mary's Calne, a socially elite girls' boarding school, and then at Clifton High School in Bristol. Soon after we met, I said "I had better tell you that I work on race and national differences in intelligence and show that Europeans and North East Asians have higher IQs than blacks and Australian Aborigines and many people are uncomfortable with this". She replied that she did not have a problem with this and that she had generally conservative views. This seemed like a good start to a possibly promising relationship.

I was invited to a party in Bristol and shortly after I arrived and much to my astonishment I was greeted by Richard Gregory. I had not seen him for almost fifty years, since I left Cambridge in 1956. He brought me up to date with his life. He told me he was now living alone, that he and his first wife Margaret had divorced and she had married Donald Broadbent, and his second wife was Freja Balchin, the daughter of the novelist Nigel Balchin, and that she had to his great mortification run off with an antiques dealer. We met several times for lunch in the next few years. He still had a somewhat school-boyish sense of humour which included a liking for puns which he thought very amusing. I remembered that when we were at Cambridge he once suggested that a meeting at the Corn Exchange might have been a conference of chiropodists. I did not share this taste, but despite this I liked him and was generally impressed by his intelligence and knowledge. He was one of the few people I have found who knew and appreciated Harry Jerison's book on the evolution of intelligence. He had made a big name for himself as an expert on perception, which is not a part of psychology in which I have ever had any interest, and had been elected a Fellow of the Royal Society. He told me he was editing *The Oxford Companion to the Mind*, an encyclopaedia of psychology, and asked me to contribute a piece on sex differences in intelligence. I sent it to him summarising my work showing that men have a higher average IQ than women. He was nervous about accepting it, but he was in a difficult position, so he solved the problem by asking Mike

Anderson to write an opposing piece in which he asserted that there is no sex difference in intelligence defined as IQs obtained on the Progressive Matrices or on any other measure, “the psychometric evidence that there is no sex difference in intelligence is overwhelming” and that while “males have an equivalent one third of a standard deviation advantage in spatial ability” on verbal abilities “it is well-known that females have about a one third of a standard deviation advantage”. Some years later when I wrote a paper arguing that all these contentions were incorrect, I invited him to comment but he did not take up this invitation.

Later in 2002 I took up the problem that Dick Herrnstein and Charles Murray noted in *The Bell Curve* that while racial and ethnic differences in intelligence can explain a number of the differences in educational attainment, crime, welfare dependency, rates of marriage, children born out of wedlock and so on, they cannot explain the totality of these differences. They concluded that there must be some additional factor that also contributes these. I published a paper proposing that the solution to this problem is that there are ethnic and racial differences in psychopathic personality considered as a continuously distributed trait that is highest among blacks and Native Americans, next highest in Hispanics, lower in whites and lowest in North East Asians.

2003. During the last year I saw quite a lot of Joyce Walters and in April we went for a holiday to Galicia in north west Spain. We visited Santiago de Compostella and attended a service in the great baroque cathedral during which there was much chanting and swinging of incense, reminding me how good the Catholics are at theatre. After the service, we had lunch in the magnificent parador in the square by the cathedral. Four days later, I fell over and broke my leg and was taken to a hospital in Pontevedra. The surgeon did a very good job at giving me an artificial hip and femur. The nurses were very helpful and pleasant although I was surprised to find that none of them spoke a word of English. I had to use crutches for the next couple of months and was unable to look after myself, so Joyce took me in to her Georgian house in north Somerset, and I have remained there ever since.

In October we went to Spain again, this time to Madrid, where I gave a lecture at the Universita Autonoma at the invitation of Roberto Colom, the Professor of Psychology, who has made a number of important contributions and has been a good and sympathetic friend. In the evening we had dinner with Roberto and his wife. We spent three days in Madrid during which we naturally visited the Prado where I particularly liked the Goyas. We then went to Toledo for three days where we dutifully viewed sufficient El Grecos to last a lifetime. On our last night we had dinner at the Cardinal’s House, formally the residence of the Cardinal and now a restaurant. At the end of the dinner I asked Joyce if she’d care to be married and she gave an affirmative response.

2004

Many people continued to ignore my solution to the problem of sex differences in brain size and intelligence, and a few people including Nick Mackintosh disputed it. To counter these criticisms

Paul Irwing and I carried out a meta-analysis of studies of sex differences in intelligence measured by the Progressive Matrices. This confirmed my previous work showing that there is no sex difference up to the age of fifteen years, but from 16 onwards males begin to out-perform females, until they have a 4 IQ point advantage in early adulthood.

In the next few years several people published data supporting my theory that among adults men have higher average IQs than women, including Helmuth Nyborg, Juri Allik, Doug Jackson, Phil Rushton, Roberto Colom and Gerhard Meisenberg. However, my conclusion was generally ignored by the media which continued to bemoan the scarcity of women in top jobs and attribute this to the glass ceiling, a hypothetical invisible barrier supposedly erected by men that prevents women rising to the top.

In June I attended a dinner in London given by Digby Anderson on the occasion of his retirement as director of the Social Affairs Unit, a conservative-leaning think tank that he had set up in 1972. There were about twelve people present who had written for him. Margaret Thatcher was also there and I was introduced to her. She asked me about my work and I explained my research on race differences in intelligence. She commented that this was very interesting but too incendiary for her to cite. She gave an after dinner speech in which she spoke highly of Digby's work which she described as challenging what Solzhenitsyn called "the tyranny of fashion" i.e. the liberal-left's dominance of academia in the social sciences.

On September 1 Joyce and I were married at Wraxall church, a few miles outside Bristol. Phil Rushton was my best man. He and Paul Irwing stayed with me the night before the wedding. We insisted on the old St James' version of service which has the words "With this ring I thee wed, with my body I thee worship, and with all my worldly goods I thee endow". The Church of England replaced these some years ago with an updated version in which the last phrase "With all my worldly goods I thee endow" was changed to "Everything I have I give to you". Ugh! During the service Joyce and I read alternative lines from Shakespeare's sonnet *Let me not to the marriage of true minds admit impediments*. At the lunch that followed I made what I hoped would be received as a witty speech. I began by saying that Joyce was the first headmistress I had known, although I had known many ordinary mistresses. I quoted Turgenev's aphorism that young men need women as mistresses, middle aged men need women as companions, and old men need women as nurses, and said I hoped my bride would in due course make the transition from companion to nurse. In describing her, I quoted Enobarbus's description of Cleopatra – "Age cannot wither her, nor custom stale her infinite variety, Other women cloy the appetites they feed but she makes hungry, where most she satisfies".

We spent our honeymoon in Italy. We flew to Venice, hired a car and drove south staying for a night in Ferrara and then on to a cottage about half way between Florence and Sienna, where we

stayed several days. On the way back, we spent a couple of days in Florence and visited Brunetto Chiarelli, the Professor of Anthropology at the university, at his department looking over the cathedral, and later we had dinner with him. We talked about the seriousness of dysgenic fertility throughout the west and Brunetto agreed with me about this and the difficulty of counteracting it. Then we returned to England. Joyce has given me one of her bedrooms as a study. In return I accompany her to social events of the Bristol *haute bourgeoisie*, take her to occasional functions in Cambridge, London and abroad, and play bridge with her twice a week at the Bristol Bridge Club. In this symbiotic relationship we have lived happily ever after.

Later in the year, Lawrence Summers, the president of Harvard, gave a lecture in which he suggested that the under-representation of women among high achievers in science and engineering could be due to there being fewer women with high ability in these fields. It has been shown in many studies that this is the case, but his suggestion generated considerable outrage. The faculty passed a vote of no confidence in him and he was forced to resign. Political correctness at Harvard prevailed over scientific correctness.

In December I took the Joyce to the Intelligence Society conference in New Orleans, which we learned to pronounce *Noo-orlans*. We stayed in the old French Creole quarter. I gave a paper on sex differences in intelligence and general knowledge. Art Jensen was there and had the early stages of Parkinson's disease so he could only walk very slowly. I also met Edward Miller for the first time although I had read some of his supportive papers.

On our return to England, we went to London where I met Tatu Vanhanen to discuss working on another book elaborating our study of national IQs and their economic and social effects. I asked him what his family thought about our work on this controversial subject. He replied that his son Matti was the Prime Minister of Finland and had to be rather cautious when asked to comment on our work. As for his wife, he replied "I have never discussed it with her". I found it surprising that he could live keeping his wife in ignorance of our work.

In the evening Joyce and I had dinner with Roger Pearson and his son Rupert at the Reform Club. The next day I did a TV programme for Women's Hour on the psychological effect on men of having daughters, in company with Chris Patton, who had three, and was a former Conservative MP and governor of Hong Kong, and now Chancellor of the University of Oxford. Joyce was with me, and at the end of the programme the three of us left the building together. Patton's chauffeur was waiting for him and I thought he might have offered us a lift, but he got into the car and left us standing on the pavement.

2005

Paul Irwing and I published another meta-analysis of studies of sex differences in intelligence measured by the Progressive Matrices, this time on college students. This confirmed that among

young adults males outperform females by around 4 to 5 IQ points. Later in the year Helmuth Nyborg in Denmark reached the same conclusion and got into a lot of hot water at his University of Aarhus. He was suspended and a commission was set up to investigate his data and methods, but it was unable to find anything wrong with his work and he was eventually reinstated.

In May Joyce and I went for few days to a house she had in Portugal's Algarve. The highlight of the visit was taking the train from Faro to Lisbon. It took about five hours through interesting countryside at the end of which we alighted south of the Tagus and took a boat across the river to the magnificent three sided square. I had arranged to meet Feix Neto, the Professor of Psychology in Porto, and he came down for the day and showed us some of the sights. These included the Moniz Hospital, named after Egas Moniz who won the Nobel Prize in the 1930s for his introduction and use of prefrontal lobotomy, the operation that involves severing the neural connections between the frontal lobes and the rest of the brain. For some years it was widely used for the treatment of a number of psychiatric conditions but it has been found that it often renders the patient psychopathic and it is rarely used in recent years. I suggested to Felix that I doubted whether Moniz would have received the Nobel Prize it today as it would be regarded a too invasive and he agreed.

I noticed that in the main smart shopping street in Lisbon, a number of flats above the shops had broken windows covered with newspapers and I asked Felix why this was. He explained that the flats were occupied by tenants who could not be removed and who paid very low rents that had been fixed many years ago and so it was not worth the landlords' while to pay for repairs. Felix also told me that many Portuguese hated the Spanish, and that his wife hated Spain so much that she would not take a train through it to France but always insisted on flying, which I thought a remarkable and extreme expression of ethnocentrism.

2006

I published *Race Differences in Intelligence: An Evolutionary Analysis*, in which I summarized my work collecting the IQs of nations and races world wide and my theory to explain how these have evolved. My conclusions were that with the IQ of Europeans set at 100 (sd=15), North East Asians have an IQ of 105, South East Asians an IQ of 87, Native American Indians, Inuit and other Arctic peoples an IQ 86, Pacific Islanders an IQ 85, South Asians and North Africans an IQ of 84, sub-Saharan Africans an IQ 67, Australian Aborigines an IQ 62, and the Bushmen of the Kalahari desert an IQ of 54. I gave an updated version of my theory published in 1991 that these race differences evolved when early humans migrated out of equatorial Africa around 100,000 years ago into the temperate environments of North Africa and South Asia, and then into the cold environments of Europe and North East Asia, and that these more northerly environments were more cognitively demanding. I proposed that two genetic processes had taken place in the evolution

of these race differences in IQs. The first was that the frequencies of alleles for low IQ were reduced in the peoples inhabiting the colder environments because those carrying them failed to survive. A second assumption was required because the Arctic peoples inhabited the coldest environment, but have not evolved the highest IQ. To explain this, it has to be assumed that mutations for higher IQ appeared in the European and North East Asian peoples, but not in the Arctic peoples. The reason for this will have been that there were large European and North East Asian populations in which there is a high probability of a mutation for high IQ appearing. The Arctic populations have been very small (there are only about 250,000 of them today), so the mutations for high IQ never appeared in them.

John Loehlin reviewed the book quite favourably in the journal *Intelligence*. He summarized the data and arguments fairly and concluded that “Richard Lynn is a major player and it is good to have his extensive work on this topic together in one place. Future workers who address these matters under this or any other label will find that Lynn has done a lot of spadework for them. And they will also find that there is plenty to ponder over within these pages.”

Bill Regnery sent an advertisement for my book to the *Mensa Bulletin*, published by American Mensa, but the editor declined to take it. He wrote to Bill Regnery as follows: “As I explained on the phone a few minutes ago, and according to the advertising policies published in each edition of the *Mensa Bulletin*, all advertising materials and copy are subject to approval or rejection by the publisher. After reviewing the content of your ad for the book *Race Differences in Intelligence* by Richard Lynn, excerpts from the book, and related Web sites, we have decided not to accept this ad for publication in the *Mensa Bulletin*”. This was another example of the informal censorship of studies showing race differences that has become increasingly prevalent.

