

2 Psychology and race

Guthrie, R. V. Even the rat
was white, N.Y.:
Harper + Row, 1976

Something of an academic coup occurred late in the nineteenth century in the emergence of the new science of psychology. The established sciences of biology and physics looked to the new discipline with great expectation and excitement. Both new adherents and older scientists watched with the hope that psychology would be a deliverance from the scientific doldrums and fads of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. By declaring itself the study of the *mind*, psychology claimed ownership of all that dealt with animal and human behavior. The new discipline cut a wide swath through the ivy halls of academia at a time when the Western Weltanschauung was infected by racism and social Darwinism, and psychology eventually became an important contributor to the era.

inction between things which are superficially much alike. The aesthetic value of such distinctions may even outweigh their intellectual value and lead to sharp lines and antithesis where the only difference that exists is one of degree.'

Anthropologists, sensing the conflict of shared interest and losing their battle for complete ownership of the study of the races, relinquished a portion of the field to psychologists who would study the behavior of individuals in carefully defined laboratory or experimental situations. This move consequently justified anthropology's continued research on small communities by means of observation and interview at a face-to-face level. And the arrangement was appealing to psychologists, for they viewed themselves as experimental scientists with the accouterments of a laboratory milieu.

An early cooperative research effort between psychologists and anthropologists began when the Cambridge Anthropological Society sent an expedition in 1889 to study the mental life of the inhabitants of the Torres Straits:

For the first time trained experimental psychologists investigated, by means of an adequate laboratory equipment, a people in a low state of culture under their ordinary conditions of life. The foundations of ethnical experimental psychology were thus laid.'

Among the "brass instrument Tarzans" who made this historic trip to the Torres Straits and the Fly River district of British New Guinea were W. H. R. Rivers, C. S. Myers, and William McDougall. McDougall went on to promulgate, among other racist views, the dogma of "instincts" in man. (The instinct theory asserted that inborn and unlearned response tendencies determined social behavior.) The Torres Straits studies were made in the best tradition of Wundtian psychophysics. Hearing, vision, taste, tactile acuity, pain, motor speed and accuracy, fatigue, and memory tests were performed on the unsuspecting, cooperative, sepia-skinned villagers. Unsurprisingly, the voices of science concluded that the "wild" natives of the South Pacific did not surpass western man in any trait; rather, the inhabitants were found to be far less intelligent than their examiners. This adventure by the Cambridge Anthropological Society provided an important impetus for American psychologists to seek and study racial variances in man.

Racial Designations

Among other things, anthropology provided psychology with the racial systems needed to justify intellectually the existence of differences among human beings. Where early classifications had

stemmed from theologically derived doctrines and divided mankind into descendants of Shem, Ham, and Japhet, Carl von Linnæus (1738) made racial distinctions based on color of skin, temperament, customs, and habits (Table 5). This scheme, which designated psychological as well as physical characteristics of the different races, assigned the qualities of capriciousness, negligence, and slowness to black people. The biblical explanation for mankind's groupings had presented a major problem of congruence: As the white man explored and plundered new worlds, he claimed that the "discovered" savages were not descendents of Adam and therefore were outside the grace of God. Linnæus' racial distinctions, therefore, proved advantageous for those seeking to justify the inferiority of the colored races.

Following Linnæus, a number of racial classifications were made, all of which placed the black man at the bottom of the human family hierarchy. The relative question of race categorization reached such ridiculous proportions in this country that the U.S. Senate commissioned Daniel and Elnora Folkmar to prepare, for the Immigration Commission, a *Dictionary of Races or Peoples* (see Chapter 1). Under the entry "Negro," this official government document described the black man as "belonging to the lowest division of mankind from an evolutionary standpoint." The definition of Negro embraced "... Negro, or African (black) whose appearance indicates any admixture of Negro blood . . . whether coming from Cuba, or other islands of the West Indies, North or South America, Europe, or Africa."⁶ The term *Negro* was thus considered a racial designation without regard to place of origin, which removed from consideration any ethnic characteristics within the race. From this framework, the role of inferiority was clearly assigned to all black peoples of the world.

