Creating the Well-Adjusted Citizen: The Human Sciences and Public Schools in the United States, World War I – 1950

By

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Introduction

In 1919, the United States Public Health Service (PHS) prepared a circular for state and local health officers and educational administrators to spread the word about mental hygiene. The circular stated: "it is quite generally accepted that the imperfect mental adjustment exhibited by a number of individuals who are incapable of the highest citizenship, though not insane in the proper interpretation of the term, is largely due to the lack of proper mental training during childhood." The circular suggested that because school constituted a critical period in the development of a child's personality, teachers should watch for "faulty traits of personality which may be corrected in their incipiency. These "faulty" traits included, for instance, fidgetiness, self-conceit, and reclusiveness. If neglected, they tended to "become crystallized into habit" in later life. [1]

When speaking of individuals who were "incapable of the highest citizenship," this federal agency in charge of medical inspection of immigrants had concrete images in mind. Since the turn of the 20th century, PHS medical officers had served at the frontlines of the U.S. borders to examine arriving immigrants, guarding against infectious diseases and any physical defects that made a person "unfit for citizenship."[2] But the above circular was concerned with a different type of inspection in terms of one's fitness for citizenship. It pointed to problematic personality traits that seemed more intangible yet preventable. It also stressed the importance of the school's role in scrutinizing and cultivating children's personality.

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[1] "Mental Hygiene Leaflet for Teachers," *Public Health Reports* 34, no.17 (April 25, 1919): 832-836.
[2] Amy L. Fairchild, *Science at the Borders: Immigrant Medical Inspection and the Shaping of the Modern Industrial Labor Force* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003).

A new way of thinking about individuals' fit (and misfit) in social and educational institutions gradually spread in the U.S. after World War I. Key to this evaluation of fitness was various conceptions of psychological "adjustment" and "maladjustment." Marked by the emphasis on the emotional, social, and personality dynamics of children at home, school, and society, this psychological way of thinking intersected with new scientific construction of the human psyche, and it penetrated various reform efforts in education and welfare. This dissertation examines the emergence and circulation of these conceptions of psychological adjustment in the human sciences and public schools and assesses the social implications of these attempts to monitor and shape the emotional fitness of the citizenry.

Since the end of World War I, psychological "adjustment" and "maladjustment" emerged as popular phrases in scientific writings and in reform settings. Experts and reformers started to reframe social problems including school failure, juvenile delinquency, industrial employment mismatch, and the management of immigrant population and race relations as the problems of psychological maladjustment. The idea of maladjustment attracted scholars in different scientific disciplines including psychology, psychiatry, anthropology, social work, education, and criminology, all of whom were fascinated in understanding the human psyche and everyday behavior. Experts from different fields feared that emotional instability and behavioral problems among children and youth were in fact the indicators of social "misfits" and future criminals.

As children spent more years in school, the public schools became a critical site to identify problematic behavioral tendencies and to prevent and correct personality maladjustment. Various groups of educators shared the view that the school should assume the responsibility for the adjustment of its pupils. For instance, Elsie May Smithies, the assistant principal of University High School in Chicago, opened her 1933 book on high school girls by discussing

"poorly adjusted" ones: "all those who have worked for any length of time with girls of high school age are aware that there are many adolescents who do not fall into the class of the abnormal but who are, nevertheless, poorly adjusted. That is to say, they have not learned how to live effectively, how to progress satisfactorily, or how to make happy and satisfying contacts with their everyday surroundings." She went on to state that "adjustment of the individual to life lies at the basis of the philosophy of education to-day." [3]

Scientists' and educators' concerns on maladjustment touched different aspects of students' experience in and outside of school: their family influences, study habits, feelings about oneself, attitudes toward others, and sexual behavior. The standards of judging what was normal and abnormal about these emotions and conduct were in flux as social and cultural mores underwent massive changes in modern America. Nevertheless, ideas about what constituted a well-adjusted or maladjusted personality started to take shape via the construction of scientific theories and instruments – psychological tests and clinical case histories, for example. Increasingly complex educational bureaucracies staffed with an array of "experts" also supplied financial and administrative incentives to normalize the examination and management of children's emotional and social adjustment.

This dissertation explores the conceptions of psychological adjustment and shifting meanings of the well-adjusted citizen in the human sciences and U.S. public schools from World War I to 1950. Specifically, this study asks: how did scientific constructions of mal/well-adjusted personalities emerge in the human sciences? What kinds of educational innovations regarding children's personality adjustment and mental health emerged during this period? Among these innovations, how did the categories of adjustment interact with conceptions of race, class,

[3] Elsie May Smithies, *Case Studies of Normal Adolescent Girls* (New York: D. Appleton, 1933), preface v; 3.

gender, and sexuality? How did these conceptions of adjustment function in the inclusion, exclusion, and differentiation of schooling?

In order to answer these questions, this dissertation tries to bring together the history of scientific knowledge and the politics of schooling. As the subtitle – "The human sciences and public schools" – suggests, instead of presenting this history as a linear process of applying scientific findings to school practices, I view scientific constructions of psychological adjustment as entangled with practical concerns on education and social problems. Schools were central to the production, consumption, and reconceptualization of knowledge on children's psychological well-being. They often drove and refashioned the use of scientific theories and instruments.

In these ways, the dissertation contributes to historical literature by offering a more complicated understanding on the exchanges between public schooling and social scientific knowledge about children's mental development. In the histories of education, social sciences, and childhood, there has been rich scholarship on the invention of intelligence and the use of mental testing in schools, as well as the use of psychological and psychiatric knowledge in social programs targeting delinquency and other perceived social deviance.[4] This project contributes to these lines of inquiry by focusing on the interaction between psychological knowledge and public schooling. Specifically, I explore less-studied ideas addressing students' emotional, social, and personality development, which laid the groundwork for what are still commonsensical

[4] See, for example, John Carson, *The Measure of Merit: Talents, Intelligence and Inequality in the French and American Republics, 1750-1940* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007); Kurt Danziger, *Constructing the Subject: Historical Origins of Psychological Research* (Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Crista DeLuzio, *Female Adolescence in American Scientific Thought, 1830-1930* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010); Mary E. Odem, *Delinquent Daughters: Protecting and Policing Adolescent Female Sexuality in the United States, 1885-1920* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995); Miroslava Chavez-Garcia, *States of Delinquency: Race and Science in the Making of California's Juvenile Justice System* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012). Margo Horn, *Before It's Too Late: The Child Guidance Movement in the United States, 1922-1945* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1989); Kathleen W. Jones, *Taming the Troublesome Child: American Families, Child Guidance and the Limits of Psychiatric Authority* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999).

understandings on socio-emotional learning and mental health in education. I argue that from World War I to 1950, the new knowledge about children's psychological adjustment provided innovative ways for scientists and educators to think about individual differences from the standpoint of emotion and personality. It also led to a more expansive function of schooling in the scrutiny and management of children's social-emotional development. The use of this new knowledge, however, reified hierarchical understandings of human differences, and complemented the school's role in the inclusion, exclusion, and differentiation of the student body.

In order to explore the interplay between scientific knowledge and public schooling, the dissertation utilizes a variety of archival sources and print materials. First, this project examines the archival collections of major foundations that sponsored social scientific studies on personality and human behavior. In particular, the study draws records from the Commonwealth Fund, the General Education Board, and various projects sponsored by the Rockefeller Foundations during my focal period. Second, the study zooms in on key social scientists, educators, and foundation officers' personal papers as well as on contemporary academic and popular publications. Those sources helped map out the network of knowledge production regarding children's social-emotional adjustment across research institutions, public schools, and sites of policy advocacy. Third, the project draws upon more than forty adjustment tests, scales, and personality inventories published during 1930 and 1950. These contemporary scientific instruments shed light upon the process of standardization and validation regarding the norms of psychological adjustment.

The sites of knowledge production regarding children's psychological adjustment were always multi-layered, with scientific experts moving across research universities, psychiatric

clinics in prisons and juvenile courts, Army camps, and classrooms. As the first chapter shows, the conception of personality adjustment was rooted in the professional trajectories of psychiatry and psychology in the early 20th century and in practical demands from school officials, industrial employers, and state bureaucracies to classify, diagnose, and manage diverse populations. Psychiatrists' examinations of "social deviants" – juvenile delinquents and adult prisoners – deeply shaped their understandings of mental hygiene. The "etiology of maladjustment" psychiatrists invented based on these examinations argued that diverse factors in heredity and environment contributed to individuals' maladjustment. This view also highlighted the role non-intellectual aspects of the human psyche played in one's normal development, which were increasingly referred to as "personality." Personality adjustment thus became a new framework in social scientists' investigations and interventions of various social problems. Given the optimism on human malleability and social engineering embedded in this conception of adjustment, a network of scientists, social reformers, and philanthropic foundations came to view the incipient stage of personality maladjustment – childhood – as the critical period to prevent and treat both individual and social problems.

The child guidance clinic – the focus of the second chapter – was one of the first innovations scientific experts promoted to intervene in children's emotional, social, and personality adjustment. Child guidance clinics that emerged during the 1920s shared a vision of using clinical examination to diagnose and treat maladjusted children and to prevent social deviance. Child guidance clinicians, which usually included an interdisciplinary team of psychiatrists, psychologists, and psychiatric social workers, criticized the emotional toll schools imposed on children. Yet they also saw the public schools as the "most practical avenue" to tackle behavior and personality problems of childhood. As they made inroads into public

schools, however, they encountered competing notions about how to define "problem children," how to assess behavior problems, and how to apply treatment. In Minneapolis, for example, the first child guidance clinic administered within a public school system faced the complexities of school politics, financial constraints, and professional disagreements among educational experts. The field of child guidance brought educators' attention to new theories and methods dealing with students' emotional and behavioral problems. But child guidance clinicians struggled to establish their methods and organization within the schools, or to transform the operation and function of public schooling. On the other hand, a more economical way to assess students' various maladjustment – personality testing – emerged as a popular tool to manage students' behavior.

The third chapter focuses on the construction and application of personality tests that aimed to detect children's emotional and social maladjustment. The late 1920s and 1930s saw the rapid proliferation of personality tests and pupil adjustment tests. The growth was partly prompted by psychologists' attempts to emulate intelligence tests in evaluating individual differences and to assist in the selection of emotionally fit personnel in education, industry, and state bureaucracy. Psychologists attempted to quantify personality traits and to develop "objective" tests that could be efficiently applied to a mass population. New administrative units within the public schools such as vocational guidance, statistics and research, and child study departments were enthusiastic about the possibility of using personality tests to screen and manage maladjusted students as well as to match students' capacities, interests, and traits to particular types of jobs. Education experts and the education market thus played a central role in the business of personality testing. Driven by the consumer demand for social sorting and control, test developers tended to break personality into a set amount of measurable behavioral

traits. They devised test questions and keys according to the practical concerns of their clientele and also used convenient social groupings of "normal" and "abnormal" population to validate the tests. Disguised by the aura of objectivity, the standards of personality adjustment in these tests reified existing behavioral norms and conceptions of social differences.

While personality tests in the 1930s denoted a rigid conception of social norms and emotional normality, a relatively dynamic approach to personality emerged within a closely connected intellectual and educational circle that embraced a "personality and culture" framework. The fourth chapter examines this "personality and culture" approach to studying the adolescent personality and its potential in improving schools. In particular, it contrasts the messages from two New Deal era projects that investigated the personality development of young people from different racial groups. The Progressive Education Association's Committee on the Study of Adolescents based its studies of "normal" adolescents on more than two hundred white and Jewish high school and college students from elite backgrounds. The Committee emphasized the dynamic and holistic nature of personality in cultural context. The American Youth Commission's "Negro Youth Study" launched four case studies in different African American communities across the country. The project concluded with a deterministic view on the impact of racial oppression on Black personality maladjustment. The project also bore intellectual legacies to post-World War II social scientific researches as well as a psychologized liberal consensus that underpinned the *Brown* decision in 1954. These findings about personality adjustment within cultural contexts contributed to new ways of defining and differentiating who could become well-adjusted citizens.

Ultimately, these stories pointed to a history of emotional intervention into young people's lives through schooling, with the goal of creating happy and well-adjusted citizens. The

shaping of psychological knowledge regarding children's personality as well as scientific instruments to evaluate their adjustment was central to this process. These theories and tools had a significant impact on the specific ways in which educators understood students and their social and emotional development. By tracing shifting ways of evaluating individuals' emotional fitness in society and the efforts to use school to create well-adjusted citizens, this dissertation also offers a historical insight into past and ongoing debates about the use of psychological categories in education.

Chapter 1. "Peculiarly Maladjusted:" Scientific Inquiries into Personality Adjustment, 1910s-1920s

During July 1st and 27th, 1924, psychiatrists and neurologists William A. White, William J. Healy, Bernard Glueck, and Ralph C. Hamil conducted several examinations on Nathan F. Leopold, Jr. and Richard Loeb at the Cook County Jail in Chicago. The two defendants — known collectively as Leopold and Loeb — at the age of 19 and 18 years old, kidnapped and murdered a 14-year-old boy named Bobby Frank in May 1924. This case immediately became a public sensation through local and national newspapers, generating enormous concerns about youthful crimes and juvenile delinquency.[1] In their joint report, the four psychiatric experts concluded:

> "An unbiased estimate of the facts pertaining to this association between the two defendants leads us to the conviction that their criminal activities were the outgrowth of an unique coming-together of *two peculiarly maladjusted adolescents*, each of whom brought into relationship a long-standing background of abnormal mental life."[2]

What did it mean to be "peculiarly maladjusted adolescents" for the psychiatrists? First, the experts detailed the two defendants' manifold mental deviance. For instance, they suggested that Leopold had "considerably super-normal general intelligence." He appeared to be restless and displayed excessive mental energy, which indicated his was a "paranoid personality." Further, his imaginative life differed from "normal childhood." Leopold's fantasies, especially a king-slave fantasy, "deviated from what might have been expected of him in his social setting"

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[1] Paula S. Fass, "The Leopold and Loeb Case in American Culture," *The Journal of American History* 80, no.3 (Dec., 1993): 919-951.
[2] William A, White, William J. Healy, Bernard Glueck, and Ralph Hamil, "Psychiatrists' Report for the Defense (Joint Summary)," *Journal of the American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology* 15, no. 3 (Nov., 1924): 360. Italics mine.

— i.e., a rich German-Jewish family. In Loeb's case, the experts observed that he had no "normal ambitions and interests" and had "abnormal phantasy of self-suffering." In particular, his capacity for reacting emotionally was "abnormally infantile." Those many-sided abnormalities concerning one's intellect, emotional expressions, and imagination contrasted what the experts considered as normal personality in relation to their age, gender, and family background.[3]

Second, the experts traced those maladjusted tendencies to the two offenders' childhood. They believed Nathan Leopold, Jr., showing prodigious intellect at an early age, nonetheless displayed pathological development of his ego and a "feeling of inferiority" since childhood. Similarly, Richard Loeb's problems could be traced to "his early boyhood days," when a "divergence between his thinking and his feeling or emotional life" emerged. As he continued to develop intellectually, his emotional make-up remained "pathologically backward." The experts also attributed this divergence to the "domination and guidance of a peculiarly repressive and jealous governess."[4]

Psychiatrists' testimony in the Leopold-Loeb case reflected an increasingly popular way of diagnosing social deviance in terms of emotional, social, and personality maladjustment. Beginning in the second decade of the 20th century, more and more scientific experts and social reformers embraced a new framework of psychological adjustment in explaining social problems such as juvenile delinquency, school failure, and industrial employment mismatch. The emerging image of maladjusted personalities had its roots in a new scientific construction of the human psyche and mental hygiene in the United States. The language of psychological adjustment also

[3] William A, White, William J. Healy, Bernard Glueck, and Ralph Hamil, "Psychiatrists' Report for the Defense (Joint Summary)," 360-379.
[4] William A, White, William J. Healy, Bernard Glueck, and Ralph Hamil, "Psychiatrists' Report for the Defense (Joint Summary)," 360-379.

played an important role in reform proposals related to child welfare and education in the years following the First World War.

This chapter examines the intellectual and social origins of the new conception of personality adjustment during the 1910s and 1920s. The chapter first traces the ideas of adjustment to new theories of dynamic psychiatry and the mental hygiene movement in the early 20th century. Psychiatrists' expansive role in the diagnosis and treatment of various types of "social deviants," especially juvenile and adult offenders, shaped their views on the causes and consequences of emotional and social maladjustment. Their findings modified previous theory that mainly linked social deviance to "feeblemindedness" – biologically determined intellectual deficiency. Emerging concerns on the "emotional fitness" of individuals thus prompted psychiatrists, psychologists, and educators to launch scientific inquiries into personality, a new scientific category of the self. Meanwhile, recognizing that childhood was the "golden age" of personality adjustment, scientific experts, educators, and philanthropic foundations converged toward the study and intervention in childhood adjustment. This network of experts, reformers, and foundations constituted the intellectual and institutional basis for the emergence of new scientific knowledge and social programs regarding children's emotional and social development in the following decades.

1. Juvenile Delinquency, Dynamic Psychiatry, and the Etiology of Maladjustment

Given the financial backing of two prominent Chicago families and the invitation of the defendants' lawyer Clarence Darrow, it was not surprising that four eminent experts of juvenile delinquency and mental disorders provided psychiatric evaluation and testimony in the Leopold-Loeb case. One of the four experts, William A. White, was the director of St. Elizabeth's Hospital in Washington D.C. – also known as the Government Hospital for the Insane. He was a

prominent voice in developing new ideas in psychiatry. William Healy was the country's leading researcher of juvenile delinquency, who by 1924 had directed two psychiatric clinics associated with juvenile courts. He had published a ground-breaking work, *The Individual Delinquent* in 1915, offering empirical studies on juvenile delinquency. Bernard Glueck, who had worked with William A. White at St. Elizabeth's Hospital, headed one of the country's first psychiatric clinics in prison at Sing Sing, New York. Ralph C. Hamil was a neurologist at Northwestern University and was then the president of the Illinois Society for Mental Hygiene. These experts were frequent contributors in scientific and popular literature regarding mental disorders. They were also leaders in the incipient mental hygiene movement. New theories of dynamic psychiatry as well as clinical studies on youthful and adult offenders informed their views on maladjusted personalities.

Dynamic Psychiatry and the Expansion of Psychiatrists' Professional Role

The period from 1890 to 1920 witnessed dramatic shifts in the institutional and intellectual basis of American psychiatry. Asylums and state mental institutions were traditionally seen as custodial institution for the management of the insane. But American alienists,[5] also known increasingly as psychiatrists, started to emulate Continental (especially German) models of laboratory research on neurology and psychopathology in the late 19th century. At the same time, psychopathic hospitals and research clinics emerged as new locales for the training of psychiatrists and production of psychiatric knowledge in the early 20th century.[6] Psychiatry gradually gained a firm ground in American medical sciences, with renewed authority over the diagnosis, treatment, and scientific study of mental disorders.

[5] Until the 20th century, practitioners who worked in asylums and other mental institutions were more often called "alienists," sometimes interchangeable with "psychiatrists."
[6] Christine Mary Shea, "The Ideology of Mental Health and the Emergence of the Therapeutic Liberal State: The American Mental Hygiene Movement, 1900-1930," PhD diss., (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1980),

New theories of biological and neurological mechanisms of mental processes shaped psychiatrists' approach to explaining mental disorders. Adolf Meyer, later known as the "dean of American psychiatry," led the way in innovating psychiatric knowledge after he migrated from German-speaking Switzerland to the United States in 1892. Meyer held strategic positions in state mental hospitals and institutions in Illinois, Massachusetts, and New York. In 1909, he became the first psychiatrist-in-chief of Johns Hopkins Hospital, the director of the newly endowed Henry Phipps Psychiatric Clinic, and professor of psychiatry at Johns Hopkins University. He was instrumental in introducing diverse psychiatric theories from Europe such as Emil Kraepelin's clinical classification of mental diseases and Freud's psychoanalysis.[7]

The key to Meyerian psychiatry — in his own term, "psychobiology" — lies in a functionalist understanding of human organisms, and in a clinical method based on extensive case records. Meyer saw human life as a dynamic whole and mental activities as an adaptive process between the organism and the environment.[8] This view bore intellectual influences from evolutionary biology, pragmatist philosophy, and functionalist psychology. Mental disorders in Meyer's analysis, therefore, were the result of failed adaptations to environment, or "manifestations of a maladjustment."[9] Clinical investigation of dynamic factors in patients' life histories was critical in Meyer's vision of the science of psychiatry. He promoted the use of

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Chapter 4 "The Emergence of the Psychopathic Research Hospitals as Catalysts for Social Change." Gerald N. Grob, *Mental Illness and American Society, 1875-1940* (New Jersey, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1983), Chapter 5 "The Quest for Psychiatric Authority."

[7] While American psychiatrists were aware of Freud's theory by the early 20th century, Freudian psychoanalysis did not become a major paradigm in interpreting and diagnosing mental diseases by the 1930s, when a number of practice psychoanalysts emigrated to the East Coast — mainly New York City and Boston as the rise of the Nazi regime. Nevertheless, certain prominent psychiatrists selectively assimilated Freudian theory into their individual writing and medical practice before WWI, mostly notably William A. White, one of the expert witnesses in the above-mentioned Leopold-Loeb case, and director of St. Elizabeth's Hospital in Washington D.C.

[8] See Susan D. Lamb, *Pathologist of the Mind: Adolf Meyer and the Origins of American Psychiatry* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2014), Chapter 2 "Mind as Biology: Adolf Meyer's Concept of Psychobiology."

[9] Adolf Meyer, "The Wisdom of Endowment of Well-Organized Psychiatric Work," 71, in Eunice E. Winters, ed., *The Collected Papers of Adolf Meyer, Vol. IV Mental Hygiene* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1952).

psychiatric social workers to visit the patients' homes and collect relevant information about their life experience. Extensive case records documented abnormal developments to trace what factors contributed to maladjustment. Based on detailed case records, the psychiatrist could then provide a diagnosis and prescribe treatment.[10] Meyer's dynamic psychiatry influenced a new generation of psychiatrists, who adopted a broader view of mental disorders and an expansive role of the psychiatric profession.

In the early 20th century, psychiatrists trained in psychopathic hospitals and research clinics attempted to extend psychiatry's social reach beyond mental institutions. In the light of dynamic psychiatry, they recognized that "insanity" was no longer a single, uniform type of mental disease that applied to all the people admitted to mental institutions. Instead, they insisted on careful study of different factors that shaped the "total person." At the same time, they advocated the expansion of psychiatric expertise beyond mental institutions. As William A. White argued, "the whole question of mental disorders" should no longer be "hampered by arbitrary lines of division which begin or end at the door of the asylum."[11] A number of psychiatrists shared White's view and called for psychiatric expertise in a variety of arenas including the treatment of criminals, the supervision of the "feebleminded," the examination of immigrants, and the control of alcoholism. Indeed, William Healy's and Bernard Glueck's clinics associated with penal systems were examples of psychiatrists' expanding role.

In 1909, William Healy became the director of the Juvenile Psychopathic Institute serving Chicago's Juvenile Court.[12] Juvenile courts were a Progressive Era innovation to provide age-segregated court for young offenders. Founded in 1899, the juvenile court in Chicago was

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[10] Susan D. Lamb, *Pathologist of the Mind*, 60-61.
[11] William A. White, "Underlying Concepts in Mental Hygiene," *Mental Hygiene* 1, no.1 (1917): 8.
[12] The clinic changed its name to the Institute of Juvenile Research in 1914, partly reflecting Healy's notion of a more holistic case study of individual offenders before assuming they had psychopathic tendencies.

the first of its kind in the United States. Chicago's social reformers including Jane Addams, Julia Lathrop, and Ethel Dummer were instrumental in its establishment. By adding the psychiatric clinic in 1909, these reformers embraced a mission to diagnose and potentially rehabilitate juvenile offenders through clinical examinations and treatment.[13] The diagnosis of juvenile delinquents in Healy's clinic involved a many-sided examination regarding each individuals' physical, intellectual, and emotional development. Based on clinical work, William Healy published *The Individual Delinquent* in 1915. It promoted a new approach to understanding social deviance that stressed dynamic factors from both heredity and environment in the shaping of delinquent activities. Following its publication, the book became a classic reference in various fields related to human misconduct. In 1917, Healy moved to Boston and served as the co-director of Judge Baker Foundation's Child Guidance Center, which was another clinic associated with the juvenile court. For the next two decades, he and his research partner Augusta F. Bronner published case histories and analyses of individual delinquents, promoting the study of individuals in their "whole situation."[14]

While Healy worked with juveniles, Bernard Glueck became the director of the first psychiatric clinic at New York State's Sing Sing Prison in 1916. The clinic at this prison, which incarcerated adult men, was among several New York State prisons to establish psychiatric services under the sponsorship of Rockefeller Foundation's Bureau of Social Hygiene. The goal was to conduct thorough examinations of all criminal offenders to understand the causes of criminality and to offer suggestions for rehabilitation.[15] Similar to Healy's Psychopathic

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[13] Kathleen W. Jones, *Taming the Troublesome Child: American Families, Child Guidance and the Limits of Psychiatric Authority* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992), 41-43. Also see Barry C. Feld, *The Evolution of the Juvenile Court: Race, Politics, and the Criminalizing of Juvenile Justice* (New York: New York University Press, 2017), Chapter 1 "The Progressive Juvenile Court."
[14] Kathleen W. Jones, *Taming the Troublesome Child*, 62.
[15] Stephen Garton, "Criminal Propensities: Psychiatry, Classification and Imprisonment in New York State 1916-1940," *Social History of Medicine* 23, no. 1 (2009): 79-97.

Institute, physicians, psychiatrists, psychologists, and social workers in those clinics conducted anthropometric, psychological, neurological, and medical examinations as well as life history investigations upon offenders' admission into the prison system. Therefore, as psychiatrists expanded their professional roles beyond the asylum and the hospital, people like Healy and Glueck also expanded their use of psychiatric knowledge to a broader range of socially deviant activities.

The Mental Hygiene Movement and New Conceptions of Adjustment

At the same time psychiatrists were making inroads into various fronts dealing with "social ills," they also stressed the prevention of mental and social deviance through the promotion of mental hygiene. They found a common organizational venue for this purpose from the National Committee for Mental Hygiene. The National Committee for Mental Hygiene was originally founded in 1909 by Clifford W. Beers, who was a former patient of a mental hospital and dedicated to transform institutional care for the mentally ill. In the 1910s, the organization gradually came under the control of reform-minded psychiatrists who aimed not only to transform mental care systems but also to expand psychiatry's professional boundaries to the care of mental health among all citizenry.[16] As noted in the National Committee's statement of general purposes, mental hygiene work was " not only for the mentally disordered and those suffering from mental defect, but for all those who, through mental causes, are unable so to adjust themselves to their environment as to live happy and efficient lives."[17] The influence and scope of the National Committee for Mental Hygiene and state societies for mental hygiene expanded quickly beyond psychiatry. The broad framing of mental hygiene attracted various groups of professionals, including psychologists, criminologists, social workers, and educators.

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[16] Gerald N. Grob, *Mental Illness and American Society*, Chapter 6 "The Mental Hygiene Movement."
[17] The National Committee for Mental Hygiene, "General Purpose," *Mental Hygiene,* 4, no.1 (1920): *Front matter*.

The Mental Hygiene Movement gradually gained momentum across the United States after World War I, targeting all sorts of maladjustment in individual and social life. Mental hygienists campaigned for more scientific research on mental disorders and social deviance, the implementation of preventive programs in industry, schools, and communities, and the education of the public about mental health.

To accommodate such a wide range of focus on potential or salient mental health issues, the mental hygienists needed a much broader and more general term than medical designations such as "insanity" or even "disorder." The all-encompassing phrases of "adjustment" and "maladjustment" appeared to be particularly versatile for this task. The language of adjustment had already circulated widely among the scientific community at the turn of the 20th century as a vocabulary of evolution. It was sometimes used interchangeably with "adaptation." After all, Herbert Spencer, who popularized evolution, himself proposed to view life as "the continuous adjustment of internal relations to external relations."[18] While the cultural influence of Darwinism and Social Darwinism in the United States has been a subject of constant dispute among historians, scholars generally agree that evolution as a way of thinking about changes in human nature and society prevailed in social discourse during the early 20th century.[19] Even though different people's understandings of the evolutionary process varied, the general notion that the human organism constantly negotiated with the environment became entrenched in American social thought.

The sensibility of constant adjustment between the individual and the environment also echoed the complexity of modern social life in the early 20th century, where population, capital,

[18] Herbert Spencer, *The Data of Ethics* (London and Edinburgh: William and Norgate, 1879), 30.
[19] See Peter J. Bowler, *Evolution: The History of an Idea, 3rd edition* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003).

and cultural mores changed more rapidly than ever. As sociologist William Ogburn commented in his 1922 book: "in modern times they (cultural changes) have been occurring faster and faster until to-day mankind is almost bewildered in his effort to keep adjusted to these ever-increasing social changes." America was becoming a more urban, culturally diverse, industrial society. According to Ogburn, rapid changes in modern society created twofold problems of "social maladjustments" including the adaptation of man to culture and also culture to man. The adjustments between different parts of culture, if not in sync, would also cause the problems of "cultural lag."[20] This famous theoretical formulation of "cultural lag" exemplified the popularity of ideas about adjustment and maladjustment. In other words, the language of adjustment provided a ready tool to encapsulate complex parameters of mental and social problems in the face of massive changes in the early 20th century.

The publications of psychiatric experts and the National Committee for Mental Hygiene embraced a new conception of psychological adjustment and maladjustment to explain various forms of social deviance. They modified conventional theories about why some individuals developed mental problems. Specifically, the new conception of adjustment blurred the line between the so-called normal and abnormal psyche, identifying maladjustment as a common threat among all people in everyday life. It also emphasized diverse sources of maladjustment in relation to every individual's intellect, emotion, and personality, which were shaped by complicated hereditary and environmental factors.

From a mental hygiene point of view, every person faces tasks of adjustment through constant interplay between the individual and the environment. As William A. White explained, "the individual is always endeavoring to bring about an adjustment between himself and his

[20] William Ogburn, *Social Change with Respect to Culture and Original Nature* (New York: B. W. Huebsch, Inc, 1922), 199-200.

surroundings." The complexity of this function would increase as the organism proceeds from a simple physical level of interaction with the environment to various nervous and psychological levels. The most complicated adjustment involved interactions between the individual and social customs or religion.[21] Therefore, the individual is always subject to various levels of adjustment. The danger of adjustive failure and mental disintegration increases as life problems become more complicated. Failures of adjustment thus become much more prevalent in everyday life and called for the intervention of scientific experts. The line between minor maladjustments and severe mental diseases was no longer clear cut. That is to say, a series of maladjustments might accumulate to severe crisis and even lead to permanent mental diseases. But if recognized and treated earlier on, the individual could potentially be salvaged from further breakdown, which would also promote greater well-being of the larger society.

Moreover, in this new conception of adjustment, experts identified a variety of environmental factors contributing to abnormal behaviors, which challenged the sole focus on heredity in previous theories of mental disorders and criminality. In his 1915 classic *The Individual Delinquent*, for example, William Healy stated: "there is no such thing as an anthropological criminal type."[22] This was a direct contrast with the then popular theory of the "born criminal" — biologically determined criminal types, a concept proposed by Italian criminologist Cesare Lombroso. For Healy, an individual assembles complicated interactions between different forces and conditions: "every individual is partly his ancestors, and partly the result of his developmental conditions, and partly the effects of many reactions to environment, and to bodily experiences, and even of reactions to his own mental activities." Hence

[21] William A. White, *The Principles of Mental Hygiene* (New York: MacMillan, 1917), 13-17.
[22] William Healy, *The Individual Delinquent: A Text-Book of Diagnosis and Prognosis for All Concerned in Understanding Offenders* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1915), 161.

understanding the shaping of "the individual delinquent" required scientific studies of the individual's ancestry, ante-natal life, childhood development, illnesses and injuries, social experiences, and so forth.[23] *The Individual Delinquent* in its more than 800 pages presented a wide variety of methods to evaluate individuals' physical, mental, and environmental conditions. Healy believed both innate and environmental factors should be accounted for, but no single aspect of the individual delinquent or single measure of one's conditions took precedence until thoroughly examined.

Building on Healy's work, Bernard Glueck and his colleagues at Sing Sing Prison proposed an "etiology of maladjustment" that charted a number of hereditary and environmental factors of maladjustment in relation to one's life cycle. (Figure 1) In Glueck's imagination, upon birth, "hereditary burdens" such as venereal diseases and signs of degeneration associated with particular "racial stock" would loom in an individual's life; at the same time, birth injuries, malnutrition, and neglect were potential environmental causes of maladjustment up until the age of five. From five to ten, one could show other hereditary signs of defects; yet home and school conditions and childhood diseases also contributed to maladjustment. In general, the blend of various hereditary and environmental factors continued to cast influence as an individual matured.[24]

[23] William Healy, *The Individual Delinquent*, 25.
[24] Bernard Glueck, "Type of Delinquent Careers," *Mental Hygiene* 1, no.2 (April, 1917): 175.

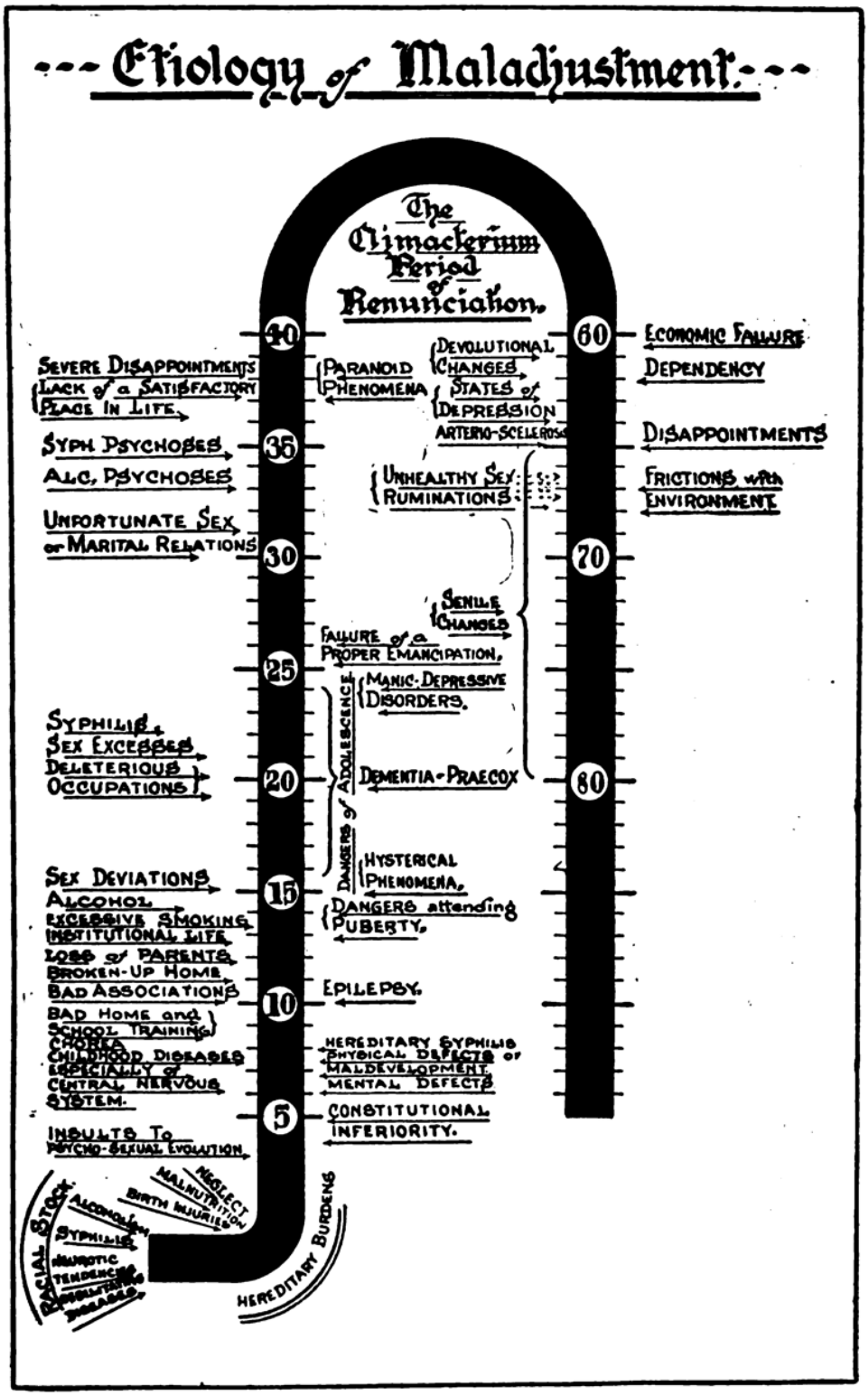

Figure 1 "Etiology of Maladjustment," in Bernard Glueck, “Type of Delinquent Careers,” *Mental Hygiene* 1, no.2 (April, 1917): 175.

Healy's and Glueck's emphasis on dynamic factors of maladjustment set them apart from a popular theory about social deviance current in the 1910s which deemed hereditary "feeblemindedness" as the main cause of crime, poverty, and insanity. Psychologist Henry H. Goddard was one of the principal architects of that thesis. Through a series of publications beginning in 1908 (most notably *The Kallikak Family: A Study in the Hereditary of Feeble-Mindedness,* 1912; and *Feeble-Mindedness: Its Causes and Consequences*, 1914), Goddard established a causal relation between feeblemindedness and social deviance. He regarded feeblemindedness as a "unit character" and was inheritable according to Gregor Mendel's law of heredity. Meanwhile, by modifying the labels for sub-groups within the "feebleminded" population according to IQ scores ("moron", 51-70; "imbecile," 26-50; "idiot", 0-25), he provided a more sophisticated way to classify and determine intellectual deficiency. [25]

As the head of the research department at the Vineland Training School in New Jersey, Goddard first encountered the Binet-Simon test while traveling in Europe in 1908, and he soon started using his translation of the test at Vineland. The use of intelligence tests soon spread to prisons, reformatories, mental institutions, and schools in the 1910s. A number of test results following Goddard's lead confirmed high rates of feeblemindedness among inmates. For example, testers found as high as 79 percent "feebleminded" individuals at three Virginia reformatories.[26] Those findings further convinced Goddard that feeblemindedness was a major cause of criminality, dependency, and other social vices. An increasing number of psychologists and administrators of state mental institutions and prisons shared this view. Since they regarded

[25] Leila Zenderland, *Measuring Minds: Henry Herbert Goddard and the Origins of American Intelligence Testing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 186-221.
[26] Leila Zenderland, *Measuring Minds: Henry Herbert Goddard and the Origins of American Intelligence Testing*, 202.

this "menace of feebleminded" as inheritable and mostly unchangeable, they promoted eugenic social policies including sterilization and segregation of the intellectually deficient.[27]

In the psychiatric and mental hygiene community, however, a more complex view of the causes of social deviance emerged in the light of dynamic psychiatry and clinical studies on delinquents. Scientists who held this view gradually distanced themselves from the fixation on "feeblemindedness" – hereditary intellectual deficiency. In addition to Healy's and Glueck's work, a series of state surveys conducted by the National Committee for Mental Hygiene during the late 1910s and early 1920s pointed to various forms of emotional and social maladjustment in addition to feeblemindedness.[28] For instance, psychiatrist V. V. Anderson led a mental hygiene survey in New York State Prisons in 1918. In his report, on the one hand, Anderson acknowledged there was a "definite relationship between delinquency and mental disease and defect."[29] According to the survey, at least 50% of inmates in state prisons showed "mental abnormalities." On the other hand, the percentage of so-called "feeblemindedness" or intellectual deficiency among prison inmates only averaged 27.5%. This meant that about half of the "mental abnormalities" were unrelated to "feeblemindedness." The report thus pointed to cases of "insanity, epilepsy, psychopathic personality, drug deterioration, and other abnormal nervous and mental conditions" other than intellectual defect, all of which "seriously handicap the individual in his[30] ability to adjust himself to the conditions of normal living."[31]

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[27] James W. Trent, Jr., *Inventing the Feeble Mind: A History of Mental Retardation in the United States* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 157-180.
[28] Christine Mary Shea, "The Ideology of Mental Health and the Emergence of the Therapeutic Liberal State: The American Mental Hygiene Movement, 1900-1930," 138-147.
[29] V. V. Anderson, "Mental Disease and Delinquency: A Report of a Special Committee of the New York State Commission of Prison," *Mental Hygiene* 3, no. 2 (April, 1919): 178.
[30] Although using male pronoun, the survey included prisons for women.
[31] V. V. Anderson, "Mental Disease and delinquency: A Report of a Special Committee of the New York State Commission of Prison," *Mental Hygiene* 3, no. 2 (April, 1919): 180.