In March, Frank Ellis, a lecturer in Russian at the University of Leeds, gave an interview for the students’ newspaper in which he said that blacks have, on average, lower IQ scores and poorer academic achievement than whites. The vice-chancellor received a number of complaints about the article, suspended him and instituted disciplinary proceedings against him threatening him with dismissal. In an attempt to deter the University from taking this step, I sent the following letter to *The Sunday Times*, which published it on 2 April.

“In clear violation of the tradition of academic freedom, the vice-chancellor of Leeds University has suspended Dr Frank Ellis and instituted disciplinary proceedings against him for presenting the research, published in peer-reviewed academic journals and scholarly

books which demonstrates that blacks have, on average, lower IQ scores and poorer academic achievement than do whites. Much solid research also makes it more likely than not that there is a genetic contribution to this (and other) group IQ differences. Dr Ellis, then, has done no more than restate what has been said for half a century by a number of eminent psychologists and anthropologists at leading universities. These include the late John Baker (Oxford), Hans Eysenck (London), Philip Vernon (London), Richard Herrnstein (Harvard), and Henry Garrett (Columbia). A number of behavioural scientists, including ourselves, have reached the same conclusion. Others have put much of this on the record. Many more agree but have been reluctant to put this on the record for fear of the kind of intimidation that Dr Ellis is receiving from the University of Leeds.

There is an important and legitimate debate going on about intelligence and genetics, as there is on climate change and foreign policy. It is a sad day when British universities muzzle their academic staff and threaten them with dismissal for taking part in one of these controversies”.

The letter was signed by me, Philippe Rushton, Art Jensen, Charles Murray, Christopher Brand, Helmuth Nyborg, Linda Gottfredson and Donald Templer. The problem was resolved by Frank Ellis retiring on a modest pension.

Paul Irwing and I published a study reporting that in Britain, IQs measured at the age of 8 years predicted income at the age of 43 years with correlations of 0.37 for men and 0.32 for women.

Tatu Vanhanen and I published *IQ and Global Inequality*, an updated version of our 2002 book showing that national differences in IQs explain about half of the national differences in per capita income. As with our first book, [I sent a copy to the \*Economist\*, but they did not review or mention it.](#)

I received an invitation from Hans-Hermann Hoppe to attend a conference the Property and Liberty Society in Bodrum, Turkey, and speak on National IQs and the Wealth of Nations. Hans-Hermann Hoppe was a former professor of economics at the University of Nevada and was the president of the Property and Liberty Society which he had set up to promote a rather extreme form of the free society in which the power and functions of the state are reduced to a bare minimum. I have general sympathy with the free society and accepted the invitation and we stayed a week

during which I formed a warm friendship with Hans-Hermann Hoppe. We have been to a number of his annual conferences in subsequent years during which we met several interesting people including Norman Stone who had been Professor of Modern History at Oxford but fell out with his colleagues over his refusal to attend committee meetings and had taken up a professorship at a university in Ankara.

2007

In June, we went to Krakow at the invitation of Edward Necka, the Professor of Psychology at the Jagiellonian University, to give a lecture on my national IQs. We stayed in a hotel just off the large central square of the city from which I was able to walk the half mile or so to the university. At the beginning of my lecture, I said it was a privilege to speak at the university where Copernicus had graduated some four hundred years ago. In the evening we had dinner with Edward Necka and his wife and the conversation touched on the Second World War, in which Krakow had been largely spared. I told Edward that I thought humans have an instinct for war because groups that were successful increased their territory and number of children, and he agreed this was likely. We did not visit Auschwitz to which many millions of Jews had been sent and perished. We felt it would be too painful, but we did visit the spectacular salt mine.

During our stay, we were picked up by Andrzej Lukasik, the Professor of Psychology at the University of Rzeszów, and driven about a hundred miles east to the university where I was to give my lecture on my national IQs. He drove us in his Trabant, a car made in East Germany when it was under communist rule. The car was famous for its very poor quality and came to symbolise the shoddy quality of products made under communism. Andrzej told us there were many jokes about the car. For instance a man drives it into a garage and asks the mechanic “Do you have pair of windscreen-wipers for a Trabant? The mechanic thinks for a moment and then answers *Done*”. We stayed the night in Rzeszów, which is close to the border with Ukraine, and looked round the charming town before taking the train back to Krakow.

Jim Flynn published his book *What is Intelligence? Beyond the Flynn Effect*. It had some rather bizarre contentions. One of these was that intelligence spreads through a kind of diffusion process so that people in cities with universities should have higher intelligence than those lacking this advantage, because the high intelligence of the professors would spread to the rest of the population. I did not think this was likely. If it were true, the people of Luxembourg should have a lower IQ than that in university cities because there was no university there at this time, and I thought this improbable. Some years later, Davide Becker showed that the people of Luxembourg have an IQ one point higher than in neighbouring countries.

Stephen Ceci and Wendy Williams, a married couple at Cornell University, published an edited book *Why aren't more women in Science?* They brought together fifteen experts to discuss the

question posed in the title. They began by saying “We have chosen to include all points of view” (p.5), but remarkably none of the contributors presented the case that men have a higher average intelligence than women, and that high intelligence is required to make a successful career in science. Several of the contributors asserted that there are no sex differences in intelligence. For instance, Melissa Hines wrote “there appears to be no sex difference in general intelligence; claims that men are more intelligent than women are not supported by experimental data” ; this was a curious statement because the issue of the sex difference in intelligence is not determined by experiments but by observation. Others who made the same assertion were Richard Haier: “general intelligence does not differ between men and women”; Diane Halpern: “there is no difference in intelligence between males and females...overall, the sexes are equally smart”; and Elizabeth Spelke: “men and women have equal cognitive capacity”. Some of these asserted correctly that there is no sex difference abilities among infants, children and young adolescents, but incorrectly concluded from this there is no difference among adults. None of the contributors was apparently aware of my work showing that a male advantage in intelligence only emerges from the age of around sixteen.

Several contributors argued that sex differences in science must be culturally determined because the differences are inconsistent in different countries and at different times, with males performing better in some countries and at some times, while females perform better in other countries and at other times. This was factually incorrect as regards science. The International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement gave results in 1988 for a large number of countries and showed that in all of them boys perform better than girls from the age of ten onwards. Nowhere in the book was there any mention of the PISA (Program for International Student Assessment) study of the math and science abilities of 15 year olds in 27 countries carried out in 2000 in which boys obtained higher scores in 26 of the countries in science. Several contributors misrepresented the extent to which sex differences in abilities have changed over time. This included the editors who asserted that “although 25 years ago women performed notably worse than men on the Raven’s, they now appear to perform as well or better” (p.231), but they did not give any references for this claim. Contrary to this assertion, Paul Irwing and I had shown in 2004 and 2005 that men have performed consistently better on the Raven’s for the last half century and there is no evidence that women now perform as well or better than men or that the male advantage has declined in more recent years.

A number of contributors noted that girls typically obtain better grades in math and science awarded for coursework, and argued from this that girls are better at math and science. This contention conflates sex differences in grades with IQs and abilities tested by examinations. It has been known for a number of years that girls do better than boys in course work but from the age of

16 boys virtually invariably do better on IQs and in examinations and this was confirmed in the studies I published with Sylvia Wilberg in 1999 and with Joseph Mau in 2001. Probably the reason that girls do better in coursework is that they are more conscientious and better at written English.

There was no consensus on whether men may have greater average abilities in science and math, which would entail greater numbers of men among those highly talented in these areas. Some contributors maintained that this is the case including David Lubinski and Camilla Benbow, David Geary and Doreen Kimura. Others asserted that there is no sex difference in average abilities in science and math including Spelke and Grace, Hines, and Hyde. Stephen Ceci and Wendy Williams, the editors, even stated that “females do as well or better in math and science” (p.12). This was a truly astonishing assertion, for which there is no evidence whatever.

In October Joyce and I went to Cambridge for a dinner to which we had been invited at Gonville and Caius College. I took advantage of the visit to see my grandson Morgan who had just gone up to Clare College to read architecture. He took us to dinner in the college's seventeenth century dining room, on whose walls hung the portraits of former members of the college, including Hugh Latimer who was burned at the stake in 1555 in Oxford for his Protestant beliefs during the reign of the Catholic Queen Mary. Among the portraits I noticed one of Jim Watson who had been at the college in the early 1950s working on the double helix structure of DNA. The next morning I was surprised to find that he was front page news in the *Independent*, with the headline “Africans are less intelligent than westerners says DNA pioneer”. It quoted Watson as saying that he was "inherently gloomy about the prospect of Africa because all our social policies are based on the fact that their intelligence is the same as ours - whereas all the testing says not really". He went on to say that “while a wishful thinker might hope that we are all equal, "people who have to deal with black employees find this is not true".

These observations created a great furore. Watson was in Britain at the time to give lectures at the Science Museum in London, and at the universities of Oxford, Cambridge, Birmingham, Bristol and Edinburgh. Tickets for his lecture at the Science Museum were sold-out, but the lecture was instantly cancelled. A spokesperson for the museum explained that "We feel Dr. Watson has gone beyond the point of acceptable debate and we are, as a result, cancelling his talk". The universities of Birmingham and Edinburgh also cancelled his talks. An "anti-racism" group called for a criminal investigation and Jim Watson cancelled his book tour of Britain and returned to the United States.

At this time and for a number of years past Jim Watson had been director, president, and finally chancellor of the Cold Spring Harbor Laboratory in Long Island. During his time there he had obtained numerous grants for it and made it into one of the leading centres in the world for research on molecular biology and genetics. Nevertheless, when the story of his comments on the low

African IQ broke, the Board of Trustees at the Cold Spring Harbor Laboratory issued a statement that it "vehemently" disagreed with Watson's comments, immediately suspended him from his position as chancellor and invited him to resign or be fired. Watson tried to save his position by retracting his statement but this did him no good and he was forced to resign to avoid being dismissed.

In December, Joyce and I went to Amsterdam for the conference of the International Society of Intelligence Research. I gave a paper on intelligence and religion in a number of countries showing those with higher IQs have less religious belief. Satoshi Kanazawa gave a paper on other correlates of national IQs and Don Templer gave a paper on IQs being higher in non-Muslim countries than in Muslim countries. Don Templer had huge shoulder muscles and Satoshi asked me why this was so. I explained that these were because Don had testosterone injections to improve his sex life. I had warned Don that these were bad for him and would shorten his life but he said he knew this but it was worth it. In the evening several of us visited the red-light district and inspected the girls sitting in skimpy underwear in the shop windows. I don't think any of our party availed themselves of their services.

Gerhard Meisenberg was at the conference and gave a paper on the negative association between national IQs and fertility showing that the world's IQ is declining. This was the first time I met him although we had corresponded. He told me that he was a biochemist and had written a textbook on biochemistry, but he had become interested in intelligence. During the next years we became good friends and collaborated in writing several papers and he has given me a great deal of useful help and advice.

2008

In April I went to Kuwait at the invitation of Professor Ahmed Abdul-Khalek to give a couple of lectures at the university. Joyce came with me and we were put up in the university guest house. I told Ahmed that I proposed to give my first lecture on sex differences and my second on the evolution of intelligence from fish through to early mammals, monkeys and humans, and asked if this would be all right. He replied that the students would not believe my evolution lecture, as they did not believe in evolution because the Koran says the world and all the animals were created by Allah in seven days, but I could give it anyway, and they would not object. He was right about this, and the lectures were courteously received. Later, he showed me around the university. The library was divided into two sections, one for the men and the other for the women.

Several of the Kuwaitis took us out in the evenings on tours of the city and to dinner. They were very courteous and generally well informed but every now and then would excuse themselves for about five minutes to go and pray. Professor Abdul-Khalek told me that many of the professors did no research, had other jobs and regarded their university salaries as retainers while they made an additional income from other activities.

The university buildings were quite sumptuous but had been poorly maintained. There were beautiful marble tiles cladding the walls but many of these had fallen off exposing rough concrete with projecting rusting steel bolts on which the marble tiles had been hung. The temperature was around 38c and I was told that there was a staff club that had a pool, so one day I went to it for a swim. It was a beautiful building identified with a sign *Kuwait University Staff Club*. I noticed that the last *b* had fallen off – possibly an ominous sign. The whole place was deserted except for a couple of Bangladeshis behind the reception counter whose job was to serve meals and (non-alcoholic) drinks. I asked where the pool was and one of them obligingly took me to it. It was a large pool but there was no water in it. I asked why this was and the Bangladeshi told me it leaked so there was no point in filling it with water.

A former student of mine, David Robinson, was on the faculty so I met him for lunch and asked why so many tiles had fallen off the walls of the buildings and not been replaced. He told me it was because the cement mix used to fix them was too weak and this was because all the building work was done by Indians, Bangladeshis and Pakistanis and they sold a lot of the cement that should have been used for the building work, and this was why the mix was too weak. A weak mix will hold for a few weeks or months, so it looks fine for a while, and by the time the tiles started to fall off the builders had moved on. The tiles had not been replaced because it was no-one's job to put them back.