In support of racial classifications, anthropologists contributed many other interesting—and ridiculous—methods for judging

Table 5 Eighteenth Century Racial Distinctions and Habits Based on Skin Color

Racial Groups	Descriptions
Homo Americanus	Reddish, choleric, erect, tenacious, contented, free; ruled by custom
Homo Europæus	White, ruddy, muscular, stern, haughty, stingy; ruled by opinion
Homo Asiaticus	Yellow, melancholic, inflexible, light, inventive; ruled by rites
Homo Afer	Black, phlegmatic, indulgent, cunning, slow, negligent, ruled by caprice

SOURCE: Carl von Linnæus, *Systema Naturæ*, 1735

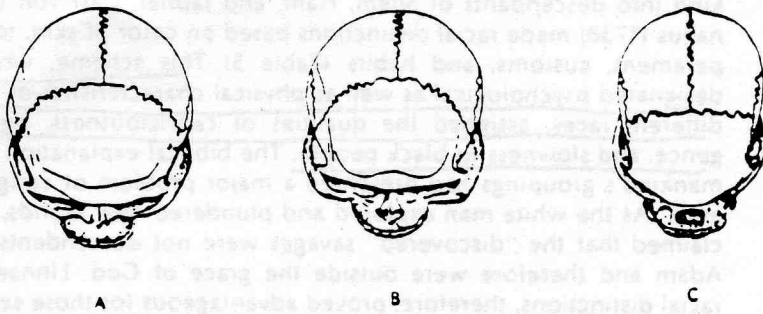


Figure 2.1 Norma verticalis or Blumenbach's View for Racial Identification: (A) Caucasian, (B) Mongol, (C) Negro.

variations within *Homo sapiens*. John Friedrich Blumenbach (1824) developed a method for visually judging cranium variation (Figure 2.1). The *norma verticalis*, or Blumenbach's View, was regarded as an accurate technique by scientists and was performed in the following manner: "... the skull was placed between the feet of the observer and after examination from above, classed as oblong, round, and so forth, for the purpose of determining the race to which it belonged." Blumenbach's procedures were also used as a technique for distinguishing those skulls whose previous owners were designated as "civilized" or "uncivilized." Several years later similar claims declared that the posterior balance of the skull—its ability to rest on the posterior edge of the occipital hole and the inferior edge of the orbits—was a distinctive sign of the Negro race.

Among the theoreticians who speculated from these views and spun similar webs were F. J. Gall and G. Spurzheim. Their six volume *Anatomy and Physiology of the Nervous System* (1817) laid the basis for phrenology by asserting that the brain was the organ of the mind. While Gall and Spurzheim accurately speculated that different kinds of behavior were controlled by separate parts of the brain, they mistakenly declared that the external shape of the skull reflected the shape of the brain underneath. Since whites were generally judged to be more intelligent than blacks, the Gall and Spurzheim line of reasoning eventually led early psychologists to conclude that the skull capacities of whites were greater than the skull capacities of blacks:

★
] shape of skulls

... the skull capacity of modern European whites is 1560 cc. and that of European whites of the neolithic period is the same; the skull capacity of the mongoloid is 1510 cc., that of the negroes of the Pacific Ocean is 1460 cc., and that of African negroes is 1405 cc."

Henry Garrett, as late as 1963, still supported this theory when he wrote that the black man's brain "on the average is smaller, lighter, less fissured, and more primitive in many respects than the White's brain."¹⁰

The alleged skull-capacity differences among humans were also matched with studies concerning the shape of the face (Figure 2.2). Isadore Saint-Hilaire (1847) divided human facial structures into *orthognathic* (oval face with vertical jaws), *eurygnathic* (high cheekbones) and *prognathic* (projecting jaws). From these models it was concluded that the black race was prognathous (forward jawed), the Asian eurygnathic (vertical jawed), and the white race orthognathous (upright jawed). In short, the African was considered more ape-like, and therefore inferior, in comparison to whites. In this regard, anthropologist Franz Boas, who later became a leading spokesman for racial equality, wrote:

We find that the face of the negro as compared to the skull is larger than that of the American, whose face is in turn larger than that of the white. The lower portion of the face assumes larger dimensions. The alveolar arch is pushed forward and thus gains an appearance which reminds us of the higher apes.¹¹

It was not long before the inferior physical status assigned to blacks was joined by similar attributes along psychological dimensions. An early contention held that "primitive races" could not abstract, inhibit impulses, or choose according to standards of value. Tylor (1916) set a bias for educational psychologists with this observation:

In measuring the minds of lower races, a good test is how far their children are able to take a civilized education. The account generally given by European teachers who have had the children of lower