Referring to Bernard Glueck's study in Sing Sing Prison and other prison surveys, Anderson further pointed out the prominence of environmental factors contributing to these mental disorders: "undoubtedly many criminal careers are due less to inherent biological defects in mark-up than to the repeated exposure throughout life to unfavorable environmental and developmental conditions, forming in this way many of the character traits and personality difficulties so commonly responsible for delinquent behavior."[32] Those mental hygiene surveys highlighted problems related to emotional and personality traits as well as to intellectual deficiency. They also suggested that environmental factors were important in the shaping of those mental abnormalities.

To be sure, while mental hygienists identified emotional and personality maladjustments shaped by environmental factors as major causes of delinquency and crime, they did not necessarily oppose hereditarian views and eugenic campaigns then popular in the United States. Although the link between "feeblemindedness" and social deviance was loosened as mental hygiene surveys illuminated the diverse causes of mental problems, those surveys did not rule out heredity as one of the main explanations for delinquency and crime. They also accepted and expanded on racist beliefs of human difference in these findings. In Bernard Glueck's "etiology of maladjustment," for example, constitutional factors and especially hereditary traits of certain "racial stocks" remained key sources of maladjustment. In general, mental hygienists were ambiguous about the extent to which individuals were malleable in relation to environmental influences and to which maladjustment was curable. Therefore, they did not use these findings to challenge eugenic policies such as sterilization and segregation.

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[32] V. V. Anderson, "Mental Disease and delinquency: A Report of a Special Committee of the New York State Commission of Prison," *Mental Hygiene* 3, no. 2 (April, 1919): 185.

Mental hygiene campaigns also had a complicated relationship with eugenics. The National Committee of Mental Hygiene in its first decade generally shared eugenic concerns on racial degeneration and viewed insanity as part of biological degeneracy. Many psychiatrists also supported racially based immigration restrictions, which became national law in the 1920s. They were especially active in the fight to restrict the diagnosing of mental illness among immigrants to clinically trained psychiatrists. On the other hand, psychiatrists were more prone to judge mental maladjustment based on clinical studies of individual cases rather than on race, ethnicity, or nationality.[33] As the mental hygienists embraced a broader and dynamic view on the shaping factors of mental maladjustment in the 1920s, they also tended to distance themselves from overtly biologically determinist views.[34] Nonetheless, their focus on the prevention of mental breakdown and the promotion of "emotional fitness" fell into line with broad eugenicist concerns over the distinction between the "fit" and the "unfit" during this time.

2. Emotional Fitness and Scientific Studies of Personality in the 1920s

Through clinical studies and mental hygiene surveys, psychiatrists and mental hygienists started to emphasize how emotional problems emerged from constant adjustment between the individual and the environment constituted key sources of social deviance. This concern over emotional fitness gained further recognition among its neighboring disciplines such as psychology and criminology in the 1920s. In the light of new findings about emotional or personality maladjustment among juvenile and adult offenders, scientific experts acknowledged the limitation of intelligence, or I.Q. in explaining individual and social problems. For example, Lewis M. Terman was one of the most active psychologists in the field of intelligence testing. He

[33] Ian Robert Dowbiggin, *Keeping America Sane: Psychiatry and Eugenics in the United States and Canada, 1880-1940* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1997), 218.
[34] Gerald N. Grob, *Mental Illness and American Society*, 175.

and his colleague at Stanford University revised the original Binet-Simon test, which became known as the Stanford-Binet test. In 1925, Terman admitted that in the previous decade scientists had overestimated the proportion of people with low I.Q. among juvenile and adult offenders. Although he insisted that a correlation existed between intelligence and conduct, he cautioned that intelligence tests "do not carry us very far." Terman believed "research must be carried into the field of emotional and personality traits if we would develop methods by which delinquent tendencies may be recognized before the individual comes into serious conflict with the law."[35] In the same article, he further pointed out that compared to intelligence, individual differences "with respect to character, emotion, and personality traits" were "to a larger degree a product of training and environment." Therefore, he imagined that solution to "the problem of delinquency and crime is more hopeful than many have deemed it to be." Terman nevertheless cautioned that certain traits "are likely to become fixed relatively early in life."[36] Therefore, childhood was a critical period in the shaping and correction of one's emotional and personality traits.

Terman's comments epitomized two overlapping lines of work scientific experts pursued to investigate and intervene in the problems of mental maladjustment during the interwar years. One line of research tried to analyze and measure non-intellectual aspects of the human psyche, especially personality. The second line focused on the malleable period of life — childhood — to prevent children's emotional problems and to educate well-adjusted personalities.

The Rise of "Personality" as a Scientific Category of the Self

As experts from psychiatry and its neighboring fields came to view individual differences as a dynamic process, they searched for the best term and useful measure to gauge all these

[35] Lewis M. Terman, "Research on the Diagnosis of Pre-delinquent Tendencies," *The Journal of Delinquency* 9, no. 4 (July, 1925): 124.
[36] Lewis M. Terman, "Research on the Diagnosis of Pre-delinquent Tendencies," *The Journal of Delinquency* 9, no. 4 (July, 1925): 125.

complexities of the human psyche. The concept "personality" quickly gained intellectual and cultural purchase. Historian Warren Susman famously commented that in the early 20th century there was a shift from "the culture of character" to "the culture of personality" in the United States. "Personality" came to epitomize modern conception of the self-fulfilling and self-expressive individual amidst a rapidly changing social order. It soon replaced the keyword of the 19th century moral/religious order — "character".[37]

In the scientific arena, "personality" increasingly gained favor among many students of mental life as well. Especially for the scientists who began to explore non-intellectual aspects of the human mind, "personality" became a popular choice to describe the dynamics in human emotion and social interactions. While there were multiple contenders for the scientific term of non-intellectual characteristics, such as character, temperament, personal traits, and disposition, "personality" had the advantage of wide recognition and a sense of scientific objectivity.

According to historian Kurt Danziger, among the candidates for the uniform vocabulary of non-intellectual aspects of the human mind, "temperament" had a long tradition in medical literature. Yet it was deeply associated with a rigid mind-body dualism and "physiological reductionism." It thus proved to be less desirable for new psychological studies. "Character" was widely used in many fields yet denoted strong "moralistic connotations." Therefore, using the term might compromise the pursuit for "objectivity," which was a prime concern for the new generation of scientific experts. "Personality" had already been a popular category in folk psychology and popular literature by the turn of the 20th century. Its famous popularizers included William James and Morton Prince, who introduced the concept of "multiple

[37] Warren I. Susman, "'Personality' and the Making of Twentieth Century Culture," in Warren I. Susman, *Culture as History: The Transformation of American Society in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1984), 271-285.

personality" to American audience. Moreover, the word "personality" did not appear to be as morally charged as "character." "Personality" thus stood out among a few different terms describing similar mental processes.[38] But the rein of personality never became exclusive. As we will see in the following chapters, in the first half of the 20th century, many scientists and the general public still frequently referred to "character" when describing individual mentality and habit. Meanwhile, different meanings of "personality" existed simultaneously. For some people the concept of "personality" was also infused with religious or moral meanings related to socially desirable emotion and conduct.

The concept of personality had already prevailed in psychiatric literature before World War I. At first, it was largely associated with mental diseases such as psychopathic personalities, multiple personality, and *dementia praecox* (later referred as schizophrenia). This situation soon started to change as psychiatrists expanded their professional role into broader fields concerning mental hygiene. Increasingly, the use of the word "personality" in psychiatric literature was no longer limited to disordered mentality. It became an overarching concept that referred to the whole situation of psyche and conduct of any individual, whether the person was considered normal or abnormal. For instance, William Healy, among others, considered all the forces and conditions an individual encountered in life contributed to a unique "personality."[39]

Psychiatrists also led the way to systematize the analysis of human personality. In the 1910s, August Hoch and George S. Amsden published one of the first descriptive schedules – detailed outlines for medical examination – in the United States to systematically analyze personality in a clinical setting. The schedules contained questions about individual tendencies in

[38] Kurt Danziger, *Naming the Mind: How Psychology Found Its Language* (London: Sage Publications, 1997): 114-116.
[39] William Healy, *The Individual Delinquent*, 25.

intellectual, emotional and social activities. Hoch and Amsden consolidated those aspects under the banner of "personality". Specifically, their schedules divided the analysis of personality into eight sub-groups: 1. Traits related to intelligence; 2. Traits related to "the output of energy" — how individuals use energy during certain activities, for example, whether it left them overactive or easily fatigued; 3. Traits related to the subject's estimate of oneself; 4. "Adaptability towards the environment" — how individuals interact with others and social circumstances; 5. Mood; 6. Traits related to one's sexual instinct; 7. General interests; 8. Pathological traits — mental phenomena commonly associated with mental disorders, such as hallucination, phobias, and anxious dreams.[40] Adolf Meyer extolled the schedules as a "remarkable outline, which was the first attempt to reduce the new ideals of psychobiology to a practical scheme of personality study."[41] This theoretically eclectic approach to one's "total personality" – the aggregate of an individual's intellectual, emotional, and social life – became a hallmark of clinical psychiatry in the next few decades.

Although this outline was mainly intended for physicians' examinations of mental patients, Hoch and Amsden encouraged its use as a roadmap to study personality among children to detect problematic trends for future mental health.[42] In fact, William Healy used their descriptive schedules to study the "individual delinquents" in his 1915 ground-breaking work on juvenile delinquency. Compared to other existing guidelines to study individual traits – for example, Charles Davenport's *Trait Book* (1912) issued by the Eugenics Record Office – Healy favored Hoch and Amsden's schedules. He thought Davenport's was a "bare enumeration of

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[40] August Hoch, and George S. Amsden, "A Guide to the Descriptive Study of the Personality. With Special Reference to the Taking of Anamneses of Cases with Psychoses," *Review of Neurology and Psychiatry* 11 (Nov., 1913): 577-587.
[41] Adolf Meyer, "The Contributions of Psychiatry to the Understanding of Life Problems," 4-5, in Eunice E. Winters, ed., *The Collected Papers of Adolf Meyer, Vol. IV Mental Hygiene* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1952).
[42] August Hoch, and George S. Amsden, "A Guide to the Descriptive Study of the Personality," 577.

mental traits" without clear definitions or differentiation between different terms whereas Hoch and Amsden's schedules was more useful in its philosophical presentation of the subject.[43]

While the concept of "personality" became applicable to describe every individual's general yet unique pattern of thinking, feeling, and interacting, scientific theories and techniques concerning personality were still rooted in pathological concerns. Studies based on mental patients and maladjusted individuals loomed large in psychiatrists' and psychologists' inquiries into personality in the early twentieth century. In other words, although "personality" increasingly became a neutral technical term, scientists' inquiries were still driven by questions like "what was abnormal" or "what went wrong." These abnormalities defined the boundaries of well-adjusted personalities. In psychiatry, because of the profession's proximity to mental patients, criminal offenders, and other so-called "maladjusted" individuals, the diagnosis of abnormalities was a sustained interest in their examination of personality. Published studies on those maladjusted personalities also constituted the largest available data for scientific discussions around personality in the first three decades of the 20th century. For psychologists, the persistence of pathological concerns in their studies of personality was partly owing to the borrowing from psychiatry and partly due to massive consumers' demand for the use of personality measurement to identify the emotionally "unfit."

An important bridge for the persistence of pathological concerns in psychologists' measurement of personality appeared during the First World War. By the time the United States entered the War, "Shell Shock" had become a widely known psycho-neurotic experience among soldiers from overseas. American psychologists sought to develop a test to assist in the screening of army recruits "whose emotional characteristics indicated unfitness for military service." This

[43] William Healy, *The Individual Delinquent*, 71.

work was part of the wartime National Research Council's Subcommittee on Emotional Stability, Fear and Self-control, which was later reorganized as the Subcommittee on Problems of Emotional Fitness in August 1918. Psychologist Robert S. Woodworth served as its chair.[44] Since there was no sufficient psychological measurement of emotion or personality at this time, Woodworth turned to psychiatrists for consultation. He and his colleagues collected hundreds of published case records by psychiatrists, which described the symptoms of people with psychopathic or neurotic tendencies. Drawing on commonly held early signs of psychopathic symptoms, Woodworth then designed 116 yes-or-no questions to detect those signs, such as daydreaming, sleepwalking, low spirit, fear of others, and thoughts of suicide. After preliminary trials and conference with psychiatrists and psychologists, Woodworth and his committee members revised the questionnaire into a "Personal Data Sheet."[45]

Through Woodworth's questionnaire, testers were able to calculate a total score based on the answers and decide if the examinee needed to be referred to a psychiatrist for further diagnosis. The test became available shortly before the Armistice and did not function to screen a large amount of army recruits as intended. But the "Woodworth Personal Data Sheet" (also known as the "Woodworth Psychoneurotic Inventory") became a popular test in personnel selection and management after the War. As one of the first psychological tests of personality, it also served as a primary model for many personality tests that proliferated in the U.S. during the late 1920s and 1930s. In fact, many questions in later personality tests were abridged or modified versions of Woodworth's questionnaire. Therefore, the concerns on abnormal and pathological

[44] Robert M. Yerkes, R*eport of the Psychological Committee of the National Research Council* (Washington, D.C.: National Research Council, 1919), 129-131.
[45] Robert S. Woodworth, "Robert S. Woodworth," in C. Murchison ed. *A History of Psychology in Autobiography, Vol.2* (Worcester, Mass.: Clark University Press, 1932), 359-380.

tendencies first systematized in psychiatry were carried over in those "objective tests" of personality modeled on Woodworth's questionnaire.[46]

While personality's popularity as a scientific category grew after World War I, fundamental questions about the concept remained unresolved. For example, what exactly did "personality" mean for scientific experts? Related to this, what should be the unit(s) of analysis or measurement? Did one try to identify a particular structure, certain traits, an aggregate of cognitive and emotional characteristics, or the biological and social factors that shaped personality? Different understandings of the nature of psyche and the task of mental sciences often led to very different definitions of personality and units of analysis. To the behaviorists, for example, questions about the nature of personality were less important than that of observable patterns. They tended to use tangible activities and individual behaviors in those activities as the representations of one's personality traits. Personality thus stood for the sum of particular behavioral patterns. However, for experts influenced by the psychoanalytic school of Sigmund Freud, Carl Jung, or Alfred Adler, whose views involved significant differences, they emphasized the subconscious or the unconscious as determinative of personality. Overt behavioral trends did not necessarily indicate one's inner self. Those different understandings also led to divergent attitudes toward standardized personality tests. The messiness of the concept of personality would persist throughout the interwar years.

Massive Demand for Personality Measurement

Despite the lack of agreement among experts on the meaning of personality, there existed massive demand for "objective" measurement of personality since the 1920s. Just as wartime concerns of "Shell Shock" and soldiers' emotional instability led to the development of the

[46] Robert E. Gibby, and Michael J. Zickar, "A History of the Early Days of Personality Testing in American Industry: An Obsession with Adjustment," *History of Psychology* 11, no.3, (2008): 164-184.

"Woodworth Personal Data Sheet," practical concerns regarding perceived social problems such as immigration, crime, school dropouts, and labor protests shaped American psychologists' early attempts to measure non-intellectual traits. The common assumption in those overlapping fields was that scientific measurements of individual differences would help schools, employers, and state agencies (such as state penal institutions and federal immigration agencies) detect the "unfit" or the "misfit," thus facilitating efficient management of diverse population. The impulse for advancing managerial efficiency through scientific methods spread widely among professional elites during the Progressive Era.[47]

Initially the rapid growth of intelligence tests seemed to provide the most promising technique in classifying students, differentiating employees, and diagnosing various groups of "maladjusted" people. But psychologists and their clients soon realized that intelligence hardly accounted for complicated human differences observed in schools, in industry, and in other social institutions. As previously seen, Lewis Terman had acknowledged with many scientists and professionals in the 1920s that non-intellectual aspects of the human mind were hard to ignore. They recognized that measuring personality should be a central goal in the development of psychological tests. Therefore, the growth of personality tests was partly prompted by the psychologists' attempt to emulate intelligence tests in evaluating individual differences and "emotional fitness."

Public schools provided a ready testing ground as well as a major market for those scientific measurements of individual differences. The early 20th century saw massive growth of the school population and increasing heterogeneity in America's public schools. Especially in

[47] See, for example, Daniel Rodgers, "In Search of Progressivism," *Reviews in American History* 10, no.4 (Dec., 1982): 113-132. David Tyack, *The One Best System: A History of American Urban Education* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1974).

urban areas, the combination of mass immigration, rural-to-urban migration, and the enforcement of compulsory education laws contributed to the rapid growth of school enrollment.[48] Students differed by race and ethnicity, language and religion, and class background, so the management of individual differences became a thorny problem. Since the mid-19th century, city schools had already tried out various ways to manage and classify student population. Over the years, school administrators implemented strategies including age-grading, flexible promotion, standardized testing in various subjects, special classes, and the creation of academic and vocational tracks. Intelligence testing after 1910 became an integral technique in the sorting of students based on differences of cognitive ability that were presumably revealed in I.Q. scores.[49] By highlighting the role intelligence tests played in public schools and other fields, however, the conventional historical narrative of psychological testing has overlooked the constant search for tests of non-intellectual traits. But advocates of psychological tests also actively sought to add the measurement of personality to their toolkit.

In 1921, for example, the *Journal of Educational Psychology* asked leading psychologists in the field of intelligence testing to contribute to a symposium on "intelligence and its measurement." They were to discuss their understandings of "intelligence" and the best way to measure it, as well as what they thought was the most crucial "next step in research." Fourteen psychologists eventually contributed to the symposium, which included many leading experts in intelligence testing.[50] In addition to those experts' review on the concept of intelligence and its measurement, a majority of them also expressed the desire for tests of non-intellectual traits

[48] David Tyack, *One Best System*, 182-185.
[49] Paul Davis Chapman, *Schools as Sorters: Lewis M. Terman, Applied Psychology, and the Intelligence Testing Movement, 1890-1930* (New York: New York University Press, 1988), Chapter 2.
[50] "Intelligence and Its Measurement: A Symposium," *Journal of Educational Psychology* 12, no.3 (Mar., 1921): 123. Psychologists' responses also appeared in March and April issues of the Journal during 1921.

when discussing important next steps in research. For instance, psychologist Sidney L. Pressey commented: "It is becoming increasingly obvious that matters of temperament and character are of very great importance, that they operate quite largely independent of intelligence…It is also probable that these factors are more educable … than intellectual traits."[51] Similarly, Louis Leon Thurstone pointed out that "intelligence is only one of the elements in mentality and it has been overworked because of being accessible to measurement." And if psychologists "attack the individual diagnosis of character traits as energetically as we have been giving group tests the results will be of far reaching psychological, educational and social significance."[52] Rudolph Pintner also felt "the time is now ripe for active investigation of the emotions, the character, the will and so forth," and that those investigations would "bring up one step nearer to our ideal, namely, a psychological profile or equation of the whole man."[53]

Those psychologists seemed to share the view that the measurement of non-intellectual traits would complement intelligence testing in the evaluation of the human psyche. More importantly, they were confident that non-intellectual traits would be easy to quantify. Proper diagnoses on these aspects would also lead more easily to the improvement of one's behavior and conduct. Their optimism quickly translated into the creation of personality tests. In fact, the contributors to the symposium described above actively pursued this task. Pressey and his wife Luella Cole Pressey had developed a "cross-out" test (later called Pressey X-O Test) for measuring emotions in 1919. The test consisted of 25 lists of words (each list had five words) describing different activities. Test takers were supposed to cross out all the words they thought

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[51] S. L. Pressey, "Intelligence and Its Measurement: A Symposium, VII," *Journal of Educational Psychology* 12, no.3 (Mar., 1921): 147.
[52] L. L. Thurstone, "Intelligence and Its Measurement: A Symposium, X," *Journal of Educational Psychology* 12, no.4 (April, 1921): 206-207.
[53] Rudolf Pintner, "Intelligence and Its Measurement: A Symposium, V," *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 12, no.3 (Mar., 1921): 142-143.

were wrong.[54] In 1929, Louis Leon Thurstone and Thelma Gwinn Thurstone published a "neurotic inventory" (later called the "Thurstone Personality Schedule") for college students. They compiled hundreds of yes-and-no questions from some existing personality tests, including the above-mentioned Woodworth's questionnaire.[55] In the early 1930s, Rudolph Pintner and his Teachers College, Columbia University, colleagues developed multiple measures of personality to assist teachers in judging students' school adjustment.[56] Still, the screening of maladjusted or undesirable traits figured prominently in the questions among those tests. The variety of tests for non-intellectual traits never reached a consensus on what these tests of emotion, character, or personality were exactly measuring. But that was less important than the practical usefulness of those measurements.

"Would not progress be more rapid," Percival M. Symonds, a professor from Teachers College, Columbia, asked in 1924, "if we attempted to construct reliable tests (of emotion and character), regardless of the specific thing they measure?"[57] He would devote his main scholarly energy in character and personality tests for the next few decades (see chapter 3). To Symonds and other test makers, for the moment the reliability (or consistency) of a test for non-intellectual traits was more important than its validity, that is, its accuracy in measuring what it intended to measure. He envisioned that with enough reliable tests and refined statistical techniques, a consensus would emerge on what they were actually evaluating as well as the standardized norms of distribution. This sense of urgency and optimism were certainly driven by the

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[54] S. L. Pressey, and L. L. Pressey, "Cross-out Tests with Suggestions as to a Group Scale of the Emotions," *Journal of Applied Psychology* 3, no. 2 (June, 1919): 138-150.
[55] L. L. Thurstone, and Thelma Gwinn Thurstone, "A Neurotic Inventory," *Journal of Social Psychology* 1, no.1 (Feb., 1930): 3-30.
[56] Rudolf Pintner, J. B. Maller, G. Forlano, and H. Axelrod, "The Measurement of Pupil Adjustment," *The Journal of Educational Research* 28, no. 5 (Jan., 1935): 334-346.
[57] Percival M. Symonds, "The Present Status of Character Measurement," *Journal of Educational Psychology* 15, no. 8 (Nov., 1924): 492.

enormous demand for scientific measures of individual differences from industry, education, and state bureaucracies.

In scientists' work regarding the screening and restriction of immigrants, there was also a pronounced demand for better techniques to measure the emotional "fitness" of different racial groups. In 1922, the National Research Council's Division of Anthropology and Psychology appointed a Committee on Scientific Problems of Human Migration, chaired by psychologist Robert M. Yerkes. The organization of this committee was consonant with the high tide of nativist sentiment around immigration restrictions in Congress. From 1923 to 1929, the Committee organized a number of research projects concerning the psychological study of immigration and racial differences, with an explicit goal to provide scientific assistance for immigration restrictions. In particular, its psychological and biological projects highlighted "problems in the selection of individual immigrants according to potential adaptability."[58] This required the search for proper methods of measuring and comparing human differences, especially among different groups that had emigrated to the United States in such large numbers since the 1890s.

This was not the first time the National Research Council studied how to select so-called "fit" individuals. During the First World War, the Psychology Committee of NRC (formed in April 1917) joined force with the American Psychological Association in offering wartime psychological services, which organized twelve special committees on various aspects of wartime services.[59] The above-mentioned Subcommittee on Emotional Fitness chaired by Robert S. Woodworth was one of the special committees. Yet among those committees, the most

[58] *Final Report of the Committee on Scientific Problems of Human Migration: Report and Circular Series of the National Research Council* (Washington, DC: The National Academies Press. 1929), 7.
[59] Robert M. Yerkes, "Report of the Psychological Committee of the National Research Council," *The Psychological Review* 26, no. 2 (March, 1919): 83-149.

famous one following the war as well as in the history of psychology was the Subcommittee on the Psychological Examination of Recruits chaired by Robert M. Yerkes. It was responsible for developing the famous Army group intelligence tests. The army testing program tested more than 1.75 million men and popularized the concept of intelligence. It also buttressed scientific racism by presenting a racial hierarchy among white and black innate intelligence.[60]

With Robert M. Yerkes as chairman of the new Committee of Scientific Problems of Human Migration, his earlier leadership in the Army testing work seemed to provide a clear path of selecting "fit" individuals through available intelligence tests. However, at the outset the Committee deemed continuing the wartime work on intelligence testing as "the least promising" approach.[61] In his letter to their funder, the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial Fund, and to fellow psychologist Beardsley Ruml, Yerkes contended: "I beg to add on my own account that if our methodological program were limited to attempts to perfect present methods of intelligence measurement or to the devising of new procedures of the linguistic order, I should not be able to support it enthusiastically."[62]

Yerkes believed that the committee should explore new leads in the measurement of both intellectual and affective functions of the human mind. Eventually, the Committee recommended the development of psychological measures along two lines: first, "internationalizing" or "universalizing" intelligence test — mainly through non-verbal tests and establishing norms among different racial groups; second, developing measures that explore non-intellectual aspects of human traits, such as human personality and mechanical abilities. In particular, the Committee

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[60] John Carson, *The Measurement of Merit: Talents, Intelligence, and Inequality in the French and American Republics, 1750-1940* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007), 201-208.
[61] Suggestions for Committee on Scientific Problems of Human Migration, 2, Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial Fund Records, Series 3, Box 58, Folder 629, Rockefeller Archive Center, Sleepy Hollow, NY. (hereafter cited as LSRM Fund Records, RAC)
[62] Letter from Robert M. Yerkes to Beardsley Ruml, April 18, 1923, 1-2, LSRM Fund Records, Series 3, Box 59 Folder 629, RAC.

considered "the emotional and temperamental factors in life as a first importance" and prioritized the work on new measurements for these affective aspects.[63]

Starting in 1923, under the auspices of the Committee on Scientific Problems of Human Migration, psychologists Walter V. Bingham and Clarence S. Yoakum at the Carnegie Institute of Technology embarked on a project called "Analysis on Human Personality." Bingham and Yoakum had had the most intimate experience with the Army testing project. During World War I, Bingham served as the secretary of the Subcommittee on the Psychological Examination of Recruits led by Yerkes. The seven psychologists on this committee designed the original Army *a* tests in 1917.[64] Yoakum headed a committee to conduct trials of the original Army *a* tests and revised them into the Army Alpha tests in early 1918.[65] Once the Surgeon General approved the use of the Army tests, Yoakum became the field supervisor in charge of the testing process and eventually rose to the rank of major in the Army's Psychological Division. After the War, Yoakum and Yerkes coedited *Army Mental Tests* (1920), a heavily cited book that presented first-hand experience, findings, and the tests of the wartime Army testing program.[66]

In their proposal for the "Analysis on Human Personality," Bingham and Yoakum, the two veteran intelligence testers, pointed out that existing methods of mental measurement failed to provide reliable references for "social adjustments, citizenship, business attainment, and various skills." They found "zero correlation often exists between results of mental measurement of the sort currently made, and measure of adult success." By turning their attention to "methods

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[63] *Final Report of the Committee on Scientific Problems of Human Migration,* 13.
[64] The seven psychologists were Yerkes (chairman), Bingham (secretary), Henry H. Goddard, T. H. Haines, Lewis M. Terman, Guy M. Whipple, and F. L. Wells.
[65] John Carson, *The Measurement of* Merit, 201-216.
[66] Clarence S. Yoakum, and Robert M. Yerkes, eds., *Army Mental Tests* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1920).

of systematically analyzing, measuring, and evaluating human personality," they expected to find better measurements for these real-life indicators of individual differences.[67]

Expectation and optimism aside, measuring personality appeared to be far more formidable a task than those psychologists had conveyed in their calls for the next step of studying individual differences. By the end of the project of "Analysis on Human Personality" under the Committee on Scientific Problems of Human Migration, the researchers had failed to provide a reliable tool to measure personality. Instead, they acknowledged that "at the present stage of development of personality measurement…a technique including several methods of approach will give a more reliable picture of personality than any one method alone."[68] Their several methods included a hodgepodge of intelligent tests, trait scales, and case history interviews.

This hodgepodge of methodologies in evaluating personality, however, created unique space for perceived social differences to slip in. This was especially clear when it came to the analysis of racial difference in human personality. In the NRC project, the method Bingham and Yoakum's team used to explore racial difference was straightforwardly hearsay, or as the researchers termed it — "consensus of opinion." In one of the progress reports, they stated that "popular opinion has led us to believe that some traits are more characteristic of some nations and races than others." Therefore, through reviewing current literature on immigration and characteristics of nations and races, one staff member of this project tabulated "the traits that were said in those literature as characteristic of each race or nation." [69] In this way, their analysis

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[67] Walter V. Bingham, and Clarence S. Yoakum, Proposed Plan for Research on Human Personality, March 26, 1923, 1, LSRM Fund Records, Series 3, Box 58, Folder 634, RAC.
[68] "Report and Recommendations of the Committee on Scientific Problems of Human Migration," April5, 1926, 41. LSRM Fund Records, Series 3, Box 59, Folder 632, RAC.
[69] "Report and Recommendations of the Committee on Scientific Problems of Human Migration," April5, 1926, 34-41, LSRM Fund Records, Series 3, Box 59, Folder 632, RAC.

of personality only repeated perceived racial differences and hierarchies current in the increasingly anti-immigrant public discourse.

According to a survey by the National Research Council's Committee on Child Development in 1927, while research activities surged in the study of personality during the 1920s, the "plotting of childhood personality is still merely a crude impressionistic sketching of a few dominant, distorted outlines." The survey further warned "dangers of easy generalization and confident dogmatism … are pronounced in this field in which popular interest is now so strong and popular demand so insistent."[70] By 1930, neither the reliability nor validity of those tests had reached to what Percival M. Symonds once envisioned in 1924. Nor did there emerge a clear consensus of what exactly people were measuring in terms of personality within the scientific community. The measurement of personality, however defined, seemed to still be struggling on a shaky ground.

3. Childhood: the Golden Age for Personality Adjustment

In 1922, Bernard Glueck became the director of the Bureau of Children's Guidance in New York School of Social Work (later Columbia University's Department of Social Work.) The Bureau hosted a child guidance clinic, which aimed to study and treat maladjusted children through an interdisciplinary team of psychiatrists, psychologists, and psychiatric social workers. This model of interdisciplinary examination was similar to the psychiatric clinics associated with the penal systems where William Healy and Bernard Glueck had worked.

From 1909 to 1922, Bernard Glueck's career shifted from a psychiatrist at St. Elizabeth Hospital (from this post he also temporarily served as a medical examiner of immigrants at Ellis

[70] Leslie Ray Marston, "Present Tendencies in Research in Child Development," 1927, 3, LSRM Fund Records, Series 3, Box 31, Folder 328, RAC.

Island in 1913[71]), to the director of the psychiatric clinic at Sing Sing Prison, and then to the director of the Bureau of Children's Guidance in New York School of Social Work. This trajectory was revealing. It coincided with the expansion of professional scope among psychiatrists beyond institutional care and the emergence of the broadly conceived field of mental hygiene. More importantly, it signified mental hygienists' growing awareness of the importance of childhood in tracing the roots of psychological and social problems and their possible amelioration through child guidance work. As William A. White declared in a speech titled "Childhood: the Golden Period for Mental Hygiene:"

> "All our approaches to the understanding of defective psychological adjustment point indubitably to childhood as the period when things first go wrong, and the indication is therefore clear that this is the period which must be studied and modified to prevent the failures of later life."[72]

A Developmental Thesis and a Network of Experts on Childhood Adjustment

Psychiatrists were not alone in their growing interest in childhood adjustment. A developmental thesis emerged in a variety of disciplines studying the human mind and conduct in the 1920s. Scientific experts from different fields argued that a variety of mental and social problems were rooted in children's maladjustment at home, school, and community. While experts differed in their understandings of the key period (0-3 years, early childhood, or adolescence), the key factors (physiological, psychological, or sociological), and potential to change (fixed or malleable) personality traits, they regarded the formation of individual behavior and personality as a developmental process and one's experiences in childhood were crucial. For

[71] John T. E. Richardson, *Howard Andrew Knox: Pioneer of Intelligence Testing at Ellis Island* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), 88.
[72] William A. White, "Childhood: The Golden Period for Mental Hygiene," *Mental Hygiene* 4, no.2 (April, 1920): 264.

instance, through his earlier study at Sing Sing Prison, Bernard Glueck concluded that about two thirds of the persons under study were repeat offenders, recidivists. He claimed that "this habituation in criminal ways has its determining roots in the childhood of these individuals." By establishing direct connections between crime and childhood experience, Glueck emphasized "the problems of childhood maladjustment."[73] Further, he pointed out in 1922 that in identifying the causes of childhood adjustment, a trend within the scientific community was an "increasing emphasis on the 'conditioning influences' of life-experiences" than "heredity and predetermination." Hopefully, "an endeavor to understand the nature of the child's personality" provided much promise in the future.[74]

Looking to childhood for the sources of both societal problems and cures was hardly a new realization. Similar sensibilities could be traced to the romantic idea of childhood in early modern Europe. In the 1890s, the Child Study Movement led by psychologist G. Stanley Hall also stressed the importance of scientific studies on children. But the developmental thesis emerged after World War I held a more optimistic view on the use of scientific methods to condition and even control the directions of children's emotion and conduct. It recognized environmental influences in childhood as important shaping factors of behavior in later life. It also enlisted more rigorous research efforts from various scientific disciplines to establish developmental norms for early childhood.

Wartime psychological work in the Army certainly enhanced experts' confidence in the power of scientific methods in human engineering. When speaking to the Massachusetts Society for Mental Hygiene in January 1919, Yale psychologist Arnold Gesell urged, "Let us not forget

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[73] Bernard Glueck, Annual Report of the Bureau of Children's Guidance, Dec. 1922, 2-3, Commonwealth Fund Records, Series 29, Box 1, Folder 1, Rockefeller Archive Center, Sleepy Hollow, NY.
[74] Bernard Glueck, "Annual Report of the Bureau of Children's Guidance," 9-11.

too speedily in times of armistice and peace, what really can be done in the field of human engineering if we set out wills to the task." The war taught him that it was imperative for a democratic government to participate in "commandeering, classifying, training and molding the minds of millions of its citizen."[75] In the Clinic of Child Development at Yale University, Gesell's team started an ambitious project in 1919 to establish developmental norms of children's physical and mental growth in different stages through long-term observation and testing of infants and children.[76]

This confidence in controlling human emotion and behavior also bore the influence of behaviorism, an epistemological and methodological stance that gained popularity among psychologists and neighboring disciplines since the 1910s. Behaviorist psychology moved the study of observable human behavior to the center of psychological inquiry. It also put more emphasis on the power of training or "conditioning" in shaping one's mind and habits. Further, behaviorism identified the goal of psychology in grand terms: to not only study but also to predict and control human activities. The most outspoken behaviorist John B. Watson, for example, claimed that it was possible to "perfect and regulate and reshape and use practically the emotional life of the individual."[77] In his own study, Watson conducted experiments with infants to explore basic emotional reactions of human beings and the mechanism for emotional development. He also tried to develop techniques to condition infants' emotional responses through controlled external stimuli.[78] While Watson's experiment with infants remained controversial and not all experts shared his extreme faith in the power of environment, various

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[75] Arnold Gesell, "Mental Hygiene and the Public School," *Mental Hygiene* 3, no.1 (Jan., 1919): 4, 7.
[76] Ann Hulbert, *Raising America: Experts, Parents, and a Century of Advice about Children* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2003), Chapter 6 "The Anatomist of Normalcy."
[77] Kerry W. Buckley, *Mechanical Man: John Broadus Watson and the Beginnings of Behaviorism* (New York: The Guilford Press, 1989), 121.
[78] Kerry W. Buckley, *Mechanical Man,* 120-121.

groups of scientists and social reformers believed that the observation, analysis, and adjustment of emotion and behavior during childhood would yield hopeful results in social amelioration.

Who were these scientists and reformers? In the philanthropic world and social reform arena, various child welfare endeavors had long been regarded as a natural female dominion because of women's perceived social role as mothers and child-care givers. Since the late 19th century, a variety of middle-class women's groups had engaged in campaigns concerning child labor, juvenile courts, school social services, and infant and maternal health. In the early 20th century, white middle-class female social reformers from settlement houses and later the U.S. Children's Bureau played a particularly important role in the promotion of nutrition, hygiene, and scientific child-rearing among working-class and immigrant families.[79] In this sense, the emerging scientific explorations and social programs targeting childhood adjustment were built on Progressive-Era politics of maternalism, from which a network of prominent leaders like Jane Adams, Lilian Wald, Julia Lathrop as well as local female reformers played a central role.

On the other hand, the embrace of scientific leadership and specialized knowledge in various social programs targeting childhood adjustment changed the power dynamics within fields of child welfare and education. As scientific experts trained in psychiatry and psychology expanded their professional authority into researches and welfare programs related to children, a gendered division of labor began to affect the traditionally female-dominated scene of child-related public affairs. Hence the key leadership positions in these scientific and social programs were gradually dominated by white, middle-class, male professionals. Psychiatry, for example, was a medical profession that mainly reserved for men in the early 20th century. Doctoral degrees in psychiatry usually required medical school training and practice in hospitals or state mental

[79] Robyn Muncy, *Creating A Female Dominion in American Reform, 1890-1935* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991).

institutions. Few women were granted this opportunity. Meanwhile, when more and more women gained Ph.D. degrees in psychology in the interwar years, they were heavily segmented within child psychology and educational psychology. In the late 1890s, G. Stanley Hall had deemed child study "preeminently the woman's science"[80] Over the years, the field of child psychology increasingly became "one of academia's highly feminized fields."[81] Similar trends happened in the divide between sociology and social work. Even when a few women scientists made their ways into certain traditionally masculinized fields, opportunities for promotion and directorship in research institutions usually prioritized male faculty.