In July we went to Berlin for the XXIX International Congress of Psychology. Heiner Rindermann organised a symposium on international cognitive competence levels (i.e. national IQs). Heiner spoke to the effect that educational policies had little effect on intelligence. I spoke on the numerous social and economic correlates of national IQs. Gerhard Meisenberg spoke on intelligence and income inequality; Georg Oosterdiekoff spoke on the relation between psychometric and Piagetian intelligence and Martin Steppan on cultural influences on IQs. Also at the conference was Omar Khaleefa, Professor of Psychology at the University of Khartoum, with whom I had published several papers on intelligence in Sudan and other countries in the Near East. This was the first time I met him and I invited him to join us all for dinner. When we had finished dinner, Omar Khaleefa asked Heiner Rindermann where the red light district was, and soon after said he had to leave us for an engagement. Shortly after he returned to Sudan he disappeared and has not been heard of since. I was told that he had criticised the government and that this is not a

wise thing to do in Sudan. He had done some good work and was a loss to the country.

I published *The Global Bell Curve*. This extended Charles Murray's and Dick Herrnstein's *The Bell Curve* in which they showed that in the United States there is a racial hierarchy such that whites have the highest IQ followed by Hispanics, and then by blacks, and that these differences explain much of the differences in a number of economic and social phenomena including welfare dependency, incomes, educational attainment and socio-economic status. My *Global Bell Curve* summarised the evidence showing that there are similar racial hierarchies throughout the world. It showed that in many countries intelligence and socio-economic status are highest in North East Asians and Europeans, and then by mixed race peoples like the Indians and Coloureds in South and East Africa, the Mestizos in Latin America, while indigenous peoples like the Native American Indians, Maori in New Zealand and Aborigines in Australia come at the bottom. This colour based social gradient has been noted by numerous sociologists and anthropologists. For instance, the British social anthropologist Peter Wade has written "Whites are at the top, Indians and blacks at the bottom, and positions in the middle are defined by various criteria of status, among which colour and descent are very important".

It has often been asserted that Brazil is an exception to the racial hierarchies elsewhere. This belief has its origin in a book published in 1945 by the Brazilian sociologist Gilberto Freyre in which he claimed that Brazil was a racially egalitarian society. Officials at UNESCO were so impressed by Freyre's claim that they sponsored a number of studies of Brazil in the 1950s in the belief that these would reveal the secret of a racially tolerant, unprejudiced and egalitarian multiracial nation that would serve as a model for other societies, particularly the United States, in which whites were prejudiced against blacks and other non-white racial minorities and discriminated against them. The results of these researches were disappointing in so far as they found that the racial hierarchy in Brazil is just as pronounced as elsewhere or, as the sociologist Edward Telles has written "racial discrimination differentially sorts blacks, browns, and whites into the hierarchical system".

In December, Joyce and I went to Atlanta for the conference of the International Society of Intelligence Research. I gave a paper on the regional differences in intelligence in Italy showing IQs are highest in the north, where they are the same as in central and northern Europe, and decline steadily towards the south, reaching 89 in Sicily. I proposed that this explained the problem of the north-south differences in incomes that have been long known and the causes of it extensively debated by Italian economists. I attributed the low IQs in the south to the settlement of North Africans whose lower IQs had diluted the intelligence of the people. Later I published the paper in the journal *Intelligence* where it was disputed by several Italians but supported with new evidence by Don Templer.

At the conference I met Raegan Murphy who gave a paper on the increase of intelligence in South Africa. She told me that she had grown up in South Africa but conditions there were becoming increasingly difficult. There was a high rate of crime and frequent electricity failures because people dug up the cables to get the copper sheathing and sell it. She decided it would likely get worse and she would be best to leave. She applied for academic jobs in Europe and obtained a lectureship at University College, Cork. I also met Carmen Flores-Mendoza from Brazil and asked her if she knew of any studies of race differences in intelligence there. She told me this was a very sensitive issue in Brazil and people were reluctant to publish data on it.

2009

Although our 2002 book *IQ and the Wealth of Nations* received some negative reactions when it was first published, increasing numbers had come to accept that our national IQs were correct and explained much of the national differences in a wide range of social and economic phenomena. Early in the year, Heiner Rindermann and Steve Ceci described our national IQs as “a new development in the study of cognitive ability: following a century of conceptual and psychometric development in which individual and group (socio-economic, age, and ethnic) differences were examined, researchers have turned their attention to national and international differences in cognitive competence. The goal is to use cognitive differences to understand and predict national differences in a variety of outcomes: societal development, rate of democratization, population health, productivity, gross domestic product (GDP), and wage inequality”.

In November, 2008, Barack Obama was elected president of the United States. This was a milestone in the transformation of the United States to a multiracial society in which Europeans will become a minority around the year 2042. The next year the 2009 Nobel Peace Prize was awarded to Barack Obama. This was a bizarre award because Obama had done nothing whatever to promote peace. It seems that the Nobel committee awarded the prize in anticipation that Obama would do something to promote peace in the future. In 2015 the former secretary of the Nobel committee said that Obama had “failed to live up to the panel’s expectations”. I believe that if Obama had any integrity he would have declined to accept it.

I published a paper showing that in Britain the increases in intelligence that I had previously documented for the second half of the twentieth century had recently come to an end and begun to decline among adolescents aged 13 years and older. Evidently, dysgenic fertility had begun to have an adverse effect on measured intelligence.

In December, Joyce and I went to Madrid for the conference of the International Society of Intelligence Research. I gave a paper on the high intelligence and achievement of the Jews. This was my first meeting with Michael Woodley who (together with James Stratford) gave a ground

breaking paper on the relation between my national IQs and six haplogroup frequencies. This was the first report of possible genetic factors determining race differences in intelligence that Michael has elaborated in several later brilliant contributions.

After the end of the conference we took the train to Avila, a historic walled city about 50 miles north of Madrid. We were accompanied by Phil Rushton and Aurelio Figueredo and stayed in a hotel for a couple of nights. Aurelio told us Avila was famous for producing Nun's Cookies and spent some time trying to get some, but was disappointed in being unsuccessful.

#### Chapter 12. Bristol 2010-2020

In 2010, Gerhard Meisenberg and I published a paper in which we integrated all the international studies of reading comprehension, math and science understanding obtained in the PISA (Program for International Student Assessment) projects. We put this on a common metric for 108 nations and showed that they are perfectly correlated with national IQs. This decisively refuted the critics who had questioned the validity of my national IQs.

The economist Garrett Jones published a paper showing that a country's average IQ is a predictor of the wages that immigrants from that country earn in the United States, whether or not an adjustment is made for immigrant education.

I have recently acquired two cyber space friends in Moscow, Dmitri Ushakov who is head of the Institute of Psychology at the Russian Academy of Sciences, and Andrei Grigoriev at one of the Moscow universities. I wrote a paper with Andrei on early Russian studies of intelligence before these were prohibited by Stalin in 1933 on account of their results showing socio-economic status and racial differences in IQs. We summarised a number of early studies of the low IQs in central Asia, including the work of Luria on the poor reasoning ability of Uzbecks, the publication of which was banned in Russia in the 1930s.

Early in the year I developed myasthenia gravis, a condition in which there is a weakening of the nerves controlling the muscles that normally keep the eyelids open and control speech, swallowing and breathing. My doctor arranged for me to be admitted to the Bristol Royal Infirmary for some tests and I was required to spend the night in a geriatric ward for demented old men who wandered around and engaged me in incoherent conversation. I had taken some books with me and in the morning I discovered that these had disappeared from my bedside locker. I told the nurse and after some searching she found them in the locker of one of the demented old men. It appears he believed they were his and had taken them in the night. The next day I was taken to a specialist neurological hospital in Bristol for some more tests. It was Friday, and in the afternoon, a junior doctor came round and I asked him what was happening. He said the consultants who would decide what needed to be done for me had all gone home and would see me on Monday. I asked if I could go home for the weekend and come back on Monday, but he advised against it. He said if I did that

I would lose my place in the queue and there would be a delay in a consultant seeing me. I decided to take his advice and spent a tedious weekend in the hospital.

The hospital experience was quite grim. The night nurses woke us up at 6 a.m. and went off duty. We were then left until 8 a.m., when the day nurses brought us breakfast. The hospital seemed like a typical producer controlled industry run principally for the convenience of the staff. My fellow patients were all elderly though not notably demented like the ones on my first night. Two of these old boys discussed their bowel movement problems across the ward. "Yes", shouted one, "I couldn't go for five whole days, and then it came out as hard as a rock". All the patients had TVs switched on loud, so it was impossible to sleep. However, I still had some books so I was able to read. The food was terrible consisting on a slab of meat or fish, boiled potatoes and overcooked vegetables. A sandwich would have been much better. The myasthenia gravis was quite severe. I was gasping for breath and was put in intensive care in case my breathing packed up, but I survived without the need of a tracheotomy. I was put on high dose medication that reduced the symptoms although I still had difficulty in speaking coherently because I had lost control of my tongue. A doctor found the right medication that corrected the myasthenia gravis so my eyesight was restored and with continued medication it has been fine.

Richard Gregory died on 17 May. As I have recorded, I knew him well at Cambridge in the 1950s. I met him quite often in Bristol in recent years and came to know him well. He told me he did not get on with his father who, he believed, was jealous of his achievements. He also told me he was wary of trying marriage a third time, but he managed a rather complicated *ménage à trios*. He kept what *The Times* obituary described as "his main companion of many years, Priscilla Heard" strictly under wraps and I never met her, although I heard of her existence from one of his friends. He was not at all politically correct, but he was careful to project a politically correct public face. This was evident in his *Oxford Companion to the Mind* which studiously avoided anything controversial. There were no entries for race differences in intelligence, eugenics or dysgenics, despite long entries on neo-haptic touch, neuropeptides and nitrogen narcosis (to pick at random three entries under "n"). There were several pages on Luria, but no mention of his work showing that the Uzbecks were remarkably deficient in logical thinking.

In Germany, Thilo Sarrazin published *Deutschland schafft sich ab* (translated as *Germany Destroys Itself*, or *Germany Commits Suicide*). He argued that Germany was destroying itself by permitting the large-scale immigration of Muslims, who have below-average IQs and high birth rates, that will have the result that Germans are on course to become "strangers in their own country". He wrote that mainstream commentators are in denial about this: "In Germany an army of integration specialists, Islam researchers, sociologists, political scientists, community activists, and naive politicians are working intensively to play down the situation, deceive themselves, and deny

the problems". He wrote also of the low birth rate of highly educated professional women in Germany citing evidence that in 1996 37 percent of women in western Germany aged 30-39 with university degrees were childless. He argued this dysgenic fertility has been brought about by the emancipation of women following the introduction of universal suffrage in the late 19th century, progressive income tax on high earners and subsidies for poor families with children. These measures discouraged the more intelligent from having children and encouraged a higher birth rate of the less intelligent that has resulted in a decline of the average intelligence level of the population. Thilo Sarrazin's book stated some important truths but was condemned by Angela Merkel and virtually the whole of the German media.

David Coleman, the Professor of Demography at the University of Oxford, published a paper on what he designated the third demographic transition. He defined a demographic transition as a major change in the nature of a population. He designated the first demographic transition as the change from the high birth and death rates of historic times to the low and below replacement levels that began in the mid-nineteenth century in Europe and North America and is now universal throughout the West although it has barely begun in sub-Saharan Africa. He designated the second demographic transition as the breakdown of marriage and high rates of divorce in many Western societies. He designated the third demographic transition as the replacement of the European peoples throughout North America and Western Europe by non-Europeans and these becoming the majorities of the populations. He estimated that this transition will be completed by around the year 2042 in the United States, by around 2066 in Britain, and at various times in the second half of the twenty-first century throughout Western Europe.

Gerhard Meisenberg published a paper confirming my studies showing genetic deterioration for intelligence in Western countries and estimated that genotypic intelligence in the United States was deteriorating by 0.8 IQ points per generation. I extended this work in a study with John Harvey to an estimate of the decline of the world's IQ caused by the higher fertility of third world low IQ countries. We estimated that the world's IQ deteriorated genetically by 0.86 IQ points in the years 1950-2000. A further confirmation of dysgenic fertility in a review of seventeen studies has been published by Charlie Reeve and Michael Woodley showing that for women the correlation between IQ and their number of children is  $-.197$  and  $-.077$  for men.

I received the Estonian Ministry of Education and Science Award for Excellence for 2010, jointly with Professor Jaan Mikk, for our work on national differences in intelligence and educational attainment. This award is known as the Estonian Nobel, but unhappily its monetary value is considerably lower.