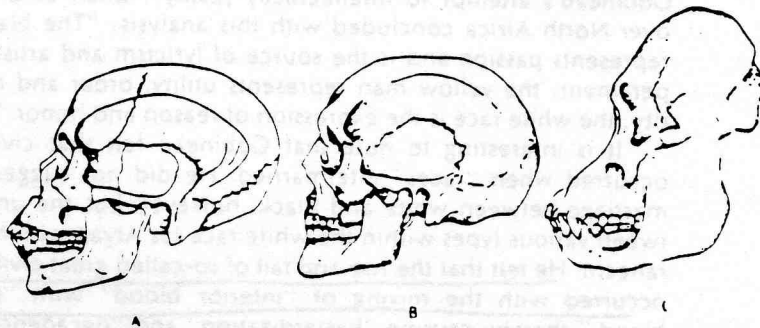


Figure 2.2 Skull shapes: (A) Prognathous skull of Negro, (B) Orthognathous skull of Caucasian, (C) Skull of Orang (Source: A. H. Keane, *Ethnology* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1916), p. 183.)

racism in their schools is that, though they often learn as well as the white children up to 12 years old, they often fall off, and are left behind by the children of the ruling race.¹²

This view was similar to early animal studies which held that anthropoids also developed physically and mentally at a rate comparable to humans, but ceased to do so beyond the infancy period in humans. Tylor's observations—which were widely accepted during his time—are interesting in that fifty years later the reverse of his philosophy was espoused under the banner of “cultural deprivation.”

Literary and Philosophical Biases

Poets like Rudyard Kipling (“The White Man’s Burden”, 1899) provided romanticism and justification for racist themes with reference to “those ye better” and the “half-devil and half-child” natives of non-European countries. Philosophers such as Count Arthur Joseph de Gobineau provided the important discourse to “prove” white racial superiority over other groups. Gobineau (1915), whose racism was distinctly a class concept, announced:

The negroid variety is the lowest, and stands at the foot of the ladder. The animal character that appears in the shape of the pelvis, is stamped on the negro from birth, and foreshadows his destiny. His intellect will always move within a very narrow circle . . . The very strength of his sensations is the most striking proof of his inferiority.¹³

Gobineau’s attempt to intellectually justify French colonial rule over North Africa concluded with this analysis: “The black race represents passion and is the source of lyricism and artistic temperament; the yellow man represents utility, order and mediocrity; the white race is the expression of reason and honor.”¹⁴

It is interesting to note that Gobineau felt that civilization occurred when “races” intermarried. He did not suggest intermarriage between white and black, however, but the union between various types within the white race (as Aryan with Mediterranean). He felt that the rise and fall of so-called great civilizations occurred with the mixing of “inferior blood” with “superior blood,” thereby causing “bastardization” and “decadence.” Several decades later, this view served as a philosophical basis for Nazi Germany’s race-betterment policy and the subsequent mass extermination of Jews.

The Count’s deliverances were joined by overwhelming and amazing scientific attempts to “prove” white superiority. Profes-

sional discussions and scholarly papers appeared with the needed consensual validation for white superiority; literally hundreds of research projects were initiated and results were published. The nineteenth century was a time which scholars of later years would come to view with embarrassment for its unbelievable conclusions drawn from calibrating brains, skeletons, nerves, limbs, torsos, skulls, and even fetuses of black people.

Nativism: Themes of Race Differences

The question of the relative capacities of the races was almost wholly anthropological and philosophical in character; as such, it held center stage until four separate historical events provided the linkage to psychological theory. These events reinforced nativistic themes by declaring that human differences resulted from innate causes within people rather than stemming from environmental forces in society. In order to understand these influences, let us briefly review each event.

1. Darwin's Origin of Species

In 1859, Englishman Charles Darwin's On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection was published. Darwin's theory of evolution "influenced the development of modern psychology as much as any other single event in the nineteenth century. It would be impossible to understand what psychologists today are trying to accomplish or why they go about it as they do unless one first understood something of the importance of evolutionary theory for our contemporary vision of man and his destiny."¹¹ The survival of the fittest shibboleth maintained that only the strongest and most intelligent individuals would survive the struggles between man and man and between man and environment. Darwin underscored the appeal for recognizing the importance of individual differences by placing the onus of man's plight on man himself, rather than on the ills of his society. This line of reasoning led many psychologists to turn their research energies to investigations of sensory and intellectual differences between individuals in order to solve the puzzle of man's successes and failures. Darwin's writings also led psychologists to question anew the relationship of man to the "lower" animals and to reexamine the gospel of early philosophers, notably Descartes. The comparative aspect of psychology nurtured the "white coat" obsession of psychologists in emulating the biological sciences in their study

of lower animals via instrumentation, e.g., Yerkes: anthropoids; Thorndike and Guthrie: cats; and the standard of traditional psychologists: the rat; yes, even the rat was white!