As a result, in interdisciplinary research institutions and social programs related to child development and child guidance, male experts with a background in psychiatry or psychology often assumed leadership roles, while female psychologists and social workers contributed to a large portion of empirical work such as administering mental tests and visiting families. Therefore, a gendered division of labor among the network of professionals dealing with childhood adjustment simultaneously empowered and constrained female professionals' pursuit in scientific research and social reform.

Private Foundations and the Promotion of Childhood Adjustment

The developmental thesis among experts increasingly attracted massive financial support from private philanthropic foundations. The late 1910s and 1920s saw rapid growth in the investment for privately funded projects associated with children's welfare and education. In particular, during the 1920s, two philanthropic foundations – the Commonwealth Fund and the

[80] Dorothy Ross, *G. Stanley Hall, The Psychologist as Prophet* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972), 260.
[81] Margaret W. Rossiter, *Women Scientists in America: Struggles and Strategies to 1940* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1982), 199.

Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial Fund – invested millions of dollars in the overlapping fields of child guidance, mental hygiene, child development research, and parent education.

The Commonwealth Fund was incorporated in October 1918. The Fund's endowments came largely from the Harkness family in New York, whose fortune accumulated through investments in the Standard Oil Company and railroad bonds in the late 19th century. The founder Mrs. Anne Harkness originally framed the purpose of the Fund as broadly as "to do something for the welfare of mankind." Yet in its early years, the Commonwealth Fund soon identified child welfare and particularly child health as a main focus, partly because there were less philanthropic investments in this increasingly popular area by that time.[82] Under the advice of a few psychiatrists and medical experts, in 1921, the Fund started its Program for the Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency, aiming at mental hygiene work with children through the cooperation of psychiatric, psychological, social work, and educational experts.

The Commonwealth Fund's Program for the Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency launched the first wave of campaigns to promote mental health among children in the United States. The original program (1922-1927) contained four divisions. The Bureau of Children's Guidance in the New York School of Social Work, where Bernard Glueck served as its first director, constituted the first division. The main work of this division concerned the use of the child guidance clinic to treat children who, "while perfectly normal mentally, yet are on the way toward delinquency." It thus targeted children with had normal intelligence but exhibited emotional and social maladjustments. In addition to the child guidance clinic, this Bureau also served as a research institute and a training ground for psychiatric social workers. The second Division involved collaboration with the National Committee for Mental Hygiene for the

[82] A. McGehee Harvey, and Susan L. Abrams, *"For the Welfare of Mankind:" The Commonwealth Fund and American Medicine* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, 1986), 10-26.

demonstration of child guidance work. It appointed two teams of demonstration clinic staff, who circulated in about ten communities (mostly in the North), helping to establish child guidance clinics and demonstrating methods of diagnosing and treating emotionally maladjusted children. The third Division worked with the National Association for Visiting Teachers. The Commonwealth Fund provided two-thirds of the salaries for visiting teachers in five New York City public schools. They conducted frequent home and community visits, with the goal to gain knowledge about individual students and to recommend school adjustments to better match students' need. In addition to the work in New York City public schools, this Division also sent visiting teachers to about ten public school systems around the country. The fourth Division, The Joint Committee on Methods of Preventing Delinquency, collaborated with the above sections as well as publications coming out of those lines of work.[83]

Barry Smith, general director of Commonwealth Fund, once commented that "in some respects our Program for the Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency is a misnomer," for its work was concerned with the broader "field of mental hygiene for children."[84] The Commonwealth Fund's Program for the Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency encompassed all sorts of potential maladjustment in childhood, not simply juvenile delinquency. The assumption was that preventive work during childhood would stop delinquency or any social problems in its incipient stage. In fact, the name of the program became such a liability that after the first five years the Commonwealth Fund decided to change its name to "Program in Mental Hygiene for Children." Through the demonstration child guidance clinics, the work of visiting teachers, and publications

[83] Report of the General Director of Commonwealth Fund, Nov. 1921, LSRM Fund Records, Series 3, Box 111, Folder 1113, RAC. Margo Horn, *Before It's Too Late: The Child Guidance Movement in the United States, 1922-1945* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1989), 30-32.
[84] Excerpt of Letter from Barry Smith to Beardsley Ruml, March 3, 1924, LSRM Fund Records, Series 2, Box 2, Folder 22, RAC.

of case histories regarding childhood maladjustment, the Commonwealth Fund Program popularized a three-fold approach (psychiatric, psychological, and sociological) in analyzing various childhood maladjustments. After 1927, the Commonwealth Fund gradually shifted its funding focus to professional training in psychiatry. However, the experts who had worked in the Program for the Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency remained active in child guidance, mental hygiene, and education throughout the interwar years.

A less well-known area of the Commonwealth Fund's sponsorship during the 1920s was educational research. In addition to the Program for the Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency or later the Program in Mental Hygiene for Children, the Commonwealth Fund also included the reorganization of schooling as a major line of funding activities. From 1920 to 1926, the Fund appropriated approximately $100,000 a year for educational research (it decreased to $62,200 in 1926-1927 and discontinued its funding in June 1927). Funded projects focused on the reorganization of schooling to eliminate waste as well as on the teaching of social studies. Notable education leaders such as Charles H. Judd, Edward L. Thorndike, James R. Angell, and Leonard P. Ayres served on its Educational Research Committee to select grant projects. In their official reports, the Fund stated explicitly that they expected the grants for educational research to complement their projects on the "direct methods of preventing and correcting social maladjustment." American society was undergoing "a period of maximum rapidity of change" that "multiplies the occasions for human maladjustment." Therefore, the school should assume "a rapidly widening responsibility for making the child the sort of person who can contrive to live a happy, useful life in the shifting world that confronts him."[85] Clearly, schooling was conceived as an integral part of preventing mental and social maladjustment.

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[85] *The Commonwealth Fund Eighth Annual Report for the Year 1925-26* (New York: The Commonwealth Fund, 1926), 55.

In 1918, the same year of the incorporation of the Commonwealth Fund, John D. Rockefeller created the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial (LSRM) Fund in memory of his late wife Laura Spelman Rockefeller. The LSRM Fund initially gave money to a wide variety of projects related to child welfare, but it soon reoriented its funding priorities to become a major sponsor in social scientific researches during the 1920s. This shift was related to the Rockefeller Foundations' overall transition to a "scientific philanthropy." More specifically, LSRM Fund officers' professional background and interest in social scientific communities facilitated the shift. For example, Beardsley Ruml was the director of the LSRM Fund who played a major role in this reorientation. He was a psychologist closely associated with the University of Chicago and the Carnegie Institute of Technology (now Carnegie Mellon University). Ruml and other LSRM Fund officers were fully invested in the power of scientific research to facilitate social engineering.[86] In the context of the general shift toward social scientific research, the LSRM Fund's initial focus on child welfare was thus incorporated and transformed into the support for scientific research regarding children. The LSRM Fund thus played a key role in the production and transmission of social scientific knowledge about child development during this time.

Both the Commonwealth Fund and LSRM Fund shared the view that childhood was the golden age for scientific intervention in order to prevent future problems of the individual and society. However, in terms of what constituted the most effective method to intervene, the LSRM Fund had a different answer from that of the Commonwealth Fund. Rather than focusing on programs that were in direct contact with children's mental hygiene and education, the LSRM Fund devoted its attention to child development research and parent education. In 1923-24, the LSRM Fund appointed Lawrence K. Frank to survey the state of the social sciences and child

[86] Dennis Raymond Bryson, *Socializing the Young: The Role of Foundations, 1923-1941* (Westport, CT: Bergin & Garvey, 2002), 36.

welfare in the United States. Frank would become a leader in privately funded programs for child welfare and education from the 1920s to 1940s. In his survey, Frank argued that "recent *cause celebrate* at Chicago" (mostly likely a reference to the Leopold-Loeb case) served as a lesson for parents to "inculcate those habits of right behavior and of avoidance of crime which will save their children from a similar fate." Unfortunately, he lamented, while the incentive for parents to do so might be present, the knowledge of how to do so is extremely limited. Therefore, he recommended "careful and intensive study of child development in the early years," in order to assist parents in child rearing and eventually help reduce juvenile delinquency.[87]

Ultimately, the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial Fund chose to focus their child welfare funding on the dual core of parent education and child development research. They sponsored the establishment of several child research institutes in the United States and Canada. These institutes were often affiliated with research universities or colleges. They recruited psychologists, physiologists, and educational researchers to conduct studies on the biological and psychological development of children. They also served as the liaison with state parent education associations and local child welfare agencies, in order to disseminate scientific knowledge about child development to parents. Those institutes became the first research programs in the United States to explore human development. In 1927, the Rockefeller Foundation reorganized the LSRM Fund, which ceased to be an independent funding agency. But the funding for child development research and parent education was carried on by two other Rockefeller philanthropic organizations — the Spelman Fund in New York City and the General Education Board. In particular, Frank continued to serve as the General Education Board officer

[87] Lawrence K. Frank, Adolescent Criminals and Delinquents, 5-6, LSRM Fund Records, Series 2, Box 2, Folder 22, RAC.

overseeing child development research and education programs. Consequently, funding for previous LSRM Fund programs continued to influence the growth of these fields in the 1930s.[88]

In an era when federal and state funding for programs related to children and families were extremely limited[89], the money from philanthropic foundations and the network of experts and reformers helped materialize the developmental thesis into concrete social and educational programs. They also established the infrastructure of knowledge production for child development and mental health. While the two funding agencies differed in specific focuses, the programs they funded denoted a common ambition: using carefully fabricated scientific knowledge to promote social change. The ethos of scientific philanthropy and social engineering was infused in knowledge production activities across various fields related to the golden age of adjustment – childhood.

The conception of personality adjustment thus rose in conjunction with the professional trajectories of psychiatry and psychology in the 1910s and the 1920s. In their investigations and interventions of various social problems such as juvenile delinquency, scientific experts embraced a more complex view on the causes of mental and social deviance. They argued that emotional and personality traits shaped by environmental factors were key sources of individual and social problems. This view prompted scientists to explore non-intellectual aspects of the human psyche, which increasingly became known as personality. While researchers studying human personality struggled to establish sound theories and measurements, embedded in their

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[88] Dennis Raymond Bryson, *Socializing the Young: The Role of Foundations, 1923-1941* (Westport, CT: Bergin & Garvey, 2002), Chapter 3 "Child Study and Parent Education."

[89] The short-lived Sheppard Towner Maternity and Infancy Act (1921-1929) provided limited federal funding to states' programs of maternal and infant health. Funded projects included traveling health clinics, parent education, nurse home visits, and various training programs related to infant care. It was not until the Social Security Act of 1935 that government funding for children and families significantly increased, including funding for child health services and medical care for children with disabilities.

conception of personality adjustment was an optimism about the use of psychological means to control individuals', especially children's, emotion and conduct. But many researchers shared racial, ethnic, and gender biases common in the early decades of the twentieth century and brought them into the new knowledge of psychological adjustment.

Driven by this ambition of offering scientific solution to childhood maladjustment and to the prevention of social problems, the network of experts, reformers, and their funding agencies first laid their eyes on child guidance, a new field dealing with children's emotional and behavioral problems. In the child guidance clinic, psychiatrists, psychologists, and social workers came together and conducted case-by-case examinations on the so-called "problem children." They would also offer new insights, albeit contested, on the operation and function of schooling for the benefit of a well-adjusted childhood.

Chapter 2. "The Most Practical Avenue:" Child Guidance and the Treatment of Behavior Problems in Public Schools

It was a Friday morning in October 1922. The Bureau of Children's Guidance at New York School of Social Work held its weekly case discussion conference. The conference had been a regular event of the Bureau since its opening in February 1922. It gradually attracted such a large audience that two rooms had to be merged into one. Participants included faculty and students at the New York School of Social Work, visiting teachers from the Public School Association, and physicians, educators, and child welfare workers in the city. This Friday's conference centered around a case of a 10-year-old Italian American boy named Lawrence. It began with a presentation of the boy's life histories — his physical, intellectual, and emotional development at home, at school, and in the local community.

A visiting teacher in one of the Bronx public schools referred Lawrence to the Bureau. His teacher complained the boy displayed frequent violent emotional outbursts in classroom and was hard to manage. According to further home visits, Lawrence's behavior at home was similar, exhibiting "episodes of marked irritability and explosiveness." The visiting teacher described Lawrence's father as an "intelligent, fairly educated man," whereas his mother was "nervous and explosive," who had endured several miscarriages before giving birth to the boy. Both parents had active syphilis, which might have infected the boy as well. An undersized child, Lawrence experienced whooping cough, measles, and scarlet fever during early childhood. Recently he also had problems with sleeping. The Terman Scale of III I.Q. test administrated by the psychologist at the Bureau revealed that Lawrence's intelligence was "superior." He had a mental age of 11 years and 3 months as compared to his chronological age of 10 years and 1 month. Interviews by the Bureau staff discovered that Lawrence's mother "whipped him a good

deal". In contrast, the boy liked his father and wished he would be more at home. While Lawrence didn't like his teacher because "whenever you turn around she hits you', he did enjoy school. But his chief interest was in the streets, which, according to the case report, offered "wild and unorganized" recreations.[1]

After hearing a brief summary of Lawrence's conditions, those in attendance at the conference proceeded to a guided discussion based on a set of questions formulated by the Bureau's director, Bernard Glueck. Questions revolved around the nature, possible causes, and treatment of the boy's behavioral difficulties. Members of the conference suggested that the boy's problems might have a lot to do with his health — possible syphilitic infection and indications of epilepsy. Yet this physical condition could not be viewed separately from its psychological impact. It was proposed that Lawrence's realization of his own physical defects might have caused him "to feel inferior and to develop a compensatory mechanism." That is to say, he tended to compensate the feeling of inferiority with outbursts and conflicts with others. This tendency was exacerbated by environmental factors, especially the disciplinary measures by his mother and teacher, who were said to exhibit "some of the same explosive traits" as the boy. The discussion thus concluded with tentative suggestions regarding treatment. The treatment plan proposed either to transfer the boy to a private school or to encourage him to join wholesome extracurricular activities.[2]

Lawrence's case was among the hundreds of cases the Bureau of Child Guidance examined during its existence from 1922 to 1927. The conference discussion also epitomized

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[1] "Conference Report on the Case of C," in Bernard Glueck, Annual Report of the Bureau of Children's Guidance, 1922, 56-66, Commonwealth Fund Records, Series 29, Box 1, Folder 1, Rockefeller Archive Center, Sleepy Hollow, NY. (hereafter cited as Commonwealth Fund Records, RAC.) For more discussion on child welfare workers' concerns on children's unorganized activities in urban streets, see David Nasaw, *Children of the City: At Work and At Play* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985).

[2] "Conference Report on the Case of C," 56-66.

how child guidance clinicians — an interdisciplinary team of psychiatrists, psychologists, psychiatric social workers, and sometimes pediatrists — examined the so-called "problem children." The case histories of those children usually contained their health records, school records, interviews with teachers and parents, psychological test results, and psychiatric interviews. Through a closely-knit network of professionals, the child guidance clinics that emerged and spread in the United States during the 1920s shared common working theories. Funding from the Commonwealth Fund's Program for the Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency and the personnel and supervision from the National Committee for Mental Hygiene sustained the operation of these clinics. In addition, the training programs at a few designated locations (the New York School of Social Work, Smith College, and later the Institute of Child Guidance in New York City) supplied psychiatric social workers for the clinics, many of whom received Commonwealth Fund fellowships. Publications regarding child guidance work and case histories further disseminated the child guidance point of view among child welfare and education circles.

In their search for the causes of childhood maladjustment, child guidance clinicians had particular suspects in mind. In the Leopold-Loeb case, the psychiatrists serving as expert witness avoided pointing fingers to the two youths' wealthy parents but rather directed blame towards their governesses. In contrast, child guidance clinicians did not hesitate to locate immigrant neighborhoods and low-income parents as the usual culprits in childhood maladjustment. In Bernard Glueck's discussion on the work of the Bureau of Children's Guidance with schools, for example, he mentioned Public School No.1 in the Bronx, where the pupils were largely of "the Italian race." He had found "marked parallelisms between the way in which the children of this school are growing up and the early history of Sing Sing prisoners," who he had studied in the past. Glueck suggested that there was a manifest need of "a constructive social program for that

district."[3] Moreover, as historians of childhood and family have noted, child-welfare workers and mental hygienists often blamed families and especially mothers from low-income neighborhoods as the main source of problematic tendencies in children.[4] As child guidance clinics included more middle-class clientele, middle-class mothers too were accused of indulging or overprotecting tendencies, a typical maternal pathology from the perspective of mental hygiene.[5]

Besides family and especially maternal influences, schooling was another key environmental source of maladjustment identified by child guidance clinicians. After all, as public schools expanded in the early 20th century, classrooms increasingly acquired more time in children's lives. Bernard Glueck once warned, "life in the classroom to which so many of the waking hours of the average child are devoted, carries within itself tremendous potentialities not only for good, but also for evil."[6] On the other hand, many experts relied on the school to offset negative influences from the family and community and to prevent further maladjustment. For instance, Glueck acknowledged that "the most practical avenue through which the behavior and personality problems of childhood can be attacked is still the public schools."[7] Therefore, life at school was seen as both a problem and a solution to childhood maladjustment.

Child guidance clinicians proposed to use the school to tackle the behavior and personality problems of childhood. When public schools started to incorporate child guidance work, however, the school often reconfigured the use of clinical knowledge and child guidance

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[3] Minutes of Corporation Meeting, January 23, 1922, Commonwealth Fund Records, Series 29, Box 4, Folder 39, RAC.
[4] Kathleen W. Jones, *Taming the Troublesome Child: American Families, Child Guidance and the Limits of Psychiatric Authority* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992), 31.
[5] Kathleen W. Jones, *Taming the Troublesome Child: American Families, Child Guidance and the Limits of Psychiatric Authority* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992), Chapter 7 "The Critique of Motherhood".
[6] Bernard Glueck, "Some Extra-Curricular Problems of the Classroom," *School and Society*, Vol. 19, No. 476 (Feb. 9, 1924): 1.
[7] Bernard Glueck, Annual Report of the Bureau of Children's Guidance, 1922, 3, Commonwealth Fund Records, Series 29, Box 1, Folder 1, RAC.

practices. Contrary to earlier historians' thesis on the medicalization of American schooling through the mental hygiene movement and child guidance clinics,[8] this chapter presents a more complicated and nuanced picture of the encounter between child guidance and public schooling during the 1920s and 1930s.

The chapter first examines the theories and case histories child guidance clinicians used to articulate their critiques and reform agenda regarding public schooling. It then turns to a case study on the Minneapolis child guidance clinic, which was the first one established within a public school system. The early years of this clinic revealed its uneasy relationship with other administrative units in the public schools. In addition to bureaucratic tensions between the child guidance clinic and other school special services in Minneapolis, child guidance clinicians' approach to assessing students' behavior problems also faced competition with educational experts who championed scientific management. Ultimately, while the field of child guidance contributed new theories and methods to dealing with students' emotional and behavioral problems, child guidance practices struggled to transform the operation and function of public schooling during this period.

1. Schooling as a Problem and a Solution of Childhood Maladjustment

During the 1920s, as the child guidance clinic emerged as an innovative way to diagnose and treat children's emotional and behavioral problems, the school came under increasing scrutiny for its emotional damage to children as well as its promise to effect satisfactory adjustment in childhood. School difficulties emerged as a common thread in the cases examined by the Bureau of Children's Guidance and other child guidance clinics. Those difficulties involved a broad range of problems such as academic failure, truancy, lying, and stealing. Within

[8] Sol Cohen, "The Mental Hygiene Movement, the Development of Personality and the School: The Medicalization of American Education," *History of Education Quarterly* 23, no.2 (1983): 123-49.

the school, children's behaviors, attitudes, and personalities increasingly became the subjects of educators' anxieties as well as the basis for scientific experts' speculations and theories.

Theorizing Emotional Maladjustment

While the child guidance clinic staff usually reached conclusions about the causes and treatment plans of maladjusted children on an individual basis, certain theoretical frameworks concerning individuals' emotion and personality underpinned the analysis of these cases. In the 1920s, a few authors from European psychoanalytic circles in Europe — oriented especially on Sigmund Freud, Alfred Adler, and Carl Jung — became new sources of inspiration for an emotion-oriented interpretation of maladjustment.

Austrian psychiatrist Alfred Adler's theoretical formulation on the feeling of inferiority became particularly popular among child guidance clinicians. Adler originally formulated a theory of "organ inferiority" to explain the influence of physical deficiencies or disabilities on psychological development. He argued that when individuals identified areas of physical weakness, they tried to compensate for those feelings of inferiority in order to achieve a sense of superiority. Many psychotic problems emerged from this process. For example, when individuals strive to compensate for their feelings of inferiority, they could suffer from overcompensation and egocentrism.[9] As one of the English translators of Alfred Adler's monograph *The Neurotic Constitution* (1916), Bernard Glueck was certainly familiar with his theory of organ inferiority. In fact, among the list of guided discussion questions Glueck outlined for weekly case conferences at the New York School of Social Work, many were concerned with the subject of inferiority feelings. These questions attempted to link children's physical problems with their

[9] Alfred Adler, *The Neurotic Constitution: Outlines of a Comparative Individualistic Psychology and Psychotherapy*, trans. Bernard Glueck and John E. Lind (New York: Moffat, Yard and Company, 1916). Adler's concept of organ inferiority also bore the influence of French psychiatrist Pierre Janet's concept of "sentiment d'incompletude'. See Adler, *The Neurotic constitution*, vi.

psychological issues. For instance, after posing questions about children's heredity and health, Glueck asked: "what are the possible psychological reverberations of the physical conditions? Is there a feeling of inferiority? Is there any reaction to this feeling? Is there any relation between this and his difficulty? "[10]

For Adler, Glueck, and others, the explanatory power of "feelings of inferiority" soon extended beyond emotional reactions to "organ inferiority." They started to identify many environmental and interpersonal factors in one's life, which were not necessarily connected to physical impairment, as the sources of inferiority feelings. For example, in a child's life, sibling rivalry and parental preference could lead one of the siblings to feel inferior; unsuccessful promotion or demotion in school could cause the feeling of inferiority; the discrepancy between a student's ambition and abilities or social status could also result in negative feelings. Adler's broad conception of the feeling of inferiority was a direct reaction against Freud's fixation on "the sexual etiology of neuroses."[11] To the psychiatrists and psychologists in the United States, Adler's theory was appealing partly because it avoided overtly sexual references in Freud's psychoanalytic theories. Moreover, individuals' striving for compensation also served as an all-purpose explanation for many overt behavior problems among children. Hence aggressive expressions such as emotional outbursts and violence could be interpreted as over-compensatory efforts on the part of children in response to their sense of inferiority. The way to solve those problems, then, lay in the adjustment of particular environmental influences or personal perceptions that affected one's self-esteem.[12]

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[10] Bernard Glueck, Annual Report of the Bureau of Children's Guidance, 1922, 61-62, Commonwealth Fund Records, Series 29, Box 1, Folder 1, RAC.

[11] Alfred Adler, *The Neurotic Constitution*, viii. During the 1920s, Alfred Adler also ran educational clinics in Vienna that were similar to the American child guidance clinics. The Commonwealth Fund had a program of health demonstration in Austria around this time. Yet it's not clear whether there were direct connections between the Vienna clinics and child guidance clinics in the U.S.

[12] A few decades later, the notion of the feeling of inferiority would appear in the landmark case *Brown v. Board of*

Other than European psychoanalytic theories, American child guidance clinicians also tried to formulate their own theories that could shed light upon children's emotional and personality maladjustment. For instance, psychiatrist Marion E. Kenworthy, who was a colleague of Bernard Glueck at the New York School of Social Work, developed an "ego-libido method" in the diagnosis and treatment of children's maladjustment. She borrowed Freud's concept of ego and libido and divided the purpose and emotional value of one's behavior along two axes: constructive and destructive, satisfying and unsatisfying. Using this method, she could easily classify children's experiences under these headings and determine the locus of potential maladjustment. Educators and social workers, she suggested, should also direct the child toward the repetition of predominantly constructive and satisfying life experiences to form well-adjusted behavior.[13]

The Emotional Toll of Schooling

In their interpretations of "problem children" at school, child guidance clinicians emphasized the emotional stresses created by schooling as a main source of children's maladjustment. They also promoted the examination of children's whole life situation rather than narrowly conceived intellectual issues.

In the case of P., for example, a thirteen-year-old boy moved away from a small town and entered a public school in New York City. When the boy was in the sixth grade, his teacher suspected he had superior intelligence and had him examined in a psychological clinic. The

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Education, where the court opinion stated that to separate African American children solely because of their race "generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community…in a way unlikely ever to be undone." (*Brown v. Board of Education*, 347 U.S. 483, 1954, 494) On the one hand, this statement reflected the popular framework of feeling of inferiority that had circulated in the human sciences in the U.S. for nearly four decades. On the other hand, the assumption about the unlikeliness of undoing the damage reflected a pathologization of African American children's personalities that deemed their emotional life as permanently damaged by social oppressions and segregation. See chapter 4 for more discussion.

[13] Marion E. Kenworth, "Psychoanalytic Concepts in Mental Hygiene," *The Family* 7, no.7 (Nov., 1926): 213-223.

exam concluded P.'s superior intelligence "equaled or exceeded only by about 3 out of every 100 children." P. was then transferred to a reputable junior high school. However, his behavior took a new turn after the transfer, leading to frequent truancy and excessive masturbation. P.'s eighth grade teacher eventually demoted him to 7A grade as a punishment. Through a series of examinations as well as home and school visits, staff from the Bureau of Children's Guidance discovered P.'s emotional sufferings stemmed from parental separation, a change of environment, and stresses generated by school transfer and demotion. After addressing those issues, the boy soon became "normal and happy" again. In their comments on the school's handling of P., the Bureau staff lamented that "one almost wishes that the school authorities would forget for the time being his high I. Q. …The boy will have to be a much happier boy than he can get the full advantage of his high I. Q."[14]

P.'s case also showed up as the case of Sidney Leighton in *Three Problem Children* published in 1924. This was the first major publication from the Commonwealth Fund's Program on the Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency. In this book, Mary B. Sayles, a staff member from the Joint Committee on the Prevention of Delinquency, adapted three case records from the Bureau of Children's Guidance into non-technical narratives. The Joint Committee intended to showcase child guidance work with so-called "problem children." In the book version of Leighton's story, the message regarding the school's responsibilities in childhood maladjustment was even clearer. After presenting Sidney's experience of school promotion, transfer, and demotion, the author pointed out that "heretofore the school people had known the boy only as a pupil, an isolated bit of humanity."[15] However, she warned, "there is danger in dealing with any

[14] Bernard Glueck, Annual Report of the Bureau of Children's Guidance, 1922, 21, Commonwealth Fund Records, Series 29, Box 1, Folder 1, RAC.
[15] Mary B. Sayles, *Three Problem Children: Narratives from the Case Records of a Child Guidance Clinic* (New York: Joint Committee on Methods of Preventing Delinquency, 1924), 66

child upon the basis of intelligence alone, without taking into account the issues of health and of happiness, the personality as a whole and the background."[16]

To stress the point, Sayles even made a small modification in the story about Sidney's high I.Q. score. In the original case records from the Bureau, it was reported that P. had an I.Q. of 125 based on the Stanford-Binet test. He had taken the same test four months earlier. In the book adaptation, Sayles shortened the time interval between the two I.Q. tests to less than two months. She then stated that he "obviously remembered many of them (test items)," implying Sidney's high I.Q. score might have been positively mediated by retesting within a short interval. [17] Therefore, to stress the importance of treating the student as a whole personality, Sayles further downplayed the boy's high intelligence score in her version of the story.

By revealing the causes and effects of school problems, case histories from the child guidance clinics often criticized the public school system, for it was "too rigid to adapt itself to the needs of the individual child."[18] The other two cases in Sayles's *Three Problem Children* also revealed how rigid school requirements exacerbated children's emotional difficulties. Mildred was a thirteen-year-old girl who was born in the U.S. and had "normal intelligence." She was referred to the Bureau of Children's Guidance in the spring of 1922 due to school failure. After conducting an examination of the girl's home, school, and neighborhood experiences, the Bureau concluded that Mildred's school experiences cast destructive influence on her emotion. She had attended a church school before transferring to the sixth grade at a public school when she was 11. However, Mildred's early study in the church school had been interrupted by illness, and she was often used as an errand girl at school. So her performance after the transfer failed to meet the

[16] Mary B. Sayles, *Three Problem Children*, 73.
[17] Mary B. Sayles, *Three Problem Children*, 58.
[18] Mary B. Sayles, *Three Problem Children*, 6.

requirement of 6A grade. At a school psychologist's suggestion, she was first placed in the 4th grade but failed to perform adequately. She was then placed in 1A grade. Having to study amid very young children created a sense of humiliation and Mildred thus became "apathetic, unsocial, sullen." The Bureau staff complained that in Mildred's school "it is clear that patience and skill in dealing with difficult educational problems were conspicuously lacking." Overall, the school failure and additional influences at home had "almost completely obliterated [her] self-confidence and self-esteem."[19]

The last case in *Three Problem Children* concerned Kenneth McGregor, who was on probation because of his involvement in robbing a grocery store with some boys. At school he had repeated a few grades and his teacher complained that he "associated with a very bad crowd of boys and was easily led by them." During the interview with Kenneth, however, the Bureau psychiatrist discovered that although Kenneth tested slightly below normal intelligence, a big factor in his school maladjustment was related to teachers' handling of Kenneth's left-handedness. Since the beginning of his school experience he had been compelled to use the right hand. In addition, his teacher had constantly complained about his bad handwriting. This experience had ever since upset him. Although in Kenneth's case, the Bureau staff attributed more problems at home and his neighborhood as the main causes of his behavior, they complained that his school setting had brought him "nothing but failure and humiliation." Therefore, the book urged the school to adopt a newer point of view to "adapt school to child."[20]

After reading those cases in *Three Problem Children*, Henry C. Morrison, Professor of Education at the University of Chicago, lamented the role schools played in children's maladjustment: "in these three cases it is easy to see wherein the school has not only failed but in

[19] Mary B. Sayles, *Three Problem Children*, 27-32.
[20] Mary B. Sayles, *Three Problem Children*, 89-115, 120.

varying degrees has done the child positive harm."[21] Similar rhetoric prevailed among the publications and speeches by child guidance clinicians. For instance, after the first year of demonstration work in St. Louis child guidance clinic, its staff discovered that the dull methods of teaching in the school room, and "unintelligent applications of narrow academic standards, are contributing to delinquency." They called for "a more intelligent and adjustable educational system."[22] Marion E. Kenworthy, who became medical director at the Bureau of Children's Guidance after Bernard Glueck resigned in 1924, stated that "the aim of education is conceived to be the adjustment of the individual to the life in which he must participate," and the educational process should "be directed toward fitting the individual to cope successfully with his environment."[23] The idea that schools should be more "adjustable" and should help children to adjust to life became a typical comment in child guidance case histories.

Through those comments, child guidance clinicians condemned the rigidity of modern schooling. School too often prioritized intellectual skills over children's emotional and social adjustment. This critique coincided with many educators' call for the reorganization of schooling during the interwar era. In the 1920s, urban school systems also started to use child guidance clinics in the diagnosis and treatment of children's behavioral problems at school. The common rhetoric of "adjust the school to the child," however, often meant different things in practice. When incorporated into the school system, the child guidance clinic encountered competition with various school social services, as well as educational experts who championed scientific management.

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[21] Henry C. Morrison, "Discussion," in Mary B. Sayles, *Three Problem Children,* 124.
[22] V. V. Anderson, *A Discussion of the First Demonstration Clinic Conducted by the Division on the Prevention of Delinquency of the National Committee for Mental Hygiene* (New York: The National Committee for Mental Hygiene, 1923), 24.
[23] Marion E. Kenworthy, "Some Emotional Problems Seen in the Superior Child," in Jane Addams ed., *The Child, the Clinic, and the Court: A Group of Papers* (New York: New Republic, Inc, 1925), 22.

2. Expensive and Isolated: the Child Guidance Clinic in Minneapolis Public Schools

Among the child guidance clinics initiated by the Commonwealth Fund, the Minneapolis child guidance clinic had a uniquely close relation with local public schools. In the 1920s, it was the first child guidance clinic entirely funded and administered within a public school system. Yet this close relationship between child guidance clinic and public schools also proved to be uneasy. School administrators and educational experts often had different ideas about the use of a child guidance clinic and its relationship with other school services. The first ten years of the history of the Minneapolis child guidance clinic illustrated the difficulties involved in reconciling the child guidance point of view with administrative practices in the public schools.

Child Guidance Clinic and the "Mildest Type" of Behavior Problems

The child guidance clinic in Minneapolis public schools originated in a demonstration clinic established by Division II of the Commonwealth Fund's Program for the Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency in 1923. During 1922-1927, under the supervision of the National Committee on Mental Hygiene (NCMH), Division II appointed two teams of demonstration clinic staff composed of psychiatrists, psychologists, and psychiatric social workers who travelled to cities that were interested in establishing child guidance clinics. The demonstration teams stayed in each city for six months to a year, with the expectation that local communities would take over and establish permanent clinics afterwards.

Before coming to the Twin Cities of Minneapolis and St Paul, the two teams from Division II had conducted demonstration work in St. Louis, Missouri, Norfolk, Virginia, and Dallas, Texas, and resulted in two permanent clinics in St. Louis and Dallas. In November of 1923, psychiatrist Lawson G. Lowrey brought his team from Dallas to Minneapolis, where a joint demonstration clinic for the Twin Cities opened in the new library building at the

University of Minnesota. Lowrey's team completed a one-year demonstration project and departed for Cleveland in December, 1924. Having observed the demonstration clinic, several Minneapolis civic organizations endorsed the creation of a permanent child guidance clinic. Originally, a few public agencies, including the Board of County Commissioners, the Board of Public Welfare, the Community Chest, and the Board of Education intended to fund the clinic together. Yet they soon found out that it was illegal to turn over public funds to an outside agency. Eventually the Board of Education assumed control and operated the clinic within the school system.[24]

In 1924, the child guidance clinic of Minneapolis public schools began at the Lymanhurst Hospital, sharing space with a children's ward and an open-air school for tubercular children. The staff included a psychiatrist, a psychologist, and three psychiatric social workers. The clinic also worked with the visiting teachers and speech correction teachers in the public schools. Dr. Smiley Blanton, the director of the new clinic, was pleased that the clinic came under the control of the Board of Education. In his letter to the NCMH medical director, Blanton expressed the hope that this arrangement would create a "more cooperative attitude among the teachers."[25]

Blanton wanted the clinic to care for the mental health of all students in the public schools. The Minneapolis child guidance clinic thus provided services for public schools in several areas. It spearheaded a high school course in mental hygiene, designed a "behavior chart" for kindergarten teachers (to record each child's behavior and detect early behavior difficulties in children), and offered talks and lectures for public school teachers.[26] On Saturday mornings

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[24] Letter from Smiley Blanton to Frankwood E. Williams, Oct. 13, 1924, Commonwealth Fund Records, Series 10, Box 1, Folder 11, RAC.
[25] Letter from Smiley Blanton to Frankwood E. Williams, Oct. 13, 1924, Commonwealth Fund Records, Series 10, Box 1, Folder 11, RAC.
[26] Smiley Blanton, "The Function of the Mental Hygiene Clinic in the Schools and Colleges," in Jane Addams, ed. *The Child, the Clinic, and the Court: A Group of Papers* (New York: New Republic Inc., 1925), 95-96.

during the school year, the clinic also held special staff meetings open to Minneapolis teachers. In those meetings, the clinic staff discussed case histories that illustrated a range of everyday problems in children's behaviors and emotions. Starting in 1925, Blanton also taught two courses on "behavior problems in children" in connection with the College of Education at the University of Minnesota. Blanton's lectures included various theories and cases regarding child development and behavioral problems.[27]

Blanton envisioned that casework in the child guidance clinic would focus on "those children with average or superior intelligence, who have behavior-difficulties of the very mildest type." That is to say, he expected to study and treat children who had not broken any laws or had mental breakdowns but only exhibited slight behavioral problems. He wanted to treat, for example, "the irritable, moody, pilfering, negative, too-suggestible child, the child who has not yet learned to control his temper, who is not able to adjust himself to the group, who is too sensitive or too 'bumptious,' who does not show the proper interest in his studies, who is too much attached to his parents, or antagonistic toward them."[28] This expectation reflected the mental hygienists' assumption that the most effective preventive work lay in the so-called "normal" children with emerging problematic tendencies.

Several case histories selected by the child guidance clinic to print in the *Minneapolis School Bulletin* illustrated various types of the "mildest cases." There was "Harry," whose I. Q. score was above average. But due to a series of incidents that affected his popularity among his peers at high school, he became a "misfit and an outcast."[29] There was "John," the only child of a

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[27] "Child Guidance Clinic," *School Bulletin of Minneapolis Public Schools* no.11 (October 1, 1925):1. "Child Guidance Clinic: Course in Behaviour Problems," *School Bulletin of Minneapolis Public Schools* no.23 (December 3, 1925):1.
[28] Smiley Blanton, "The Function of the Mental Hygiene Clinic in the Schools and Colleges," 94.
[29] Lila Kline, "The Misfit," *School Bulletin of Minneapolis Public Schools* no. 47 (May 6, 1926): 1-3.

Jewish immigrant couple that had high expectations for their son's academic success. John worked dutifully and even sacrificed his time for socializing and physical exercise, thus becoming known as a "grind" among classmates. However, psychological exams indicated that his intelligence was below average and that he should be placed in a special class.[30] There was "Richard" from a well-to-do family and had above average intelligence, who had repeated grades and had trouble making friends at school. The clinic discerned that Richard's parents had different ideas about discipline, which caused the boy to have ambivalent views of authority. His reaction to teacher authority and social contacts with peers since kindergarten, therefore, had been filled with frustration, which furthered his inattention and disinterest at school.[31] The treatment plan for all the cases usually involved a change of classroom, a meeting with parents and teachers, and encouragement for wholesome extracurricular activities. Through those case histories, child guidance clinicians tried to convey two messages. First, emotional and behavioral problems were quite common and easy to cure in this early stage — in Blanton's words they were "the very mildest type." Second, if these problems were left unattended, however, those children might become serious social misfits in later life.

In reality, however, the child guidance clinic did not have full control of the cases they dealt with. The ideal cases they envisioned also did not entirely correspond to the notion of "problem children" at school. The Department of Attendance and Research in Minneapolis public schools had traditionally overseen the "problem cases" in the schools. The director of the child guidance clinic also reported to the director of that Department. Attendance had been a

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[30] Ann Picus, "Trying to Live Up to the Family Ideal," *School Bulletin of Minneapolis Public Schools* no.50 (May 13, 1926): 1-2.