Jelte Wicherts and his colleagues published two papers arguing that the average IQ in sub-

Saharan Africa is substantially higher than 67 proposed that Tatu Vanhanen and I had estimated in our 2002 and 2006 books. In the first of these, they proposed that the IQ assessed by the Progressive Matrices is about 76 in relation to a British mean of 100. In a reply, I argued that they achieved this result by including many studies of unrepresentative elite samples, and by excluding a number of samples of representative samples that obtained low IQs, and that studies of acceptably representative samples confirmed our estimate that the IQ in sub-Saharan Africa is approximately 67. In their second paper, Wicherts and his colleagues reviewed studies of the IQ in sub-Saharan Africa obtained with tests other than the Progressive Matrices and concluded that the average IQ of Africans on these tests is approximately 82 when compared to American norms. Gerhard Meisenberg and I published a reply to this and concluded that an IQ of 68 is the best estimate of the IQ in sub-Saharan Africa obtained from all studies, in relation to a British mean of 100. In more recent studies of updated data, Heiner Rinderman (2018) has estimated the IQ in sub-Saharan Africa at 71 and David Becker (2019) at 69.

In December, Joyce and I went to the United States for the conference of the International Society of Intelligence Research that took place in Alexandria. I gave a paper together with Tabitha Payne showing that girls are better than boys in second language ability, although not in first language ability, contrary to some claims such as those made by Stuart Ritchie. In a later paper, I attributed this female advantage to the practice in the evolutionary environment of females moving to other groups some of which would have spoken different languages so the ability to acquire these quickly would have given them an advantage.

Heiner Rindermann and James Thompson gave a paper showing that parents' education has a greater effect on their children's intelligence than their income. Don Templer gave a paper confirming my work showing that in Italy IQs are higher in the north than in the south.

At the conference, I met Dmitri Ushakov and his wife Ekaterina Valueva from the Institute of Psychology at the Russian Academy of Sciences. I told them that my father had been a geneticist and had visited Russia in 1932 when he had spent about two weeks with Nicholai Vavilov, the leading Russian geneticist, and that together they had visited a number of cotton research institutes, and that my father had written of him that "Vavilov was the best man I ever met". They told me that some years later Vavilov had been purged by Stalin and replaced by Trofim Lysenko, who incorrectly contended that acquired characteristics can be inherited, and that this set back genetics in Russia for a number of years.

I met and talked with several old friends including Fredrik Ullen who is concert standard pianist and expert on Listz. He later sent me some of his recordings which I enjoyed although I cannot say that Listz is one of my favorite composers.

2011

Helmuth Nyborg edited a special issue on my work to be published in the journal *Personality & Individual Differences*. The contributors were Helmuth Nyborg: A conversation with Richard Lynn; Philippe Rushton: Life history theory and race differences: An appreciation of Richard Lynn's contribution to science; Satoshi Kanazawa: The evolution of general intelligence; Donald Templer: Richard Lynn and the evolution of conscientiousness; Tutu Vanhanen: National IQs and their demographic correlates; Gerhard Meisenberg: National IQs and economic outcomes; Heiner Rindermann: Cognitive ability, intellectual classes and economic development: The rise of cognitive capitalism; Jüri Allik: National differences in personality; Helmuth Nyborg: The decay of Western civilization: Double relaxed Darwinian selection; Paul Irwing: Sex differences in *g* (the general factor in intelligence) demonstrating that men have higher *g* than women by around 3 IQ points; Jaan Mikk and Olav Must: Sex differences in educational attainment; Omar Khaleefa: Dysgenic fertility for intelligence in Sudan; Jan te Nijenhuis: The Lynn-Flynn effect in Korea; Raegan Murphy: The Lynn-Flynn effect: How to explain it?; Michael Woodley: The life history model of the Lynn-Flynn effect; Davide Piffer: The heritability of creativity; and James Thompson: Richard Lynn's contribution of personality and intelligence: A critical evaluation.

In July I gave a dinner at the Oxford and Cambridge Club in London for the contributors and a number of others. The people who attended were Juri Allik and his wife Anu, Rosalind Arden, Tim Bates, Alexander Beaujean and his wife, Roberto Colom, Ian Deary, Jury Dodonov and his wife Yulia, Vincent Egan, Sybil Eysenck and her son Darren, Aurelio Figueredo and his wife Maureen, Adrian Furnham and his wife Alison, Linda Gottfredsson, Germund Hesslow, [Paul Irwing](#), Raegan Murphy, Edward Necka, Jan te Nijenhuis, Helmuth Nyborg and his wife Mette, Heiner Rindermann, Donald Templer, James Thompson and his wife Margaret, Fredrik Ullen, Tatu Vanhanen, Tony [Vernon](#), Michael Woodley, Moshe Zeidner and his wife Eti, my grandson Morgan and my wife Joyce.

There were after dinner speeches by Helmuth Nyborg, Aurelio Figueredo and James Thompson, who on behalf of the assembled company presented me with a sword, a pair of horns, and a plaque inscribed "Tribute to Richard The Lionheart Lynn for his long standing contributions to Eugenics and Psychometrics, given by devoted colleagues on the 27<sup>th</sup> July, 2011, at the celebratory dinner at the Oxford & Cambridge Club, London".

I replied thanking the guests for their tributes and gifts and began by thanking them for the sword and saying I was not sure why they had given me the horns, which are traditionally presented to cuckolds in England, and I wondered whether they were trying to tell me something. I then spoke on the decay of European civilisation resulting from dysgenic fertility and the immigration of non-European peoples, who will become majorities of the population in the United States by the mid-century, and throughout western Europe by the end of the century. I said the average IQ of

immigrants was around 90, and hence with increasing numbers of these, IQs will fall to the mid or low 90s. The American and European peoples will inevitably lose their position of world leadership in scientific, technological and economic development, and will be replaced by China.

I talked to Tatu Vanhanen who was looking a bit frail - he was now 82 - and we discussed our next book *Intelligence: A Unifying Construct for the Social Sciences*. We hoped to get this done in about eight months.

On 4 August, 2011, the police shot and killed Mark Duggan, a black 29-year-old father of four, in the multi-ethnic district of Tottenham in north London. The police believed he was carrying a gun, which proved to be correct, and was likely to shoot them, so they shot him first. During the next three days, riots broke out in which the local multi-ethnic population looted a number of shops, burned a number of cars and garbage dumps and pelted police officers with bottles and fireworks. The disorder spread across London and many restaurants and stores closed early fearful of being attacked and looted. Initially, the violence and looting was done by blacks, but later a number of white youths started looting shops. In the next few days, the disorder spread to the cities of Birmingham, Bristol and Liverpool. The causes of the disorder were discussed by a panel on the TV program *Question Time* on which David Starkey, a Cambridge academic, public intellectual and frequent contributor commented that “Whites have begun behaving like blacks”. This was a career destroying observation and he has never since been invited to appear on any TV program.

I had been interested for some time in the remarkable achievements of the Jewish peoples. Many years ago I had read that about a third of the Nobel Prizes won by Germany in the years 1901-1939 had been awarded to Jews. I checked the numbers of Jews in Germany and found they were slightly fewer than one per cent of the population. I reflected that the Jews must have had a high IQ to achieve this astonishing over-representation and I spent several months investigating this question. I read a number of papers in economics and sociology journals on the educational attainments, earnings and socio-economic status of Jews in the United States, and found numerous studies going back to the first half of the twentieth century reporting that Jews performed better than gentile whites. I found that five principal theories were advanced to explain Jewish success. These were (a) strong motivation theory; (b) strong family and ethnic networks; (c) marginal man theory; (d) special aptitudes theory; and (e) luck. I thought it was strange that none of these mentioned that the explanation for the remarkable achievements of the Jews could be that they are more intelligent than gentiles

Gary Becker, the Nobel prize-winner for economics, discussed why Jews have done so well and concluded “I believe that the high achievement and low fertility of Jewish families are explained by high marginal rates of return to investments in the education, health and other human capital of their

children that lower the price of quantity relative to quality” (Becker, 1981, p. 110). Translated from economists’ jargon, this means that Jews have fewer children and devote more effort to their health and to giving them a good education. He did not offer any explanation for why Jews do this but we are left to infer that this is part of their values. Daniel Moynihan (the former United States Senator) and Nathan Glazer (the former Harvard sociologist) discussed why Jews have done so well in real estate in New York and advanced the thesis that Jews have “exceptional skill in financial and business management, derived from a long history in business, that has unquestionably served many Jews well in a field that is incredibly complex and laden with pitfalls” (Moynihan and Glazer, 1970, p.153). It did not apparently occur to them that this “exceptional skill in financial and business management” could be an expression of high intelligence.

The British historian Paul Johnson (2004, p. 253) has written that “the great Jewish strength lay in the ability to take quick advantage of new opportunities, to recognise an unprecedented situation when it arose and devise methods of handling it. Christians had long learned how to deal with conventional financial problems, but they were slow to react to novelty”. There is of course no special ability “to take quick advantage of new opportunities”. The ability he describes is intelligence.

William Rubinstein (2004) has discussed why Jews have been so good at chess and begins by suggesting that “great ability at chess appears to be an innate gift of some kind. There is universal agreement among experts that by constant practice, study, and lessons with outstanding players someone can improve ...but that it is impossible to improve dramatically if the inherent ability is lacking – just as it is impossible for a tennis player to improve enough by practice to compete in the finals at Wimbledon unless he or she possesses the innate tennis ability of a great player (2004, p.36)... It may be therefore that Jews are genetically good at chess” (p.39). This is very likely true in so far as Jews have a high level of general intelligence and some of them devote this to chess. Good chess players have high intelligence that they have directed into acquiring expertise in the game. An investigation I carried out in collaboration with Marcel Frydman of the University of Mons in Belgium of 33 tournament level young chess players aged 8-13 found that they had an average IQ of 121, showing that a high IQ is required to do well in chess. Aljosha Neubauer (2006) of the University of Graz in Austria has also found that tournament standard chess players have high IQs.

Alan Godley (2004) has asserted that the socio-economic success of Jews who migrated to Britain and the United States between 1881 and 1914 has been largely due to luck. According to this account, Jews were just lucky that they went into the garment industry and that this happened to expand in the middle and later decades of the twentieth century. This is surely the least plausible

explanation for Jewish successes. It can hardly be luck that has made Jews in many countries the highest earning ethnic group, greatly over-represented in the professions, among top chess and bridge champions, and among Nobel Prize winners.

Many of those who have written on Jewish success have proposed multi-factor theories incorporating several attributes. The American sociologist Paul Burnstein (2007) proposed five explanations of why Jews have done so well. These are “getting more education and working long hours, faith that emphasizes pursuits in this world as opposed to the afterlife, mutual assistance through the self-help organizations they long maintained in the Diaspora, marginality that made them sceptical of conventional ideas and stimulated creativity that led to intellectual eminence and, often, economic success, and social capital, the ability to secure benefits through membership in networks and other social structures”. The Irish economist Cormac O’Grada (2006, p.162) attributed Jewish success to “bourgeois virtues such as sobriety, a desire to succeed, a dislike of violence, an emphasis on education and learning, and high self-esteem” .

None of these pundits considered high intelligence as a possible factor in Jewish success. The more of these papers I read, the more it became apparent that a job needed to be done investigating whether Jews have a high IQ. I had a look at the research on the intelligence of the Jews and found that a number of studies had been published reporting that Jews do indeed have high IQs. These studies were all quite old. It seemed that comparative studies of the IQs of different peoples had become increasingly taboo in recent decades. I investigated the Jewish IQ myself and published four papers between 2004 and 2008. These were on the intelligence of Jews in the United States and Britain, in which I estimated the Jewish IQ at approximately 110, in Israel (together with Hanna David), where I estimated the IQ of European Jews at 106 and the IQ of Oriental Jews at 91. I also wondered whether the Jews might have some personality characteristic, such as a strong work ethic, which might contribute to their high achievements, but could not find any evidence for this in a study published with Satoshi Kanazawa. I published my conclusions in the fall in *The Chosen People: A Study of Jewish Intelligence and Achievement*.

2012

March 14. Joyce and I went to the United States where I was to give two lectures on dysgenics and eugenics at Jared Taylor’s American Renaissance conference. We flew from London to Washington and stayed the night with Jared and his wife Evelyn in Virginia a few miles outside the city. Jared told me that his father was a missionary in Japan, where Jared was brought up and became fluent in Japanese, but the religion did not take. He also told me that in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries his family had slave owning estates in Kentucky, and that he has an archive of family wills

in which slaves were often bequeathed to younger family members. I asked him whether he had always been a conservative and he replied “By no means. When I was young I was quite liberal and it took several experiences to shift me. One of these was when I was visiting a girl friend's family and there was a news story about how a family was living in an apartment infested with rats and how terrible it was that some people had to live like that. Jared said how much he sympathised with these unfortunates upon which the girl's father observed “You know why their apartment's infested with rats? It's because they can't darned well be bothered to clean it up and put their garbage out”. “Well”, Jared concluded, “I didn't have an answer to that and this was one of the milestones on my journey from left to right”.