2. Galton's Eugenics

Sir Francis Galton, an Englishman and interestingly, a cousin of Darwin, provided the linkage between scientific naturalism and psychology.¹⁴ Galton's *Hereditary Genius: Its Laws and Consequences* (1869) attempted to illustrate that genius and greatness followed family lines; *English Men of Science* (1874) and *Natural Inheritance* (1899) were written to substantiate this claim. (He was not an unduly modest man—his own family was included in his great sons of England compilations.) Galton tried to show that "great" men inherited not only intellectual ability but specific types of talents (for literature, medicine, music, etc.). His intense concern about the importance of inheritance led him to propose a science of heredity, eugenics, which promoted the idea of racial improvement through selective mating and sterilization of the "unfit." Galton stated that:

... No more than there is equality between man and man of the same nation is there equality between race and race. This differentiation of men in physique and mentality has led to the slow but still imperfect development of occupational castes within all civilized communities. We may not admit these castes, but they exist nevertheless; probably in a perfectly efficient society, there would always be castes suited to specialized careers—the engineer, the ploughman, the mathematician, the navyman, the statesman, the actor and the craftsman. Even now we are progressing slowly towards tests for occupational fitness, and eventually that fitness should be intensified by marriage within the caste. ...¹⁵

To some psychologists Galton's eugenic doctrine meant the genetic control of the feeble-minded; to others, it meant the genetic control of social undesirables, but each perspective found its own dangerous interpretation (see Chapter 4 for further discussion).

3. German Psychophysics

While England and France favored a deductive and mathematical approach to science, Germany placed its emphasis on classification and the inductive approach, and it was in Germany that the initial application of experimental method to psychology was made. Leaders included Ernst Weber, Gustav Fechner, Hermann von Helmholtz, and Wilhelm Wundt. The times seemed to

favor Germany as the place of origin for experimental psychology because for nearly a hundred years German intellectual history had created a scientific temperament better suited to taxonomic description than that of France or England.¹²

Psychophysics—the study of the effect of physical processes on the mental processes—was the outgrowth of the German contribution to psychological history. Stimulated specifically by the work of Wundt (1879), psychological laboratories began to appear in Europe (most notably in Leipzig) and later in America (most notably at Cornell University). Nineteenth century psychology was a product of the union of philosophy and physiology which focused on discovering the "structure," or anatomy of individual conscious processes. Its methodology was called *introspection* and its problem was to describe the content or structure of the mind in terms of psychological elements and their combinations. This concept, called *structuralism*, greatly influenced early American psychology and created an enthusiastic interest in the teasing apart of the mind with the "brass instruments" of physiology.

Brass instruments of psychological research were used to quantitatively measure human responses to various sensory stimuli (Figure 2.3). Early methods for producing sound made use of small whistles or metal bars. The Galton whistle (a) was activated by squeezing a rubber bulb and was closed by a piston. As the piston was adjusted, the tone of the sound varied. The tuning forks (b), when struck, were designed to sound in unison when an adjustable weight was raised or lowered on one of the forks. In addition to auditory measurements, the sensory modalities of smell, taste, and skin sensitivity and reaction were subjected to psychological experimentation.

The olfactometer (c) was designed to measure the greatest distance that a blindfolded subject could detect the odor from an opened bottle. A valve releasing degrees of the odor was located on one end of the rubber tubing.

A forerunner of what was later called the aesthesiometer was the temperature stimulator (d) which was designed to measure both skin tactual sensitivity and the awareness of temperature differences. Hot and cold water were released through two copper tubes that culminated in a metal tip, and this tip was lightly pressed to the skin of a blindfolded subject.