[31] Rose G. Anderson, "Not Understood," *School Bulletin of Minneapolis Public Schools*, no.57 (May 27, 1926): 1-3. For a historical examination on educators' tendency to associate problematic behavior more with boys, see Julia Grant, *The Boy Problem: Educating Boys in Urban America, 1870-1970* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2014).

long-time administrative responsibility of the public schools. Attendance staff carried on the traditional truant officers' role in enforcing compulsory school laws and handling truants. During the early 20th century, the work of attendance department also extended beyond the old model of punishment. They became associated with updated professional techniques such as good record keeping, "child accounting," and social work.[32] Nevertheless, child guidance clinicians and attendance department staff had different priorities in identifying children who needed special attention. In contrast to the clinics' preference for "mildest" problems of "normal" children in order to prevent future maladjustment, the selection of cases by attendance officers tended to be older children who had seriously broken school rules or actual laws. To the child guidance clinicians, those children had "more aggravated difficulties and more firmly established objectionable behavior habits."[33] These were not the ideal target for intervention and should not be the main focus at the clinic. But attendance officers contended that these were exactly the problem cases that the newly reorganized school special services should address.

Child Guidance Clinic and School Special Services

During the 1910s and 1920s, like many urban school systems across the country, the Minneapolis public schools experienced rapid expansion in the student population, school buildings, and administrative structure. Its student population rose from 51,000 in 1915 to almost 88,000 in 1930. During the 15 years, the number of public schools grew from 76 to 111.[34] Booming school enrollments also led to expansion in administrative structures and school social services. During these years, the Board of Education established and reorganized various

[32] David Tyack and Michael Berkowitz, "The Man Nobody Liked: Toward a Social History of the Truant Officer, 1840-1940," *American Quarterly* 29, no.1 (Spring, 1977): 31-54.
[33] The Longfellow School Survey, 1924, 1, Commonwealth Fund Records, Series 10, Box 1, Folder 11, RAC.
[34] Carole Zellie, "Minneapolis Public Schools Historic Context Survey," April, 2005, 21. Minnesota Historical Society, https://mpshistory.mpls.k12.mn.us/uploads/mplspublicschoolstdy_2005.pdf

administrative units concerning attendance and placement, census and research, vocational guidance, and visiting teachers — all were considered as school special services at the time.

The organizational change was part of a larger reform effort in vocational education. Frank Spaulding, Superintendent of the Minneapolis public schools from 1914-1917, was a leading voice in vocational education movement, and he introduced a series of bureaucratic and curriculum changes in the school system.[35] In 1914, in response to a survey of school-leaving and vocational education by the Teachers' Club, the Board of Education established a Department of Vocational Guidance. The Department supervised a few lines of work within the public schools, including school census, school attendance, employment certification, vocational guidance, placement and employment supervision, and the work of visiting teachers.[36] In addition, the public school system added vocational courses in public high schools and built new vocational schools, partly to retain non-college going students. The city's vocational education reform attracted national attention in 1915, when the National Society for the Promotion of Industrial Education — a prominent advocacy group for vocational education reform and legislation — conducted a survey and published an over 500-page report on the city's vocational education.[37] Over the years, the Department of Vocational Guidance in the public school system experienced constant reorganization. For instance, the work of census and attendance was once

[35] Barry M. Franklin, *Building the American Community: the School Curriculum and the Search for Social Control* (London and Philadelphia: The Falmer Press, 1986), 139-140.
[36] Victoria McAlmon, "The Department of Guidance and Placement," *The Vocational Guidance Magazine* 2, no.7 (April, 1924): 176.
[37] The report was then reprinted as a bulletin of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, U.S. Department of Labor. See National Society for the Promotion of Industrial Education, *Vocational Education Survey of Minneapolis, Minn. Bulletin of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, U.S. Department of Labor* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1917). The director of this survey was Charles A. Prosser, another leading advocates of vocational education and the Smith-Hughes Act of 1917. Prosser's activities since 1915 had also been associated with vocational education reform in Minneapolis. He moved to the city in 1915 and became the director of the newly founded private vocational school — Dunwoody Industrial Institute.

separated from the guidance department but then merged with it again. New lines of work such as school counsellors were added in the mid-1920s.[38]

Many positions along those lines of work overlapped significantly with the work of child guidance in terms of responsibilities and expertise. For example, as mentioned earlier, attendance officers had traditionally dealt with truants, drop-outs, and students who often repeated grades. They were in close contact with local juvenile court and probation officers and were invested in efforts to prevent juvenile delinquency. Vocational guidance work also involved measuring students' vocational aptitude and personality characteristics, so as to match students with particular career trajectories or tracks in school. The visiting teachers in Minneapolis originally shared the responsibilities of attendance officers. They increasingly focused more on social casework regarding individual problem cases. For example, they made home and community visits to assist teachers in background investigation of children who showed behavioral problems or signs of neglect. As part of school special services, the child guidance clinic struggled to clarify its clientele and identify its relationship with other administrative units.

Newton H. Hegel, the director of Attendance and Guidance (later Attendance and Research), supervised various special services in the Minneapolis Public Schools since 1918.[39] He became the most outspoken opponent of the Minneapolis child guidance clinic. Initially, Hegel welcomed the arrival of the demonstration child guidance clinic and also expected the permanent clinic within public schools to aid school special services. He thought the psychiatric

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[38] Victoria McAlmon, "The Department of Guidance and Placement," *The Vocational Guidance Magazine* 2, no.7 (April, 1924): 176.

[39] Hegel was the director of attendance and guidance in 1918, then director of attendance and census in 1921. In 1922, the superintendent added research (including tests and measurements) into his responsibilities, making him the director of attendance, guidance and administrative research. The name and departmental structure of those position changed constantly during the 1920s. See Victoria McAlmon, "The Department of Guidance and Placement," *The Vocational Guidance Magazine* 2, no.7 (April, 1924): 176.

approach to studying behavior problems would add new insights on children's misbehavior.[40] However, the relationship between the new clinic and his department did not turn out as smoothly. Hegel complained that Dr. Smiley Blanton, the director of the child guidance clinic, spent too little time in psychiatric work, a criticism confirmed by the Commonwealth Fund's supervisor of community clinics.

As early as 1925, Ralph P. Truitt, Director of Division II of the Commonwealth Fund's Program for the Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency, was "thoroughly disgusted with Blanton." After visiting the clinic, Truitt complained that Blanton was giving as little as 10 minutes, and no more than 45 minutes to each individual psychiatric interview. Further, Truitt found that Blanton handed over much of the psychiatric work to a man at the rate of $2.00 for a half day. Instead of clinical work, he seemed to spend more time on "securing as much publicity as possible through the radio and otherwise," and "the publicity is not for mental hygiene procedures as much as for advertising on Smiley Blanton's abilities."[41] By the end of 1926, Blanton decided to leave Minneapolis and became the Professor of Child Study at Vassar College. Yet the relationship between the child guidance clinic and other special services within the schools remained tense.

In 1927, Dr. Herbert E. Chamberlain took over the directorship after Blanton's departure. In the meantime, an administrative change came to the advantage of the clinic. Instead of being responsible to Newton H. Hegel, Chamberlain was now responsible directly to the Superintendent of Public Schools.[42] During Chamberlain's term as the director, however, he took a decisive move to distance the clinic from other special services in the public schools. In the

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[40] N. H. Hegel, "The Minneapolis Child Guidance Clinic," *The Vocational Guidance Magazine* 2, no.7 (April, 1924): 188-189.
[41] Letter from Miss Quin to Barry Smith, Feb. 21, 1925, Commonwealth Fund Records, Series 10, Box 1, Folder 11, RAC.
[42] Mildred Scoville, Memo on visit to Minneapolis child guidance clinic, Jan.11,1928, 1, Commonwealth Fund Records, Series 10, Box 3, Folder 47, RAC.

school year 1927-1928, Hegel and the supervisor of visiting teachers proposed to add visiting teachers and the newly established position of school counsellors as part of the child guidance clinic personnel. But Chamberlain rejected the proposal. Chamberlain claimed that he wanted to maintain certain independence of opinion when it came to school operations. He regarded the clinic as "a middle ground between the schools and the community" and should "reflect the opinion of both sides without prejudice."[43] As we have seen earlier, child guidance clinicians were often critical of the school's and teachers' handling of children, sometimes accusing them of aggravating children's emotional maladjustment. Therefore, Chamberlain felt strongly against lining up too closely with other school services.

More importantly, Chamberlain acted as a gatekeeper to the medical profession. He saw the child guidance clinic as a preventive medical service and insisted on its professional nature. A graduate of the Harvard Medical School, Chamberlain was a physician at Bloomingdales Hospital in New York from 1922 to 1927. Possibly through his participation in the NCMH's state mental hygiene surveys, he became connected with the National Committee[44] and secured the position of directorship at the Minneapolis clinic. But he remained a staunch medical man. He once noted that including visiting teachers in the clinic staff would weaken "the argument for medical directorship" and "confuse the nature of the child guidance clinic."[45] In fact, in other child guidance clinics initiated by the Commonwealth Fund, visiting teachers were not considered as formal staff. Although the Program for the Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency by the Commonwealth Fund included a Division for visiting teachers, their perceived role was

[43] Milred Scoville, Memo on Visit to Minneapolis Child Guidance Clinic, 1927, 1-2, Commonwealth Fund Records, Series 10, Box 3, Folder 47, RAC.
[44] National Committee for Mental Hygiene, "Clinic News," *Mental Hygiene Bulletin* 5, no.5 (May, 1927): 4.
[45] Quarterly Reports of the Division on Community Clinics, April 1 - June 30, 1929; July 1 - Sept. 30, 1939, Commonwealth Fund Records, Series 10, Box 3, Folder 52, RAC.

school social workers. This was different from the training of psychiatric social workers in the child guidance clinic, who by the 1920s only came from a few institutions that combined social work and psychiatry in their training. The lack of psychiatric training among visiting teachers might have resulted in Chamberlain's decision to not accept them as the staff of his clinic.

Chamberlain's unwillingness to associate more closely with other school social services stirred further conflicts with Hegel as well as with Julia K. Drew, the supervisor of visiting teachers in Minneapolis. Miss Drew wielded a great deal of clout locally and nationally. She came from a prominent family in Minneapolis and became the president of the National Association of Visiting Teachers in 1929. After she joined Hegel in opposition against the child guidance clinic, criticism of the clinic within the school system grew stronger. Further, in 1929, Hegel enrolled in the Ph.D. program in the Department of Sociology at the University of Minnesota. Hegel had long expressed the desirability of having someone other than a psychiatrist as director of the clinic. Therefore, the Commonwealth Fund officer speculated that Hegel might intend to use this professional training as a springboard to the directorship of the child guidance clinic.[46] In the meantime, Hegel and Drew continued to criticize the clinic publicly. In his defense, Chamberlain submitted a written criticism of the attendance and visiting teacher work. Eventually, the president of the Board of Education chose to take the clinic's side.[47] But this was just the beginning of the fight.

Budget Cuts and Reorganization of Special Services

[46] Mildred Scoville, Report of Conference with Miss Bassett and Dr. Stevenson, Oct. 29, 1929, Commonwealth Fund Records, Series 10, Box 3, Folder 47, RAC.
[47] Quarterly Report of the Division on Community Clinics, Oct.1 - Dec. 31, 1929, Commonwealth Fund Records, Series 10, Box 3, Folder 52, RAC.

During the Great Depression, the Minneapolis public schools' budget shrunk sharply, from over eight million in 1931 to six million in 1933.[48] As the school budget sunk, funding for the child guidance clinic became severely endangered. Chamberlain's refusal to make the visiting teachers and school counsellors part of the clinic personnel not only exacerbated the conflict with other leaders of social services. It also affected the clinic's economic outlook as those services struggled to justify their existence in the face of budget cuts. In each year from 1930 to 1933, the Board of Education considered closing the child guidance clinic. The situation was similar to many other child guidance clinics associated with public schools. In 1932, the Commonwealth Fund reported that many child guidance services established as integral parts of public school systems across the country have been "quite seriously jeopardized."[49]

In 1930, in the face of a $260,000 budget cut in the Minneapolis schools, Hegel and Drew started another campaign against the child guidance clinic. They reportedly saw each member of the Board of Education and stressed the uselessness of the clinic.[50] Meanwhile, Chamberlain called for the support of various social agencies and civic groups in the community to defend the clinic. Many of them responded in the clinic's favor. Twenty-two welfare organizations formed a delegation and appeared in the Board of Education meeting to protest against the reduction of funding for the child guidance clinic. The Minneapolis Health Council was particularly active in defending the clinic.[51] The Board of Education then appointed a special committee of three to investigate the situation and temporarily held the clinic budget for the year.

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[48] Barry M. Franklin, *From "Backwardness" to "At-Risk:" Childhood Learning Difficulties and the Contradictions of School Reform* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994), 109.
[49] Mildred Scoville to Barry Smith, Memo on Stevenson's Report, April 16, 1932, Commonwealth Fund Records, Series 10, Box 2, Folder 23, RAC.
[50] Mildred Scoville, Memo on Conference with Dr. Stevenson and Miss Clark, Jan.21, 1931, Commonwealth Fund Records, Series 10, Box 2, Folder 22, RAC.
[51] "22 Groups to Protest Cut in Clinic Funds," *The Minneapolis Star*, Saturday, October 18, 1930:10.

Eventually, the Board restored the budget ($18,000 for 1930-31, much lower than $24,440 in 1929-30), but also asked Chamberlain to make the budget as low as possible.[52]

In response, Hegel intended to resign as the director of Attendance and Research. But he was granted two-year leave of absence to finish his Ph.D. program. Meanwhile, in order to centralize all of the special services, the Board appointed an assistant superintendent to lead the departments of records and services (including attendance, child guidance, visiting teachers, and clerical work).[53] Centralizing and reorganizing various social services in large school systems increasingly became the trend during the depression. During his leave of absence, Newton Hegel also made a similar recommendation of coordination and reorganization while conducting a survey of social services for the Chicago public schools.[54]

By 1932 Chamberlain had considered leaving the Minneapolis clinic. He was in touch with the University of Chicago and the Bureau of Juvenile Research in Chicago regarding a possible position there. He left for Chicago in the summer of 1932, when the Minneapolis school system was faced with a $630,000 reduction in its budget. This cut would potentially lead to the termination of many special services.[55] Carroll R. Reed, the Superintendent of the Minneapolis public schools, recommended to discontinue the child guidance clinic. In a conversation between Superintendent Reed and George Stevenson, Director of community clinics in the Commonwealth Fund Program, Reed mentioned the difficult relations between the child guidance clinic and other departments. In particular, he commented that Chamberlain's refusal to

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[52] Mildred Scoville, Memo on Conference with Dr. Stevenson and Miss Clark, Jan.21, 1931, Commonwealth Fund Records, Series 10, Box 2, Folder 22, RAC.
[53] "Reed Asks for Time to Fill New Staff Job," *The Minneapolis Star*, Monday, August 25, 1930: 2.
[54] George D. Strayer, *Report of the Survey of the Schools of Chicago, Vol.1* (New York: Teachers College Bureau of Publication, 1932), 350. A team from Teachers College, Columbia, conducted the large-scale school survey in Chicago. They also brought in experts from several specific areas. Among them, Newton Hegel was in charge of the survey related to social services of the Chicago public schools.
[55] Mildred Scoville, Memo on Stevenson's Report, April 16, 1932, Commonwealth Fund Records, Series 10, Box 2, Folder 23, RAC.

accept the visiting teachers as the social workers for the clinic "had made the entire situation very confusing, as it resulted in much duplication." He also expressed negative opinions about the usefulness of psychiatric services in public schools. Reed stated that "according to the most reliable estimates made by various people in the country, not more than 2% of the children in the public schools needed psychiatric attention anyway."[56] The expensive child guidance clinic served too few children to justify the cost.

Due to backlash from community organizations, Superintendent Reed backed down from his decision to discontinue the clinic. But he was not willing to pay for another full-time psychiatrist to replace Chamberlain. Reed was known to be "averse to having people in the school who are not trained pedagogically."[57] Plus, the salary for a full-time psychiatrist was a huge expense compared to many other school positions. Before Chamberlain left, he received $6,000 a year from the public school system, which was already a reduced salary due to the weak school budget. However, this was considered low for the profession of psychiatry. The reason Chamberlain was satisfied with this salary was probably because he earned extra income through affiliation at the University of Minnesota ($900), radio talks ($2,500), and some private practice.[58] But in the public school budget, the salary of $6,000 a year for one psychiatrist was still a luxury.

In a budget meeting with the Board of Education, Superintendent Reed proposed to reorganize the child guidance clinic and other social services of the school system into a "Department of Child Study and Adjustment" and put it in charge of "an educator or a

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[56] Mildred Scoville, Memo on Stevenson's report, April 16, 1932, Commonwealth Fund Records, Series 10, Box 2, Folder 23, RAC.
[57] Quarterly Report of the Division on Community Clinics, April 1 - June 30, 1932, Series 10, Box 3, Folder 55, Commonwealth Fund Records, RAC.
[58] Mildred Scoville, Memo on Conference with Dr. Stevenson and Miss Clark, Jan.21, 1931, Commonwealth Fund Records, Series 10, Box 2, Folder 22, RAC.

psychologist."[59] In a report he made in front of the Board of Education, Reed summarized various critiques of the child guidance clinic. Those critiques reflected rivalries and disagreement among different professions within the public schools:

> "… a lack of integration between services of the clinic and those of the school, tendency toward over-elaboration of procedure and set-up, criticism of school teachers and principals in place of constructive helpfulness, lack of specific recommendations for treatment and consequent tendency toward a professional subordination of educators to the psychiatrist in the handling of behavior difficulties within the schools."[60]

While the clinic seemed to be unpopular among some school staff, it was still extremely popular among community organizations concerned with medical service and child welfare. Parent-teacher organizations were also supportive. In the summer of 1932, faced with multiple community organizations' protest against closing the clinic, the Board of Education decided to keep the child guidance clinic. But they were still hesitant to hire a full-time psychiatrist. After Chamberlain left, the Board had temporarily put Dorothy Wallace, chief psychiatric social worker in the clinic as an acting director and paid outside psychiatric service on part-time basis. Although the National Committee of Mental Hygiene sought to recommend Dr. Mabel Huschka — a local Minneapolitan and fellow at the Institute of Child Guidance — as the director, several local leaders responded negatively because they preferred a man rather than a woman in that position. In January 1933, the Board of Education hired a local neurologist, Dr. R. S. Ahrens, as consulting psychiatrist for the clinic, and he worked at the clinic for three days a week.[61] According to Superintendent Reed, this part-time appointment saved the public schools about

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[59] "Fate of Child Guidance Clinic Still in Doubt," *The Minneapolis Star*, Saturday, June 11, 1932: 4.
[60] "Fate of Child Guidance Clinic Still in Doubt," *The Minneapolis Star*, Saturday, June 11, 1932: 4.
[61] Mildred Scoville, Memo on Stevenson's Report, Jan. 26, 1933, Commonwealth Fund Records, Series 10, Box 2, Folder 24, RAC.

$2,700 a year, cheaper than hiring a full-time psychiatrist.[62] The annual budget for the clinic had decreased to $14,100.

In 1933, when considering the budget proposal for 1933-1934, Reed once again recommended closing the clinic. "The clinic as it is now operated is unsatisfactory, is isolated from the teaching service … it's operated for a comparative few, too," Reed told the members of the Board of Education during a budget meeting.[63] Several members of the Board were reluctant to eliminate the clinic completely, suggesting the use of visiting teachers in place of psychiatric social workers. This was the same proposal Chamberlain rejected during the late 1920s. At this time, it seemed to be a way out. In the same year, psychiatrist S. Alan Challman from Johns Hopkins University, who was originally from Minneapolis, offered to head the clinic at a salary of $3,500 a year.[64] Challman's father was on the State Board of Education and had a number of close relatives who were teaching in the public schools.[65] Eventually, the Board decided to hire him. Meanwhile, they reorganized the clinic and several special service divisions. The visiting teachers and social workers from the Attendance Department were incorporated into the clinic staff and reorganized into a Child Study Department, under the directorship of Dr. Challman.[66] The department was also responsible for the examination of children before they entered special classes.[67] The child guidance clinic was also moved from the Lymanhurst Hospital to East High School building to save rental expense. Newton H. Hegel, who had long fought for the control of

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[62] "School Board Cuts Janitors' Pay 15 Percent," *The Minneapolis Star*, Saturday, January 14, 1933: 4.
[63] "School Board Refuses to Drop Child Guidance Clinic, Plans New Setup," *The Minneapolis Star*, Thursday, August 3, 1933: 8.
[64] "School Board Refuses to Drop Child Guidance Clinic, Plans New Setup," *The Minneapolis Star*, Thursday, August 3, 1933: 8.
[65] Quarterly Report of the Division on Community Clinics, Oct.-Dec., 1933, Commonwealth Fund Records, Series 10, Box 3, Folder 56, RAC.
[66] Quarterly Report of the Division on Community Clinics, Oct. - Dec., 1934, Commonwealth Fund Records, Series 10, Box 4, Folder 57, RAC.
[67] Caroll R. Reed, *The Years of Depression: Report of the Superintendent of Schools to the Board of Education*, June, 1935, 38.

the clinic, stepped down from the director of attendance and research and became the principal of Folwell Junior high school. According to a Commonwealth Fund report, Miss Drew also dropped out of the controversy due to a "nervous breakdown."[68]

Despite the contention among various special services in the Minneapolis public school system, a psychiatrist remained as the head of the Child Study Department. This did not necessarily reflect the school officers' recognition of the importance of psychiatric service. The decision was more likely driven by psychiatrist S. Alan Challman's willingness to accept a lower salary. The reorganization of the Child Study Department combined previously separated lines of professional work and diluted the clinical setting of child guidance work. It was thus apparent that the original medicalized ideal held by Chamberlain did not fit well with the public school system. The school personnel had felt suspicious, if not hostile, toward medical leadership in the handling of behavior problems among school children. In addition to professional contentions, the child guidance clinics' extensive examinations were only available for a limited number of mildly maladjusted children. In the context of the tumultuous economic situation, school administrators increasingly considered it as an unreasonable expense.

As early as 1924, when observing the Commonwealth Fund's Program for the Prevention of Delinquency, Lawrence K. Frank, then officer of the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial Fund, expressed concerns on its vision of child guidance work. He noted that its mental hygiene program was based on the notion that "professional services must be multiplied to reach every person whose condition or behavior has sufficiently deviated from norm to attract attention." Hence its end goal was to extend professional services of psychiatrists, psychologists, and psychiatric social workers to every family in the country to locate, diagnose, and cure potential

[68] Quarterly Report of the Division on Community Clinics, Oct.-Dec., 1933, Commonwealth Fund Records, Series 10, Box 3, Folder 56, RAC.

mental health problems. This would require massive expansion of professional services such as child guidance clinics. Frank deemed this "ultra-professional notion" as basically impossible because of limited facilities for the training of psychiatrists, psychologists, and psychiatric social workers.[69] From the Minneapolis case, it was also clear that different professionals within public schools had divergent understandings of suitable treatment regarding "problem children."

In other cities, additional problems contributed to the uneasy position of child guidance work within public schools. For example, it was difficult to find enough psychiatrists with appropriate credentials and interested in working for public schools. This was due to both financial burden and confusion over professional credentials. In New York City, after the Board of Education established a Bureau of Child Guidance in 1933, questions about professional credentials and licensing remained unresolved for years. The Board of Examiners oversaw hiring decisions in the public school system. However, when the Bureau of Child Guidance searched for psychiatrists, it was not clear whether the Board of Examiners in public schools had the authority to examine psychiatrists. To circumvent the question, the Board of Education attempted to rename the position as "school psychiatrist" and add pedagogical requirements for the position.[70] This meant a medical student who intended to become a school psychiatrist would need to add relevant pedagogical coursework in their training. It took a long time for New York City to fill the vacancies of school psychiatrists. In 1937, 28 applicants took the examinations for school psychiatrist and "barely enough psychiatrists tend to fill the four vacancies."[71]

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[69] Lawrence K. Frank, Memo on Mental Hygiene Program, April.1, 1924, LSRM Fund Records, Series 2, Box 2, Folder 22, RAC.
[70] George Stevenson, Quarterly Report, Oct.-Dec., 1934, Commonwealth Fund Records, Series 10, Box 4, Folder 57, RAC.
[71] George Stevenson, Quarterly Report, Oct.-Dec., 1937, Commonwealth Fund Records, Series 10, Box 4, Folder 60, RAC.

3. Child Guidance vs. Scientific Management: Competing Perspectives on Children's Behavior Problems

The decade-long fight between the child guidance clinic and other departments within the Minneapolis public school system demonstrated an uneasy relationship between a medical-psychological service and other social services in dealing with the so-called maladjusted students. It also reflected tensions among different professionals as urban school systems increasingly relied on diverse expertise in their operation. In addition to administrative strife, competing methodological and diagnostic approaches also affected the integration of a child guidance point of view into public schools.

During the 1920s, the experts from child guidance clinics were not the sole force participating in the production and transmission of scientific knowledge regarding childhood adjustment and behavior problems. Likewise, the child guidance clinics' three-fold clinical examination – by psychiatrists, psychologists, and social workers – constituted only one of many approaches for the school to deal with "problem children."

Another group of experts who wielded significant scientific authority upon schooling during this period were educational experts from universities. By the 1920s, professors in Schools or Departments of Education in U.S. universities had gradually established themselves as experts in the scientific study of school administration, curriculum, and children's abilities and conduct. Many educational experts shared school administrators' desire for a modern, efficient school system and championed the use of scientific management to solve school problems. School administrators and educational professors during this period also had a penchant for the language of "adjustment." Teachers College, Columbia University, Professor George D. Strayer, for example, thought it was important to "adjust our schools to the needs and capacities of those

who are registered in them."[72] Science, in their eyes, could promote the best adjustment between the individual and the school. The application of science – more specifically, intelligent tests and various standardized achievement tests – would better classify students and place them in appropriate curriculum tracks, to better address "need and capacities." In terms of the solution to children's maladjustment at school, the child guidance approach thus faced competition with educational experts' methods of scientific management. A clash between a child guidance clinician and an educational psychologist regarding a Minneapolis school study showcased the subtle differences between the two approaches in dealing with children's behavior problems.

The Career of an Educational Psychologist

Before the demonstration child guidance clinic sponsored by the Commonwealth Fund came to the Twin Cities in 1923, the Minneapolis public schools were already in contact with a Psycho-Educational Clinic housed in the College of Education at the University of Minnesota since 1916. The Psycho-Educational clinic was modeled on the clinic founded by psychologist Lightner Witmer at the University of Pennsylvania in 1896. In the early 20th century, similar clinics emerged within universities as well as within urban school systems. Most notably, the St. Louis Board of Education established a Psycho-Education Clinic in 1914, directed by psychologist J. E. Wallace Wallin.[73] The emergence of psycho-educational clinics in the 1910s coincided with the rapid spread of the Binet-Simon test and other intelligence tests. Those clinics were concerned mainly with physical and intellectual examinations to diagnose "subnormal" children: the so-called "feeble-minded" children (with below average I.Q. scores) and children with physical disabilities. Some urban public school systems relied on those clinics to classify

[72] Quote from David Track, *One Best System*, 182.
[73] J. E. Wallin, "The Problems Confronting a Psycho-Educational Clinic in a Large Municipality," *Mental Hygiene* 4, no.1 (Jan. 1920): 103-136.

students into special classes. In Minneapolis, Melvin E. Haggerty, educational psychologist and Dean of the College of Education, headed the Psycho-Educational Clinic within the University of Minnesota.

Haggerty came to the field of education from a background in studies of comparative and animal psychology. As the doctoral student of Robert Yerkes at Harvard's Department of Philosophy,[74] his professional trajectory mirrored what historian John M. O'Donnell describes as "the exodus of experimenters from animal psychology to educational and vocational psychology."[75] At the turn of the 20th century, scientific research in comparative and animal psychology concerned itself originally with experimental studies of animals (chimpanzees, rats, and raccoons, for example), with the ambition to map out the evolutionary trajectory of different species. Faced with accusations of "frills" or impracticality, however, animal psychology's place in the university became more and more marginalized. Psychologists within the field experienced institutional and economic pressure to engage more in the "human side" of psychological research.[76]

Students of comparative or animal psychology also found locating jobs in academic positions difficult. The early 20th century increasingly saw the move of many comparative psychologists into more applied fields in order to expand their career opportunities. A large portion of pioneers in educational psychology and intelligence testing in the United States originally came from the field of comparative psychology. For instance, Robert Yerkes and Edward Thorndike both started their career as animal experimenters. Learning about animal behavior seemed to be easily transferable to the study of human beings. At the same time, the

[74] Harvard's department of psychology did not separate from the department of philosophy until the 1930s.
[75] John M. O'Donnell, *The Origins of Behaviorism: American Psychology, 1870-1920* (New York: New York University Press, 1985), 197
[76] John M. O'Donnell, *The Origins of Behaviorism*, Chapter 10, "Of Mice and Men."

emerging field of education research, desperate for professional status, welcomed learning theories and mental measurements that lent itself an aura of scientific credibility. The expansion of schooling also created professional and financial opportunities for those scientists to assume various consulting roles. The field of education thus became a popular destination for comparative and animal psychologists. According to historian O'Donnell, every student Robert Yerkes cited in his 1943 article "Early Days of Comparative Psychology" had "moved into the fields of education, educational psychology, or vocational guidance within a few years of their departure from Cambridge."[77] Melvin E. Haggerty was one of them.

After receiving his doctoral degree at Harvard in 1910, Haggerty became an assistant professor of psychology at Indiana University, and he soon added educational psychology to his professional repertoire. That he had taught high school before and during graduate study seemed to further explain the move. His experimental research with animals eventually ended in 1913. In 1915, Haggerty became the professor of educational psychology at the University of Minnesota.[78] He devoted his work to the development of standardized intelligence and achievement tests. Like his former adviser and fellow students, during the First World War, Haggerty participated in wartime psychological services and became a major focused on the reeducation of disabled soldiers.[79]

Immediately after the War, along with Robert Yerkes (chair), Edward Thorndike, Lewis Terman, and Guy Whipple, Haggerty engaged in the development of the National Intelligence Tests. This was an effort to adapt the Army group intelligence tests to school-age children.

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[77] John M. O'Donnell, *The Origins of Behaviorism*, 196-7.
[78] John M. O'Donnell, *The Origins of Behaviorism*, 196.
[79] John C. Spurlock, "Haggerty, Melvin Everett (1875-1937), Educational Psychologist," *American National Biography* Feb.1, 2000; Accessed Feb. 21, 2021. https://www-anb-org.ezproxy.library.wisc.edu/view/10.1093/anb/9780198606697.001.0001/anb-9780198606697-e-1400250

During these years, Haggerty also played an active role in one of the most popular activities of educational sciences in the early 20th century — the school survey. He directed educational testing in large-scale state public school surveys in Virginia (1919), North Carolina (1920), and rural New York (1922). Moreover, he took these survey opportunities to run trials, collect data, and advocate for his own version of intelligence tests — the Haggerty Intelligence Examination Delta 1 and Delta 2, along with other achievement tests he had created.[80] Those high-profile activities helped Haggerty gain prominence quickly within the field of education. In 1920, just a few years after his transition from the animal side of psychology to the human side, he became the Dean of College of Education at the University of Minnesota.

Uneasy Collaboration

During the school year 1923-24, upon the arrival of the demonstration child guidance clinic in the twin cities, Dean Haggerty invited its staff to join a survey at the Longfellow public school. The survey focused on behavior problems among students. This was an extension of the school survey conducted by the Psycho-Educational Clinic in the same school during the previous year. E. Koster Wickman, psychologist from the demonstration clinic joined the effort. He helped develop methods to measure behavioral problems and collected materials for the survey. A key feature of the methods involved two rating schedules to assess children's behavior and detect specific problems. These two rating schedules would become the point of contention between Wickman and Haggerty in the following years. Before departing from Minneapolis to

[80] Haggerty's activities in standardized testing and school survey resulted in the following publications: M. E. Haggerty, L. M. Terman, E. L. Thorndike, G. M. Whipple, and R. M. Yerkes, *National Intelligence Tests; Manual of Directions* (Yokers-on-Hudson, NY: World Book Company, 1921). M. E. Haggerty, *Standard Educational Tests; Manual of Directions* (Yokers-on-Hudson, NY: World Book Company, 1920). M. E. Haggerty, *Haggerty Intelligence Examination; Manual of Directions* (Yonders-on-Hudson, NY: World Book Company, 1921). M. E. Haggerty et al, *Virginia Public Schools. Part Two: Educational Tests* (Yonders-on-Hudson, NY: World Book Company, 1921). M. E. Haggerty, *Rural School Survey of New York State: Educational Achievement* (Ithaca, NY: Joint Committee on Rural Schools, 1922).

the next demonstration clinic in Cleveland in late 1924, Wickman left his research materials to Haggerty. They reached a verbal agreement on publishing the Longfellow survey results together in the future.[81] In early 1926, however, Wickman expressed his despair to Barry Smith, director of the Commonwealth Fund, because Dean Haggerty had published an article on the behavior survey at the Longfellow school, without giving full credit to Wickman.

In 1925, Haggerty published his single-authored article — "The Incidence of Undesirable Behavior in Public-School Children" in the September issue of the *Journal of Educational Research*. In the article, Haggerty acknowledged at one point that he and E. K. Wickman from the demonstration child guidance clinic outlined the survey method. However, Haggerty's sections on the two rating schedules and the case history of "John" as an illustration of school maladjustment probably all came from Wickman's work. These sections occupied nearly one third of Haggerty's article.[82] Haggerty's action upset Wickman, especially because by that time Wickman himself had a publication plan in mind. He wanted to incorporate the Longfellow materials into his current study in the public schools of Cleveland, Ohio.

In May 1926, via Barry Smith's mediation, Wickman agreed to Haggerty's proposal of publishing a joint book on the behavior survey, under the names of all three people who had involved in the study: Haggerty, Wickman, and Willard C. Olson.[83] Willard C. Olson was a graduate student at the University of Minnesota, and also worked with Haggerty during the Longfellow school survey. They expected this joint publication would resolve the issue of authorship. Haggerty promised to Wickman that before submitting the manuscript, he would ask

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[81] Letter from E. K. Wickman to Barry C. Smith, May 15, 1926, Commonwealth Fund Records, Series 10, Box 1, Folder 11, RAC.
[82] M. E. Haggerty, "The Incidence of Undesirable Behavior in Public-School Children," *The Journal of Educational Research* 12, no.2 (Sep., 1925): 102-122.
[83] Letter from Barry C. Smith to E. K. Wickman, May 1, 1926; Letter from E. K. Wickman to M. E. Haggerty, May 13, 1926, Commonwealth Fund Records, Series 10, Box 1, Folder 11, RAC.

Wickman to read the entire draft and ask for his approval to attach his name. Yet the collaboration did not proceed smoothly.

When Haggerty showed Wickman his preliminary outline and preface for the joint publication, Wickman was troubled by his claims and by the sweeping scope of the book. In January 1927, after an earlier meeting with Olson,[84] Wickman wrote a long letter to Haggerty, raising serious concerns over Haggerty's outline and preface for the joint publication. Wickman's key criticism centered around Haggerty's assertion that teachers could take use of the rating schedules Wickman designed in the Longfellow survey as an objective method to measure children's behavioral problems. In his draft of the preface, Haggerty compared the use of behavior rating schedules to that of group intelligence tests. He claimed, "it was the possibility of providing teachers with similarly useful techniques for the evaluation of character and personality that led to this investigation."[85] He suggested the behavior rating schedules would be equally helpful for teachers to detect maladjustments as intelligent tests.

To Wickman, this was not the original purpose of the investigation, and it was a dangerous suggestion to let teachers apply these schedules. In Wickman's eyes, the use of group intelligence tests by teachers was already a menace. "Our experience in clinics in every city we have visited has been that teachers' interpretations of intelligence test ratings have resulted in injuries to children …" Wickman warned.[86] As we have seen in Mary Sayles's *Three Problem Children*, child guidance clinicians had frequently criticized the school's fixation on intelligence

[84] It was not clear what Olson's view was. I do not have materials directly reflecting his opinion on the joint publication. But Olson was Haggerty's doctoral student. In his later publication, he expressed appreciation of Haggerty's support in his work. Haggerty also wrote the forward for Olson's dissertation-turned book. Olson's work seemed to be on the same line with Haggerty's vision about behavior measurement. There was no indication of open disagreement between these two people.

[85] Letter from E. K. Wickman to M. E. Haggerty, Jan. 24, 1927, 4, Commonwealth Fund Records, Series 10, Box 1, Folder 11, RAC.

[86] Letter from E. K. Wickman to M. E. Haggerty, Jan. 24, 1927, 4, Commonwealth Fund Records, Series 10, Box 1, Folder 11, RAC.

scores and on the emotional toll of school promotion and demotion based merely on I.Q. scores. Moreover, Wickman thought "the danger would be even greater in (teachers') interpreting these behavior schedules." This was not only because of significant limits in their methods of investigation, but also because Wickman considered the rating schedules were actually "measures of teachers' reactions to the behavior of their pupils."[87]

In the Longfellow school survey, due to time limitation, the demonstration child guidance clinic could not examine all of the students individually. Hence Wickman chose to rely on teachers' estimates of 950 students' behavior.[88] Wickman's method of measuring problem behavior involved three steps. First, he asked the teachers in the school to put in the questionnaire the behavior problems they had encountered. Second, he compiled a list of the 37 most frequently mentioned behavior problems by teachers and made them into a five-point rating scale, indicating varying frequency. Then teachers used the scale to rate each student, based on how frequently the student had showed the listed behavior problems. Each student thus had a behavior score. Higher scores indicated more severe behavior problems. Third, for the purpose of reliability, Wickman created a behavior and personality rating scale, which listed the characteristics "considered important by mental hygienists in evaluating children's emotional and social adjustment."[89] The teachers rated each student again on this scale. After the survey, Wickman also selected 24 cases for intensive study and treatment in the child guidance clinic.[90]

In his 1925 article, however, when reporting the survey method, Haggerty only included the first two steps in Wickman's original method and presented the technique as a promising tool

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[87] Letter from E. K. Wickman to M. E. Haggerty, Jan. 24, 1927, 4, Commonwealth Fund Records, Series 10, Box 1, Folder 11, RAC.
[88] The Longfellow School Survey, Commonwealth Fund Records, Series 10, Box 1, Folder 11, RAC.
[89] E. K. Wickman, *Children's Behavior and Teachers' Attitudes* (New York: The Commonwealth Fund Division of Publications, 1928), 9.
[90] The Longfellow School Survey, Commonwealth Fund Records, Series 10, Box 1, Folder 11, RAC.

toward "identifying and giving objective and even mathematical description to the socially undesirable behavior of children." What Haggerty saw useful in the technique was a way to help teachers infer the "incidence of undesirable behavior" among children in a more "objective" manner. He thought the method could help teachers discern "in just what particular ways" a child's conduct was undesirable, "instead of saying that a boy is a 'bad boy'."[91] Therefore, Haggerty's interest rested mainly in assisting the school and teachers in the scientific classification of "undesirable behavior" among children, so as to reach efficient management of students' behavior.