The next day we flew to Nashville, Tennessee, for the conference, which took place in a hotel in the Tennessee national park. Jared Taylor gave an opening address in which he said “Ours is an era of fear and self-censorship. Virtually no whites are willing to break taboos about racial differences in IQ, the costs of diversity, or the challenges of non-white immigration. We are different. We believe these are vital questions. At this conference you will hear some of the most courageous academics, authors, and journalists of our time discuss the forces that will determine our future. This is a remarkable group of speakers and guests committed to the defence of western civilization”.

I spoke on *Eugenics and Dysgenics: A Promise Denied*. I discussed two dysgenic forces operating in the United States, Canada and Western Europe. The first is the low fertility of the more intelligent and the more conscientious and the second the mass immigration of peoples with lower IQ and conscientiousness.

In the summer of 2012, Tatu Vanhanen and I published our last book *Intelligence: A Unifying Construct for the Social Sciences*. We gave updated IQs for all nations and a number of their social and economic correlates. We reported that national IQs were significantly correlated with GDP per capita in .71, showing that national IQs explained 50 percent of the variance in national per capita income (.71 squared = .50). We also found that national IQs were significantly correlated adult literacy (.64), income inequality assessed by the Gini index (.47), the rate of unemployment (-.76), researchers in research and development (.67), gender inequality (-.86), corruption (-.59), life satisfaction (.63), religious belief (-.48), life expectancy (.76), malnutrition (-.52), tuberculosis (-.57), quality of water (.62) and quality of sanitation (.71).

These additional correlates validated our national IQs and an increasing number of scholars came to accept our work on national IQs and its contribution to the explanation of a wide range of national and social phenomena. Matrin Voracek (2013) of the University of Vienna wrote that “The publication of a compilation of national intelligence (IQ) estimates for the world's countries by Lynn and Vanhanen has spawned considerable interest among researchers across a variety of

scientific disciplines... Up to now, across dozens of studies, theoretically expected and thus meaningful aggregate-level associations of national IQ with numerous other psychological, socio-economic, and demographic indicators have been obtained. Variables investigated range from atheism (Lynn, Harvey, & Nyborg, 2009), scholastic achievement (Lynn, *et al.*, 2007), fertility (Shatz, 2008), inbreeding depression (Woodley, 2009), health outcomes (Reeve, 2009), and life history traits (Rushton, 2004; Templer, 2008) to homicide (Lester, 2003; Templer, Connelly, Lester, Arikawa, & Mancuso (2007) and suicide rates (Voracek, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007a, 2008), to name just a few examples”.

Art Jensen died on 22 October at the age of 88. I wrote an obituary of him in the journal *Intelligence*. At various times when we met, he told me that as an adolescent, he intended to make his career as a musician, but came to realise he lacked the talent to reach the top of the profession, so he abandoned his musical ambitions and entered the University of California, Berkeley, where he graduated in psychology. He had an encyclopedic knowledge of classical music and could identify a huge number of pieces on hearing the opening chord.

In 1958 Art was appointed assistant professor in the Graduate School of Education at Berkeley, where he remained for the rest of his career. He achieved national notoriety in 1969 when he published an article on his conclusion that there is some genetic contribution to the difference in intelligence between blacks and whites. His article received extensive coverage in the media including *Time*, *Newsweek* and *New York Times Magazine*. Radical groups on the Berkeley campus were outraged, demonstrated at his lectures and called for his dismissal. Armed guards were stationed outside his study to protect him from possible assault.

Art spent the early 1970s producing two books defending and amplifying his conclusion that there is a genetic basis for some of the difference in average IQs between American blacks and whites (Jensen, 1972, 1973). His position was that a number of converging lines of evidence point to a primarily genetic explanation of the black-white IQ difference. He concluded that “All major facts would seem to be comprehended quite well by the hypothesis that something between one-half and three-fourths of the average IQ difference between American Negroes and whites is attributable to genetic factors, and the remainder to environmental factors and their interaction with environmental factors” (Jensen, 1973, p.363).

Art’s conclusion received significant support in 1994 from a study carried out by Waldman, Scarr and Weinberg (1994). This study was designed to show that when black infants are adopted by white parents they would have the same IQs as whites and therefore that the black-white IQ difference is wholly environmentally determined. The authors of this study examined groups of black, white and interracial babies adopted by white middle class couples. They found that at the age of 17 the IQs were 89 for the blacks and 106 for the white. Thus, a 17 IQ point difference

between blacks and whites remained when they were reared in the same conditions. However, the IQ of 89 of the blacks seemed to show that they had gained 4 IQ points over the IQ of 85 for the general black population. From this the authors of the study concluded that “we feel that the balance of the evidence, although not conclusive, favors a predominantly environmental etiology underlying racial differences in intelligence and that the burden of proof is on researchers who argue for the predominance of genetic racial differences”, but their use of the term “predominantly environmental etiology” implicitly conceded that they accepted that genetic factors are also present. I published a comment on this study showing that even this interpretation of the results was incorrect when I pointed out that the IQ of 89 of the black children was the same as that of blacks in the north central states from which the infants came and thus being raised by white adoptive parents had no advantageous effects on their intelligence. Sandra Scarr later conceded this and was so shattered that she abandoned work on intelligence and retired to one of the remoter islands of the Hawaiian archipelago.

In the twenty-first century Art continued to publish papers, jointly with Phil Rushton, supporting his position on the evidence for a genetic basis for a 50% to 80% genetic contribution to the black-white IQ difference. In 2010 they reviewed the evidence showing that there has been no narrowing of the 15 IQ point black-white IQ difference from 1918 up to 2008, as might be expected from the improvements in the environmental conditions of blacks, and therefore providing further evidence for the largely genetic explanation of the difference (Rushton and Jensen, 2010).

By the end of the first decade of the twenty-first century Art’s conclusion that there is a substantial genetic basis for the difference in average IQs between American blacks and whites had become increasingly accepted. Linda Gottfredson (2005, p.316) concluded that “Rushton and Jensen have presented a compelling case that their 50%-50% hereditarian hypothesis is more plausible than the culture only hypothesis. In fact, the evidence is so consistent and so uniform that the truth may like closer to 70%-80% genetic”. Jensen’s case was still not universally accepted but supporters of a wholly environmental explanation had become a dwindling band among whom the most prominent is Richard Nisbett (2009). It was something of a milestone in this controversy when Earl Hunt (2011, p. 434) in his authoritative textbook concluded that “Rushton and Jensen and Lynn are correct in saying that the 100% environmental hypothesis cannot be maintained. Nisbett’s extreme statement has virtually no chance of being true”.

Jensen’s conclusions received recognition in 2003 when he was awarded the Lifetime Achievement Award from the International Society for Intelligence Research and the Kistler Prize from the Foundation for the Future. Jensen's last work was concerned with reaction times as measures of intelligence and was published in 2006 in his book *Clocking the mind: Mental chronometry and individual differences*. He developed an apparatus that distinguished between reaction time and movement time and showed that only reaction time is

associated with intelligence. He advanced the theory that intelligence is determined by the periodicity of neural oscillation in the action potentials of the brain and central nervous system.

In his personality, Jensen was exceptionally indifferent to pressure for social conformity. He once told me that when he was eight years old he attended Sunday school, but he said “The stuff they were telling us about miracles and the like just didn’t make any kind of sense, so I kept raising objections and eventually they expelled me for asking too many questions”. On another occasion I asked him why he was one of the very few who worked on race differences in intelligence and what was different about him that led him to work on this controversial topic that generated so much animosity towards him. He replied that he thought the explanation was that he didn’t mind being disliked by a lot of people. Most people, he said, have a dread of being disliked, but this was not something that bothered him. On yet another occasion, he told me that he had never had any interest in team sports. This is likely attributable to Jensen’s lack of identification with groups and is a further expression of his independence of mind.

Jensen was an amusing raconteur. I once heard someone ask him how he met his wife Barbara. He said he’d noticed her when he was a post-grad at Berkeley and she was working as an assistant looking after the monkeys in the animal house. He said “She seemed to be good at it, so I reckoned if she could look after monkeys she could look after me”. He said that when they first got together she was keen on social life but “I soon cured her of that”. Like most dedicated academics, he had little time for small talk at social functions. On another occasion he recounted how he first met William Shockley, the Nobel prize-winning physicist who had taken up the issue of race differences in intelligence. He attended a talk Shockley was giving and when it was over he went up to Shockley and said he would like to talk to him about these issues. Shockley gave him an appointment and when he arrived at his office, Shockley said “Now Jensen, I don’t waste my time talking with fools, so before I give you any of my time I’m going to give you an intelligence test”. Jensen reflected that he’d never talked with a Nobel prize-winner so he’d go along with this. Evidently he acquitted himself adequately because Shockley was willing to see him on that and a number of subsequent occasions.

Jensen told me that some weeks later, Shockley and his wife Emily had Art and Barbara to dinner with another couple and they were discussing race differences in intelligence. After some time, Mrs Shockley said “I think the conversation is becoming rather too serious” and turning to her neighbour asked “Now tell me, where are you going for your holiday this year?” Where upon Shockley banged the table and shouted “We are discussing the most important issue of our time. How dare you disrupt it with your stupid, trivial question”? Jensen looked at Mrs Shockley and saw two little tears running like pearls down her cheeks. His verdict on Shockley was that he had negative charisma.

Although Jensen became widely credited with having first proposed that the low black IQ has a genetic basis, in fact he was by no means the first to do so. This was proposed by Francis Galton in 1869 in his *Hereditary Genius* and in the twentieth century by Henry Garrett, the Professor of Psychology at Columbia, in 1945 in a letter to *Science* and in numerous subsequent publications, e.g. “The persistent and regular gap between Negroes and Whites in mental test performance strongly indicates significant differences in native ability” (Garrett, 1967, p.79). Another early exponent of the position that the low black IQ has a genetic basis was Frank McGurk (1953) who showed that when blacks were in the same schools as whites and matched to whites on socio-economic status, they scored 7.5 IQ points lower than whites. He argued that this indicated a genetic difference.

In the summer of 2012 Phil Rushton’s health deteriorated from complications arising from Addison’s Disease. It was from these that he died on 2 October. This was a huge blow as he had been my closest friend and ally for the last twenty five years. I wrote his obituary for the journal *Intelligence*, of which I give a summary here.

Phil was born in 1943 in Bournemouth, England, where his father was a builder. He graduated in psychology at Birkbeck College, University of London, in 1970, and he obtained his Ph.D. at the London School of Economics in 1973 for work on the development of altruism in children. He spent a year at Oxford and then obtained positions at universities in Canada, ending up at the University of Western Ontario.

Phil continued to work on the development of altruism in children and showed that altruism is present in three to five year old children in their play. He found that children’s altruism is influenced by the example of their parents who behave altruistically, for example by giving to others. He published his conclusions in 1980 in his first book *Altruism, Socialisation and Society*.

In the next few years, Phil formulated his genetic similarity theory that stated that people typically behave altruistically only to their own genetic group, while being indifferent or hostile to genetically different out-groups. He noted that there are consistent individual differences and that some children do not develop altruistic behaviour so readily as others. He investigated whether there are genetic differences in the propensity to develop altruistic behaviour in 1983 during a sabbatical year spent with Hans Eysenck in London, where he used the London twin sample to estimate the heritability of altruism, and also of the related personality traits of nurturance, empathy, aggressiveness and assertiveness. He found that all these traits have heritabilities of between 50 and 60 percent. He also found that the environmental factors affecting the development of altruism were not parental role models or socialisation techniques, but influences unique to each twin or what are technically termed non-shared environment.

At about the same time, Phil began to formulate his theory of race differences in *r-K* life history

that he first published in 1985 and at greater length in 1995 in his book *Race, Evolution and Behavior*. The theory was drawn from biology, in which species are categorized on a continuum running from  $r$  strategists to  $K$  strategists;  $r$  strategists have large numbers of offspring and invest relatively little in them, while  $K$  strategists have fewer offspring and invest heavily in them by feeding and protecting them during infancy and until they are old enough to look after themselves. The  $K$  strategy is particularly strongly evolved in monkeys, apes and humans. Species that are  $K$  strategists have a syndrome of characteristics of which the most important are larger brain size, higher intelligence, longer gestation, and a slower rate of maturation in infancy and childhood.

Phil applied  $r$ - $K$  life history theory to three major races: East Asians, Caucasoids (Europeans, South Asians and North Africans), and Negroids (sub-Saharan Africans). His theory was that East Asians are the most  $K$  evolved and Negroids the least  $K$  evolved, while Caucasoids fall intermediate between the two although closer to East Asians. He supported his theory by documenting that the three races differ on over 60 co-evolved sets of morphological, physiological, developmental, psychological and behavioural traits including brain size, intelligence, sexual behaviour, length of gestation, rate of maturation in infancy and longevity. His first theoretical explanation for these differences was that when people migrated out of Africa into Europe and North East Asia they encountered more predictable environments but he later abandoned this explanation and adopted my cold winters theory that colder environments exerted selection pressure for more  $K$  evolved life history strategies.