Measurements of taste sensitivity were frequently performed. The taste sensor (e) was a glass applicator whose aperture was placed on the subject's tongue. The inlet, connected to a system

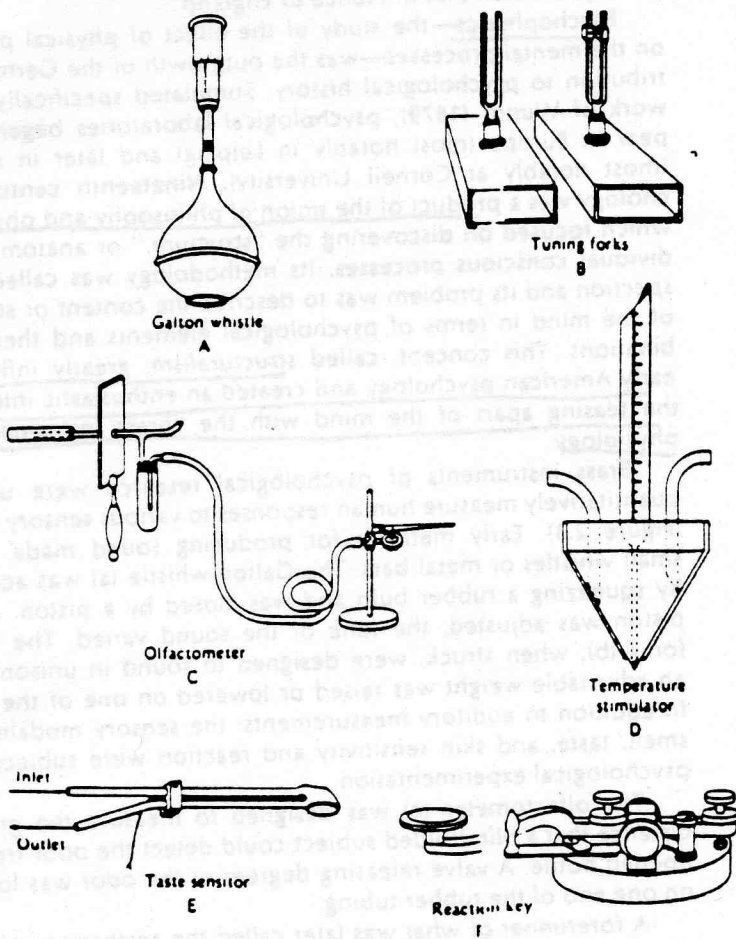


Figure 2.3 Brass instruments used for early psychological investigations. (Source [a–d, f]: E. B. Titchener, *Experimental Psychology* [New York: Macmillan Co., 1905]. Reprinted by permission of the publisher. Source [e]: T. G. Andrews, *Methods of Psychology* [New York: John Wiley, 1948]. Reprinted by permission of the publisher.)

of tubes, allowed various solutions to be directed through the apparatus.

The reaction key (f) was used to measure individual differences in responding to various sound or light stimuli. This simplistic device was the forerunner of complex reaction timers currently in use in many psychological laboratories.

Later, American psychologists showed a growing interest in the more practical application of the study of conscious processes, thereby placing significant emphasis on child psychology, mental testing, and educational psychology.

4. Mendelian Genetics

Though the Austrian monk Gregor Mendel published his scientific inquiry into the genetic differences of garden peas in 1866, it was not until 1900 that the dust was blown off his research and the disturbing parallel was made between agricultural and human inheritance. Mendel's discovery was of major importance because it helped to establish the fact that genetic traits come to the individual in units rather than through a blending of qualities from one's ancestors. While Mendel's work was valid for physical differences, it led many researchers to make quick, unsubstantiated parallels to psychological and other nonphysical aspects of human behavior, without regard for environmental conditions. It was this framework that encouraged the growth of hereditary-environmental issues in psychological theory.

American Psychology and Racial Investigation

The events led by Darwin, Galton, Wundt, and Mendel, combined with earlier anthropomorphic research, brought about a tremendous interest in measuring human attributes through experimental research in psychology. The popular notion of darker-race inferiority frequently provided grounds for comparing psychological and physical attributes among human beings.

The earliest recorded attempt by American researchers to measure psychological capacities in different races was made in 1881 when C. S. Meyers tested Japanese subjects and proved that the Asians were slower in reaction time than Europeans. Shortly afterwards, utilizing a popular reaction time device, Bache (1895) tested American Indians and Negroes and concluded that these "primitive peoples" were highly developed in physiological tasks and attributes while higher human forms "... tended less to quickness of response in the automatic sphere; the reflective man is the slower being." Bache's results are summarized in Table 6.