Wickman's understanding of his method and the results in the survey differed significantly from Haggerty's vision. To begin with, he did not fully trust teachers' selection of behavioral problems. He used two different rating scales to test the reliability of teachers' reports. As a result, Wickman found significant divergence between these two sets of standards — i.e. teachers' selection vs. his own selection (based on mental hygiene ideas) of items indicating behavioral problems. In particular, he realized teachers' standards tended to stress the "over-active type" of behavior which interfered with classroom operation. They tended to ignore less aggressive behavior that could potentially lead to maladjustment, such as withdrawing, shyness, and sensitiveness.[92] Wickman thus became more interested in the ways teachers and schools made sense of children's problem behavior and the effects of their attitudes on children, rather than the diagnosis of problem children *per se*. From the child guidance point of view, the latter process would hardly be sufficient without manifold examinations of an individual child's personality and environment by the interdisciplinary team of psychiatrist, psychologist, and

[91] M. E. Haggerty, "The Incidence of Undesirable Behavior in Public-School Children," *The Journal of Educational Research* 12, no.2 (Sep., 1925): 121.
[92] E. K. Wickman, *Children's Behavior and Teachers' Attitudes* (New York: The Commonwealth Fund Division of Publications, 1928), 25; Chapter VII "Differences in the Attitudes of Teachers and Mental Hygienists."

psychiatric social worker. In other words, for Wickman, the schedule that consisted of teachers' selection of behavioral problems actually revealed their own bias. It was not surprising that he strongly opposed Haggerty's suggestion that teachers could use the same rating schedule to "objectively" evaluate and control children's behavior.

Split Publications

Due to Wickman's resistance, the joint publication plan did not work out as Haggerty originally planned. Instead, by 1930 there emerged three different publications by these authors. The three publications denoted two competing messages regarding the diagnosis and treatment of children's maladjustment at school.

In 1928, Wickman published *Children's Behavior and Teachers' Attitudes* through the Commonwealth Fund's Division of Publications. As the title indicated, Wickman was interested in teachers' attitudes toward children as much as children's behavior. This book centered on Wickman's study in a Cleveland public school. The study used similar methods in the Longfellow behavior survey, and also included the Minneapolis school data as a control group. Wickman's book posed a serious critique of teachers' attitudes (and by extension the school's attitudes) towards children's behavior and proposed a plan for the "re-education" of teachers.

First, Wickman made it clear that the so-called "problem behavior" was a socially constructed concept: "behavior … is a social evaluated and socially regularized product; and behavior problems represent conflict between individual behavior and social requirements for behavior." To Wickman, personal attitudes toward behavior were "an integral part of behavior disorders," and "racial, religious, educational customs and practices contribute heavily to differences" in those attitudes. Therefore, the so-called behavior problems of children in effect

involved "the maladjustment between the child and those who seek to regularize his behavior." [93] In this sense, commonly perceived behavior problems of children might as well be the failures of adults or social norms to adjust to the child's individual need.

Second, Wickman contrasted teachers' attitudes with the "mental hygiene point of view" regarding behavior problems. In his extended study in Cleveland, Wickman collected additional data from 30 child guidance clinicians to represent the "mental hygiene point of view." Again, by contrasting teachers' selection and mental hygienists' selection of indicators of maladjustment, Wickman pointed out teachers' biased attitudes toward children's behavior. He argued that teachers' understanding of behavior problems tended to focus on "active disturbances that attack the standards of morality, obedience, orderliness, and agreeable social conduct." Teachers especially stressed the seriousness of problems related to disruptions of classroom order and by extension to their authority. They paid less attention to the kinds of problems that "do not cause active annoyance." Their main concern over disorderly conduct also meant they tended to punish over-active behavior of boys than less aggressive behavior of girls. In contrast, mental hygienists put strong emphasis on "unsocial forms of behavior" such as withdrawing, depression, shyness, sensitiveness, and suggestibility. Those aspects were more or less neglected in a teachers' conception of problem children. Wickman then raised the alarm on the effect of teachers' biases: "by counter-attacking the attacking types of problems and by indulging the withdrawing types, the underlying difficulties of adjustment in each case are increased and the undesirable expressions of social behavior are further entrenched."[94] In other words, teachers' reactions to conceived behavior problems might cause further maladjustment.

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[93] E. K. Wickman, *Children's Behavior and Teachers' Attitudes* (New York: The Commonwealth Fund Division of Publications, 1928), 2-4.
[94] E. K. Wickman, *Children's Behavior and Teachers' Attitudes*, 171.

According to Wickman, the divergence between teachers' and mental hygienists' attitudes derived from differences in their professional interests. The focus of attention and interest for the mental hygienist was "the social, emotional adjustment of the individual," whereas the interest of teachers was in "the educational accomplishments of children." Further, he noted that teachers' attitudes reflected the school's "continued insistence on intellectual acquisitions and a lack of recognition of those other factors in the child's social adjustment." They also reflected general societal expectations on the school to promote "habits of obedience, honesty, morality, and studiousness."[95] In this way, Wickman's critique resonated with many child guidance clinicians' comments on the one-sidedness of schooling and its fixation on intellectual achievement.

Wickman's critique on teachers' attitudes was certainly imbued with professional condescension. Although he acknowledged in his book that the results of the comparison might appear "to the disadvantage of the teaching profession and very much to the advantage of the mental hygienists," he did not shy away from positioning the latter as the profession that best understood issues related to children's social and emotional adjustment.[96] Similar to the maternal pathology that child guidance clinicians often assumed when examining the family background of maladjusted children, the pathologization of teachers' personalities became a common explanation of children's maladjustment among mental hygienists during this time.[97] Wickman thus proposed to "re-educate" teachers — changing teachers' attitudes and disciplinary practices

[95] E. K. Wickman, *Children's Behavior and Teachers' Attitudes*, 119, 168-169.
[96] E. K. Wickman, *Children's Behavior and Teachers' Attitudes*, 118.
[97] See, for example, Kristen Chmielewski, "'Hopelessly Insane, Some Almost Maniacs:' New York City's War on 'Unfit' Teachers," *Paedagogica Historica* 54, no.1-2 (2018): 169-183.

towards children. He also suggested school administrators pay more attention to teachers' own emotional and social maladjustments that might harm students.[98]

In 1930, Willard Olson published his dissertation, with a forward by Dean Haggerty. After graduation in 1926, Olson became an instructor at the University of Minnesota and then moved to the University of Michigan in 1929, serving as the Director of Research in Child Development and Assistant Professor of Education. Olson's book was based on his dissertation "The Measurement and Incidence of Behavior Problems and Problem Tendencies in Children" in 1926. It extended the Longfellow survey to a few different schools and focused on statistical refinement of Wickman's original behavior schedules. In particular, Olson developed a scoring method for quantitative studies of problem tendencies in children, and he included further data related to the standardization and validation of the revised rating scales.[99] The book accorded with Haggerty's vision of using quantitative methods to help the school detect problem tendencies. Olson's statistical refinements further advanced the argument for the rating schedules' usefulness as a scientific tool to objectify and manage children's behavior at school.

Finally, in 1930, Haggerty, Olson, and Wickman published the "Haggerty-Olson-Wickman Behavior Rating Schedules" through the World Book Company. This appeared to be the only joint publication by the three authors. Its purpose was mostly to make the two rating schedules and a manual of directions available as copyrighted material. The publication included the two rating scales originally developed by Wickman and standardized by Olson. In their final form, Schedule A — "the Behavior Problem Record" – contained a list of 15 frequent behavior problems selected by teachers. Those problems included "disinterest in school work,"

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[98] E. K. Wickman, *Children's Behavior and Teachers' Attitudes*, 182-183.
[99] Willard C. Olson, *Problem Tendencies in Children: A Method for Their Measurement and Description* (Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1930).

"cheating," "unnecessary Tardiness," "defiance to discipline,' "marked overactivity," "unpopular with children," "temper outbursts," "bullying," and "sex offenses." Schedule B — "the Behavior Rating Scale" – contained 35 questions concerning various intellectual, physical, social, and emotional characteristics. For example, "is he generally depressed or cheerful?" "is he emotionally calm or excitable?" "is he shy or bold in social relationships?"[100]

The Haggerty-Olson-Wickman (H.O.W.) Behavior Rating Schedules apparently attempted to reconcile Haggerty's and Wickman's positions. It was both enthusiastic and cautious in promoting its use in behavior measurement. After all, Schedules A and B were what Wickman juxtaposed in his book to illustrate the divergence between teachers' and mental hygienists' notions of problem behavior. To Wickman, the list of behavior problems in Schedule A actually revealed teachers' overemphasis on aggressive behavior and neglect of withdrawing tendencies, whereas Schedule B stood for the only legitimate standards from the mental hygiene point of view. In his earlier letter, Wickman had also expressed opposition to Haggerty's suggestion that teachers could evaluate children's behavior based on the rating schedules. So it is intriguing that he consented to publish both schedules. Further, the two rating schedules were presented together as reliable "measures of maladjustment in children." The joint publication stated that both were useful and "may be used separately or in conjunction," but with some caveats. For instance, the manual of directions made it clear that items on Schedule A were "overt behavior problems" and Schedule B covered "personal characteristics on a variety of traits, regardless of whether or not the behavior described would be called a behavior problem." It also suggested that "when only one device is used Schedule B is recommended." Moreover,

[100] M. E. Haggerty, W. C. Olson, and E. K. Wickman, *Haggerty-Olson-Wickman Behavior Rating Schedules* (Yonkers-on-Hudson, NY: World Book Company, 1930).

the manual cautioned that due to "bias of the rater," "a child's score may reflect the teacher's attitudes quite as truly as it does a fact about the child."[101]

Both Wickman's critique on teachers' attitude and the H.O.W. Behavior Rating Schedules were nevertheless well-received in the field of education. The H.O.W. Behavior Rating Schedules were adopted in many contemporary studies on children's behavior and personality maladjustment.[102] It remained in print until the 1960s. Wickman's work became a pioneering study on teachers' attitudes. Teacher educators especially liked to refer to his work in their discussion of teacher education reform. Over the next few decades, a number of scholars would conduct similar studies to evaluate teachers' perceptions of problem children as well as to trace changes in teachers' attitudes since Wickman's study.[103] To some extent, the favorable reception of these books signified how scientific expertise and prescriptions regarding children's maladjustment remained in flux during the late 1920s and 1930s.

Ultimately, the disagreement between Wickman and Haggerty pointed to the differences between the child guidance approach and scientific management approach in understanding and evaluating so-called "problem behavior" at school. The choice of words by Haggerty and Wickman — "undesirable behavior" and "behavior disorders" — denoted subtle differences. Wickman considered "undesirable behavior" as the "symptom of maladjustment." The treatment of undesirable behavior should be directed toward the underlying causes of maladjustment rather than the manifested behavior.[104] In the diagnosis and treatment of maladjustment, Wickman's

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[101] M. E. Haggerty, W. C. Olson, and E. K. Wickman, *Haggerty-Olson-Wickman Behavior Rating Schedules; Manual of Directions*, 2-5.
[102] It was also used in the Cambridge-Somerville Youth Study, one of the first experimental studies to prevent juvenile delinquency in the late 1930s and 1940s. The study evaluated the predictive value of the H.O.W. schedules and found it to be none. But it did differentiate between delinquent and non-delinquent groups to some extent.
[103] Harry Beilin, "Teachers' and Clinicans' Attitudes toward the Behavior Problems of Children: A Reappraisal," *Child Development* 30, no. 1 (Mar., 1959): 9-25.
[104] E. K. Wickman, *Children's Behavior and Teachers' Attitudes*, 181.

focus was the interaction between children's behavior and adult attitudes, since behavior disorders did not have a single cause. As he stated in his book, "what constitutes a behavior disorder and why certain forms of behavior are 'problems'…" were first of all "questions of personal and social attitudes."[105] The designation of a behavior problem should be the starting point of study. The next step would be a thorough case history of the child in question.

In contrast, Haggerty's emphasis was effective management of children's behavior at school. He sought measurable standards for teachers and schools to evaluate children's behavior. The question of why teachers and schools considered a behavior undesirable was not as important as how to categorize undesirable behaviors. Through "objective" classification of behavior problems, Haggerty hoped to make "a distinct advance in a program of social control."[106]

Wickman's and Haggerty's split publications also reflected their preferences of methods in the study and treatment of behavior problems. In particular, they had different views on the use of standardized assessment and clinical case study. Wickman favored the three-fold case examination in child guidance work. He did not oppose the use of intelligence or behavior tests *per se*. But he insisted on their use in clinical settings along with various qualitative methods, rather than a technique detached from other examinations of the individual child. Haggerty trumpeted standardized assessment that was capable of testing massive population at the same time. This was integral to his career of developing intelligence and achievement tests. Haggerty was not against the establishment of a child guidance clinic at school. In 1934, he was one of the leading voices to insist on preserving the child guidance clinic led by a psychiatrist.[107] But to him

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[105] E. K. Wickman, *Children's Behavior and Teachers' Attitudes*, 3.
[106] M. E. Haggerty, "The Incidence of Undesirable Behavior in Public-School Children," 122.
[107] "Board to Decide Details of Reorganization Monday," *The Minneapolis Star Friday*, August 5, 1932: 20.

clinical study was just halfway toward a science of behavior control. As Haggerty noted in his forward to Olson's book, "rich as are the fruits of the case method and the clinical studies of individuals, it is necessary to go beyond them to the quantitative methods which operate to transform information into the principles of science."[108]

During the 1920s, the emergence of child guidance clinics provided a new perspective to view so-called "problem children" at school. While theories about guidance varied, an interdisciplinary approach stressed the emotional toll of schooling in children's personality development. It also called for a more adjustable school system to fit the needs of the "whole child." The child guidance point of view existed at first as an outsider's critique on schooling. It coincided with multiple voices of discontent with public schools during this era. All these voices envisioned a school system that could adjust to the student's needs. Yet they had competing assumptions and methods about how to understand children's needs and their behavioral problems, and how to provide suitable opportunities of adjustment for students. They also faced challenges to put these theories into practice, especially in the face of stringent economy during the Great Depression. Budget cuts and bureaucratic infighting in their schools made child guidance ever more difficult.

While the child guidance clinic was considered expensive and isolated within the Minneapolis public school system, statistical methods embraced by educational experts like Haggerty seemed to have the advantage of both economy and applicability to massive population. The pursuit for quantitative assessment of personality and pupil adjustment would

[108] M. E. Haggerty, "Foreword," iv-v, in Willard C. Olsen, *Problem Tendencies in Children: A Method for Their Measurement and Description* (Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1930).

spread widely in the fields of education and psychology during the 1930s, giving rise to a business of personality testing.

Chapter 3. Measuring Pupil Adjustment: The Business of Personality Testing

As a quantitative evaluation of students' behavior and personality, the *Haggerty-Olson-Wickman Behavior Rating Schedules* was still a novelty in 1930. But its competitors emerged quickly in the coming decade. From 1933 to 1935, Theodore L. Torgerson, an assistant professor of education at the University of Wisconsin published a series of handbooks called *The Diagnosis and Treatment of Pupil Maladjustment*. The series featured a behavior rating scale, a "Pupil Adjustment Inventory."[1] This inventory included questions related to ten aspects of pupil maladjustment: "social attitudes," "emotional control," "nervousness," "day dreaming," "responsibility," "interest," "laziness," "conduct," "attendance," and "achievement." The scale of each category contained four degrees of adjustment. For example, a student's adjustment of "social attitude" could be one of the four conditions (from good to bad): "1. Popular with every one; 2. Popular within his group; 3. Has only a few intimate friends; 4. Shunned by others; No intimate friends."[2] Through this rating method, teachers would be able to quickly identify "maladjusted" students in any of these aspects.

Before becoming a professor at the University of Wisconsin, Theodore L. Torgerson worked in multiple administrative roles within public school systems in Wisconsin and Minnesota during the 1910s and the early 1920s. These positions included the superintendent of schools and the director of educational measurements.[3] In developing the "Pupil Adjustment

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[1] "Inventory" and "test" were often used interchangeably to describe rating scales or questionnaires measuring behavior or personality. See the first section of this chapter for details.
[2] T. L. Torgerson, *The Diagnosis and Treatment of Pupil Maladjustment: A Handbook of Symptoms, Causes and Remedies* (Ann Arbor, MI: Edwards Brothers, Inc., 1933).
[3] "Theodore L. Torgerson," in James McKeen Cattell ed., *Leaders in Education: A Biographical Directory* (Lancaster, PA: Science Press, 1932), 933.

Inventory," Torgerson seemed to have combined his first-hand experience in previous administrative work and his statistical expertise gathered from a doctoral education at the University of Wisconsin. He saw various symptoms of maladjustment among students as a vital educational problem and proposed to use systematic methods to promote pupil adjustment.

But what exactly did "pupil adjustment" mean? Torgerson included a poem by his student at the beginning of his handbook. Hannie Beyer, a music teacher from Milwaukee and a master's student at the University of Wisconsin, used an acrostic to illustrate this concept:

Provide opportunity for pupil success.

Use objective tests that are valid and reliable.

Place the pupil in the grade where the curriculum is neither too easy nor too difficult.

Individualize educational opportunities to conform to individual needs.

Learn to know the pupil and adapt the curriculum to his aptitudes and interests.

Adapt methods of instruction to the pupil's mental level.

Differentiate the curriculum or the rate of promotion to the pupil's rate of learning.

Judge the causes for the pupil's maladjustment by studying his overt behavior.

Use diagnostic tests to determine the pupil's strengths and weaknesses.

Stimulate the pupil's confidence in himself.

Train teachers in child psychology and mental hygiene.

Minimize shortcomings that cannot be altered and dispel fear and worry.

Endeavor to develop the pupil's whole personality.

Note symptoms of maladjustment and determine the seriousness of his behavior.

Treat the causes of maladjustment rather than the symptoms.[4]

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[4] Hannie Beyer, "Pupil Adjustment," in T. L. Torgerson, *The Diagnosis and Treatment of Pupil Maladjustment: A Handbook of Symptoms, Causes and Remedies* (Ann Arbor, MI: Edwards Brothers, Inc., 1933), front matter.

Beyer's acrostic covered many of the educational currents during this period, including psychological testing, individualized teaching, curriculum differentiation, and the promotion of mental hygiene. According to Beyer, pupil adjustment seemed to involve all phases of student evaluation, classification, placement, and guidance throughout their schooling experience. It was based on such a wide range of concerns that Torgerson devised his rating scale of pupil maladjustment, examining intellectual, emotional, and social problems among school children.

School administrators sensed potential in this quantitative approach to various school problems. Using Torgerson's method to "diagnose and treat" students in the public school system of Algoma, Wisconsin, the Principal of its high school, F. F. Schlosser, reported that the "problems of character" among students had been solved "much beyond expectations" after a two-year experiment. In 1932, when Schlosser first used Torgerson's inventory to survey public school students, he found that 88.34% of students in grade schools were maladjusted, including 38.20% seriously maladjusted; 94.84% of high school students were maladjusted, including 21.61% seriously maladjusted. After remedial work following Torgerson's suggested treatments, Schlosser reported massive improvements: in 1934, among elementary school students, 57.01% were rated to be maladjusted and only 8.12% were seriously maladjusted; among high school students, 49.93% were maladjusted and 7.30% were seriously maladjusted. In other words, within two years, the so-called "maladjusted" students in both elementary and secondary schools in Algoma decreased by more than 30%. This seemingly significant improvement certainly had a lot to do with the all-encompassing definition of pupil maladjustment provided by Torgerson. Moreover, Schlosser claimed that "school discipline problems have vanished. Teachers now approach the problem child with a scientific attitude free from preconceived and biased ideas,

and are filled with the spirit of friendliness rather than with the spirit of pronouncing judgment…."[5]

While not all school administrators found such dramatic improvement as Schlosser reported through the measurement of pupil adjustment, educational experts were increasingly enthusiastic about the use of "objective" tests in dealing with student problems within the public schools. During the 1930s, psychologists and educational researchers developed a variety of tests to evaluate personality differences and students' many-sided adjustments. Using contemporary personality tests and test manuals[6], academic publications regarding test construction, and school reports produced in the late 1920s and in the 1930s, this chapter examines the construction and application of personality tests in scientific and educational settings. The chapter first explores how psychologists attempted to quantify the elusive concept of "personality" and devised different types of "objective" personality tests. It then examines various tests of pupil adjustment, which were personality tests developed for school use. Finally, the chapter interrogates the notion of objectivity in these personality and pupil adjustment tests and reveals

[5] F. F. Schlosser, "Study and Treatment of Maladjustment of Elementary and High School Pupils," *Wisconsin Journal of Education* 67, no. 6 (Feb., 1935): 269-270.

[6] Many tests discussed in this chapter are held at the Test Collection at University of Chicago Library. I also supplemented the collection by examining contemporary bibliographies of personality and character tests and collecting tests that are available for inter-library circulation. For contemporary bibliographies, see Grace E. Manson, *A Bibliography of the Analysis and Measurement of Human Personality up to 1926* (Washington, D.C.: National Research Council, 1926). Gertrude H. Hildreth, *A Bibliography of Mental Tests and Rating Scales* (New York: Psychological Corporation, 1933). Arthur E. Traxler, *The Use of Tests and Rating Devices in the Appraisal of Personality* (New York: Educational Records Bureau, 1938). Julius B. Maller, *Character and Personality Tests* (New York: Teachers College Bureau of Publications, Columbia University, 1938). Gertrude H. Hildreth, *A Bibliography of Mental Tests and Rating Scales, 2nd edition* (New York: Psychological Corporation, 1939). Starting from 1932, the *Review of Educational Research* invited scholars to survey the field of character and personality measurement in every three years. Goodwin Watson from Teachers College, Columbia University conducted most of the review. See Goodwin B. Watson, "Character Tests and Their Applications through 1930," *Review of Educational Research* 2, no.3 (June, 1932): 185-257. Willard C. Olson, "General Survey of the Field of Character and Personality Measurement," *Review of Educational Research* 5, no.3 (Jun., 1935): 242-244. Goodwin B. Watson, "Mental Hygiene and Emotional Adjustment," *Review of Educational Research* 5, no.3 (Jun., 1935): 245-258. Goodwin B. Watson, "Personality and Character Measurement," *Review of Educational Research* 8, no.3 (Jun., 1938): 269-291.

how social norms, biases, and expectations were written into the construction and validation of these tests.

In the development of personality tests, experts adopted statistical techniques from earlier advancement of intelligence tests, borrowed concepts of personality eclectically from different schools of psychology, and incorporated pragmatic concerns of school life into the tests. In this process, a new way of thinking emerged about students' emotional and social adjustment that claimed to be more scientific and objective. This claim of scientific objectivity, however, was infused with practical considerations of management and discipline in school as well as social expectations about happy, productive social members. As a result, personality tests that were created and validated on the basis of convenient grouping of "normal" and "abnormal" population tended to reify existing behavioral norms and conceptions of social differences.

1. The Quantification of Personality in American Psychology

During the 1920s and 1930s, as personality emerged as a popular scientific category of individual differences, practical concerns on the selection of emotionally fit personnel in education, industry, and state bureaucracy in the United States deeply influenced the direction of personality research. As historian Kurt Danziger points out, the need of social sorting in education and employment deeply shaped the investigative practice and research product in American psychology.[7] A desire for "objective" and efficient tests of personality drove more and more scientists toward the quantification of personality. By the 1930s, the research on personality in American psychology saw the growing dominance of a psychometric model. That

[7] Kurt Danziger, *Constructing the Subject: Historical Origins of Psychological Research* (Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), Chapter 6.

is to say, the measurement of separate personality traits through standardized tests started to represent the dominant paradigm for American personality psychology.[8]

Possessed with statistical innovations first developed in intelligence testing, many American psychologists were ready to apply psychometric techniques to the concept of personality. Compared to intellectual abilities, which were by themselves difficult to define, the concept of personality seemed to be more elusive. But it did not stop scientists' and educators' impulses to quantify this deeply subjective idea in an age when the scientific community was immersed in a cult for statistical objectivity.[9] One extreme example was the search for a "Personality Quotient."[10] Henry C. Link, secretary of the Psychological Corporation in New York City, made an ambitious move to develop a "Personality Quotient Test" (P.Q. Test) in 1936.[11] Link believed that "personality, far from being intangible, consists of definite habits and skills." These habits and skills "can be acquired in the same way that people acquire the habits of writing and reading."[12] Therefore, psychologists could measure those skills and get a P.Q. score, similar to an I.Q. score, so as to "objectively" assess individual differences in personality.

For Link, personality meant the characteristics reflected in individuals' adaptations in social relations: "personality is measured by the extent to which the individual has learned to convert his energies into habits and skills which influence and serve other people."[13] He divided

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[8] Giovanni Pietro Lombardo, and Renato Foschi, "The Concept of Personality in 19th-century French and 20th-century American Psychology," *History of Psychology* 6, no.2 (May, 2003): 123-142.
[9] Theodore M. Porter, *Trust in Numbers: the Pursuit of Objectivity in Science and Public Life* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995). For a history of the emergence of objectivity in the mid-19th century, see Lorraine Daston, and Peter Galison, *Objectivity* (New York: Zone Books, 2007).
[10] This was different from the concept of E.Q. — "emotional quotient," which emerged in the late 20th century. For a history of the concept of emotional intelligence, see Michael E. Staub, *The Mismeasure of Minds: Debating Race and Intelligence between Brown and the Bell Curve* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2018), Chapter 4 "A Racial History of Emotional Intelligence."
[11] Henry C. Link, *Personality Quotient Test* (New York: Psychological Corporation, 1936), Test Collection, The University of Chicago Library, Chicago, Illinois. (Hereafter cited as Test Collection, Chicago)
[12] Henry C. Link, *Rediscovery of Man* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1939), 56.
[13] Henry C. Link, *Manual for the Personality Quotient Test* (New York: Psychological Corporation, 1938), 1, Test Collection, Chicago.

these characteristics into five traits: "extroversion, social aggressiveness, self-determination, economic self-determination, and sex adjustment." In his P. Q. Test, each of the five traits was evaluated through a separate set of behaviors. For instance, for the trait of "sex adjustment," Link assumed that "proper sex-adjustment depended on habits of action formed … toward members of the opposite sex." The markers of sex adjustment thus included heterosexual activities and behavior such as "going to mixed parties, having learned how to dance, telephoning to, playing with, or walking with the opposite sex."[14] It is clear that a well-adjusted personality for Link should conform to the heteronormative codes of social life. Any deviance from these social norms would be considered as maladjusted and subjected to psychological intervention. In this sense, the standards of adjustment in the P. Q. Test exemplified the arbitrariness of so-called "objective" measures of personality during this time.

In Search of "Objective" Personality Tests

Link's P.Q. test was just one of the many attempts by psychologists to quantify the elusive idea of personality. The late 1920s and 1930s saw various types of psychological tests that alleged to objectively measure personality. Here a "test" meant a broadly-defined quantitative measurement that assigned numerical values to test-takers' answers in pencil-and-paper tests or raters' evaluation on rating scales. Contemporaries also used "inventory" interchangeably with "test." These measurements often resulted in one score or several scores, which could be compared and analyzed with reference to their distribution along certain norms (by age, gender, race, etc.) Psychologists constructed these norms by collecting information on representative population — "criteria groups." The most common types of "objective" personality tests during the 1930s included rating scales and questionnaires.

[14] Henry C. Link, *Manual for the Personality Quotient Test*, 6.

The rating scale was among the first quantitative methods proposed by psychologists to measure human qualities. As early as 1883, British biologist and eugenicist Frances Galton had envisioned a way to rate personality in his *Inquiry into Human Faculty and Its Development*.[15] More systematic use of rating scales became common in educational and industrial personnel management in the 1910s and especially after World War I in the United States. One type of rating scale designed by psychologist Walter Dill Scott and his colleagues at the Carnegie Institute of Technology was particularly influential.

From 1916 to 1917, Scott led the Bureau of Salesmanship at the Carnegie Institute and established a series of "Aids in Selecting Salesmen." The Aids included a rating scale for interviewers to rate the applicants' personality and compatibility with positions in sales.[16] Scott's method of rating, often called the "man-to-man" method, required raters to think of five people as the markers of excellent, good, average, poor, and bad in each quality. Next, raters could compare each person to be rated with those "scale men" and decide which was the closest to that person under review. Upon the entrance of World War I, Scott's Committee on the Classification of Personnel in the Army developed the "Scott Rating Scale" for Army personnel based on his salesmanship rating scale.[17] After the War, Scott started his own consulting service, the Scott

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[15] Francis Galton, *Inquiry into Human Faculty and Its Development* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1883). It was also in this book that Galton coined the term "eugenics." Percival M. Symonds, *Diagnosing Personality and Conduct* (New York: The Century Co., 1931), 52.

[16] Walter A. Friedman, *Birth of a Salesman: The Transformation of Selling in America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004), 183-185.

[17] Richard T. Von Mayrhauser, "The Manager, the Medic, and the Mediator: The Clash of Professional Psychological Styles and the Wartime Origins of Group Mental Testing," in Michael M. Sokal, ed., *Psychological Testing and American Society, 1890-1930* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1987): 128-157. Scott's Committee was a relatively separate entity from Robert Yerkes's Psychological Division in charge of Army intelligence testing, though Walter Bingham (chairmen of the NRC "Analysis of Human Personality" project described in Chapter 1) from Carnegie Institute of Technology was the right-hand man in both committees. In fact, the army seemed to recognize the personnel selection work by Scott's committee as more valuable than the intelligence tests devised by Yerkes's committee, and Walter Scott became the only psychologist to have received the Distinguished Service Medal by the War's end.

Company, and he continued to promote rating scales and other psychological tests in personnel management.

Meanwhile, because "man-to-man" rating involved comparison of one person against another, it was difficult to calibrate the differences in numerical scales. Psychologists gradually adopted a type of "graphic rating scales" that enabled raters to cross on a line that represented the scale of the quality to be rated. For example, crossing on the middle of a line meant 50% or average, and crossing on the far left and far right meant 0% (very bad) and 100% (excellent) respectively.[18] In this way, it became easier to calculate the exact points along the scale so as to reach a numeric rating. For more standardized use, many graphic rating scales also provided three to seven intervals on the line with brief descriptions of each interval. This soon became the prevailing format of rating scales after the First World War.

In general, rating scales relied on raters who were familiar with the individual under examination. The raters (teachers, employees, military officers, for example) bore the responsibility of judging each person in specific qualities or traits. In terms of efficient use for the mass population, the pitfall of the rating method was its reliance on individual judgment, which created obstacles in standardization. Researchers like Edward Thorndike and Harold Rugg had also raised concerns about the efficacy of rating scales to evaluate students in the early 1920s. They doubted if relying on individual raters would yield reliable and objective results. In particular, Thorndike and others began to refer to a phenomenon associated with the use of rating scales as the "Halo Effect." They found that the raters' general opinion or prejudice about an individual could cause him or her to rate consistently high or consistently low across different

[18] Percival M. Symonds, *Diagnosing Personality and Conduct* (New York: The Century Co., 1931), 62.

traits.[19] Nevertheless, because of their easy application and low cost, rating scales remained one of the most common tools to measure personality in education and industry during this time.

Meanwhile, the quest for "objective" personality tests that could be easily applied to large groups and were independent from individual raters' judgement persisted. Hence in addition to personality rating scales, various types of pencil-and-paper tests in the form of questionnaires also emerged in the assessment of personality. Many of those questionnaires were modeled after the Woodworth Personal Data Sheet developed during and after the First World War. These questionnaires often presented a long list of yes-or-no or multiple-choice questions, which would yield a total score after comparing to test answer "keys." As mentioned in Chapter 1, Woodworth's questionnaire was originally a symptom-driven test with the goal of screening emotionally instable person among U.S. Army recruits. Its questions focused heavily on early signs of neurotic symptoms such as daydreaming, suicidal thoughts, and withdrawing tendencies. By imitating the format and questions of Woodworth's questionnaire, later personality questionnaires carried through the emphasis on emotional maladjustment. Therefore, contemporary psychologists also called these tests "adjustment questionnaires."[20]

At the same time, new personality questionnaires in the 1930s gradually incorporated neutral vocabularies of personality differences in addition to descriptions related to neurotic tendencies. For instance, one of the most popular personality tests in the 1930s — "The Bernreuter Personality Inventory" (1931) — consisted of tests for four different traits: neurotic tendency, self-sufficiency, introversion-extraversion, and dominance-submission. The inventory included 125 questions regarding those four traits. The answers to these questions could be

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[19] Edward L. Thorndike, "A Constant Error in Psychological Rating," *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 4, no.1 (1920): 25-29.
[20] Goodwin B. Watson, "Character Tests and Their Applications through 1930," *Review of Educational Research* 2, no.3 (June, 1932): 185-257.

"yes," "no," or "?." Psychologist Robert Bernreuter, a doctoral student of Lewis Terman at Stanford University, adapted the questions from existing personality tests and constructed new questions by himself.

Assuming that neutral concepts of personality without neurotic connotations would enable them to evaluate personality differences among "normal" people, psychologists adopted new language electively from emerging psychological theories. For example, one of the traits in Bernreuter's inventory – "introversion-extroversion," was originated from Carl Jung's typology of personality. It became a widely used classification in personality tests during the interwar years and remains to be one of the most frequently referred markers of personality types today. Another trait in Bernreuter's inventory – "dominance-submission" – came from psychologist Gordon Allport's test of "Ascendance-Submission." Allport argued that in most social situations there were two kinds of personality — a dominant one and a submissive one. Although each person might have both ascendance and submission traits, one of the tendencies was almost always more pronounced. Typical ascendant behaviors included seeking to make useful contacts with important people, playing a leadership role in a group, opposing others' ideas in argument, and so on.[21] By bringing together different markers of personality differences, however, Bernreuter and other personality test developers seldom spelled out the relationship between these categories.

While new personality questionnaires like the "Bernreuter Personality Inventory" claimed to evaluate the "normal" personality, the line between the normal and the abnormal was

[21] Gordon Allport, "A Test for Ascendance-Submission," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology* 23, no.2 (1928): 118-136. Allport also emphasized the practical use of this distinction to determine the "fitness for appointments or training." He suggested that "submissive men might logically consider college teaching, architecture, art, farming, bookkeeping, backing, dentistry, editing, writing, music," whereas ascendant men could be advantageous in "salesmanship, executive work, factory management, law, politics, organizing, and kindred occupations." (p134-35)

hardly clear-cut. This was because psychologists continued to adapt test questions about neurotic symptoms from earlier questionaries like the "Woodworth Personal Data Sheet" and the "Thurstone Personality Schedule" (which included part of Woodworth's questions, too.) Meanwhile, practical concerns on screening out individuals with problematic tendencies still shaped how test developers conceived the standards of personality adjustment.

In additions to "objective" personality tests like the rating scales and questionnaires, the 1930s also saw the rise of projective tests in personality research. Projective tests referred to the kind of psychological tests that used ambiguous images or words to evoke the subjects' responses, instead of asking true-or-false or multiple-choices questions. For instance, Swiss psychiatrist Hermann Rorschach devised a set of inkblots in the late 1910s to diagnose mental patients and published the method in 1921. The test later became known as the Rorschach Test.[22] By showing the patients ambivalent inkblot images, testers asked questions like "what might this be?" "tell me how you see this?" Psychiatrists and clinical psychologists assumed the subjects' responses to these open-ended images or scenarios would reflect their inner world of personality. In other words, the subject would project their underlying thoughts, feelings, trauma, and conflicts onto the test. This approach could also limit test takers from faking their responses in "objective" personality tests, which often offered clearer clues for them to guess what the right answers might be from an employee's or teacher's perspective.

The most prominent projective tests during the 1930s were the Rorschach test and Thematic Apperception Test (TAT) developed by Harvard psychologists Henry A. Murray and Christina D. Morgan. Yet projective techniques relied heavily on trained experts – usually psychiatrists – to administer tests and analyze the responses. Therefore, they were relatively

[22] For the invention of the Rorschach test, see Damion Searls, *Herman Rorschach, His Iconic Test, and the Power of Seeing* (New York: Crown, 2017).

limited to clinical use and did not become the mainstream format of standardized personality tests.[23] The more popular "objective" personality tests during the interwar years were still the rating scales and questionnaires.

Quantifying by "Traitifying"

In addition to refined formats of testing and new vocabularies of personality, another important step in the creation of "objective" measurement was to turn abstract expressions of personality differences into concrete and comparable terms so as to standardize test questions, answers, and scoring procedures. During this process, American psychologists' behaviorist understanding of personality drove the direction of personality testing. In the development of "objective" personality tests, a common practice was to specify a number of traits as representative of one's personality, list a number of observable behaviors associated with the traits, and compose questions (yes-and-no or multiple-choice questions) around these behaviors. Personality thus became the aggregate of certain behavioral traits.

The Americanization of "introversion-extroversion" was a case in point. Since 1909, Carl Jung had used "introversion" and "extroversion" to describe libido movement and neurotic tendencies. But it was his 1921 book *Psychological Types* that provided a thorough analysis of the typology in the context of the historical development of different psychological types. It also contained the philosophical and psychological theories that underpinned his distinction of introversion and extroversion. Jung argued that introversion and extraversion were two different general attitudes in a person's interaction with the world. Those differences were reflected in one's basic psychological functions of thinking, feeling, intuition, and sensation. Every individual has both extraversion and introversion mechanisms and one's type only signifies the

[23] Toward the end of the 1930s, psychologists also tried to standardize the Rorschach test. See more details on projective tests in Chapter 4.

predominance of one tendency. As Jung acknowledged, what he saw in the types of introversion and extroversion was not completely different from what philosophers and psychologists had captured in dichotomous human nature using their own language. Examples included Nietzsche's distinction between the Apollonian and the Dionysian and William James's distinction between the tender-minded and the tough-minded. But Jung's theory of psychological types provided a more detailed picture of how two kinds of personality functioned in inward and outward mental activities.[24]

After the English translation of Jung's *Psychological Types* was published in 1923 (it was already well-known among American psychologists fluent in German), the Americanization of the personality types of introversion and extroversion assumed a distinctively behaviorist overtone. In their attempt to translate introversion and extroversion into "objective" test questions, psychologists broke down these types into simple behaviors that were observable and measurable in everyday life. In 1924, psychologist Max Freyd, who had studied with Walter Scott at the Carnegie Institute of Technology, compiled a list of 54 behavioral traits associated with the introvert (and by inference the opposite would be the extrovert). For example, an introvert "blushes frequently," "avoids all occasions for talking before crowds," and "shrinks when facing a crisis." Freyd's list merely came from his informal poll among several psychologists and graduate students in psychology, whose answers of what they considered as traits of introversion and extroversion showed "considerable agreement."[25]

In the late 1920s and 1930s, when personality test developers designed their questionnaires and ratings related to the trait of introversion-extroversion, they often turned to

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[24] G. G. Jung, *Psychological Types, or The Psychology of Individuation* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Company, Inc., 1923).
[25] Max Freyd, "Introverts and Extroverts," *Psychological Review* 31, no.1 (1924): 74-87.