Phil's  $r$ - $K$  life history theory was his most important work and the one for which he will be most remembered. I regard it as a great innovative study integrating so many different phenomena into a unifying theoretical framework. Phil had exactly the right combination of characteristics required for innovative work, consisting of high intelligence, a sceptical attitude towards the consensus, the creative ability and motivation to formulate an alternative, and the integrity and courage to publish what he concluded was the truth despite the attacks that would inevitably follow. I urged him to elaborate his theory further by adding more races. In particular, East Asians should be split into North East Asians and South East Asians, Caucasoids should be split into Europeans and South Asians and North Africans, and Australian Aborigines and Native American Indians should be added. However, he did not take my advice. I have extended his theory to Australian Aborigines and shown that these are more  $r$  than Negroids.

From 1995 Phil apparently lost interest in his race differences in  $r$ - $K$  life history theory and worked largely on intelligence and personality. He published papers documenting the low IQs obtained by black university students in South Africa and by Roma in Serbia, and the absence any decline in the IQ difference between blacks and whites in the United States that was first recorded

in 1918.

In 2008 Phil began to work on the dimensional structure of personality. Hitherto, the consensus was that personality consisted of several independent traits such as Eysenck's three and Cattell's sixteen or more. Phil worked on the theory that there is a general factor of personality similar to  $g$  in intelligence. In the next three years he published a dozen or so papers demonstrating that this is the case, several of them in collaboration with Paul Irwing. In 2012, the journal *Personality and Individual Differences* devoted a whole issue in honour of Phil's many contributions to which eleven of his friends contributed papers on his work on a wide range of issues.

On his death, Phil left the control of the Charles Darwin Research Institute in the his hands of his son Stephen. The history of this bequest is that Harry Weyher had run the Pioneer Fund for many years until his death in 2002 when he designated Phil as the president, and his own wife and me as directors. During the next years, Phil ran the Pioneer Fund and on 13 Feb, 2010, he transferred \$900,000 from the Pioneer Fund to the Charles Darwin Research Institute of which he was the president and his son Stephen was a trustee. Stephen was an associate professor of education at the University of Southern Florida.

On 14 August, 2012, Phil transferred a further \$1 million from the Pioneer Fund to the Charles Darwin Research Institute. At the same time he resigned as president of the Pioneer Fund and handed it over to me with what was left of its funds, about \$1 million. Phil explained to me that his intention was that I would use the Pioneer Fund funds to support research on race differences and such other projects as I chose, and he would use the Charles Darwin Research Institute to support research on life history, heritability and his other interests.

Shortly after Stephen Rushton acquired control of the Charles Darwin Research Institute he changed its name to the JSP Education Foundation (JSP stands for John Stephen Philippe). It seems that his intention was to dissociate it from the evolutionary psychology his father intended should be supported. He has written to a correspondent: "The JSP Foundation is an entity completely outside of Pioneer Fund. I established a scholarship program here at the University of Southern Florida". The JSP Educational Foundation's 990 return in 2012 gives the mission statement as follows: "The charity has expanded its charitable purposes to include educational opportunities for all youths and underprivileged children through programs that use sailing activities to teach teamwork, responsibility, reasoning, critical thinking and general life skills. The charity will also use its resources to support other exempt organizations including educational institutions with similar goals to help youths of all cultural backgrounds".

This is a sad story. We would have hoped and expected that Phil would have left the Charles Darwin Research Institute funds in the hands of people in whom he could have had confidence that

they would use these to further the causes in which he believed and for which they were donated. So, in the end, Phil let us all down and betrayed the trust placed in him. Phil also appointed Stephen as his literary executor and left his autobiography for him to publish. As of December, 2019, he has not got round to doing so.

In the fall of 2012 I recruited Helen Cheng as a research assistant. Helen was born and brought up in Shanghai and graduated in music at the university. She then came to England and obtained a first degree and a Ph.D. in psychology. She has been an invaluable assistant and we have published a number of papers together including some on racial and ethnic differences in intelligence in China, where the Han have higher IQs than the minorities.

Over Christmas I read Tom Wolfe's recent book *Back to Blood*. As a novel I did not find it as compelling as his previous books *The Bonfire of the Vanities*, *A Man in Full* and *I am Charlotte Simmons*, but it is an arresting snapshot of the racial transformation of the population in the United States. In *Back to Blood*, Tom Wolfe depicts Miami as the city where what David Coleman describes as the third demographic transition has already taken place. Europeans have become a small and defensive minority. There are some blacks, but the majority of the population are immigrants, consisting principally of Cubans, Haitians and other Hispanics. Each race has its own territory and identity captured by the book's title *Back to Blood* meaning that the disparate groups are unified by their common racial identity. The Cubans have become the dominant group and staff nearly all of the police. The blacks are mainly unemployed or crack dealers and their yards are piled high with trash that they cannot be bothered to clear up.

2013

Margaret Thatcher died on 8 April. She surprised everyone, probably including herself, by being elected leader of the Conservative Party in 1975. She became Prime Minister when the Conservatives won the election in 1979. She won the 1983 election and in 1984 prepared to tackle the problem of the loss-making nationalised coal mines. The miners' union was very powerful and had brought down the Heath government in the early 1970s. Now she backed the Coal Board's decision to close twenty loss-making mines. Arthur Scargill, the president of the miners' union, called a strike, but Margaret Thatcher had planned for this by stockpiling coal that kept the power stations going. The strike lasted for about a year and the miners were defeated, many more mines were closed and the few that remained were privatised.

Margaret Thatcher passed laws that greatly reduced the powers of the trade unions and instituted a set of measures that transformed the country. Hitherto, the Conservatives believed it was not possible to privatise the nationalised industries but Margaret Thatcher privatised a number of them including gas, water, steel and electricity. These were changed from inefficient state

monopolies into modern competitive industries. During her years as Prime Minister, she rebuilt Britain' economy after the Labour government in the 1970s had brought financial collapse, hyper-inflation and strike ridden industrial chaos.

In the United States, Jason Richwine got in to trouble for asserting that Hispanics and blacks have lower average IQs than whites and that this has a genetic basis. The result of this, he argued, is that they have difficulty assimilating and are a drain on the economy, and their immigration should be reduced. He had set out these views in his Ph.D. entitled "IQ and Immigration Policy" that he received from Harvard in 2009. After leaving Harvard, Richwine joined the Heritage Foundation and published articles repeating these arguments. On May 6, he published a study of the fiscal effects of an immigration amnesty in the United States, arguing that the costs would amount to \$6.3 trillion. A few days later, the Washington Post revealed that Richwine's Ph.D. had stated that Hispanics have lower IQs than white Americans and recommended that the nation should not admit immigrants with low IQs. This proposal was widely denounced in much of the media. A week later the Heritage Foundation fired him. Charles Murray wrote on this: "His resignation is emblematic of a corruption that has spread throughout American intellectual discourse. I have a personal interest in this story because Jason Richwine was awarded a fellowship from my employer, the American Enterprise Institute, in 2008, and I reviewed the draft of his dissertation. A rereading of the dissertation last weekend confirmed my recollection that Richwine had meticulously assembled and analysed the test-score data, which showed exactly what he said they showed: mean IQ-score differences between Latinos and non-Latino whites, found consistently across many datasets and across time after taking factors such as language proficiency and cultural bias into account. I had disagreements then and now about his policy recommendations, but not about the empirical accuracy of his research or the scholarly integrity of the interpretations with which I disagreed". I doubt whether Charles Murray really disagreed with Richwine about this and think it more likely that he judged it best to say so to preserve his position at the American Enterprise Institute.

2014

On August 26, the Pew Research Center reported that whites were now a minority of 49.7 per cent of children in American schools. This is another milestone in racial transformation of the United States. In the decades to come there will inevitably be more non-European immigration, the European population of the United States will become an increasingly small minority and the United States will likely eventually become just another Latin American second world country.

This demographic change was welcomed by Dana Milbank in the *Washington Post* in an article "A Welcome End to American Whiteness" noting that by 2043 white Americans will be less than half of the U.S. population and that "This to be celebrated. Indeed, it is the key to our survival".

Immigrants from the Third World will bring "fresh blood to cure us of what ails us". Such is the self-hatred that has become common among the liberal white elite in America.

Nicholas Wade, a former science journalist on the New York Times, published *A Troublesome Inheritance* stating that human races do exist! Just like mountains and seas, but a very controversial position for social scientists. He contended that the three major races are Caucasians, East Asians and Africans. The numerically minor races are the Native Americans and Australian Aborigines who did not evolve much because their territories were empty and survival was easy, and the Papuans because they were too few.

2015

Roger Pearson wrote to me to say that he could no longer edit and publish the journal *Mankind Quarterly* and asked me if I would like to take it over. I accepted this offer and arranged for it to be published by the Ulster Institute. Gerhard Meisenberg agreed to be the editor and I became the assistant editor, and I appointed Huw Gruffydd to do the formatting and publication. Gerhard and Huw have both done excellent jobs in their respective roles. It has become an important journal for publishing papers on a wide range of psychological and anthropological phenomena including national IQs that a number of people have collected for many parts of the world.

Nick Mackintosh died on 8 February at the age of 79. We had been on friendly terms for a number of years. I published a generous obituary of him in *Intelligence* on the grounds that it did not seem right to criticise him now that he could not reply, but it was more generous than he deserved. In his work on intelligence, he continued to assert the now almost universally rejected position that there are no genetically based race or sex differences. He was invariably politically correct. I have wondered whether this may have been due to his having attended Winchester College, one of Britain's leading public boarding schools. At this time, small boys at public boarding schools like Eton, Harrow, Rugby and Winchester were frequently beaten by the prefects and masters for quite trivial breaches of school rules. When I was at Cambridge I came to know some of these former prefects who told me that they took their flogging responsibilities seriously and used to practice it by beating pillows to improve their aim and delivery. Some of them frankly admitted that they obtained sadistic satisfaction from inflicting these beatings. The objective was to instil a respect for authority and fear of stepping out of line. This was frequently effective and perhaps a good discipline for those who would later enter the armed services, civil service or the church and generally stood them in good stead in their subsequent careers. It was not so good for the few who became academics who have to be breakers of the conventional consensus if they are to do good original work. This was the case with Nick Mackintosh who struck me as intelligent but very conformist as if he had been conditioned against saying anything controversial. I have noticed

that several of those who attended one of these public schools retained a lifelong fear of breaking the conventional consensus and have a strong aversion to others who do so. Another of these was Donald Broadbent, who also attended Winchester College.

In June I was invited to speak at the Cambridge University Union in support of the motion “This house would design its own baby”. I accepted this invitation and looked forward to staying in Cambridge and giving my speech that would support eugenic measures such as embryo selection for producing designer babies. However, in September I was disinvited on some flimsy excuse but I believe was really because students have become hypersensitive to the possibility that some of them might be traumatised by hearing something on the desirability of eugenics. This has become known as “no-platforming” and many instances of it have been reported in the US during the last fifteen or so years but I believe this is the first time it has occurred in England.

Edward Dutton, a docent (teaching assistant) at the University of Oulu in Finland, and I published *Race and Sport*, a book in which we documented the sports in which different races excel. These include the pre-eminence of West Africans and those of West African descent in sprinting, principally due to their long legs and predominance of quick-twitch fibres, and also at team sports that require sprinting ability including football, basketball, baseball and rugby. East Africans from the highlands of Kenya and Ethiopia excel in long distance running, principally because of their large lung capacity and predominance of short-twitch fibres. We also examined racial differences in swimming, skiing, wrestling, boxing, gymnastics, tennis, badminton, squash and chess. The only wholly mind game is chess and Ashkenazi Jews with their high IQs averaging about 110 do exceptionally well in it. In Britain, Jews are about 0.65 of the population and 15 percent of the chess champions. We were not able to find a mainstream publisher to take the book. Several explained that they had to decline it because they were apprehensive that the documentation of genetically based race differences in sporting abilities would open up the issue of differences in intelligence.

2016

Early in the year saw the publication of the second edition my *Race Differences in Intelligence: An Evolutionary Analysis*. It summarises about twice as many studies as the first (2006) edition but the results are much the same. The largest differences are that I raised the IQ in sub-Saharan Africa from 67 to 71 and gave an IQ of 57 of Pygmies of the tropical rain forests of west Africa.

I had a bit of a set back in late August with the onset of blindness in one eye – it had to be the good one – a day before I was going to Bodrum in Turkey to Hans-Herman Hoppe's Property and Freedom Society conference, to speak on race differences in psychopathic personality. I went to the Bristol Eye Hospital where the physician advised me that the condition was serious and I could lose my sight if it was not treated quickly, and that I should cancel my visit to Bodrum. I took this

advice and had an operation that fixed the eye and all is now well.