In 1898 the Cambridge Anthropological Society launched its expedition to New Guinea, thus inspiring research efforts by psychologists to measure psychological attributes of various races.

Table 6 Group Differences in Reaction Time, 1895

Group	Number of Cases	Auditory R.T.	Visual R.T.	Electrical R.T.
Whites	12	146.9	164.8	136.3
Indians	11	116.3	135.7	114.6
Negroes	11	130.0	152.9	122.9

SOURCE: E. M. Bache, "Reaction Time with Reference to Race," *Psychological Review*, 2 (1895), pp. 47-49.

Large numbers of individual sensory investigations occurred during the early 1900s as a result of the New Guinea expedition; however, none reached the magnitude and fanfare of the St. Louis World's Fair experiments.

A unique convention was held in 1904, in conjunction with the Louisiana Purchase Exposition (St. Louis), during which studies were conducted on 1100 individuals, including 300 so-called primitive peoples of the world. The World's Congress of Races convened with prominent psychologists in attendance. Leading the group were R. S. Woodworth, later president of the American Psychological Association, and F. G. Bruner, a graduate student in psychology. In what has been described as a carnival atmosphere, psychologists at the World's Fair tested Igorots and Negritos from the Philippine Islands, Malayans, Singhalese, Pygmies, and American Indians. The scientists' investigations were many and varied, dealing with the participants' abilities to detect sounds, withstand pain, and react to buzzers. Since these were pre-Binet days, tests of intelligence were relegated to the manipulation of simple form board puzzles. Results were tallied after each racial group was given from one week to one month to flex its intellectual and sensory muscles for these mental olympics.

Without surprise, the general conclusions reached by interpreting the testing data were that the darker-skinned participants (such as the Negritos and Pygmies) rated lower in intelligence. Literally reams of data were accumulated and stored away for later analyses. Bruner used a portion of the findings for his dissertation, but very little further evaluation resulted from the remaining data. Woodworth, in a speech to an American Association for the Advancement of Science meeting in Boston (1909), reported vague reactions to the massive data. Clues to the final disposition of the voluminous data can be detected in an autobiographical statement by Woodworth:

When the Fair was over, we promptly worked over our data, and reported some of the results of the auditory tests . . . and I gave a general summary of our results and their bearing on the question

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... from the manifestations of immorality among the Negroes, or from their failure to recognize certain social conventions, that the Negro is incapable of morality or of adaptation to the social demand, is a conclusion based upon inadequate evidence. Morality and social adaptation are the result of the interpretation of the value of a situation, and not a necessary development of inherent capacity.²⁷

Crane sought only to substantiate what he was predisposed to prove, that immorality was due to defective inhibition in the American black. To test his hypothesis, Crane devised a guillotine-like device. A heavy block of wood was dropped from a height above the subject's hand, which rested on a platform. The subject was told that the block would stop before it hit him, and he was told not to move his hand. The subject did not know that a slight shock would be administered to create the illusion that the block had hit him. The hand movements were electrically recorded. Crane concluded from his findings that:

It does not seem improbable that, in those vocational pursuits which involve great sensory shocks and strains not unaccompanied by danger, the black man should prove more efficient than the white ... true, considerable persuasion might frequently be necessary to induce the colored man to undertake a dangerous pursuit, but, from the results of this experiment, it appears that it would frequently prove to have been very much worthwhile.²⁸

In what must have been acceptable behavior for psychologists during this era, Crane shared his feelings with colleagues in this bit of folksy information:

Only the fellow scientist who has attempted to induce 100 Southern darkies to offer themselves as subject in an experiment of this sort can have any conception of the difficulties involved in actually getting the subjects into the laboratory ... during the course of the four months in which the writer was attempting to entice negroes into his laboratory, he gladly provided vocal solos for negro churches, harangued Thanksgiving meetings, and delivered formal graduation addresses at negro commencements.²⁹

Crane's unprofessional attitude and behavior, mixed with racist condescension, were apparent throughout the study: "It was a never-to-be-forgotten experience, the humor and zest whereof, however, more than compensated for the many weary and discouraging hours which it cost to witness a subject fleeing over the hill in fright. ..."³⁰ Crane's assistants contributed remarks such as: "Why you can lead some of those darkies right through the switch room (apparatus) and they'll follow you blindly without ever seeming to think about what the switches might be for."³¹

ranges, and distributions which gave credibility to the "inferiority" myth for black Americans. The prestigious *Archives of Psychology*, edited by R. S. Woodworth, included three notable publications which exemplified the obsession of some early psychologists with the study of black people.