Max Freyd's list instead of Jung's original theoretical formulations for reference.[26] This was because Freyd's list assembled a number of simple descriptive items regarding one's behavioral tendencies. They could be easily turned into yes-or-no or multiple-choices test questions. Introversion and extroversion thus became associated with two opposite sets of relatively stable behaviors in social settings. In later years, Carl Jung himself became dissatisfied with the tendency towards this fixation on his exploratory classification. "This kind of classification is nothing but a childish parlour game, every bit as futile as the division of mankind into brachycephalic and doliocephalics," he wrote. To Jung, the theory of personality types only served a theoretical function "without muscle or flesh, and if you identify with it you identify with a corpse."[27] Nevertheless, both professionals and general readers in the United States remained fascinated by the dichotomy of introversion and extroversion, identifying specific behavioral tendencies with each type and attaching personal meanings to this distinction. Katherine Briggs, one of the future authors of the popular personality test *Meyers-Briggs Type Indicator* (MBTI, first published in 1944), spent years refining her typology of personality. She created the 16 MBTI types largely based on Jung's earlier formulation in *Psychological Types*.[28]

Test developers' approach to reduce personality to a cluster of behavioral traits or tendencies raised controversies within the psychological community. For example, different people disagreed on what accounted for a "trait" and how to isolate different "traits." Psychologists raised a series of questions: what were the differences between a "trait," a "habit,"

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[26] For instance, when Leslie Marston developed his 1925 rating scale of introversion and extroversion for pre-school children, he acknowledged that Freyd's list of 44 characteristics of introversion had facilitated his selection and definition of the traits included in the scale. See Leslie R. Maston, "The Emotions of Young Children," *University of Iowa Studies in Child Welfare* 3, no.3 (1925). Also see Reginald De Koven MacNitt, *Introversion and Extroversion in the High School* (Boston: R. G. Badger, 1930).

[27] Quoted in Sonu Shamdasani, *Jung and the Making of Modern Psychology: The Dream of a Science* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 87.

[28] See Merve Emre, *The Personality Brokers: The Strange History of Myers-Briggs and the Birth of Personality Testing* (New York: Doubleday, 2018).

a "type," and a "behavior"? Was "trait" a higher-level unit than "behavior"? To what extent were "traits" of personality comparable in quantitative terms? To what extent did different adjectives people used for "traits" actually measure the intended mental attributes? How many "traits," independent from each other, constituted personality differences? Was there a "g" factor or factors similar to that in theories of intelligence proposed by British psychologist Charles Spearman? If so, which "g" factor(s) determined one's personality "traits," similar to or different from the "g" of intelligence?[29] Such disagreements contributed to the difficulties of standardizing personality tests.[30] Researchers also started to question the harm personality testing might potentially bring to the field. Psychologist Gordon Allport warned that testing "shifted the attention of the researcher from the individual human subject to a general dimension shared by a number of subjects."[31] In other words, in pursuit of statistical significance and applicability, personality testing made the understanding of individuality difficult.

Percival Symonds from Teachers College, Columbia University, warned about the fallacy of the attempt to "traitify" human experience:

> "Do we 'traitify' human experience by our methods of measurement? Do we assume from a method of measurement whereby we ask a number of questions and then proceed to total the answers so as to yield a total score that there is something in human nature that corresponds to this score? It must be admitted that this is oftentimes the case. It is

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[29] Gordon Allport, "Concepts of Traits and Personality," *Psychological Bulletin* 24 no.5 (May, 1927): 284-293.
[30] Some psychologists did try to offer statistical solutions to determine the ultimate number and relations of traits. For example, psychologist Louis T. Thurstone proposed what he called "the vectors of mind" – a method of multiple factor analysis to calculate the correlations within different clusters of traits so as to narrow them down to a few general personality traits. Scholar Stephen Jay Gould has provided a detailed discussion of Thurstone's multiple factor analysis in his ground-breaking book *The Mismeasure of Man*. Yet Jay Gould mainly discusses Thurstone's methodology in the context of intelligence testing. In fact, in Thurstone's presidential address to the American Psychological Association in 1933, he originally presented the use of multiple factor analysis in the problem of classifying personality traits. Through this method, he reduced 60 adjectives describing personality traits to 5 general traits. See Louis L. Thurstone, "The Vectors of Mind," *Psychological Review* 41, no.1 (1934): 1-32. Stephen Jay Gould, *The Mismeasure of Man*, 2nd edition (W. W. Norton & Company, 1996), 326-346.
[31] Ian A. M. Nicholson, *Inventing Personality: Gordon Allport and the Science of Selfhood* (Washington, D.C.: American Psychological Association, 2003), 153.

> easy to fall into the trap of first positing a trait, such as persistence or dependability, analyzing the trait into a number of specific situations in which it might manifest itself, framing these in question form, and finally computing a score on the basis of answers which indicate the presence of the trait. This method makes the unwarranted assumption first of all that the trait actually does exist."[32]

Notwithstanding disagreements and critiques, test developers still heavily relied on trait theory in the construction of "objective" personality tests. For lack of better methods, they frequently took a number of "traits" for granted, assuming that there were relatively common understandings on what traits like "persistence" or "dependability" meant. In fact, Percival Symonds himself was an avid developer of personality tests during the 1930s. He published a few personality tests for school use during the 1930s, using exactly the same approach he cautioned against in the above passage.[33]

"Client-Oriented" Tests

Historian Joseph Kett has described the developers of standardized intelligence and achievement tests in the United States as "client-oriented:" they "tended to accept their clients' definitions of problems, whether retaining pupils longer in school, selecting suitable office candidates for the military, or identifying productive workers…."[34] This was true of the testers of personality as well. In the practical arena, the advance of personality tests often ignored theoretical questions about the make-up of personality, the nature of "traits," and the extent of mutual exclusiveness of different traits. Many personality test developers were satisfied with a constellation of traits, selectively assembled from different theoretical and practical sources. As

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[32] Percival M. Symonds, *Diagnosing Personality and Conduct* (New York: The Century Co., 1931), 21-22.
[33] Percival M. Symonds, *Adjustment Questionnaire* (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1932). Percival M. Symonds, *What Kinds of Year are You Having?: A Series of Statements of Pupil Adjustment Attitudes* (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1932), Test Collection, Chicago.
[34] Joseph F. Kett, *Merit: The History of a Founding Ideal from the American Revolution to the 21st Century* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2013), 129.

Kett explained, the reason for those selections and the standards of evaluation were often more in line with the potential clientele for personality tests. In industrial psychology, for example, corporations adopted personality inventories to screen applicants for potential union sympathizers after the Warner Act outlawed explicit questioning of employees' union experience.[35] The consequence was that through arbitrary selections of traits, different social and cultural conceptions as well as bias concerning human nature and conduct easily filtered into these "objective" measurement of personality.

In the field of education, personality rating scales quickly drew the attention of administrators from colleges and universities, who sought "objective measurement" in admissions and student personnel throughout the first half of the 20th century. In the late 1920s, at the same time psychologists experimented with the Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT), they also attempted to develop standardized personality rating scales for higher education admissions and counseling. In 1927, the Committee on Personnel Method of the American Council on Education organized a Subcommittee on Personality Measurement. The goal of this subcommittee was to develop objective tests for personality traits not specifically revealed by I.Q. scores and other data. They believed these measurements would assist in student selection and guidance by offering predictions on students' success in school and in their future career.[36] The personality rating scale for college admission also reflected the particularities of expectations by higher education institutions.

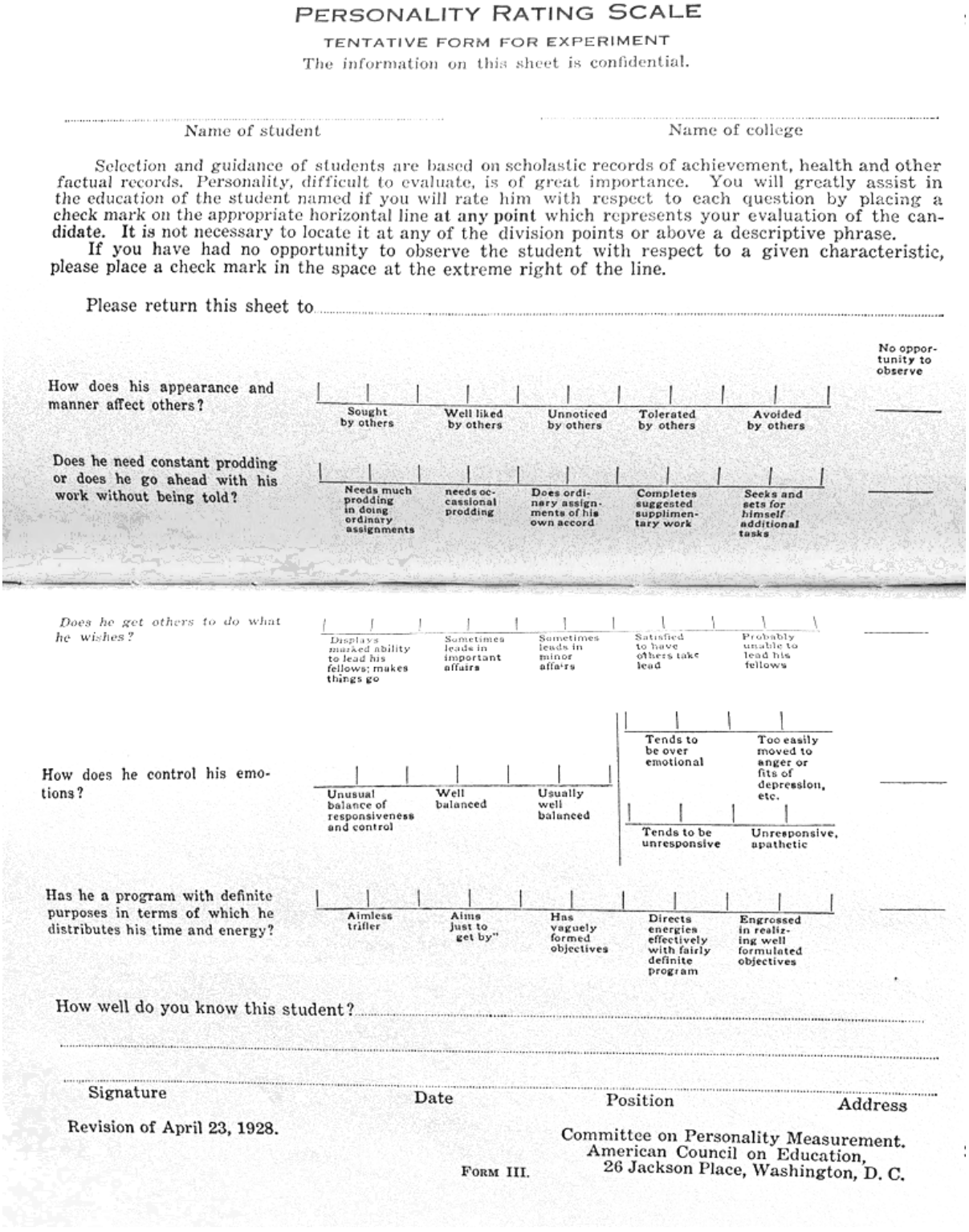
The Subcommittee on Personality Measurement started their work by collecting existing personal record forms and rating scales used for the evaluation of character and personality in

[35] Michael J. Zickar, "Using Personality Inventories to Identify Thugs and Agitators: Applied Psychology's Contribution to the War against Labor," *Journal of Vocational Behavior* 59, no.1 (Aug., 2001): 149-164.
[36] Cooperative Experiment in Personnel Methods, 1929, 8-9, General Education Board Records, Subseries 1.2, Box 196, Folder 1856, RAC.

colleges and universities. By September 1927, they received various forms and scales from 78 institutions. Thirty-eight of these institutions had used some forms of rating scales. Yet the list of items in these rating scales varied tremendously, totaling 118 overlapping traits.[37] Based on trial studies with two fraternities and limited numbers of freshmen at the University of North Carolina, the Subcommittee soon reduced the number of traits to five in a new rating scale.

The scale did not offer a clear definition of "personality" or any of the five traits. The traits seemed to have come from the most frequently mentioned items from earlier survey of 78 institutions and left out items that could be measured through available tests (such as intelligence.) The rating scale evaluated five aspects of the students' "personality:" 1. "How does his appearance and manner affect others?" 2. "Does he need constant prodding or does he go ahead with his work without being told?" 3. "Does he get others to do what he wishes?" 4. "How does he control his emotions?" 5. "Has he a program with definite purposes in terms of which he distributes his time and energy?" (Figure 1)[38]

[37] Francis Foster Bradshaw, "The American Council on Education Rating Scale: Its Reliability, Validity, and Use," *Archives of Psychology* No. 119 (Oct., 1930), 27.
[38] Francis Foster Bradshaw, "The American Council on Education Rating Scale: Its Reliability, Validity, and Use," *Archives of Psychology* No. 119 (Oct., 1930), 34-37.



PERSONALITY RATING SCALE

TENTATIVE FORM FOR EXPERIMENT

The information on this sheet is confidential.

Name of student ..... Name of college .....

Selection and guidance of students are based on scholastic records of achievement, health and other factual records. Personality, difficult to evaluate, is of great importance. You will greatly assist in the education of the student named if you will rate him with respect to each question by placing a check mark on the appropriate horizontal line **at any point** which represents your evaluation of the candidate. It is not necessary to locate it at any of the division points or above a descriptive phrase.

If you have had no opportunity to observe the student with respect to a given characteristic, please place a check mark in the space at the extreme right of the line.

Please return this sheet to .....

No opportunity to observe

How does his appearance and manner affect others?
Sought by others | Well liked by others | Unnoticed by others | Tolerated by others | Avoided by others

Does he need constant prodding or does he go ahead with his work without being told?
Needs much prodding in doing ordinary assignments | needs occassional prodding | Does ordinary assignments of his own accord | Completes suggested supplimentary work | Seeks and sets for himself additional tasks

Does he get others to do what he wishes?
Displays marked ability to lead his fellows; makes things go | Sometimes leads in important affairs | Sometimes leads in minor affairs | Satisfied to have others take lead | Probably unable to lead his fellows

How does he control his emotions?
Unusual balance of responsiveness and control | Well balanced | Usually well balanced
Tends to be over emotional | Too easily moved to anger or fits of depression, etc.
Tends to be unresponsive | Unresponsive, apathetic

Has he a program with definite purposes in terms of which he distributes his time and energy?
Aimless trifler | Aims just to get by" | Has vaguely formed objectives | Directs energies effectively with fairly definite program | Engrossed in realizing well formulated objectives

How well do you know this student? .....

.....

Signature ..... Date ..... Position ..... Address .....

Revision of April 23, 1928.

FORM III.

Committee on Personality Measurement.
American Council on Education,
26 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C.

Figure 2 The American Council on Education Personality Rating Scale, 1928 version. in Francis Foster Bradshaw, "The American Council on Education Rating Scale: Its Reliability, Validity, and Use," *Archives of Psychology* No. 119 (Oct., 1930): 36-37.

The scale quickly achieved success among its clientele. A revised version of "the American Council on Education Personality Rating Scale" was soon distributed to numerous colleges and universities in April 1928. As the American Council on Education reported, within a year, higher education institutions had purchased large numbers of the scale. By May 1929, the total number of tests sold amounted to 23,975. In addition to direct purchases, a few colleges and universities also incorporated the rating scale in their own admission forms. For instance, Stanford University, University of Washington, and Clark University all reported that they had included the rating scale in their admission forms.[39]

Similarly, personality tests designed for primary and secondary schools proliferated during the 1930s. These tests usually reflected a blend of features from various types of personality tests, while incorporating many aspects of school life as categories of adjustment. They emerged in the context of growing anxieties towards the expansion and heterogeneity of the student population and the growing complexity of the school's function in preparing well-adjusted citizens in a modern society.

2. Measuring Pupil Adjustment in School

"There is no more urgent challenge in the whole field of education at present than that of effecting a satisfactory adjustment between pupils and school."[40] So claimed William C. Reavis, Principal of the University High School at the University of Chicago, at the beginning of his 1926 book *Pupil Adjustment in Junior and Senior High Schools*. Reavis saw the urgency of pupil adjustment as derived from the changing population of the high school and large number of

[39] American Council on Education, *Measurement and Guidance of College Students: First Report of the Committee on Personnel Methods of American Council of Education* (Baltimore: The Williams & Wilkins Company, 1933), 68.
[40] William C. Reavis, *Pupil Adjustment in Junior and Senior High Schools: A Treatment of the Problems and Methods of Educational Counseling and Guidance with Examples from Actual Practice* (Boston: D. C. Heath and Company, 1926), v.

dropouts due to failures of adjustment. Moreover, the burden of effecting adjustments had hitherto been placed entirely on the student. School administrators and teachers, he lamented, often neglected the responsibility of pupil adjustment. For education administrators and teachers, the 1920s and the 1930s were harsh years to reach so-called "satisfactory adjustment" between the student and the high school. The soaring enrollments brought struggles on many fronts including shortage of teachers and school buildings, high rates of dropouts and "laggards" – students whose progress were slower than normal, and the expanding heterogeneity of the student population. Increasingly many educational experts and administrators framed the management of these problems as "pupil adjustment." The concerns over pupil adjustment ranged from homogeneous grouping and vocational guidance to student misconduct and discipline.

This new focus on pupil adjustment was closely associated with what historians of education have called the "custodial function of schooling." As historians David L. Angus and Jeffery E. Mirel argued, during the Great Depression and the Second World War, the functions of high schools in the United States shifted from academic and vocational preparation to "custodial care," particularly attending to immediate youth problems.[41] But the passive tone of "custodialism" could be misleading, for educators actively sought to intervene in the life of youth in school regarding course-taking, social activities, and emotional life, expecting them to be well-adjusted students and productive members of society. Moreover, historical exploration of the custodial function in high schools has been mostly undertaken by scholars who approach the topic as a curricular issue. These studies neglected how the infrastructure that supported the evaluation and classification of students' fitness reinforced the custodial function of schooling.

[41] David L. Angus, and Jeffrey E. Mirel, *The Failed Promise of the American High School, 1890-1995* (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1999), 3, 57-58.

Key to this infrastructure was the adoption of guidance programs into public school systems and the use of psychological tests to predict the "fit" between students and their course-taking, and ultimately their choices of vocations. In these ways, "pupil adjustment" encapsulated different aspects of schooling and expectations for students, with the goal to prepare them for an ever-changing modern life.

Developing Pupil Adjustment Tests

With increasing emphasis on the satisfactory adjustment between the student and the school (and the larger society), the 1930s saw a surge of pupil adjustment tests for school use. While the format of these tests varied tremendously, they generally reflected contemporary trends of personality testing and borrowed heavily from the contents and techniques of personality rating scales and questionnaires. The choice to name the instrument "adjustment" tests or inventories rather than personality tests was perhaps related to the non-technical sense of adjustment categories. It also reflected the understanding that school-age children's personality was still in a malleable stage, full of possibilities for adjustment. For instance, Hugh M. Bell, author of the "Bell Adjustment Inventory,"[42] argued that the concept of adjustment offered "a dynamic and meaningful description of the student's personality." It was also easy to incorporate the most common aspects of student life such as curriculum adjustment into the evaluation. "Instead of ticketing the student as 'introverted' or 'neurotic,' this concept permits describing his behavior in terms of how satisfactorily or unsatisfactorily he is adjusted to certain personal and social situations." In this way, students could understand themselves in terms of their

[42] Hugh M. Bell, *The Adjustment Inventory: Student Form* (Stanford University Press, 1934), Test Collection, Chicago.

"adjustment to actual conditions" they were familiar with, rather than psychological designations that they had little knowledge about.[43]

The categories of adjustment in those tests involved both the common experience of schooling (school achievement, social activities, and vocational interest) and the general aspects of personality (emotional expression and sex behavior). In the "Bell Adjustment Inventory," Bell divided students' adjustment problems into four categories: home adjustment, health adjustment, social adjustment, and emotional adjustment.[44] The inventory was designed for college and high school students for self-evaluation. He included 140 yes-and-no questions, which partly came from previous personality tests (especially the Thurstone Personality Schedule), and partly were new questions devised by himself. Therefore, the "Bell Adjustment Inventory" contained familiar questions that showed up in many personality tests modeled after the "Woodworth Personal Data Sheet," such as "do you day-dream frequently" and "do you consider yourself rather a nervous person." Meanwhile, questions concerning school life also appeared in the inventory. For example, "Do you hesitate to volunteer in a class recitation?" "Have you frequently been depressed because of low marks in school?"[45]

Tests of pupil adjustment were often designed to assist teachers' evaluation of students. Frank Freeman, Professor of Educational Psychology at the University of Chicago, and Ethel Kawin, psychologist in the University of Chicago Lab School and Director of Guidance at Glencoe Public Schools, developed a set of "Teacher's Rating Scales for Pupil Adjustment." They established five general categories of pupil adjustment: "intellectual characteristics," "work

[43] Hugh M. Bell, *The Theory and Practice of Student Counseling, with Special Reference to the Adjustment Inventory* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1935), 1-2.
[44] Hugh M. Bell, *The Theory and Practice of Student Counseling, with Special Reference to the Adjustment Inventory*, 27.
[45] Hugh M. Bell, *The Adjustment Inventory* (Stanford University Press, 1934), Test Collection, Chicago.

and study habits," "emotional adjustment," "social adjustment," and "scholastic achievement." Each category consisted of certain desirable traits. For instance, the scale for emotional adjustment imagined "an emotionally adjusted child" to be someone who "has emotional reactions well controlled," "is usually cheerful and happy," "feels reasonably 'secure'," and "has both extrovert and introvert characteristics in moderate degrees."[46] A socially adjusted child was someone who "has a friendly attitude toward others," "is accepted and liked by other children," and "is clean, neat, and orderly in personal appearance."[47]

While acknowledging the wholeness of one's personality and the interplay between different categories of pupil adjustment, Freeman's and Kawin's rating scales stressed the independence of each categories for practical purposes. They claimed that "actual experimental use of these scales in both public and private schools … has demonstrated that teachers find it possible to discriminate between the areas represented by the five scales."[48] Teachers were directed to rate students' performance from 1 to 5 on each scale. In this way, they would be able to learn quickly which students were maladjusted and in what specific area(s) the maladjustment occurred. They also suggested that teachers should judge the child in comparison with other children of similar age. The rating of 1 (the best adjusted) and 5 (the lowest) should each be given to about 10% of students in a class or grade group, the rating of 2 and 4 should each be given to about 20% of students, and the rating of 3 (the average) should be given to about 40% of students. In this way, teachers could get a quantitative picture of group adjustment in a class.

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[46] Frank N. Freeman and Ethel Kawin, "Scale III-Emotional Adjustment," in *Teacher's Rating Scales for Pupil Adjustment* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1937), Test Collection, Chicago.
[47] Frank N. Freeman and Ethel Kawin, "Scale IV-Social Adjustment," in *Teacher's Rating Scales for Pupil Adjustment*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1937), Test Collection, Chicago.
[48] Frank N. Freeman and Ethel Kawin, *Teacher's Rating Scales for Pupil Adjustment*, 9.

Therefore, through this kind of measurement, data regarding students' personality adjustment became disaggregated and comparable to each other.

Tests that emphasized one or several specific aspects of adjustment also emerged during the 1930s. For example, Lawrence W. Miller, a professor of psychology at the University of Denver, developed a "Personal-Social Adjustment Test" to focus on individuals' "speech behavior."[49] An "Iowa State Student Adjustment Inventory" focused on the students' adjustment with their parents. The assumption was that "suitable adjustment with one's parents is one of the most important areas affecting happiness."[50]

Another trend in pupil adjustment tests was the refashioning of moral and ethical norms. Behavior and attitudes that were traditionally associated with individual morality or character were translated into personality traits and brought into the assessment of pupil adjustment. In the "Bell Adjustment Inventory" and "Teachers' Rating Scales of Pupil Adjustment," evaluations of timeliness, honesty, and diligence all appeared as part of the standards of adjustment. In this way, pupil adjustment tests examined a series of perennial student problems in a relatively new light. Those problems included school attendance, misbehavior or misconduct, and underperformance. While school reformers in the 19th century and early 20th century tended to use a moral lens to explain these problems, attributing them to character defects among students, in the 1930s the idea of personality maladjustment offered a new framework in diagnosing and solving those problems. Old questions regarding bad habit and character thus became new questions interrogating students' emotions, attitudes, interests, human relations, and moral judgement, all considered important factors in the formation of a well-adjusted personality. What

[49] Lawrence W. Miller, *Personal-Social Adjustment Test* (Denver: University of Denver, 1939), Test Collection, Chicago.
[50] Earle E. Emme, and Lyle K. Henry, *Iowa State Student Adjustment Inventory: A Filial Relations Scale for Students* (Ames, IA: Carter Press, 1939), Test Collection, Chicago.

did not change was educators' ambition to differentiate desirable and undesirable traits in this refashioned language of personality adjustment and maladjustment.

New researches in character education in the late 1920s had contributed to the coalescence of character and personality in the interpretation of school problems. From 1924 to 1928, A group of psychologists and religious educators launched a project called *Character Education Inquiry* to explore quantitative measurement of character. Founded by John D. Rockefeller, Jr's Institute on Social and Religious Research and housed in Teachers College, Columbia University, the *Character Education Inquiry* reshaped the discussion around character or moral education during this time.[51] One important finding from the *Character Education Inquiry* was the situational nature of morality. That is to say, rather than regarding children's morality or character as a unified and static mental attribute, psychologists suggested that children made moral choices in specific situations by reacting to particular stimulus. Therefore, the best way to measure character was to evaluate specific behavioral tendencies in social life. This was consonant with how psychologists measured various personality traits during this time. Hence either character or personality tests measured similar behaviors such as lying, timeliness, work habit, self-control, and social contact.

In fact, during the interwar years, psychologists and educational experts often used "character" and "personality" interchangeably. Even efforts to juxtapose character and personality belied the fluid boundaries between them. In 1934, Teachers College, Columbia, Professor Julius B. Maller developed a "Character and Personality Rating Scale" mainly for

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[51] The *Character Education Inquiry* had three publications: Hugh Hartshorne, and Mark A. May, *Studies in Deceit* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1928). Hugh Hartshorne, Mark A. May, and Julius B. Maller, *Studies in Service and Self-Control* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1929). Hugh Hartshorne, Mark A. May, and Frank K. Shuttleworth, *Studies in the Organization of Character* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1930). The *Character Education Inquiry* also developed a battery of tests to measure children's honesty, self-control, and other behavioral traits, which were often adopted by personality test developers, especially those who worked at Teachers College, Columbia.

classroom use. Without clear definitions of "character" or "personality," Maller included 50 items under two headings – 1. "Aspects of Character" and 2. "Aspects of Personality." Each contained 25 questions. The first 25 questions dealt with "attitudes, social adjustment, and fundamental habits of character" and the next 25 questions dealt with "emotional adjustment, fundamental aspects of personality, and dominant forms of interest."[52]

In reality, however, the two aspects were hardly distinguishable. For example, "Congeniality" appeared under the first heading as a behavior pattern reflecting character. There were three rating options for congeniality: "1. Not congenial; a poor and disagreeable companion. 2. Usually congenial. 3. Very congenial; an excellent companion." Meanwhile, "Social Mindedness" was an item under aspects of personality, with three rating options: "1. Not interested in people; avoids them wherever possible. 2. Interested to some degree in social matters. 3. Very much interested in people; makes very easy and enjoyable contacts."[53] Both of these behavioral traits pointed to students' social life, with the assumption that one's socializing habits and skills played an important role in their character or personality formation, as well as their future life as a productive worker and citizen.

The Testing Ground

The proliferation of personality and character tests and pupil adjustment inventories during the 1930s was a phenomenon that extended beyond research communities in psychology and education. They were rooted in a market with massive demand for the evaluation of individuals' emotional and social "fitness" in education and industry. How did public schools use these tests of personality and pupil adjustment?

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[52] Julius B. Maller, *Character and Personality Rating Scale* (New York: Teachers College Bureau of Publications, Columbia University, 1934), "Manual of Directions."
[53] Julius B. Maller, *Character and Personality Rating Scale* (New York: Teachers College Bureau of Publications, Columbia University, 1934), "The Rating Scale."

School guidance programs were one of the major testing grounds for personality measurement. During the interwar years, as educators tried out different ways to promote satisfactory adjustment between the student and the school, a new administrative feature that focused on the guidance and adjustment of students emerged within the public schools. The specific administrative unit in charge of guidance varied in different places. But they usually contained the names of guidance, pupil personnel, or pupil adjustment. A few educational innovations along different professional lines gradually converged under the umbrella of guidance. For example, the rise of child guidance clinics described in the last chapter were one effort to use schools to promote mental hygiene so as to prevent future misfits. In practice, child guidance often became incorporated into a general program of guidance and counseling. Other than psychiatrically oriented child guidance, advocates of vocational guidance, educational counseling, and character education also embraced the emphasis on guidance. All of these fields were deeply influenced by the psychology of individual differences and increasingly saw the measurement of individual abilities and personalities as crucial to the guidance and adjustment of school children.

Vocational guidance originated as community social services that provided occupational information to job-seekers in the early 20th century. Cities such as Boston, Grand Rapid, Michigan, and Cincinnati led in the establishment of vocational guidance bureaus.[54] Different groups of Progressive Era reformers who advocated for vocational education, child labor restrictions, and the Americanization of immigrant youths shared common interest in vocational guidance. In the 1910s, urban school systems began to incorporate vocational guidance into school social services. As previously seen in Chapter 2, Minneapolis public schools established a

[54] Harvey Kantor, "Choosing a Vocation: The Origins and Transformation of Vocational Guidance in California, 1910-1930," *History of Educational Quarterly*, 26 no.3 (Autumn, 1986): 351-375.

department of vocational guidance in the 1910s, aiming for the retention of school-age youths in schools. In the early years, the work of vocational guidance in school usually involved three steps: 1. the testing of students' mental and mechanical abilities; 2. job analysis — survey of occupational requirements and opportunities; and 3. counseling of students to match individual and occupational needs. The vocational guidance movement hinged on the assumption that the knowledge of individual capacity and different job requirements would facilitate better occupational matches. As psychologist and director of the famed Cincinnati Vocational Bureau Helen T. Woolley stated, vocational guidance was "education conducted from the point of view of enabling each individual to develop the best type of productive capacity of which he is capable, and to acquire a real point of view about the occupational world."[55] The ethos of efficient distribution of human resources fit well with the project of social engineering among scientists and social reformers in the early 20th century.

For some advocates of vocational guidance, the efficient distribution of talent worked in tandem with their vision of democratic society. They saw vocational guidance as key in a new democratic society that built on the notion of individual differences and specialization of social roles. For example, as early as 1916, David Snedden, a leading advocate for vocational education and the doctrine of social efficiency, claimed that the organization of vocational guidance in secondary schools had both practical and cultural importance. Practically, it could help individual pupils to "find his way into a vocation most suited to him." More importantly, he claimed that "by giving all pupils a survey of occupations and by having them all study their own possibilities in relation thereto," vocational guidance would "produce the sympathetic,

[55] Helen T. Woolley, "The Contribution of Vocational Guidance to the Prevention of Unemployment," *Bulletin of the National Vocational Guidance Association* 1, no.2 (Nov., 1921): 4.

socialized, and broadened vision essential to highest citizenship and to truly democratic personal culture."[56]

Yet for Snedden and others, at the core of this vision was the assumption that an individual possessed a definitive amount of capacity which could be scientifically measured. After experts identified the "vocation most suited to" individuals and give good guidance, they could freely participate in the occupational world and put their talent into best use. This assumption ignored structural inequalities and workplace discriminations that created different opportunities and constraints for youth along the lines of race, gender, and class. Further, vocational guidance professionals' beliefs in the capacities and social roles of different groups of people deeply affected their advice for young people's career choices.[57] In this narrow view of matching one's ability and personality to a particular type of jobs, the science of individual differences played a key role.

Vocational guidance professionals were among the first to incorporate different forms of psychological tests in the assessment of students. At first, some psychological and educational experts saw a strong correlation between the "classes" of jobs and intellectual ability of students. For instance, William M. Proctor from Stanford University argued that there was "more or less clearly defined levels of intelligence in the various occupations, corresponding roughly to the amount of intelligence necessary to succeed in them." He suggested that high school vocational guidance counselors could refer to occupational intelligence levels to advise students with differing intelligence levels. Using the Army Alpha test results, he compiled the ranges of intelligence levels of each occupation (as reported by army recruits). The I.Q. level of unskilled

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[56] David Snedden, "New Problems in Secondary Education," *The School Review* 24, no.3 (Mar., 1916): 186.
[57] See, for example, James D. Anderson, "The Historical Development of Black Vocational Education," in Harvey Kantor, and David B. Tyack, eds., *Work, Youth, and Schooling: Historical Perspectives on Vocationalism in American Education* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1982).

laborers, for example, ranged from 21 to 63, whereas the I.Q. level of different professionals (civil engineers, medical officers, and army chaplains) was much higher. IQ scores ranged from 98 to 184.[58]

But the mere equation of intelligence and occupation types did not satisfy psychologists or employers. They constantly searched for scientific measurements to assess multiple aspects of individual differences. Vocational interest inventories soon became a new instrument in vocational counselors' toolkit. In 1927, psychologist E. K. Strong at the Carnegie Institute of Technology published the "Strong Vocational Interest Blank" to evaluate male test-takers' vocational interests. He subsequently published an interest blank for women in 1933, which included a different set of occupational options. Separating vocational guidance for boys and girls was a common practice during this time. The occupational options in guidance literature and instrument also reflected stereotyped gendered roles. For example, Grace Manson's *Occupational Interests and Personality Requirements of Woman in Business* – a vocational interest test for women – included occupations such as secretary, office manager, bookkeeper, stenographer, school teacher, retail sales, and nurse.[59]

Meanwhile, the desire for "objective" tests of personality for the purpose of vocational guidance spiraled. In 1930, the Subcommittee on Vocational Guidance of the 1930 White House Conference on Child Health and Protection acknowledged in its report that "in any guidance or selection program, the necessity of taking into account those characteristics of an individual which go to make up that mythical entity variously termed his personality, character, or temperament, is fully recognized." The Subcommittee also stated that "objective tests of

[58] William M. Proctor, *The Use of Psychological Tests in the Educational and Vocational Guidance of High School Pupils* (Bloomington, Il: Public Schools Publishing Company), 66-67.
[59] Thomas Harrington, and Jennifer Long, "The History of Interest Inventories and Career Assessments in Career Counseling," *The Career Development Quarterly* 61, no. 1 (Mar., 2013): 83-92.

personality characteristics are a definite need in this field."[60] In this search for scientific tools, tests of personality and pupil adjustment became a major field of growth for vocational guidance and other forms of educational guidance during the 1930s.

At the same time, the counselors' role in school guidance programs gradually extended beyond giving vocational information and advice. Their work touched more aspects of students' life. As historian Harvey Kantor argued, starting from the late 1920s "guidance became increasingly concerned with the internal, organizational needs of the school." By the early 1930s, school-related concerns such as discipline problems, mental tests for the purpose of ability grouping, and advise on students' course taking became major responsibilities of school counselors. "Vocational guidance had become educational guidance."[61]

This shift from vocational guidance to educational guidance had a lot to do with the dramatically shrinking youth labor market before and during the Great Depression. The depression disproportionately affected youth. Youths between 15- and 24-year-old had high unemployment rates during the 1930s.[62] Two pamphlets from the Vocational Service for Juniors in New York City reflected the changing landscape of youth opportunities. Vocational Service for Juniors was a voluntary organization founded in 1920. It also maintained vocational counselors in public elementary and junior high schools in the city. It cooperated with public school systems in job placement and awarded scholarships for children who might otherwise leave school. In 1924, the cover of the Vocational Service for Juniors pamphlet included a photo of two juniors overlooking the skyscrapers of New York City. "There must be the right job for us

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[60] White House Conference on Child Health and Protection, *Report of the Subcommittee on Vocational Guidance* (New York: The Century Co., 1932), 29.
[61] Harvey Kantor, "Choosing a Vocation: The Origins and Transformation of Vocational Guidance in California, 1910-1930," *History of Educational Quarterly* 26 no.3 (Autumn, 1986): 351-375.
[62] David L. Angus, and Jeffrey E. Mirel, *The Failed Promise of the American High School, 1890-1995* (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1999), 59.

in this big city. But how can we find it?" the caption below the photo asked.[63] This illustration signified the mission of the Vocational Service for Juniors at this time: matching youths with jobs. In its 1931 pamphlet, however, the caption below the same photo changed to: "This year there is no job for us in this big city." During this year, the Vocational Service for Juniors started a "Stay in School Drive," sending leaflets to graduating classes in junior high schools to persuade them to stay in school. The motives to keep youths in school also included preserving jobs for adult workers, especially men, who were seen as the main "breadwinners."[64]

Therefore, the economic depression and the shrinking youth labor market had an important impact on the shifting focus of vocational guidance to school counseling. To be sure, this shift did not mean that school guidance programs stopped giving vocational advice. It was still a key component of guidance. But at the same time, instead of looking for an immediate match between children and vocations, educational leaders started to emphasize the responsibility of the school to train adaptability of students in preparation for an ever-changing labor market. In this sense, the ability to adjust became a goal by itself.

In the early 1930s, the American Council of Education organized a Committee on Occupational Training and Adaptation. It included high-profile leaders from industrial and vocational education as well as presidents from colleges and universities. Arthur E. Morgan, president of Antioch College, emphasized that "industry trains for processes while schools prepare for the versatility and adjustability required by life."[65] The famed industrial psychologist and consultant Lillian M. Gilbreth argued that "certain technics of living, such as physical

[63] The Vocational Service for Juniors Pamphlet, 1924, LSRM Fund Records, Box 89, Folder 929, RAC.
[64] The Vocational Service for Juniors Annual Report of 1931, 5, 12, LSRM Fund Records, Box 89, Folder 929, RAC.
[65] Memorandum no.1, Committee on Occupational Training and Adaptation, 4, General Education Board Records, Series 1.2, Box 198, Folder 1871, RAC.

adequacy, mental alertness, emotional control and social adeptness" were fundamental to meet changing situations.[66] The new emphasis on adaptability meant the role schools played in vocational training was not only placement and the instruction of specific skills but also the teaching of emotional and social habits to prepare for the occupational world. This changing circumstance further motivated guidance counselors in school to utilize various pupil adjustment tests to evaluate the emotional and social fitness of students.

In the field of education, customers of personality and pupil adjustment tests were not limited to individual schools, guidance counselors, and teachers. In the mid-1930s, urban school districts and state departments of public instruction started to use personality and pupil adjustment tests in large-scale school surveys. For instance, in 1936, the Board of Education in New York City organized a Joint Committee on Problems of School Maladjustment to investigate various maladjustment problems. The Joint Committee adopted a broader view on the problem of school maladjustment and used personality tests in their investigation. The Committee claimed that until recently the emphasis on school maladjustment was placed on "education misfits" — those students with below normal intelligence or school achievement. However, given "the numerous recent studies of juvenile delinquency, truancy, [and] adult crime," it argued that the school should share the responsibility for "other phases of child development besides the mental and the intellectual. As a result, the term 'problem child' is now interpreted to include not only the 'retarded' or 'educationally backward' pupils but also cases of personality or behavior disorders or difficulties."[67] In their investigation into "slow-progress" students, the Joint Committee used the *Haggerty-Olson-Wickman Behavior Rating Schedules* in

[66] Lillian M. Gilbreth, Memorandum no.4, Committee on Occupational Training and Adaptation, General Education Board Records, Series 1.2, Box 198, Folder 1871, RAC.
[67] Joint Committee on Problems of School Maladjustment, *Review of Departmental Experience in Dealing with Problems of School Maladjustment: Part I* (New York: Board of Education Publication No. 27, 1936), 2

the evaluation of students' personality and behavior. They identified a positive relationship between personality/behavior problems and school progress.[68]

Starting in 1935, the Minnesota State Testing Committee organized a *Pupil Personnel Study of Pupils in Minnesota Public Schools*. They adopted four different instruments to examine maladjustment problems among public school students. Except for the first technique, whereby teachers identified the students in their classes as problem cases with "undesirable traits," the other three tools were tests of personality or pupil adjustment. Notably, large-scale school surveys during the New Deal era benefited from professional statisticians' work sponsored by government funding through the Work Progress Administration (WPA).[69] Therefore, public school systems and other research institutions were able to utilize WPA-funded statisticians and clerks in the computation and analysis of data collected from various "objective" tests of intelligence, achievement, and pupil adjustment.