We had a disappointment at the Bristol Old Vic, the oldest theatre in Britain, on seeing a performance of Eugene O'Neill's play *A Long Day's Journey into Night*. We found the actors' articulation was so poor that we were unable to understand a word so we left in the first interval. I gave our tickets to a couple who were standing and they were very grateful for our seats. It seems that actors are no longer trained to be audible, just as art students are no longer trained to paint.

During these my twilight years I have been working about six hours a day and been publishing about fifteen papers a year mainly on racial and national IQs, with a number of protégés and collaborators including Vladimir Shibaev in Vladivostok who has collected IQs for Siberia and Salahedin Bakheit in Riyadh who has collected IQs for several countries in the Arabic speaking world.

During the year Don Templer died at the age of 78. He was Jewish, although I had not realised this until he told me. He was very supportive of my work and published papers confirming my thesis that IQs are higher in peoples inhabiting colder climates because of the greater cognitive demands of survival, and my work showing that IQs are higher in the north of Italy than in the south. I shall miss him.

In the summer Andrei Grigoriev and his wife Margarita came to visit us. Andrei was now at the Institute of Psychology at the Russian Academy of Sciences in Moscow and we had published several papers on IQs in the Russian regions. I showed them round Bristol. Andrei told me that in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century his family had an estate in the south that was confiscated in the 1917 revolution and several of his family were executed, together with many other landowners. His father and other members of his family managed to escape and went to Moscow, and several of them were shot in the Great Terror of 1938 and 1939.

2017

In February Charles Murray was attacked by students at Middlebury College in Vermont while about to give a lecture. He has become a hate figure for liberal students on account of his book *The Bell Curve* on race differences in IQs (written with Dick Herrnstein) and of his "Murray's law" a set of conclusions in his book *Losing Ground: American Social Policy, 1950–1980* stating that social welfare programs for the poor encourage them to go on welfare and increase their numbers.

This was a further instance of the strange world we have entered in which white students attack, verbally and physically, lecturers who state the indisputable truths that western civilisation has been largely created by white men or that whites have a higher average IQ than blacks. These students have developed a curious form of negative ethnocentrism characterised by hatred of their own

people. This has become a kind of religious cult. These students demand “trigger warnings” from lecturers who might have something to say with which they disagree so they can stay away and avoid being traumatised. They are unwilling to hear the speakers and challenge them, preferring instead to disinvite them, as the Cambridge Students' Union did me in 2015. They have established “safe spaces” where they can take refuge to protect themselves from disturbing ideas. This student cult resembles previous group paranoia movements that have cropped up from time to time. One of the most recent was the Red Guards who appeared in China during the cultural revolution of 1967 during the rule of Chairman Mao and who denounced those suspected of disagreement, and went round destroying symbols of China's pre-communist past, including ancient artifacts and grave sites of notable Chinese figures. There was a similar movement in England during the inter-regnum of the 1640s and 1650s, when militant Protestants secured the dismissal of clergy they suspected of disagreement and went round smashing stained glass windows in churches.

On June 1 Chris Brand died at the age of 74 and I have lost another of my old friends. He had sound views on race realism and eugenics which he set out in his book *The g Factor*, but he lacked self-control. This was responsible for his death from liver cirrhosis brought about by excessive drinking. He was his own worst enemy with a gift for indiscretion and even alienating his friends.

I worked most of this year on sex differences in IQ and achievement and published a long paper in *Mankind Quarterly* in 2017 giving much more data supporting my earlier work showing that the higher male IQ, the greater range of intelligence and greater competitiveness of men, explain the predominance of men at the top of all professions – except, of course, the oldest. This was followed by commentaries providing further evidence for my position by Roberto Colom, Heitor Fernandes, Guy Maddison, Mingrui Wang, Helmuth Nyborg, Gerhard Meisenberg, Adrian Furnham, Edward Dutton and Davide Piffer. The only dissenter was Jim Flynn, as ever a supporter of lost causes.

While working on this I encountered the hitherto unknown (to me) world of gender equalitarian feminists. One of there was Clare Hemmings who had been Professor and Director of The Gender Institute at the London School of Economics since 1998. The Gender Institute was established in 1993 to teach courses and carry out research on issues associated with gender and gender inequality. In addition to the director, it had a staff of twelve including Professors Mary Evans, Diane Perrons, Wendy Single and Nail Kabeer. I invited her to contribute a comment on my paper or ask one of her colleagues to do so. None of them replied.

Another gender equalitarian feminist whose work I read was Emma Rees, the Professor and Director of the Institute of Gender Studies at the University of Chester. Her book *The Vagina: A Literary and Cultural History* has been widely acclaimed by feminists for its account of men's oppression of women. Lisa Downing, Professor of French Discourses of Sexuality at the University of Birmingham, has written “At last! A book on the vagina that I feel privileged to endorse. This

careful cultural and literary history explores the vagina primarily as a loaded cultural symbol. It critiques the numerous ways in which the female sexual organs have had deleterious meanings projected onto them by a patriarchal society. A magnificent achievement!” Another admirer is Sally Hunt, Professor of Cultural and Gender Studies at the University of Sussex, who has written “this really wonderful book on the history of the vagina... *The Vagina bedazzles*”. Neither Emma Rees or Sally Hunt replied to my invitation to comment on my paper.

A third gender equalitarian feminist was Uta Frith who was Professor emeritus of cognitive development at University College, London, and a Fellow of the Royal Society and of the British Academy. She was chair of the Royal Society diversity committee that was established in 2014 to examine why women were under-represented in receiving funding. In 2014 10 women out of 116 applicants and 35 men out of 350 applicants received Royal Society University Research Fellowships. Frith was reported as saying that her committee regarded this disparity as “a wake-up call” and “there was a general feeling that something needed to be done... not just in this country but world-wide” (Else, 2016, p. 7). She too did not replied to my invitation to comment on my paper.

I have found that gender equalitarians are divide among themselves on what should be done about the under-representation of women in top jobs. Rainbow Murray, Professor of Politics at Queen Mary University of London, advocates mandatory quotas for women on the boards of directors of large companies. She has written that “Men often form networks with other men and recruit in their own image while overlooking women. Forcing women on to boards using quotas would help solve this problem”. But Ruth Seal, Professor of Organisation Studies at Exeter University, disagrees. She prefers that companies should be set targets, writing that “companies need ambitious, visible targets with clear accountability to grow their talent pipelines reviewing and reporting their gender metrics on a regular basis” (*The Times*, pp 66-7 14.12.2016).

Later in this year I published a paper on dysgenic fertility in Taiwan in collaboration with Hsin-Yi Chen of the National Taiwan Normal University.

2018

In February the students' union at the University of Ulster passed a motion demanding that my status as emeritus professor be rescinded because my publications documenting race and sex differences in intelligence might be hurtful to minorities and women. In March, the vice-chancellor informed me that the University had acceded to this demand. I believe this is the only time an emeritus professor has had his title revoked and so with this petty vindictiveness I have achieved a unique distinction.

Also in February, **Heiner Rindermann** published *Cognitive Capitalism: Human Capital and the*

*Wellbeing of Nations*. This updates my work on national IQs, which he prefers to call cognitive abilities, confirms that there are large racial and national differences in these and that they are a major determinant of per capita income and a number of desirable economic and social conditions aggregated as national well-being. His estimates of national IQs are closely similar to those Tatu Vanhanen and I gave in our 2012 book and I gave in my 2015 book. In particular, he calculated the average IQ in sub-Saharan Africa at 69.12 (p.100), slightly lower than the average of 71 for 143 studies I gave in my 2015 book (p.69). These IQs for sub-Saharan Africa are much lower than those of 76 and 82 (in relation to American norms) given in 2010 by Jelte Wicherts and his Dutch colleagues.

Rindermann devotes his last chapter to discussing the desirability of increasing intelligence and how this could be achieved. He argues that this could be done by improving children's health and education, providing tax incentives for couples with high intelligence to have more children and by only admitting immigrants with high intelligence, while refugees with low intelligence should not be admitted and concludes "In Western countries, reforms are urgent and indispensable!" He is right about all this but his policy recommendations would be difficult to implement. The provision of tax incentives for couples with high intelligence to have more children would be denounced as favouring the rich, and a policy of not admitting refugees with low intelligence would entail rejection of the 1951 Geneva Convention on refugees in which all European countries undertook to accept refugees who had a well founded fear of persecution in their own countries. Rejection of the 1951 Geneva Convention would be widely denounced and many political leaders would be unlikely to consider it. However, in 2016 the Prime Minister of Hungary, Viktor Orbán, refused to take in migrants from the south, and in 2018 Italy and Malta refused to take in more migrants from Libya, so perhaps other European nations will do the same.

I published a paper in collaboration with Hsin-Yi Chen, my email friend in Taipei, documenting a 5 point higher IQ obtained by men than by women on the Wechsler IV test in Taiwan. This is a further confirmation of my 2017 review of the numerous studies showing that among adults men have a higher IQ than women by 4 to 5 IQ points. Despite my previous papers and those of several others showing this, it is still not universally acknowledged. For instance, Philip Ackerman writes in 2018 that "There is an important historical reason why there are negligible gender differences in omnibus IQ assessments". I wonder how long it will be before the well documented higher IQ of men is accepted and expect it will likely be some time.

In the spring I published a chapter in Robert Sternberg's edited book *The Nature of Human Intelligence*. Bob had written to me in 2017 that he was inviting the nineteen most cited psychologists on intelligence to contribute chapters on their work and that as I was one of these, he was extending the invitation to me. I accepted and sent him *The intelligence of nations*, which was

duly included when the book was published by the Cambridge University Press. Yes, the Cambridge University Press. It looks as if I am in danger of achieving respectability.

I spent some of the year working on race differences in psychiatric disorders. I published a paper in collaboration with Heitor Fernandes and Stephen Hertler on race differences in anxiety disorders showing that these are less prevalent in blacks than in whites. I published a paper on race differences in depression and mania showing that depression is less prevalent in blacks than in whites, while mania is more prevalent in blacks than in whites. I completed a book *Race Differences in Psychopathic Personality* in which I set out the evidence showing that these are the reverse of those in intelligence such that psychopathic personality is strongest in Australian Aborigines, followed by sub-Saharan Africans and Native Americans, and declines progressively in North Africans and South Asians, Europeans and is weakest in North East Asians. I argued that these differences are as important as the IQ differences as determinants of national differences in per capita income.

In October there was news from Sweden that Linda Gottfredson had been invited to give a keynote address at the International Association of Educational and Vocational Guidance on her work on vocational aspirations but had subsequently been dis-invited on account of her subsequent work on race differences in intelligence. In the same week, Alessandro Strumia, the Professor of Physics at the University of Pisa, gave a talk at Cern (the European Organisation for Nuclear Research) in which he presented data showing that the work of women physicists was not cited so frequently as that of men and suggested that women have less aptitude for physics than men. The Nobel Prize for physics has been awarded to 207 men and only three women which does suggest that he was probably right about this. However, Cern announced that his presentation was "unacceptable" and it had suspended him with immediate effect from working at the European nuclear research center and the University of Pisa has set up a committee to examine his contention.

In recent years there has been increasing opposition in Europe and the United States to the growing numbers of non-European immigrants. In Germany, the *Alternative für Deutschland* (AfD) party was founded in 2013 to oppose further immigration. Its membership increased following Angela Merkel's decision in 2015 to admit more than a million refugees from the Middle East and Africa and a number of attacks by these on German women in Munich and other cities. By 2017, the AfD had become the largest opposition party in the Bundestag. In 2018 two refugees from the Middle East killed a German in Chemnitz and German youths retaliated by attacking refugees.

In the United Kingdom, one of the reasons the people voted in the 2016 referendum to leave the European Union was to control and reduce immigration. In Sweden, the "far right" Sweden

Democrats was founded in 1988 to oppose immigration and won their first seats in parliament 2010 with 5.7 per cent of the vote. In the next years there were numerous reports of violent crime by immigrants and increasing concern among the population about large-scale immigration. As a result of this the Sweden Democrats won 18 percent of the votes in the election in September, 2018. Hungary, Italy and Malta have refused to take in more migrants. In the United States, Donald Trump won the 2016 presidential election partly as a result of his pledge to build a wall along the southern border to prevent immigration from Mexico.

This opposition to the growing numbers of immigrants was predictable because we are a territorial species with a preference for living in groups of our own kind and defending our territory against intruders. This characteristic was described as ethnocentrism by the American sociologist William Sumner in 1906 in his book *Folkways* and later in 1948 by Sir Arthur Keith, the British anthropologist, who introduced the term the amity-enmity complex that posited that humans have evolved as “in-groups” that have loyalty to their own members and “out-groups” to which they are hostile. The belief that in-group favoritism has some genetic basis was shown in a twin study by Gary Lewis and Timothy Bates published in 2010.