M. J. Mayo's *The Mental Capacity of the American Negro* (1913), based on the grades of 150 white and 150 black pupils in the schools of New York City, concluded that "there seem to be statistical grounds for holding to the view of substantial racial equality" between black and white youngsters.²² Mayo introduced his study by stating a clear bias: "Among Europeans and their descendants in all parts of the globe there has always existed a feeling of the superiority of the white race. It is a feeling bred in the bone and so strong that it can hardly be eradicated." A few paragraphs later, he continued: "White Europeans always regarded their type as ideal—or at least the most nearly human type—and they have not hesitated to consider wide departures therefrom as evidence of inferiority."²³

Three years later, G. O. Ferguson published *The Psychology of the Negro: An Experimental Study* (1916). This study was considered a classic, by whites, in the study of the American black man. Ferguson's study predicted:

Without great ability in the processes of abstract thought, the negro is yet very capable in the sensory and motor powers which are involved in manual work. An economy would indicate that training should be concentrated upon these capacities which promise the best return for the educative effort expended.²⁴

In accord with the mulatto hypothesis, he, too, felt that mental ability in the black was proportionate to the amount of "white blood" he possessed. As far as emotions were concerned, Ferguson concluded that blacks were strong and volatile and that "instability of character . . . involving a lack of foresight, an improvidence, a lack of persistence, small power of serious initiative, a tendency to be content with immediate satisfactions, and deficient ambitions" characterized the personality traits of blacks. He also expressed the theory that "defective morality is a negro characteristic."²⁵ His statement undoubtedly laid the foundation for other research in the measurement of morality attributes in minority groups.

Race Differences in Inhibition (1923) explored the racist theme: "What is the psychological explanation of the immorality which the negro everywhere manifests?"²⁶ Unfortunately, the author, Albert Loyal Crane, chose not to recognize Miller's study of 1906, for nowhere in Crane's literature is there a hint of Miller's conclusion:

... from the manifestations of immorality among the Negroes, or from their failure to recognize certain social conventions, that the Negro is incapable of morality or of adaptation to the social demand, is a conclusion based upon inadequate evidence. Morality and social adaptation are the result of the interpretation of the value of a situation, and not a necessary development of inherent capacity.²⁷

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It was unfortunate that studies such as those by Mayo, Ferguson, and Crane were representative of psychology's investigations into racial differences; they not only provided inaccurate data that led to racist conclusions, but they also called into question the intentions of psychological researchers.

Notes

1. H. Burmeister, *The Black Man: The Comparative Anatomy and Psychology of the African Negro* (New York: W. C. Bryant, 1853).
2. R. E. Dennett, *At the Back of the Black Man's Mind* (London: Macmillan, 1906).
3. A. C. Haddon, *History of Anthropology* (New York: Putnam, 1910) p. 6.
4. R. S. Woodworth, "Racial Difference in Mental Traits," *Science* (February 1910), p. 171.
5. Haddon, *op. cit.*, p. 104.
6. D. Folkmar and E. Folkmar, "Dictionary of Races or Peoples" (Document No. 662) (Washington, D.C.: The Immigration Commission, 1911) p. 150.
7. J. Barzun, *A Study in Superstition: Race* (New York: Harper and Row, 1935) pp. 35-36.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 36.
9. G. O. Ferguson, Jr., *The Psychology of the Negro: An Experimental Study* (New York: The Science Press, 1916) p. 27.
10. H. E. Garrett, *How Classroom Desegregation Will Work* (Richmond, Virginia: Patrick Henry Press, 1967) p. 21.
11. F. Boas, *The Mind of Primitive Man* (New York: Macmillan, 1922) p. 73.
12. E. B. Tylor, as quoted by G. O. Ferguson, Jr., in *The Psychology of the Negro: An Experimental Study* (New York: The Science Press, 1916) p. 407.
13. A. de Gobineau, *The Inequality of Human Races* (New York: Putnam, 1915) pp. 205-211.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 211.
15. George A. Miller, *Psychology* (New York: Harper and Row, 1962) p. 129.
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