Among the three tests used in the Minnesota *Pupil Personnel Study*, the first one was the B. P. C. Personal Inventory developed by Paul Boynton from George Peabody College (B stands for the author Boynton, P and C stand for Peabody College.) The test consisted of yes-and-no questions regarding students' conduct, personality, and scholarship adjustment. The second test was the Maller CASE Inventory developed by Julius B. Maller from Teachers College, Columbia University. The Inventory included four tests of rationality, social adjustment, trustworthiness, and ethical judgment. The third test was the Torgerson Diagnosis of Pupil

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[68] Joint Committee on Problems of School Maladjustment, *Review of Departmental Experience in Dealing with Problems of School Maladjustment: Part II* (New York: Board of Education Publication No. 28, 1937), 260.
[69] *The Pupil Personnel Study* in Minnesota received funds for statistical and clerical work from Minnesota Works Progress Administration Project No. 2305, No. 4409, and No. 5122. State Testing Committee of the Minnesota Council of School Executives, *Pupil Personnel Study of Pupils in Minnesota Public Schools, Part I Section 1. Frequency of Personality and Behavior Traits Among Teacher-Designated Problem Cases* (Minnesota State Department of Education, 1936). I found similar WPA sponsorship in other school projects with statistical components during this time.

Adjustment that opened this chapter. This rating scale measured ten aspects of students' adjustment. Apparently, each test had different understandings of personality and contained divergent categories of students' personality adjustment.

The use of three different tests in the *Pupil Personnel Study* without explaining their compatibility reflected the lack of agreement on what pupil maladjustment meant, as well as how to measure and intervene in problems of maladjustment. Nevertheless, the Minnesota State Testing Committee recognized that those tests provided "a very promising start" in offering "quantitative, as well as qualitative clues, as to who will become the maladjusted members of the society." And they emphasized that the identification and remedy of those maladjusted members were the responsibility of the schools.[70] Ultimately, the development and use of various personality and pupil adjustment tests during this period provided a new instrument for educators to judge who could be "problem students" and potentially "problem members of society."

Aside from these instances of personality testing in specific places, it is difficult to gauge how widely personality and pupil adjustment tests were used in schools, especially considering vocational guidance counselors and other guidance roles in public schools were still quite a new phenomenon during the interwar years[71]. Nevertheless, the production of personality tests did cast influence on the field of education in another important way. It led to the manufacture and circulation of scientific knowledge related to children's personality adjustment.

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[70] State Testing Committee of the Minnesota Council of School Executives, *Pupil Personnel Study of Pupils in Minnesota Public Schools, Part I Series 5: Interrelations of the Various Techniques of Selecting Problem Case Pupils* (Minnesota State Department of Education, 1937), 44.

[71] In 1930, the subcommittee on vocational guidance of the White House Conference on Child Health and Protection estimated the ratios of counselors to pupils based on 77 cities that provided information concerning number of counselors as follows: one full-time counselor for every 1,595 pupils in smallest cities; one for every 1,503 pupils in medium-sized cities; one for every 3,340 pupils in the largest cities. See White House Conference on Child Health and Protection, *Report of the Subcommittee on Vocational Guidance* (New York: The Century Co., 1932), 46.

During the 1930s, the interlocking processes of collecting data, constructing test questions and keys, validating tests, creating norms, and selling personality tests often revolved around the education market. These activities around the development and distribution of personality and pupil adjustment tests constituted a nexus of professionalized education expertise. It brought together professional organizations, education professors and their students, test publishers, and school administrators. All these efforts constituted the production of educational knowledge concerning students' emotional, social, and personality adjustment. Educational leaders now frequently said it was the responsibility of the school to select and treat the poorly adjusted or maladjusted students. In post-World War II era, teachers, counselors, and child welfare workers would continue to develop and utilize similar tests to detect and classify "predelinquent" or "anti-social" children. The goal was to prevent juvenile delinquency.

3. Norms and Normality: the Validation of Well-adjusted Personalities

One important reason educational experts and administrators embraced "objective" tests of personality and pupil adjustment was their faith in the scientific credibility embedded in the instrument. Yet the construction of scientific credibility was difficult, full of uncertainties and contradictions. Under the mantle of objectivity, these tests often reflected a process through which social norms and biases were written into "objective" standards of personality differences and pupil adjustment. Moreover, because of the client-oriented tendency of test developers, the selection of traits and standards of personality adjustment often revolved around practical demands of management and discipline in education and industry. These so-called "objective" tests of personality were loaded with various expectations on what a well-adjusted person should be in these practical realms. Therefore, similar to Victorian era conduct books, personality tests

and pupil adjustment tests during the 1930s could be read as prescriptive literature in the age of scientific objectivity.

As shown from the standards of sex adjustment in Link's P.Q. Test, the identification of socially acceptable behavior and conduct played a key role in the construction of personality tests. Link's test kits also contained gender-specific tests, one for boys and young men and one for girls and young women. This was true for a number of personality inventories and pupil adjustment tests. Sex-separated tests reflected different perceptions and expectations of social activities and ambitions for male and female students. The famed humanistic psychologist Carl R. Rogers launched his career as a psychologist through a dissertation project that devised a set of personality adjustment tests.[72] Rogers's tests included a sex-separated test and scoring keys for boys and girls. The test presented a series of scenarios and asked the test takers to choose if they were like this boy or girl, and if they wish to be just like this boy or girl. In this way, the test would reach conclusions about one's personality adjustment related to "personal inferiority," "social inferiority," "family relationships," and "daydreaming."

For boys, Rogers selected scenarios regarding one's appearance, hobby, and social life: "Peter is a big, strong boy who can beat any of the other boys in a fight;" "George likes to read. He has read all the books he can get about cowboys, Indians, and soldiers;" "Steven doesn't know how to play baseball, football, or basketball." For girls, corresponding descriptions changed to: "Mary is the prettiest girl in school;" "Esther likes to read all sorts of love stories, fairy stories, and other books;" "Grace always plays with a gang of boys. She is the only girl in the gang but the boys like her."[73] In many tests intended for all children during this time,

[72] Carl R. Rogers, *Measuring Personality Adjustment in Children Nine to Thirteen Years of Age* (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1931).
[73] Carl R. Rogers, *Measuring Personality Adjustment in Children Nine to Thirteen Years of Age*, 11-15.

although test makers adopted male pronouns in most of the questions, they sometimes specify the gender in questions related to social activities and relations.

These pupil adjustment tests, test questions and scoring keys also reflected educators' expectations of students' conformity to the organization and order of schooling. Teachers College, Columbia, Professor Percival M. Symonds published an "Adjustment Questionnaire" in 1932 for the use of high school guidance programs. He included 150 yes-and-no questions concerning seven aspects of pupil adjustment — curriculum, social life of the school, administration, teachers, relation with other pupils, the relation of home and family, and personal adjustment.[74] He also developed a set of scoring keys for those questions. Correct answers meant higher scores and signified better adjustment.

Because the scoring keys were constructed by asking several educators to assess whether yes or no for each question indicated better adjustment,[75] the keys reflected their imagination of what a well-adjusted student looked like. For example, in the section of adjustment to teachers, the key to "do you like criticism from your teachers" is "yes." In the section of administration, the key to the question "is it your opinion that too much emphasis is placed upon good order or discipline in this school" is "no." In terms of curriculum adjustment, students were expected to answer "no" to questions like "would you like more freedom in choosing what you study," and "do you wish there were more holidays and longer vacations."[76] Clearly, a student who welcomed teachers' criticism and school discipline and who did not enjoy more holidays or more freedom in course-taking would more likely to be marked as well-adjusted via this questionnaire.

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[74] Percival M. Symonds, *Adjustment Questionnaire* (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1932), Test Collection, Chicago.
[75] Percival M. Symonds, and C. E. Jackson, "An Adjustment Survey," *Journal of Educational Research* 21, no.5 (May, 1930): 321-330.
[76] Percival M. Symonds, *Adjustment Questionnaire* (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1932), Test Collection, Chicago.

To some extent, those test questions and scoring keys were repositories of prevailing social and cultural norms as well as expectations about desirable traits and behavior of students during this period. But more importantly, through the claim of objectivity, these tests were considered as "scientific" instrument to help identify, classify, and potentially correct or cure so-called maladjusted tendencies. The claim of objectivity and trustworthiness by test developers thus gave a scientific aura to these social norms, distinctions, and expectations.

How did experts make the case for the scientific trustworthiness of their tests? Starting in the 1910s, the mental testing community gradually developed sophisticated statistical procedures to validate tests. They became a standard strategy for psychologists to verify the accuracy and applicability of mental tests without completely resolving various theoretical conundrums. Throughout the first half of the 20th century, psychologists still disagreed on what to measure, how to measure, and what kinds of measurement were accurate within the realm of academic publication and conversation. Yet when making public-facing claims, a relatively uniform test validation process enabled experts to establish the value of their products without clearly defining the subject under evaluation or addressing theoretical contradictions. The key to this procedure concerned the ideas of "reliability" and "validity." They are still key concepts in psychological testing today.

During the interwar years, reliability stood for the consistency of a test. By the mid-1920s, two standard methods had emerged to check the reliability of a test, largely in the context of validating intelligence tests. One was to split the test into halves, give them to a group of test-takers, and measure the correlation between these two sets of scores. Another was to give the test twice after a certain interval to the same group and measure the correlation between the scores. Validity meant the accuracy of a particular test in measuring what it intended to measure. It

became a key concept in test validation in the late 1920s and the 1930s. Before the 1950s,[77] the common practice to check validity in psychological tests was to compare the test results with exterior criteria, either with teachers' estimates, results of clinical observations, or a set of psychological tests that were already well-established within the field. By the 1930s, in the field of intelligence testing, a set of group and individual intelligence tests were available to serve as exterior criteria of test validity (the correlation coefficient of two tests, to use the statistical term), such as the National Intelligence Test, Otis Test of Mental Ability, and Stanford-Binet. The task was more complicated for personality testers.

To test developers who were working on the tests of personality and pupil adjustment, the techniques they adopted to evaluate the reliability of a test was not too different from that of intelligence testing. They kept using spilt-halves or repeated-testing methods to check the consistency of a personality test, though the results were often disappointing. As Percival M. Symonds pointed out, "the reliability of (personality) ratings has been found to be variable and disappointingly low… so low as to cast grave doubt on the value of rating as a method for gathering trustworthy data."[78]

Calculating the validity of a personality was an even more elusive task. To begin with, there wasn't enough consensus on the make-up of personality. Different psychologists used the concept differently. As mentioned earlier, in the late 1920s and 1930s, test developers in the United States usually chose their own cluster of traits in different tests. Those tests might include

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[77] The development of validity theory underwent significant changes over the course of the 20th century, especially when scholars Paul Meehl and Lee Cronbach proposed the concept of "construct validity" in the 1950s. This chapter concerns the time period prior to the birth of "construct validity." Historical treatment on the shifting concept of "validity" usually appears in encyclopedia or handbook of psychological testing and educational assessment and is therefore very brief regarding the pre-construct validity era. An exception is Tim B. Rogers, *The Psychological Testing Enterprise: An Introduction* (Pacific Grove, CA: Brooks/Cole Publishing Company, 1995), chapter 8 "criterion-related validity." For a pre-history of validity, see R. T. von Mayrhauser, "The Mental Testing Community and Validity: A Prehistory," *American Psychologists* 47, no.2 (1992): 244-253.

[78] Percival M. Symonds, *Diagnosing Personality and Conduct* (New York: The Century Co., 1931), 93.

common categories like introversion-extroversion and ascendance-submission with varying meanings. But they might also contain particular categories concerning emotional and social adjustment in school and industry depending on practical concerns. Therefore, it was difficult to identify a set of well-established personality tests as exterior criteria to check the validity of a new personality test. By the mid-1930s, some questionnaires and rating scales did become frequently used to validate new tests. For example, the Woodworth Personal Data Sheet and various revised versions of the original Woodworth test were used for this purpose. Yet it was still a challenge to equate two tests of personality and argue that they measured the same thing.

Faced with difficulties in validating new personality tests, one common practice psychologists used to establish the validity of a personality test was to showcase how the test differentiated between so-called "normal" and "abnormal" or "deviant" populations. They often used conventional distinctions of normal and deviant groups as the criterion of difference. For example, prisoners, juvenile delinquents, and mental institution inmates were often considered as "abnormal" or "deviant" by default. Test developers' selection of a "normal" population was often those in proximity of their academic institutions or schools. This approach had significant consequence on the biases embedded in these "objective" tests.

Because college and university professors of psychology or education played a key role in the construction of personality and pupil adjustment tests, many of these tests were first developed and tried out among a limited number of college students, especially students enrolled in psychology classes, as well as in private and public schools that had established relations with the professors. Hence a majority of who were considered as a "normal" population might have been white students with a certain amount of social and cultural capital. For instance, Margaret

Hayes from the New York State College for Teachers published a "Scale for Evaluating the School Behavior of Children Ten to Fifteen" in 1933.[79]

The construction of this scale involved several steps: 1. Hayes observed 20 adolescents and compiled 221 True-or-False statements representing observable behavior of these adolescents in school. Typical statements included "usually works eagerly on class assignment," "is usually happy," "often smiles when humorous passage is read in class." 2. She submitted these 221 statements to two groups of "experts" for evaluation. Group A consisted of 100 students enrolled in advanced psychology at City College, New York. Group B consisted of 12 experts in the fields of education and psychiatry. Both groups were directed to evaluate whether these 221 statements signified defective or desirable character or personality traits. 3. Hayes then cut the 221 items to 135 based on the above evaluation and further shortened the list of questions to 100 items. She divided these questions to 8 aspects of personality: "relations to others generally," "respect for rights of others," "relation to teacher," "relation to other pupils," "initiative," "health habits," "general interests," "scholarship and study habits." This produced the final version of the scale.[80]

The number of students and teachers involved in the test validation process of Hayes's scale was even smaller. The validation happened in the Milne Junior High School in Albany, New York, which was a practice school for the New York State College for Teachers. Hayes asked 14 teachers to each select four students in their classes: "the most desirable personality, the second most desirable personality, the next to the most undesirable personality, and the most undesirable personality." These teachers then used her scale to rate the four groups of students

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[79] Margaret Hayes, *Scale for Evaluating the School Behavior of Children Ten to Fifteen* (New York: Psychological Corporation, 1933), Test Collection, Chicago.
[80] Margaret Hayes, "A Scale for Evaluating Adolescent Personality," *The Pedagogical Seminary and Journal of Genetic Psychology* 44, no.1 (Mar., 1934): 206-210.

and reached numerical results. It turned out that the results aligned with teachers' estimate of the students. Hayes then asked 7 supervisors in a guidance program to select the most desirable and the most undesirable personalities among their students. The rating results of these two groups also showed significant differences. Therefore, Hayes concluded that "these data indicate that the scale definitely differentiates desirable and undesirable personalities."[81]

Other than using students who were considered well-adjusted or maladjusted in schools as criteria groups, test developers also used convenient classifications of "normal" and "abnormal" population in their test validation process. In the experimental stage of Julius Maller's "Character Sketches" (1932), Maller gave the test to 618 individuals from two groups. This was a self-administered test of personality concerning six categories: habit pattern, self-control, social adjustment, personal adjustment, mental health, and readiness to confide. Maller's "normal" group consisted of students from a junior high school in New York City. The "deviates" group composed of students from the New York Probations Schools, the Long Island Continuation School, and cases from the Children's Clinic in Bellevue Hospital. Questions that failed to differentiate between the two groups were excluded. It was assumed that he final version of the scale had high validity because it confirmed the classification of these "normal" and "deviant" groups.[82]

In the validation process of the "Washburne Social-Adjustment Inventory" (1940), John Washburne, a professor at Syracuse University, selected four groups of people he expected to show varying degrees of adjustment from the lowest to the highest: 1. Adolescent prisoners; 2. "Very maladjusted" high school pupils (selected by school principals, teachers, and counselors);

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[81] Margaret Hayes, "A Scale for Evaluating Adolescent Personality," *The Pedagogical Seminary and Journal of Genetic Psychology* 44, no.1 (Mar., 1934): 216.
[82] Julius B. Maller, *Character Sketches: A Test of the Measurement of Personality Adjustment, Manual of Directions* (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1932), 3.

3. “Average” high school pupils; 4. “Very well-adjusted” pupils. The theory was that if the distribution of their scores showed significant differences in the order from the lowest to the highest group, then his test would be considered as a success. Ultimately, the distribution of scores confirmed Washburne’s speculation as they showed “four overlapping, fairly normal curves, arranged in exactly the order one would expect of a true measure of social adjustment.”[83] Therefore, not only did many tests ask questions that assumed the desirability of politeness, sociability, good behavior in school, and heterosexual adjustment, the common test validating practices also reinforced existing social distinctions through the use of convenient social grouping as the reference of normal/desirable and abnormal/undesirable personalities.

As test developers gained more data through applying personality and pupil adjustment tests to large groups of people, they also began to depict typical images of individuals in different gradations of adjustment. For instance, the tests used in the *Minnesota Pupil Personnel Study* agreed on some of the typical traits among the best-adjusted students. The three tests all agreed the best-adjusted students were more likely to be “friendly, good mixers, and popular.” They were also more frequently “polite and respectful, as well as happy, cheerful and good natured.” A large number of the well-adjusted pupils were also considered “original, self-reliant and persistent.”[84] In terms of the maladjusted students, “inattentiveness in class, lack of interest in work, and daydreaming” were characteristic of the problem cases selected by any one of the techniques.

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[83] John N. Washburne, *Washburne Social-Adjustment Inventory: Manual* (Yonkers-on-Hudson, NY: World Book Company, 1940), 12. Test Collection, Chicago.
[84] State Testing Committee of the Minnesota Council of School Executives, *Pupil Personnel Study of Pupils in Minnesota Public Schools, Part I Series 5: Interrelations of the Various Techniques of Selecting Problem Case Pupils* (Minnesota State Department of Education, 1937), 7.

Findings from these tests further contributed to the profiling of potentially well-adjusted and maladjusted social groups. For example, Goodwin Watson reviewed the test results from various honesty tests developed in the *Character Education Inquiry*. He argued that those results showed "the honest group to come from more favored race and nationality, to be of higher intelligence, and to have a better home background."[85] Similarly, the findings from studies on delinquent trends presented a profile of the potential delinquent as someone who "will appear among the duller children, will be overage and uncomfortable at school, will have played truant, will come from a poor type of home, usually with one parent missing or incompetent, will fraternize with delinquent gangs."[86] A study using personality ratings and revised Woodworth questionnaire detected that children of Mexican descent (from one undisclosed western city) had the highest percentage of maladjusted personalities, who wished they had not been born due to "lacked harmony and intimacy" at home.[87]

While the test results provided abstract statistical profiles of the maladjusted population, they tended to sanction existing social biases and put more burden of scrutiny on disadvantaged social groups. Although the language of many test questions did not explicitly mention differences along specific racial and class lines, they were very much part of the factors in the measurement. The standards of satisfying adjustment usually assumed white middle-class gender-specific values as the norms of adjustment. For example, they assumed a sheltered childhood away from street influences or difficult home environments as universal norms of a well-adjusted human being. In this covert way of constructing the norms and normality of

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[85] Goodwin B. Watson, "Character Tests and Their Applications through 1930," *Review of Educational Research* 2, no.3 (June, 1932): 208-209.
[86] Goodwin B. Watson, "Character Tests and Their Applications through 1930," *Review of Educational Research* 2, no.3 (June, 1932): 201.
[87] Ruth Shonle Cavan, "The Wish Never to Have Been Born," *American Journal of Sociology* 37, no.4 (Jan., 1932): 547-559.

adjustment, it was easy to label the behavior of people who were subjected to and struggling with structural inequalities as emotionally and socially maladjusted. In later years, these profiles validated through quantitative instruments that claimed to be objective would become the scientific justification to screen and intervene in the lives of particular groups of people who, according to the rule of normal distribution, would be more prone to become maladjusted, delinquent, and social menace.

Chapter 4. The "Personality and Culture" Approach to Adolescent Social and Emotional Adjustment

"Am I normal?" Alice V. Keliher posted this question to adolescent readers at the beginning of her 1938 book *Life and Growth*.[1] This book was intended as a handbook for high schoolers as well as their teachers and guidance counselors. After three years of work on the organization of teaching materials related to "human relations," Keliher, chairman of the Progressive Education Association's Commission on Human Relations, presented an overview of physical, emotional, and social adjustments in one's growing-up experience amidst social change.

"Most of us are Cyranos in some respect. We are too tall, too short, too fat, too thin, too freckled. … we do let worries about our attractiveness, our normality, drag us down, make us less efficient, warp our images of ourselves." Referring to the character Cyrano de Bergerac from Edmond Rostand's 1897 play, who constantly doubted himself because of his unusually large nose, Keliher stressed the commonness of questioning one's normality in life. But to determine this normality or abnormality, Keliher suggested that "we need to find out what we mean by the word *normal*."[2] She debunked claims of normality in anthropometric studies:

"pseudo-scientific ideas have helped to root the notion that there are specific measurements for normality … that we can measure to find the 'normal' being. … Many scientists have studied single characteristics, have computed average measurements, then confused this average with normality which, after all, can be determined only by knowledge of

[1] Alice V. Keliher, *Life and Growth* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1938), 3.
[2] Alice V. Keliher, *Life and Growth*, 3-4.

the whole complex person in his complex society. We must learn to distinguish between *average* and *normal*."[3]

Alice Keliher concluded that "the answer to the question, 'Am I normal?' depends entirely upon what the culture considers normality to be." She rejected narrow definitions of normality in particular society or scientific discipline. Instead, she argued that "the same personality can be different in different relationships and at different times in life."[4] Keliher's conclusion echoed an emerging way of thinking about personality as a dynamic and holistic process intertwined with cultural forces.

During the 1930s, at the same time personality tests became popularized in education and industry and served as measures of one's emotional and social normality, there emerged a relatively dynamic approach that treated personality as a complex whole in cultural context. This view developed within a closely connected intellectual community, where interdisciplinary conversations among social scientists and educators embraced the overarching framing of "personality and culture." Convinced that personality and culture were mutually constitutive and should be examined in relation to each other, many psychiatrists, psychologists, anthropologists, and sociologists embarked on a series of investigations on the shaping and adjustment of personality within particular cultural milieux. In contrast to quantitative assessment of personality, these studies underscored the impact of culture on individual personality, as well as the social conditioning of one's emotional and social adjustment.

This chapter focuses on the cultural perspective in scientific experts' and educators' examination on adolescent personality during the 1930s. After a brief overview of the "personality and culture" framework in social scientific research, this chapter zooms in on two

[3] Alice V. Keliher, *Life and Growth*, 119-120.
[4] Alice V. Keliher, *Life and Growth*, 217

New Deal era research projects that explored the personality development of young people: the Progressive Education Association's Committee on the Study of Adolescents and the American Youth Commission's "Negro Youth Study." Sharing overlapping funding sources, research network, and advisory personnel, both projects adopted a dynamic and cultural perspective in their studies. Yet applying this cultural perspective to different racial groups, their research findings indicated different ideas on the extent culture could determine personality.

On the one hand, the new dynamic approach to personality assumed the reciprocal relation between the individual and the environment. It thus expanded the examination of personality adjustment to broader social and cultural factors. It also assumed the malleable nature of individual behavior in relation to dynamic social processes, which challenged rigid distinctions between "normal" and "abnormal" personalities as defined by biological determinism. Yet the application of this dynamic cultural lens to the study of different racial groups ended up with divergent conclusions. Whereas the Progressive Education Association's study of white and Jewish adolescents emphasized the uniqueness and complexity of personality full of possibilities in its interaction with culture, researchers looking into African American youth tended to emphasize the deterministic impact of culture on Black personality maladjustment. They tended to translate individual struggles within unequal social systems into maladjusted personality types. The findings about personality maladjustment as affected by culture thus contributed to new ways of thinking about emotional normality and defining who could be happy and well-adjusted social members. This interwar legacy of "personality and culture" approach further influenced post-World War II social scientific research as well as social policies toward child development and race relations.

1. "Personality and Culture": An Emerging Social Scientific Research Framework

In her 1928 book *Coming of Age in Samoa,* the young anthropologist Margaret Mead contrasted the life of adolescents in a primitive society and the modern western culture. She found there was a relative ease of sex adjustment among adolescents in Samoa as compared to that of the United States. The acceptance of a wider range of "normal" behavior in Samoa culture, Mead argued, contributed to adolescents' satisfactory sex adjustment. Mead thus concluded that "a civilization in which there are many standards offers a possibility of satisfactory adjustment to individuals of many different temperamental types, of diverse gifts and varying interests."[5] Mead's book soon became a popular study of anthropology and of adolescence. It also served as a cultural critique of the sexual repression and anxiety-ridden child-rearing practices prevalent in modern America.[6]

In his foreword to *Coming of Age in Samoa,* anthropologist Franz Boas — Mead's mentor at Columbia University — celebrated her contribution to the study of human nature. Boas stated this work proved anthropologists' perception that "much of what we ascribe to human nature is no more than a reaction to the restraints put upon us by our civilisation."[7] In other words, it was the cultural and social environment that determined human difference. In fact, since the early 20th century, Franz Boas and his students had led in new ways to study human nature and behavior through the lens of culture. Rejecting biological determinism of racial

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[5] Margaret Mead, *Coming of Age in Samoa: A Psychological Study of Primitive Youth for Western Civilization* (New York: Morrow, 1928), 223, 247.
[6] Mark Anderson, *From Boas to Black Power: Racism, Liberalism, and American Anthropology* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2019), 40.
[7] Franz Boas, Foreword, in Margaret Mead, *Coming of Age in Samoa: A Psychological Study of Primitive Youth for Western Civilization* (New York: Morrow, 1928), xv.

differences, the Boasians argued that cultural influences had a decisive impact on individual traits and behavior.[8]

Whereas anthropologists like Boas and Mead referred to different cultures, often in the form of primitive "others," to illustrate the relativity of social norms and individual normality, many sociologists associated with the Chicago School had also emphasized the impact of social environment on individual and group maladjustment, especially among recent immigrant communities in American cities. As early as 1918, William I. Thomas, sociologist at the University of Chicago, and Polish scholar Florian Znaniecki had started to publish their collaborative research on Polish communities. In *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*, they used the frame of personal and social disorganization to explain problems of maladjustment among the Polish immigrants.[9] Often imbued with condescending and assimilatory overtones regarding the immigrant communities, these Chicago school studies nevertheless played a key role in exploring how social conditions influences individual and group behavior.

In the 1910s and 1920s, these anthropological and sociological studies that emphasized the interaction between the individual and socio-cultural conditions mostly worked along different disciplinary lines. Yet in the late 1920s and 1930s, a number of anthropologists, sociologists, psychiatrists, and psychologists sought to bring together this socio-cultural perspective and dynamic psychological inquiry into personality. The arrival of European émigrés with professional training in various psychoanalytical schools and in Gestalt psychology further facilitated cross-fertilization between studies on the human psyche and social conditioning. As sociologist William I. Thomas pointed out in 1928: "in anthropology, psychology, psychiatry,

[8] Mark Anderson, *From Boas to Black Power: Racism, Liberalism, and American Anthropology* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2019), 41-45.
[9] Jean-Michel Chapoulie, *Chicago Sociology* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2019), Chapter 2.

sociology, there has been a convergence of attention on the role of experience, … in the characterization of races and nationalities, social and professional classes, and types of normal and abnormal personality."[10]

Thomas soon joined the Advisory Committee on Personality and Culture appointed by the Social Science Research Council (SSRC) in 1931 and became its field secretary. This Committee aimed to coordinate interdisciplinary studies in the broad field of concentration becoming known as "personality and culture." With funding from the Rockefeller Foundation, the SSRC Committee on Personality and Culture promoted collaborative research projects and publications in this expansive field. A "personality and culture" framework gradually took shape through the network of social scientific experts who shared common interest in this interdisciplinary inquiry.

The framework of "personality and culture" emphasized a cultural perspective on the understanding of personality difference. In his report to the Social Science Research Council, Thomas summarized two fundamentally different conceptions in the study of personality thus far: "the biological and the cultural." He pointed out that the biological conception assumed individual behavioral traits were the result of biological makeups and were predetermined. Social policies based on this conception, therefore, espoused schemes of eugenics, sterilization, and segregation. In contrast, the cultural conception, while recognizing the presence of "a considerable number of organic 'spoils' in the general population," conceived the cases of personality maladjustment as "the result of life-experiences" and were "remediable or evitable through a readjustment of culture situation."[11] Thomas used the Chicago School of sociologists'

[10] William I. Thomas, and Dorothy Swaine Thomas, *The Child in America: Behavior Problems and Programs* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1928), 73.
[11] William I. Thomas, Report to the Social Science Research Council on the Organization of a Program in the Field of Personality and culture, 1933, 2, Social Science Research Council Records, Subseries 22, Box 248, Folder 1475,

studies on delinquency in the 1920s and 1930s to illustrate this cultural conception of personality maladjustment, which he had explored in his earlier work on Polish immigrants.

Under the broad framing of "personality and culture," there existed a variety of positions and approaches. Participants in this broad field did not have a uniform theoretical standpoint or coherent methodology. At least during the interwar years, "personality and culture" school did not exist.[12] Nevertheless, the network of scholars who mobilized under the rubric of "personality and culture" shared the recognition that cultural forces had a significant impact on the shaping and adjustment of individual and group personality. William I. Thomas described the key question that united different aspects of studies under "personality and culture" as follows: "how does the individual adjust himself to the different social patterns present in his culture, and what forms of adjustment are most advantageous to the individual and to society?" The researches that addressed this central question, Thomas opined, should involve investigations into different cultures, the instruments of cultural transmission (education in the broadest sense), the capacity of the individual to be adjusted, the failures of adaptation (problems of crime, alcoholism, and psychoneuroses, for example), and how individuals negotiated changes in cultural situations.[13]

Inspired by this broad research agenda, the SSRC Committee on Personality and Culture launched a series of research projects, conferences, and publications during the 1930s. For instance, a few anthropologists explored personality differences in selected primitive and modern communities in comparative fashion. Investigations into family organization, child development,

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Rockefeller Archive Center, Sleepy Hollow, New York (thereafter Social Science Research Council Records, RAC).

[12] Robert A. Levine, "Culture and Personality Studies, 1918-1960: Myth and History," *Journal of Personality* 69, no.6 (December, 2001): 803-818. In the post-WWII years, cultural anthropologists including Margaret Mead, Ruth Benedict and others would be referred as the "culture and personality" school. Historians and anthropologists have reservations about the implied coherence and unity under this label.

[13] William I. Thomas, Report to the Social Science Research Council on the Organization of a Program in the Field of Personality and culture, 1933, 18, Social Science Research Council Records, Subseries 22, Box 248, Folder 1475, RAC.

and delinquency also fell in line with the general conception of personality and culture.[14] The SSRC also organized a seminar at Yale University's Institute of Human Relations in 1932-33, which trained foreign scholars representing different cultures in the study of the impact of culture on personality. In all of these projects and conferences, participants embraced a more contextual and dynamic look into personality development.[15]

The "personality and culture" framework, with its attentiveness to cultural and social influences on personality, challenged rigid distinctions between a normal and abnormal personality based on biological determinism. However, the way scholars conceived the deterministic relation between personality types and particular cultural patterns had its own ironies. This became evident in how scientists decided who could represent the normal or typical personality in a culture. In 1932, the SSRC formed a Seminar on "the Impact of Culture on Personality." It planned to recruit researchers representing 12-15 cultures to participate in a one-year program. These researchers would explore the development of personality in their respective cultural settings.

In the consideration of a Russian applicant, the "personality and culture" scholars revealed particular ideas about who might represent the quintessential Russianness in that culture. In March 1932, a psychologist from Moscow, USSR, applied to join the Seminar. After reviewing his materials, however, anthropologist Edward Sapir at the Yale Institute of Human Relations told the Rockefeller Foundation officer that he did not think this applicant would suit their purposes. "We already have two Jewish fellows (from other European countries) in the

[14] Report of the Committee on Personality and Culture of the Social Science Research Council, 1933, 3, Social Science Research Council Records, Series 1.02, Box 249, Folder 1479, RAC.
[15] Dennis Bryson, "Personality and Culture, the Social Science Research Council, and Liberal Social Engineering: The Advisory Committee on Personality and Culture, 1930-1934," *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences* 45, no. 4 (Fall 2009): 355-386.

group and I doubt very much whether the present candidate could be considered a genuine exponent of Russian folk culture," he explained. Sapir, a Jewish immigrant from Poland and a former student of Franz Boas, seemed to believe that a Russian-Jewish scholar, due to his minority status, would not be suitable to represent or study the prototypical cultural experience in Russia. This applicant was eventually rejected.[16] His name was Levy S. Vygotsky, who would die shortly of tuberculosis in 1934. Vygotsky's cultural-historical conception of human development — the idea that individual's life activity was shaped by the historical development of culture — would later be rediscovered in Russia and the U.S. in the 1960s and beyond. Ironically, the seminar that proposed to study the impact of culture on personality in the U.S. missed Vygotsky in the early 1930s due to a rigid conception of the representative Russian culture and personality type. This tendency to conflate the dominant group(s) in a society with their culture pattern ran through the "personality and culture" studies during this time.

2. The Progressive Education Association's Study on "Normal" Adolescent Personality

The cultural perspective of the study of personality emerged when Depression-era youth problems stirred a new interest in the exploration of adolescence. During this period, prominent professional education organizations shared a growing interest in youth problems and proposed a number of educational solutions. Aside from the economic crisis and its impact on the youth labor market, many educators felt especially threatened by the radicalization of young people they saw in the U.S. and abroad. The rise of the Hitler youth, for example, fed American educators' anxiety about the socialization of young people in and outside of schools. This anxiety was prevalent in a series of reports and studies conducted by professional education organizations such as the National Education Association, the Progressive Education

[16] Correspondence between Lawrence K. Frank and Edward Sapir, March 23, 1932, May 20, 1932, Rockefeller Foundation Records, Series 200, Box 408, Folder 4829, RAC.

Association, and the American Council on Education.[17] "Decreasing economic opportunity has not only brought defeat to large portions of the population and deeply felt insecurity to all; indirectly, through this defeat and insecurity, it has brought in its wake the profoundest threats to which democracy in this country has yet been subject," the Progressive Education Association's Commission on Secondary School Curriculum proclaimed. Witnessing "institutionalized, anti-democratic ideologies" that rose in different countries and threatened "by contagion to American democracy," this Commission called for schools to discover new ways to help young people preserve the democratic way of life.[18]

Partly because of this anxiety over cultural disintegration and its impact on young people and partly owing to shared funding sources by the various Rockefeller philanthropic foundations, educational investigations conducted by these professional associations started to adopt a "personality and culture" approach in their examination of adolescents and their schooling. In particular, two studies in the New Deal era exemplified the promises and limits of the new cultural emphasis on personality study. This section will focus on the Progressive Education Association's Committee on the Study of Adolescents. The next section will focus on the American Youth Commission's study on African American youths.

The Progressive Education Association (PEA) established a Commission on Secondary School Curriculum in 1932 to develop a program for the reorganization of secondary education. The Commission worked closely with the famed PEA Commission on the Relation of School and College, which conducted the Eight-Year Study, an experimental project that explored

[17] In addition to the PEA's and AYC's investigations into youth problems, which will be the main focuses in this chapter, the NEA's Department of Superintendence also created a Commission on Youth Problem in 1934. The report of this Commission, *Youth Education Today*, came out in 1938.
[18] V. T. Thayer, Caroline B. Zachry, and Ruth Kotinsky, *Reorganizing Secondary Education* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1939), 9-11.

innovative curriculum (often a core curriculum) that did not include traditional college admission requirements.[19] Initially, the Commission on Secondary School Curriculum consisted of a few sub-committees in different subject-matter areas such as literature, science, and social studies. They soon realized that to offer a blueprint for the reorganization of secondary education required an understanding of adolescents' needs and present American culture.[20] Hence the Commission established a new Committee on the Study of Adolescents in 1934 that was chaired by Caroline B. Zachry.

Before becoming the chairman of this Committee, Zachry had been the director of the Mental Hygiene Department at Montclair State Teachers College, New Jersey, where she also ran a child guidance clinic. A graduate of Teachers College, Columbia University, in 1928 and a lay psychoanalyst, Zachry was an expert in the use of mental hygiene and psychiatric knowledge in guidance work and teacher education. Her dissertation, under the supervision of William H. Kilpatrick, focused on the problems of personality adjustment among school children. Looking at school children's emotional and social problems from the perspective of mental hygiene, Zachry argued that the school should control the environment to provide the best opportunities for the development and adjustment of a normal personality.[21] In the Committee on the Study of Adolescents, Zachry would combine the mental hygiene perspective with a sensibility about the impact of culture on personality adjustment.

The Network of Experts in "Personality and Culture" Inquiry

[19] See Craig Kridel, Robert V. Bullough Jr., and John I. Goodlad, *Stories of the Eight-Year Study: Reexamining Secondary Education in America* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2007).
[20] Commission on Secondary School Curriculum, Minutes of Meeting, May 11-12, 1935, 1, General Education Board Records, Subseries 1.2, Box 280, Folder 2917, RAC."
[21] Caroline B. Zachry, *Personality Adjustment of School Children* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1929).

Starting in 1934, the Committee on the Study of Adolescents (also known as the Zachry Committee) conducted intensive studies of more than two hundred students from grade seven to the sophomore year in college. From 1934 to 1940, the General Education Board appropriated $360,000 for the Commission on Secondary School Curriculum, from which about half went into the Adolescent Study project. The Zachry Committee adopted the broad framework of "personality and culture" in their research on adolescent needs. As Zachry explained, they intended to study "the all-round development of a limited group of adolescents" and "the culture that is impinging on them."[22] In fact, the Zachry Committee was among the first to use the term "social-emotional development" in its research agenda. Its members believed that social-emotional development should work hand-in-hand with intellectual development and physical development in adolescence.[23]

By this time, the General Education Board (GEB) had sponsored a variety of child development research projects in addition to the PEA Study of Adolescence. As mentioned in chapter 1, the GEB carried over the child development research funding under the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial Fund in the 1920s. Lawrence K. Frank, who had overseen this strand of funding since 1924, continued to manage and expand the foundation's sponsorship of various child research institutions. In the 1920s, these institutions engaged in research projects that were overwhelmingly concentrated on early childhood period and physical growth. In contrast, during and after the Great Depression, Frank consciously promoted more projects related to adolescents and their personality development under the GEB's patronage.