November 11 was the centenary of the end of World War One. There have been lots of articles and TV programs commemorating this and the 720,000 or so of our soldiers who were killed with tributes to the effect that they gave their lives to protect our freedoms. Of course, people have to say this but I don't think it is correct. I don't think we were ever in any danger of losing our freedoms from a German invasion and conquest. We had a very strong navy that would have stopped any attempted invasion. The Germans knew this, so they never even attempted it. I think we would have been better to have stayed out of World War One. Nor have there been any mentions of the incompetence of our generals who sent so many men to their deaths, well described as donkeys by Alan Clark in his book *Lions led by Donkeys*.

The publicity given to the centenary of the end of World War One made me think about the dysgenic effects of the war in which so many gifted young men had been killed. I investigated this and wrote a paper on the eugenic and dysgenic effects of war arguing that early wars between evolving hominids and tribes had a eugenic effect because typically those with higher intelligence defeated and killed those with lesser intelligence and expanded into their territories and this was a major factor driving up the increase of intelligence during the evolution of hominids from the australopithecines to homo sapiens. I concluded that modern wars between nations appear to have been dysgenic but the evidence for this is not conclusive.

In the late autumn of 2018 I received an invitation from Anu Realo, the wife of Juri Allik, to contribute a paper for a festschrift for Juri for his seventieth birthday. I send her a paper on *The*

*genetic deterioration of the European peoples* resulting from **dysgenic fertility and the immigration of peoples with lower IQs than the indigenous populations**. I argued that this deterioration is taking place for both intelligence and for conscientiousness and that attempts to reverse it will be ineffective. I concluded that the European peoples are living in the twilight years of a dying civilization. Anu rejected my paper as too controversial. I was quite surprised by this as the evidence for it is irrefutable but it seems that the reluctance to publish politically incorrect truths has spread to Eastern Europe.

Furthermore, those who publish politically incorrect truths are increasingly being attacked by militant leftists who have become known as SJW (Social Justice Warriors). In December, Noah Carl became another of their victims. Noah Carl is a brilliant young sociologist who graduated and obtained his doctorate at Oxford and then obtained a research fellowship at St Edmund's College in Cambridge. In the fall, he was attacked by some 200 militant academic leftists for having published papers arguing that it is justifiable to carry out research on race differences in intelligence and that hostility to some immigrant groups is rational because some of the stereotypes about them are accurate. These academics signed a letter calling St Edmund's College to cancel his appointment. The Master of the College supinely acceded to this demand and fired him. We imagine we live in an enlightened age in which academics are allowed to express dissident views without being punished but this is not so. Dissidents are still persecuted, as those who questioned prevailing views have frequently been. In classical Athens, Socrates was forced to drink hemlock for raising too many awkward questions. In the early sixteenth century, Galileo was attacked for contending that the earth is one of several planets circulating the sun and threatened with death unless he recanted, which he wisely opted to do. Today, dissidents are not killed or threatened with death but only deprived of their livelihood or, in my own case, stripped of their emeritus professorship. There has been some progress these last two and a half millennia.

2019

In January, I published a paper in collaboration with John Fuerst and Emil Kirkegaard on skin colour and intelligence in African Americans showing that lighter skinned blacks have significantly higher IQs than darker skinned. This confirmed my earlier study published in 2002 that had been criticised by Hill (2002).

Later in January, James Watson repeated his contention made in 2007 that he was "gloomy about the prospect of Africa" because "all our social policies are based on the fact that their intelligence is the same as ours, whereas all the testing says not really". In a TV documentary he said that his views on race and intelligence had not changed and that "There's a difference on the average between blacks and whites on IQ tests" and "I would say the difference is ... genetic". The next day, the Cold Spring Harbor Laboratory on Long Island stated that "Dr. Watson's statements are

reprehensible, unsupported by science, and in no way represent the views of CSHL, its trustees, faculty, staff or students. The Laboratory condemns the misuse of science to justify prejudice" and his latest comments are "utterly incompatible with our mission, values, and policies, and require the severing of any remaining vestiges of his involvement". The laboratory stripped him of his remaining honorary titles, including honorary trustee and chancellor emeritus.

In March, a further instance of un-platforming occurred in Cambridge University when it invited Jordan Peterson to come as a visiting fellow at the faculty of divinity and then withdrew the invitation as a result of protests from a number of faculty on account of his conservative views. The Cambridge University student union issued a statement approving this withdrawal: "We are relieved to hear that Jordan Peterson's request for a visiting fellowship to Cambridge's faculty of divinity has been rescinded following further review. It is a political act to associate the University with an academic's work through offers which legitimise figures such as Peterson. His work and views are not representative of the student body and as such we do not see his visit as a valuable contribution to the University, but one that works in opposition to the principles of the University" the statement concluded.

April saw the publication of my book *The Intelligence of Nations*, written in collaboration with David Becker, an update of my national IQs and their social and economic correlates. David wrote the chapter updating the national IQs of which many more had been reported since my 2012 book written with Tatu Vanhanen. I wrote the chapter on the numerous social and economic correlates of national IQs that now amount to several hundred and include contributions not only from psychologists but from several economists including Garrett Jones in the United States, Shoirahon Odilova in Shanghai, Rauf Salahodjaev in Uzbekistan, Oasis Kodila-Tedika at the University of Kinshasa in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Simplicie Asongu in Cameroon. I wrote a further chapter on the future of national IQs. In this I argued that IQs will decline in Western Europe and North America as a result of dysgenic fertility and the immigration of non-Europeans who are replacing the indigenous populations to such an extent that in the second half of the twenty-first century non-Europeans will become the majorities. As intelligence in Western Europe and North America declines, I predicted that China will grow in economic and military strength and will likely become the world super-power by the middle of the twenty-first century. I sent review copies to numerous journalists and magazines but except for Roger Devlin who reviewed it in *The Occidental Quarterly*, none of them would write it up or review it. It was blocked by the self censorship of the truths that dare not speak their name in the contemporary world.

In May, I attended the London Conference on Intelligence. At the end of the meeting, my son Matthew came to collect me and drove me to Cambridge to visit his daughter Isabella, an undergraduate at Trinity College. We walked through Trinity great court and visited the chapel to

see the statues of some of the former members of the college, including Sir Isaac Newton, Ernest Rutherford, Alfred Tennyson and Lord Byron.

Earlier in the year, the Swiss publisher MDPI hired Bryan Pesta, a professor of psychology at Cleveland State University, to join the editorial board of a new journal called *Psych*. To entice him to take the job, they promised that he would be able to produce a special issue on a topic of his choice. Bryan Pesta asked to do [a special issue on the black-white IQ gap](#) in the United States. He let them know that this would be controversial, but they agreed. Pesta asked me to contribute a paper on my work and I sent him *Reflections on sixty-eight years of research on race and intelligence*. This was included as one of 16 papers published in early 2019. On June 25th, Martyn Rittman, the publishing director of the journal, notified Bryan Pesta that he had been fired, and that the special issue had been withdrawn largely because of my paper. So I have once again joined the ranks of the un-platformed.

July saw the publication of my book *Race Differences in Psychopathic Personality*. I was motivated to write it by Herrnstein and Murray's *The Bell Curve* that documented intelligence differences between blacks, Hispanics and whites and showed that these explained much of the differences in a number of social pathologies including crime, welfare dependency and single motherhood. However, they showed that intelligence differences do not explain all the differences. For instance, with crime rates set at 1.0 for whites, blacks had a rate of 6.5. When blacks and whites were matched for intelligence, the rates were reduced to a black-white ratio of 5:1. Thus, blacks with the same IQ as whites had a much higher crime rate. They concluded that there must be some other factor accounting for most of these race differences in crime and also in other social pathologies. I argued that this other factor consists of differences in psychopathic personality. The documents worldwide studies of race differences in psychopathic personality treated both as a clinical condition and as a continuously distributed personality trait. Data are presented from epidemiological studies, self-assessment with the MMPI (Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory), and for rates of crime, conduct disorder in children, cheating in sport, sexual precocity and promiscuity, pathological gambling, inability to delay gratification, drug abuse and child neglect as behavioural expressions of psychopathic personality. The conclusions are that psychopathic personality is strongest in Australian Aborigines, followed by successively by sub-Saharan Africans and Native Americans, New Zealand Maori, Hispanics and South Asians, and is weaker in Europeans and weakest in North East Asians.

These race differences are similar to those in intelligence that I gave in my *Race Differences in Intelligence* and I proposed the same explanation that they evolved as adaptations to the climatic environments in which the races evolved. The North East Asians experienced the coldest winters and springs and the Europeans experienced the next coldest. I argued that these exerted selection

pressures both for higher intelligence and for weaker psychopathic personality, and that there were three selection pressures against psychopathic personality and for an enhancement of pro-social personality in North East Asians and Europeans. These were for the evolution of stronger male-female pair bonding, for an increased capacity to delay gratification, and for a greater need to maintain harmonious and co-operative social relations. Stronger male-female bonding based on love evolved as a result of the need for both parents to provide care for their children. This would have been strongest for North East Asians because these experienced the greatest need for co-operation between parents for provisioning children in the cold winters and springs during which plant and insect foods were not available and women and children needed men to provide them with meat foods that they had to obtain through hunting. These men would have required long term commitment to their female mates and children to provision them and more responsible and concerned parenting, and they did this because they were strongly pair bonded with their women partners. This requirement was a little weaker in Europeans, and considerably weaker in the races that inhabited the less severe environments of the Americas, South Asia and the Pacific Islands, and was weakest in Australia and sub-Saharan Africa in whose benign climates women could feed their children throughout the year by gathering plant and insect foods with little or no help from men, and for whom male-female bonding based on love was therefore the least important.

The second selection pressure exerted by cold winters and springs was for an increased capacity to delay present gratification. Many foods in Eurasia were only available at certain times of the year and these had to be stored for future consumption. For example, salmon are plentiful when they return from the sea and run up rivers and many of them can be caught. They can then be smoked and kept for months. Collecting and storing food for future consumption would have required the ability to delay present gratification. The third selection pressure of cold winters and springs was for an enhancement of pro-social personality because men became increasingly reliant on group hunting and for this they had to develop a greater capacity for co-operation, the maintenance of harmonious social relations and stronger control over aggression towards other group members. I provided evidence that the principal neuro-physiological adaptation by which these components of psychopathic personality were reduced in the Europeans and North East Asians was the reduction of testosterone.

Perhaps the most important paper published this year was Davide Piffer's (2019) in which he presented evidence for a gene for educational attainment and intelligence and frequencies of the gene in different populations. If this is confirmed, he will be the first to identify one of the genes determining intelligence.

In early 2020 I wrote three papers providing further evidence that blacks are less altruistic than

whites in the form of studies showing that they have lower rates of blood, bone marrow and organ donation. I also wrote a paper extending Rushton's theory of race differences in *r-K* life history to Australian Aborigines showing that these are more *r* than Negroids. **These will probably be my last contributions to the study of national and racial differences in intelligence, personality and behaviour.**

### Chapter 13 Retrospect

I have now reached my ninetieth year and have greatly exceeded the traditionally allotted three score years and ten. All my half-siblings – George, Margaret, Elizabeth and Erasmus – are now dead. Gone too are many of my closest friends, including my psychologist friends Hans Eysenck, Art Jensen, Chris Brand and Phil Rushton, my Cambridge friends John Beer, Simon Raven, Gordon Leff, Freddie Jevons and Norman Routledge, and my Irish friends Kieran Kennedy and Derek Forrest. In fact I no longer know anyone older than myself. It is time to take stock of my life.

We are each of us a link in a chain that stretches back into the past and, if we have children, goes forward into the future. It is our biological purpose to transmit the genes that have been passed down to us through hundreds of millions of years through successive generations. It is one of the satisfactions of my life that I have been able to do this and have passed on my genes to my three children, my nine grand-children and my two great-grand-children.

Reflecting on my personal life, I think of the words in the English prayer book “Man that is born of woman, has but a short time to live, and is full of misery”. I cannot say that this has been my experience. On the contrary, I have generally had a happy life. I have only had two episodes of serious misery. The first of these was in the autumn of 1952 when my fiancée Joan broke off our engagement, and the second was in September 1998 when Susan, my second wife, died. These were certainly deeply traumatic experiences but apart from these my life has been happy.

I believe my life has been fulfilled in so far as I have made the best use of my talents and made some contributions to science. In 2018 Jim Flynn, who has disagreed with me on a number of issues, said in an interview with Scott Barry Kaufmann “Charles Murray along with Art Jensen and Richard Lynn have been the people who have educated me the most in psychology”.

I have had a good life and I do not fear death. I can say, with Walter Savage Landor, “Nature I loved and, next to Nature, Art: I warm'd both hands before the fire of life; It sinks, and I am ready to depart”. When I come to cross the bourne from which no traveller returns, I shall go gentle into that good night.



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