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[22] Caroline B. Zachry, "A Progress Report on the Study of Adolescents," *Progressive Education* 12 (Nov., 1935): 484.

[23] V. T. Thayer, Suggested Annual Budget, Nov.4, 1935, General Education Board Records, Subseries 1.2, Box 279, Folder. 2912, RAC. Also see V. T. Thayer, Caroline B. Zachry, and Ruth Kotinsky, *Reorganizing Secondary Education*, 98.

In addition to the field of child development research, Frank was deeply involved in the interdisciplinary study of "personality and culture" and in the GEB's sponsorship on professional education organizations including the Progressive Education Association and the American Council on Education. From the end of the 1920s to the mid-1930s, Frank participated in most of the activities that led to the formation of the SSRC Committee on Personality and Culture and was pivotal in organizing various conferences on "personality and culture."[24] Frank's strategic position at the intersection of child development research, "personality and culture" studies, and professional educational organizations enabled him to build bridges for researchers across different projects and fields.[25]

Through the networks of experts in education and social sciences constructed by Lawrence K. Frank and other GEB officers, the PEA Committee on the Study of Adolescents maintained a close relation with many leading researchers in the field of "personality and culture." Over the course of the adolescent study project (1934-1939), the Committee recruited research workers and consultants from a variety of backgrounds, including educators, psychologists, psychiatrists, physicians, anthropologists, sociologists, and psychiatric social workers.[26] Notably, a cohort of European émigrés with direct experience with Freudian or Jungian psychoanalysis and other psychological innovations engaged in the Zachry Committee's research activities and seminars. They included Erik Homburger (who later changed his name to

[24] Personality: Impact on Culture Seminar, multiple items, Lawrence K. Frank Papers, Box 20, Folder 12-17, History of Medicine Division, National Library of Medicine, Bethesda, MD.
[25] See Dennis Raymond Bryson, *Lawrence K. Frank: Architect of Child Development, Prophet of Bio-Technocracy* (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California, Irvine, 1993). After Frank left the Rockefeller Foundation for the Josiah Macy Foundation in 1936, Robert J. Havighurst took over the administer of GEB funding on child development research and educational organizations. He was also deeply involved in various research projects by the Progressive Education Association and the American Council on Education. Havighurst later became a professor in the Committee on Human Development at the University of Chicago.
[26] Robert J. Havighurst, Appraisal: Progressive Education Association – Commission on Secondary School Curriculum, 1940, General Education Board Records, Subseries 1.2, Box 279, Folder 2914, RAC.

Erik Erikson), Peter Blos, Bruno Klopfer, Fritz Redl, Karen Horney, and Eric Fromm. At the same time, cultural anthropologists Margaret Mead, Edward Sapir, and Ruth Benedict played a significant consulting role in the Zachry Committee.[27]

In fall 1936, Caroline Zachry started to organize weekly seminars on the study of adolescents, exploring theories and techniques of adolescence study. To some extent, these seminars became a platform for the exchange of new approaches under the broad frame of "personality and culture." A closely-knit network of psychiatrists, psychologists, anthropologists, and sociologists explored and shared new ideas and methods on the study of the "whole personality in context." For example, Fritz Redl, a psychologist from Vienna who trained with Anna Freud and August Aichhorn, presented the Freudian concept of personality in Zachry's seminar.[28] Erik Homburger (Erikson) was a frequent visitor to Zachry's Adolescent Study Seminar in 1936-1937. During this time, he worked in the Psychological Clinic at Harvard and the Yale Institute of Human Relations, experimenting with the "play technique" as a means of analyzing young people's personality. Erikson also assisted in the Zachry Committee's study of case histories at the Bronxville Public Schools.[29] R. Nevitt Sanford, a staff member in the Harvard Psychological Clinic during the mid-1930s and one of the authors of the classic study *The Authoritarian Personality* (1950), presented his study on pre-adolescent groups in the Shady Hill School (a private school in Cambridge). At this point, Sanford just started to experiment with a few different projective tests of personality, such as the Thematic Apperception Test,

[27] V. T. Thayer to Robert J. Havighurst, October 5, 1940, Table I Personnel, General Education Board Records, Subseries 1.2, Box 279, Folder 2914, RAC.
[28] Flora M. Rhind, Dr. Zachry's Seminar on the Study of Adolescents, January 7, 1937, General Education Board Records, Subseries 1.2, Box 280, Folder 2925, RAC.
[29] Flora M. Rhind, Dr. Zachry's Adolescent Study Seminar, March 25, 1937, General Education Board Records, Subseries 1.2, Box 280, Folder 2925, RAC.

Rorschach Test, and Sentence Completion Test.[30] In sum, these seminars became an intellectual ferment for a dynamic approach to analyzing personality.

Personality as a Dynamic Whole

Reports and publications from the Committee on the Study of Adolescents emphasized the uniqueness of personality in the context of individual growth experience as well as interactions with social and cultural influences. As the Committee staff frequently stated, the individual "responds in every situation as a whole personality."[31] This whole personality was not regarded as reducible to distinct or unitary traits. Instead, "the individual must be conceived as a functionally interrelated whole, a complex organism which has passed through a developmental history and responds at any given moment to an array of inner and outer forces."[32]

The best way to analyze the total personality, therefore, was by way of a holistic case history investigation into the individual in various social settings. Peter Blos prepared a monograph, *The Adolescent Personality* for the Zachry Committee. It was an example of the case history approach. Before immigrating to the U.S. in 1934 to escape the rise of Nazism, Peter Blos lived in Vienna and worked closely with the Vienna psychoanalytic circle. From 1927 to 1932, Blos recruited his childhood friend Erik Erikson to work with Anna Freud in creating the Hitting School based on psychoanalytical principles.[33] In *The Adolescent Personality*, Blos illustrated the dynamic or "organismic" approach to personality. His case histories utilized an array of interconnected materials that provided contextual references for individual behavior,

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[30] Flora M. Rhind, Dr. Zachry's Seminar on the Study of Adolescents, April 15, 1937, General Education Board Records, Subseries 1.2, Box 280, Folder 2925, RAC.
[31] Caroline B. Zachry and Margaret Lighty. *Emotion and Conduct in Adolescence: For the Commission on Secondary School Curriculum* (New York: D. Appleton, 1940), 4
[32] Peter Blos, *The Adolescent Personality: A Study of Individual Behavior of the Commission on Secondary School Curriculum* (New York: D. Appleton, 1941), 11
[33] Lawrence J. Friedman, *Identity's Architect: A Biography of Erik H. Erikson* (New York: Scribner, 1999), Chapter 2. Elizabeth Ann Danto and Alexandra Steiiner-Strauss, eds., *Freud/Tiffany: Anna Freud, Dorothy Tiffany Burlingham and 'The Best Possible School'* (New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2019).

including interviews, creative writings, physical examinations, teachers' reports, socio-cultural descriptions of schools, family, and community, and personality tests. To Blos, different case materials should never be treated in isolated fashion. Rather, the goal was to "relate them in their dynamic interaction."[34]

To some extent, this case history method was similar to the kind of clinical examination promoted by child guidance clinicians since the 1920s. While child guidance clinics focused on the so-called "problem children," experts in this Committee aimed to gain first-hand understanding of "normal" adolescents. Meanwhile, Caroline Zachry argued that their case histories had more meaning than the average child guidance histories "because we read our histories in the larger setting of the school and the community." Their emphasis was "on the individual or the family or the school in a larger context."[35] The Committee believed that an understanding of the immediate culture adolescents lived in was essential to an understanding of "normal" adolescents' needs, which would then guide in the development of school curricula.

Who were those "normal" adolescents? A majority of the adolescents studied by the Zachry Committee came from selective "progressive schools" and liberal arts colleges largely located in the East Coast. Progressive schools were often private schools that experimented with or adopted progressive pedagogical methods. Those schools were also core participants in the Eight-Year Study on the relation between high school and college. For instance, the Ethical Culture Fieldston School, Bronxville Public Schools, Ohio State University School, and Sarah Lawrence College (freshmen girls) were the sites of the adolescent study from the beginning and supplied more than 200 individual cases. As Zachry herself acknowledged, the adolescents in

[34] Peter Blos, *The Adolescent Personality*, 12
[35] Caroline Zachry, A Progress Report on the Study of Adolescents, 1935, General Education Board Records, Subseries 1.2, Box 278, Folder 2898, RAC.

these schools were "socially and economically one-sided."[36] That is to say, most students came from a middle and upper-middle class background.

In the Bronxville study, for example, sociologists found the "immediate culture area affecting the Bronxville students" belonged to a homogeneous upper-middle class culture. Bruce L. Smith, a newly-graduated PhD from the University of Chicago, collected data regarding the Bronxville community. It included parental occupations, intellectual interest, magazines at home, club and church affiliation, entertainment, home ownership and so on. He concluded by noting the homogeneity of the community. The residents came from the upper-middle class and the public schools functioned like "a private preparatory school for the children of comfortable business and professional people."[37]

To compensate for the socio-economic bias in their selection of study subjects, the Zachry Committee tried to select groups of youths from different backgrounds. For example, they conducted studies of around twenty boys in the School for Printers' Apprentices, an evening school in New York City. They also selected a group of 100 male youths from the Civilian Conservation Camp in Maine. But these groups were not studied as intensively as the progressive school and college groups.[38] Ultimately, white and Jewish[39] adolescents from middle and upper-middle classes constituted the core of so-called "normal" adolescents studied by the Zachry Committee. The Progressive Education Association's Commission on Secondary School Curriculum proposed a guideline for curriculum reorganization based on this group of students.

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[36] Commission on Secondary School Curriculum, Minutes of Meeting, May 11-12, 1935, 6, General Education Board Records, Subseries 1.2, Box 280, Folder 2917, RAC.
[37] Flora M. Rhind, Dr. Zachry's Adolescent Study Seminar, March 18, 1937, General Education Board Records, Subseries 1.2, Box 280, Folder 2925, RAC.
[38] Robert J. Havighurst, Telephone Conversation with Dr. Caroline Zachry, March 28, 1935, General Education Board Records, Subseries 1.2, Box 280, Folder 2924, RAC.
[39] The Ethical Culture Fieldston School had a majority of Jewish students. During this period, the boundary between "white" and "Jewish" was fluid. See Matthew F. Jacobson, *Whiteness of A Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998).

The Zachry Committee stood opposed to the statistical approach to personality study. As Wilma Lloyd, a researcher for the Zachry Committee, commented:

> "The statistical approach has disintegrated the personality, abstracted certain aspects of it, devised tests which were supposed to test these aspects, given these tests to great numbers, treated the results according to the normal curve of distribution, and applied the conclusions to the testing of an individual. This was based on a purely atomistic, mechanistic theory."[40]

Lloyd believed that the statistical approach detached the individual from his or her full social context. In contrast, she claimed that "our theory holds that the whole is greater than the sum of its parts and that we must think of personality as a dynamic whole expressing itself in a quality or style which colors every act and which is unique for each individual."[41]

For Wilma Lloyd, one major pitfall of so-called "objective" personality testing was how much researchers distrusted teachers' judgments. This created a negative emotional response among teachers: the "timidity of teachers is having far more serious effects since testing has turned its attention to personality."[42] Lloyd and others acknowledged that some testing techniques — notably the Rorschach and the Thematic Apperception Tests — if administered and interpreted by trained personnel in a school that had the time and equipment, could potentially contribute valuable supplementary insights into the adolescent personality. However, they didn't believe various supplementary information should take the place of "the person-to-person responsiveness of the trained educator in the presence of the student."[43] In other words,

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[40] Wilma Lloyd, Outline for Cornell Research, 1, General Education Board Records, Subseries 1.2, Box 281 F2927, RAC.
[41] Wilma Lloyd, Outline for Cornell Research, 1, General Education Board Records, Subseries 1.2, Box 281 F2927, RAC.
[42] Excerpt from Wilma Lloyd's unpublished book, in Caroline B. Zachry and Margaret Lighty. *Emotion and Conduct in Adolescence*, 18.
[43] Caroline B. Zachry and Margaret Lighty, *Emotion and Conduct in Adolescence*, 23

teachers should assume a central and intimate role in understanding and fulfilling the needs of the adolescent personality.

Wilma Lloyd also scrutinized the notion of "objectivity" in personality studies. She deemed the subjective as inevitable: "one could not exclude the observer from the observed." "What an observer saw was a measure of himself as well as of the thing seen," she stated.[44] The best way to reconcile this problem was not standardization or quantification, but to include the act of observing and the role of the observer in scientific procedures. In the Bronxville School study, Wilma Lloyd's take on "objectivity" ultimately led her and another researcher to receive the Rorschach test themselves and included their own personality analysis in the study records.[45]

For researchers in the Zachry Committee, the only promising testing regime to study personality was projective techniques like the Rorschach test. As mentioned in chapter 3, in the 1930s, psychologists and psychiatrists increasingly saw the benefit of projective tests – tests that used ambivalent images to evoke the subject's responses – to evaluate personality. In fact, one of the participants of the adolescent study, Bruno Klopfer, played a significant role in the transmission of the Rorschach test in the United States during the 1930s. It was thus not surprising that the Rorschach test was a prominent instrument in the Committee's work. Klopfer fled Nazi Germany in 1933, stayed in Switzerland for a year when he gained knowledge of the Rorschach method, and arrived in Brooklyn in 1934 with copies of Rorschach inkblots in his brief case.[46] To Klopfer, the Rorschach "lies on middle ground between objective tests (intelligence quotients, achievement scores, and personality inventories) on the one hand, and

[44] Wilma Lloyd, Outline for Bronxville Research, 1, General Education Board Records, Subseries 1.2, Box 281 Folder 2927, RAC.
[45] Wilma Lloyd, Outline for Bronxville Research, 1-3, General Education Board Records, Subseries 1.2, Box 281 Folder 2927, RAC.
[46] Rebecca Lemov, "X-Rays of Inner Worlds: The Mid-20th-Century American Project Test Movement," *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences* 47, no.3 (2011): 258.

free observation (for example, teachers' descriptions) on the other."[47] In the PEA's Study of Adolescents, Klopfer assisted in administering the Rorschach test to 40 students from the Bronxville High School, 20 students from Sarah Lawrence College, and 24 students from the Fieldston School. Still, the Rorschach constituted one of the many methods researchers utilized in the adolescent study. The staff tried to integrate the findings from various methods, including observations, interviews, art interpretation, creative writing, projective tests, and graphology.[48] No one assumed one set of tests alone would reveal the whole picture of adolescent personality.

The Secondary School and Socially Constructive Adjustments

After five years of intensive studies of these adolescents, the Zachry Committee and the PEA Commission on Secondary School Curriculum put forward their blueprint for curriculum reorganization to fit the "normal" adolescent's needs. "The chief duty of the school is to give the help young people need in order to make socially constructive adjustments in the course of their growth," Caroline Zachry announced.[49] Based on the Zachry Committee's study of adolescents, the Commission on Secondary School Curriculum defined adolescent needs and adjustments in terms of different layers of social relations. This included knowledge about personal and immediate social relationships, including the needs of heterosexual adjustment, one's identification with gender roles, and an appreciation for wider social and economic relationships

[47] Bruno Klopfer, The Rorschach Test, General Education Board Records, Subseries 1.2, Box 281 Folder 2927, RAC. Klopfer also played a key role in the standardization of the Rorschach. In 1942, together with his colleagues in the Rorschach Institute, Klopfer published a standardized "Rorschach Method of Personality Diagnosis." Yet this standardization was more of an attempt to systemize the procedures among examiners by unifying the scoring categories, the tabulation of various scores, and the general principles of interpretation. Still, controversies surrounded the standardization of the Rorschach method. As Klopfer pointed out, there were some "Rorschachists who consider the procedure of scoring and interpretation a 'sacred art'." They did not want to change anything as it was left by the original creator Hermann Rorschach, who died in 1922. See Bruno Klopfer, "Shall the Rorschach Method be Standardized?" *Rorschach Research Exchange* 3, no.2 (1939), 45.

[48] Bruno Klopfer, The Rorschach Test, General Education Board Records, Subseries 1.2, Box 281 Folder 2927, RAC.

[49] Caroline B. Zachry and Margaret Lighty, *Emotion and Conduct in Adolescence*, 1.

such as community life and vocational roles.[50] These human relationships were the media of cultural influences that shaped the adolescent personality. The school should better guide adolescents as they matured and became more self-aware about human relations.

In fact, "human relations" became the key organizing principle on which the PEA planned to reorganize the secondary school curriculum. At the same time, as the Zachry Committee conducted intensive case studies on selected groups of adolescents, the Progressive Education Association organized another Commission on Human Relations, which dedicated its work to organizing teaching materials in that area. The broadly conceived field of human relations covered topics such as family roles, sexual maturation, individual difference, socialization, and group experiences. The Commission on Human Relations worked closed with the Zachry Committee and drew upon the interdisciplinary field of "personality and culture." The original materials this Commission worked on came directly from the human relations seminar that Lawrence K. Frank organized in 1934. Psychiatrists, psychologists, anthropologists, educators, and sociologists had met in Hanover, New Hampshire, home to Dartmouth College, and they compiled thousands of pages of outlines for "human relations." These scientific experts and educators believed that the teaching of human relations in high schools and colleges could "guide the individual toward a richer, happier life in a saner society."[51]

The focus on individuals' socially constructive adjustments to different forms of human relations revealed the various PEA Commissions' perception of the role schools should play in negotiating the relation between the individual and society. Heading into the second decade of the Progressive Education Association, the champions of the progressive education movement in

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[50] V. T. Thayer, Caroline B. Zachry, and Ruth Kotinsky, *Reorganizing Secondary Education*, 118-148.
[51] Statement of the Human Relations Seminar, 1934, 1, General Education Board Records, Subseries 1.3, Box 376, Folder 3930, RAC.

the United States experienced significant differences in terms of principles and directions. In 1932, George Counts famously challenged the PEA audience by asking "dare the school to build a new social order?" Progressive educators who were branded as the social reconstructionists argued that schools and teachers should lead their ways in the reconstruction of the social order.[52] Yet for the PEA Commissions on Secondary School Curriculum and Human Relations, their position was more concerned with understanding the nature of the personality, the school, and the social order. They did not believe that schools should try to radically reconstruct the society. Instead, schools should help pupils maintain an integrated personality in the face of a shifting social order. As V. T. Thayer, chairman of the Commission on the Secondary School Curriculum, stated in one of his reports, "the school is not the place within which changes in the social order can be undertaken. It is rather an institution dedicated to the task of training individuals in ways which will enable them to utilize fully, with constructiveness and imagination, the social forms which society has developed through a long and varying history."[53]

Thayer thought that in a time of "social dislocation," it was the school's responsibility to make sure its structure and functions were "well articulated with the other social institutions" students would have to participate in as adults. He expected "the most important responsibility of the citizen of tomorrow will be his ability to adapt existing social forms to new conditions at a minimum of social cost."[54] Therefore, the most important task of the school was to "prepare individuals who will be the fit carriers and developers of our tradition." In other words, it was the

[52] Herbert M. Kliebard, *The Struggles for the American Curriculum, 1893-1958* (New York: RoutledgeFalmer, 2004) 162-163.
[53] V. T. Thayer, Letter to the General Education Board, November 4, 1935, 5, General Education Board Records, Subseries 1.2, Box 279, Folder 2912, RAC.
[54] V. T. Thayer, Letter to the General Education Board, November 4, 1935, 6, General Education Board Records, Subseries 1.2, Box 279, Folder 2912, RAC.

school's responsibility to facilitate satisfactory adjustment between the individual and the social order without posing significant challenge to either side.

The Zachry Committee also viewed various adjustments to oneself, one's family, social groups, the opposite sex, and the society as markers of "social maturity."[55] In one of its conferences, a member inquired if these adjustments denoted a passive attitude of acquiescence of social conditions instead of attempts to improve the society. Zachry replied with three main points: first, she thought adjustment was a dynamic process. It did not mean purely acceptance of social norms as if one was a "turtle." Second, an individual is not mature "unless he can adjust to change." Third, an individual "must adjust to society as it is now in order to be able to change it. If he is maladjusted, he will go to pieces, be powerless to change it."[56] To Zachry, the most important purpose of education was to build up "an integrated personality."[57] Constant adjustment to the current social order would help prevent a disintegrated personality.

However, there was a fine line between conforming to current social order and adjusting to the social order but with room to change it. This ambiguity was reflected in the discussion on adolescents' adjustment to different gender roles by the Zachry Committee and the Commission on Secondary School Curriculum. On the one hand, committee members acknowledged that cultural prescriptions regarding masculinity and femininity were in flux. Women's expanded participation in the workplace especially since World War I had changed cultural perceptions of their roles and the norms of femininity. Likewise, men were increasingly uncertain of their roles in this time of cultural confusion. On the other hand, the Commission suggested, while times

[55] Caroline Zachry, Report of the Committee on Adolescent Study, 1937, 29, General Education Board Records, Subseries 1.2, Box 280, Folder 2926, RAC.
[56] Commission on Secondary School Curriculum, Minutes of Meeting, May 11-12, 1935, 7, General Education Board Records, Subseries 1.2, Box 280, Folder 2917, RAC.
[57] Flora M. Rhind, Dr. Zachry's Seminar on the Study of Adolescents, October 8, 1936, General Education Board Records, Subseries 1.2, Box 280, Folder 2925, RAC.

were changing, adjusting to existing gender roles would facilitate adolescents to successfully adapt to whatever new roles emerged. They argued that "the very fact that it is no longer possible to say with any finality just what constitutes the role and the demeanor of a man or a woman makes it particularly important that the adolescent come to feel himself a member of his own sex group." Therefore, "even if a boy cannot be sure what it culturally expected of a man, he must come to feel himself a man among men, his conduct acceptably masculine."[58]

In general, this group of educators prioritized an integrated personality amidst cultural changes. Adjusting to current social and cultural norms instead of defying them was the safe and efficient option for individual. Because it based the study of "normal" adolescents on students from distinctively privileged social and cultural backgrounds, the committee seemed confident that adjusting to the current social order would neither harm the pupil nor undermine social stability.

To some extent, the immediate impact of the PEA's adolescent study on secondary education in the United States was limited. The position of these educators within the broader progressive education camp as well as among professional education experts was controversial. People within the broad progressive education camp accused the Zachry Committee and the Commission on Secondary School Curriculum of being overtly child-centered and sentimentalist. In 1934, Boyd H. Bode, Professor of Education at the Ohio State University met with the General Education Board officers who oversaw PEA funding, and he expressed his discontent with the Commission on Secondary School Curriculum. A disciple of John Dewey, Bode was deeply involved in the Progressive Education Association and originally participated

[58] V. T. Thayer, Caroline B. Zachry, and Ruth Kotinsky, *Reorganizing Secondary Education,* 127.

in the PEA Commission on Secondary School Curriculum. But he withdrew from active work on that Commission at the end of 1933.[59]

Bode complained that most of the members in that Commission were "far too sentimentally child-centered, with little conception of the importance of helping children straighten out their moral, political, and social thought-patterns." He argued that Thayer's Commission was dominated by the attitude of the psychiatrist." They had little regard for the intellectual aspects of education as against the emotional.[60] A few years later, Bode would further elaborate this critique in his book *Progressive Education at the Crossroads* (1938). In this book, Bode contended that the rhetoric of "respect for personality" only camouflaged a "sentimentality" about children which led to "a lot of unedifying fussiness."[61] He argued that it was misleading to assume that the studies on the needs of adolescence should determine the direction of curriculum making:

> "The insistence that we must stick uncompromisingly at all times to the 'needs' of childhood has bred a spirit of anti-intellectualism, which is reflected in the reliance on improvising instead of long-range organization, in the overemphasis of the here and now, in the indiscriminate tirades against 'subjects,' in the absurdities of pupil-planning, and in the lack of continuity in the education program. It has frequently resulted in an unhealthy attitude towards children, an attitude which suggests that there is no such thing as a normal child, and that we must be everlastingly exploring his insides, like a Calvinist taking himself apart day after day to discover evidences of sin."[62]

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[59] V. T. Thayer, Letter to Edmund E. Day, January 3, 1934, 1, General Education Board Records, Subseries 1.2, Box 279, Folder 2911, RAC.
[60] Robert J. Havighurst, Memo on Conference with Professor Body Bode, October 23, 1934, General Education Board Records, Subseries 1.2, Box 279, Folder 2911, RAC.
[61] Boyd H. Bode, *Progressive Education at the Crossroads* (New York and Chicago: Newson & Company, 1938), 10-11.
[62] Boyd H. Bode, *Progressive Education at the Crossroads* (New York and Chicago: Newson & Company, 1938), 67-71.

Members of the PEA Commission on Secondary School Curriculum, however, did not agree with Bode's characterization. In his letter to GEB officer Edmund E. Day, V. T. Thayer, the chairman of the Commission on Secondary School Curriculum, explained that "concentration upon adolescent needs is not the same thing as a child-centered point of view."[63] As we can see from Commission's view regarding the role of schools in facilitating social adjustment, the Thayer Commission and the Zachry Committee did have a social philosophy. This social philosophy, however, was highly individualistic in terms of their emphasis on the need for an integrated personality in a time of social change.

But Thayer's explanation did not seem to impress Day. In fact, as a resident and member on the Board of Education in Bronxville, New York, Day was leaning toward assuming a critical stance on the child-centered educational experiment current in the Bronxville schools. The schools were participants of the PEA adolescent study.[64] In 1936, Day overheard that Karl Bigelow, a professor from Teachers College, Columbia, and the newly appointed chairman of social studies committee under the Thayer Commission, experienced a "massacre" in the discussion of his proposed outline for social studies. Day was not surprised at all. He informed Bigelow, "now you can get to know what is really meant by the child-centered school and the child-centered educator. The chances are that you ran somewhat innocently into one of the most strongly held machine-gun nests on the entire educational front."[65] In general, outsiders still perceived the Zachry Committee and the Commission on Secondary School Curriculum as overly child-centered.

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[63] V. T. Thayer, Letter to Edmund E. Day, October 9, 1935, General Education Board Records, Subseries 1.2, Box 279, Folder 2912, RAC.
[64] Claudia Keenan, *Portrait of a Lighthouse School: Public Education in Bronxville, New York* (The Bronxville School History Committee, 1997), 84.
[65] Edmund E. Day, Letter to Karl Bigelow, November 20, 1936, General Education Board Records, Subseries 1.2, Box 279, Folder 2913, RAC.

The Zachry Committee's close association with the Jewish psychoanalytic community from Europe also raised concerns among some educational experts. To many educational experts at this time, the nuanced differences between European psychoanalytic schools, American dynamic psychiatry and mental hygiene, and other social psychological approaches, were not appreciated. They easily lumped them together as part of Freudianism. In 1939, W. B. Townsend, a professor of school administration and the director of Guidance Laboratory at Teachers College, Columbia University, sent a letter to GEB officer Albert R. Mann. Townsend expressed his opposition to the findings of the Zachry Committee. In his eyes, it was "doing what I feel is enough to make any Christian turn over in his grave." Particularly, he complained that Zachry's seminars and "a group of Jewish Austrians were training a group to act as messengers of the good tidings."[66] The Committee seemed to "feel that its job is to shove Freud down the throats of the school people," which Townsend deplored. By this time, Zachry's seminar and the case histories from the PEA Adolescent Study had attracted several faculty members and students from the Teachers College. However, according to GEB officer Robert Havighurst, the Guidance Department at Teachers College was "violently split on the usefulness of the mental hygiene approach in guidance." Townsend probably belonged to the anti-mental hygiene group and was vigilant about the spread of "Freudian doctrines" into the field of education.[67]

Immediate products of the PEA Commissions' investigations also appeared to be diffuse. In his appraisal of the work by the Commission on Secondary School Curriculum, Robert Havighurst lamented that "the Adolescent Study has the virtues and the faults of its director, Dr. Zachry." To his eyes, the work had lacked "the structure and organization which a better

[66] W. B. Townsend, Letter to Albert R. Mann, November 9, 1939, General Education Board Records, Subseries 1.2, Box 280, Folder 2925, RAC.
[67] Robert J. Havighurst, Letter to Albert R. Mann, November 15, 1939, General Education Board Records, Subseries 1.2, Box 204, Folder 1948, RAC.

administrator and a more logical mind would have given to it."[68] As a result, among a long list of volumes to be published by members of the adolescent study staff, only two books were eventually published: one was *The Adolescent Personality* by Peter Blos, and another by Zachry and Lighty called *Emotion and Conduct in Adolescence*.[69] Publication plans by Wilma Lloyd and others never came through.

On the other hand, the marginal place of the Zachry Committee within progressive education and established educational scholarship did not tell the full story. As Havighurst pointed out, in spite of the problems of administration, the Adolescent Study was "remarkably influential through the personal contacts of its director and staff." By the end of the PEA Adolescent Study, Caroline Zachry's professional reputation grew significantly. In late 1938, Robert and Helen Lynd, authors of *Middletown* and founding members of Sarah Lawrence College, met with the GEB officers and explored the possibility of establishing an interdisciplinary institute on personality study at Columbia University with Zachry in charge.[70] When the GEB funding fell through, Zachry received $100,000 from an anonymous donor to establish a Seminar on the Study of Personality Development.[71] She worked with New York University as well as Vassar College during 1939-1940, where she organized a "Guidance Seminar" for teachers and guidance workers.

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[68] Robert Havighurst, Appraisal on the Commission on Secondary School Curriculum, Nov. 27, 1940, 2, General Education Board Records, Subseries 1.2, Box 279, Folder 2914, RAC.
[69] Flora M. Rhind, Dr. Zachry's Seminar P.E.A. Study of Adolescents, January 5, 1939, General Education Board Records, Subseries 1.2, Box 280, Folder 2925, RAC.
[70] Robert J. Havighurst, Discussion with Robert and Helen Lynd concerning the Use of the Material from the PEA Adolescent Study, December 20, 1938, General Education Board Records, Subseries 1.2, Box 280, Folder 2925, RAC. Robert J. Havighurst, Meeting of the Continuing Committee of the Progressive Education Association Commission on Secondary School Curriculum, May 26, 1939, General Education Board Records, Subseries 1.2, Box 280, Folder 2925, RAC.
[71] Robert J. Havighurst, Appraisal on the Commission on Secondary School Curriculum, Nov. 27, 1940, 3, General Education Board Records, Subseries 1.2, Box 279, Folder 2914, RAC.

In the field of education, The American Council on Education's Commission on Teacher Education eventually took over substantive case materials from the PEA's Adolescent Study.[72] Daniel Prescott, then a professor at the University of Chicago, led the Division of Human Growth and Development under the American Council of Education's Commission on Teacher Education. Through the network of teacher education stations in different universities and summer workshops, they kept using the Zachry Committee's materials in the transmission of knowledge regarding adolescent personality and social-emotional development.

More importantly, the banner of child-centered progressives overlooked the influential network of social scientific experts and educators that surrounded the Zachry Committee. To some extent, the Zachry Committee became a springboard for many mid-20th century scholars who rose to stardom during and after the Second World War, including Erik Erikson, Peter Blos, Margaret Mead, and Benjamin Spock, who was in charge of physiological study of adolescence for the Zachry committee. The same group would continue to play a key role in the formulation of theories and policies regarding child development and education during and after the Second World War.

3. The American Youth Commission's Study on Personality Maladjustment among Black Youth

The Zachry Committee based their studies of "normal" adolescents on a selected group of white and Jewish middle and upper-middle class students. Paradoxically, owing to the small number of research subjects and the ready acceptance of experimental methods by school administrators and parents in these schools, the Zachry Committee was able to overcome the existing, often rigid personality testing regime and explored a more dynamic and holistic way to

[72] Flora M. Rhind, Dr. Caroline Zachry PEA Adolescent Study, January 30, 1940, General Education Board Records, Subseries 1.2, Box 280, Folder 2925, RAC.

understanding personality. When applying this dynamic view of personality and culture to different social and racial groups, however, there emerged a different take on the malleability of personality and individual agency under the impact of culture. Whereas the Zachy Committee emphasized the uniqueness of adolescent personality as a whole in the context of cultural influences, when researchers examined the personality adjustment of African American youths under racial segregation, they deemed the impact of culture to be more deterministic and their personality more decidedly maladjusted.

From 1937 to 1940, The American Youth Commission, under the American Council on Education, launched a "Negro Youth Study" project to investigate the effects of African American youth's minority racial status upon their personality development.[73] The project received $110,000 in financial support from the General Education Board between 1938 and 1940.[74] Starting in 1935, the American Youth Commission (AYC) conducted researches on various youth problems with the goal to develop "a comprehensive program for the care and education of American youth." Similar to the PEA Commission on Secondary School Curriculum, the AYC assumed that the development of such a program required knowledge of the needs of youth and an evaluation of present institutions serving these needs. Their research projects thus included studies on unemployment, health, and case studies on youth needs in different types of communities.

In 1936, a group of African American educators urged the AYC to make a special study of African American youth and their needs during a time of severe economic depression and political oppression in a segregated system. It was possible that in their request to conduct the

[73] Robert L. Sutherland, Report on the Negro Youth Study, 1, General Education Board Records, Subseries 1.3 Box 558 Folder 5965, RAC.
[74] Appraisal: American Council on Education - American Youth Commission Studies of Negro Youth, 1940, General Education Board Records, Subseries 1.3, Box 555, Folder 5944, RAC.

special study, African American educators adapted to the AYC's and its financial sponsor GEB's preferred language of personal and social maladjustment. In his proposal of the Black youth study, Allison Davis, an African American anthropologist who had graduated from Harvard University and became a professor at Dillard University in New Orleans, argued that "the inferior caste status, foisted upon Negro youth — with its resultant isolation, feelings of social inadequacy, inhibitions, conflicting ethics, limited social participation, frustration, etc. — constitutes a problem or defines a need of Negro youth which is not shared by other youth."[75] Because a "comprehensive program" for American youth would include Black youth, he urged the AYC to sponsor this special study. It would focus on how the "minority racial status" of Black youth affected their personality development.

The GEB officer's summary of the study proposal underscored the seriousness of adjustment problems among African American youths even more. It highlighted that "the problem of the adjustment of the Negro adolescent to the total adult society is far more complicated than that of the white adolescent's adjustment." Evidences of higher rates of juvenile delinquency and illegitimacy showed that there was a "high degree of social maladjustment" among African American adolescents.[76] This perceived maladjustment among African American youths became the justification for this special study.

The case studies in this AYC project also adopted an overarching "personality and culture" framework. For example, Charles S. Johnson, an African American sociologist at Fisk University, opened his study by stating: "The framework within which we have studied the problem of personality development of southern rural Negro youth is that of the relation of

[75] A Proposal for a Study of Negro Youth, 2, October 1936, General Education Board Records, Subseries 1.3, Box 558, Folder 5966, RAC.
[76] A Summary of the Prospectus for A Study of the Process in the Social Conditioning of the Negro Adolescent, 1937, 1-2, General Education Board Records, Subseries 1.3, Box 556, Folder 5948, RAC.

personality to culture."[77] These studies also borrowed some techniques of personality study from the PEA's adolescent study. In fact, Caroline Zachry, chairman of the PEA Committee on the Study of Adolescents, sat on the Advisory Committee of the AYC project on Black youths. [78]

The AYC "Negro Youth Study" constituted four case studies in different regions in the United States.[79] Each study involved both white and African American experts as the principal investigators. They also recruited African American fieldworkers to conduct interviews and data collection in local communities. Through the use of case history interviews with individuals and families, psychological tests, and sociological sketches of African American communities, their studies attempted to provide the profiles of Black personality in the context of their minority racial status and social struggles in the United States.

Through their examination of the social and cultural settings of African American youth, these case studies exposed the deeply unjust social systems that oppressed and discriminated against African American youth. They also revealed the heterogeneous experiences of African American youth in different social classes and regions. The complex pictures researchers depicted were far from a monolithic image of Black youths' social life. On the contrary, each work took efforts to detail different communities' economic and social circumstances. Charles S. Johnson's work, for example, examined eight southern counties in rural areas and divided the

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[77] Charles S. Johnson, *Growing Up in the Black Belt: Negro Youth in the Rural Youth* (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1941), xvii

[78] Homer P. Rainey, Letter to Robert J. Havighurst, December 16, 1937, General Educational Board Records, Subseries 1.3, Box 558, Folder 5965, RAC. Robert J. Havihurst, American Youth Commission Negro Project, January 12, 1938, General Educational Board Records, Subseries 1.3, Box 558, Folder 5965, RAC.

[79] The four studies were: *Children of Bondage: The Personality Development of Negro Youth in the Urban South* (1940), by Allison Davis and John Dollard, *Negro Youth at the Crossways: Their Personality Development in the Middle States*(1940), by E. Franklin Frazier, *Growing Up in the Black Belt: Negro Youth in the Rural South* (1940), by Charles S. Johnson, *Color and Human Nature: Negro Personality Development in a Northern City* (1941), by W. Lloyd Warner, Buford H. Junker, and Walter A. Adams. In addition, Robert L. Sutherland published a summary volume *Color, Class, and Personality* in 1942. Ira De A. Reid also published a fact-finding summary *In A Minor Key* (1940).

discussion of young people's experience by social class. On the other hand, by noting the direct consequences of economic and social oppression on southern Black youth in terms of their emotional problems, the study nonetheless painted a uniform picture of the so-called "maladjusted" Black personality. In the summaries of each chapter, Johnson related these material and environmental conditions to emotional maladjustment. He concluded, for example, the behavior of Black youth at all social levels bore "unmistakable relationship to the internal fears, worries, anxieties, and feelings of inadequacy and frustration."[80] The unequal schools in these communities "developed in many instances misshapen personalities," whereas the gap between Back youth's occupational expectation and reality created "a pronounced psychology of escape." [81]

While the four studies contained different authors' distinct methodological and theoretical stances,[82] the whole project was guided by an overarching question about personality maladjustment of Black youths: "to what extent, if any, does the Negro's minority racial status constitute a factor in the accentuation among Negro youth of the personality problems of American youth."[83] In other words, the inquiry centered on how racial oppressions in society intensified personality maladjustment among Black youth. As Robert L. Sutherland, chairmen of this project, explained, this study concentrated upon "those experiences of Negro youth that involve some reaction to racial subordination"[84] instead of collecting exhaustive data on the social conditioning of Black youth with the goal to "reconstruct the entire social structure." By

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[80] Charles S. Johnson, *Growing Up in the Black Belt: Negro Youth in the Rural South* (Washington, D. C.: American Council on Education, 1941), 111.
[81] Charles S. Johnson, *Growing Up in the Black Belt: Negro Youth in the Rural South*, 134, 223.
[82] See Alice O'Connor, *Poverty Knowledge: Social Science, Social Policy and the Poor in 20th-Century U.S. History* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2001), Chapter 3.
[83] Robert L. Sutherland, Negro Youth: A Review of the Problems, Summary of research, and a Recommended Program, 39, October 1937, General Educational Board Records, Subseries 1.3, Box 558, Folder 5966, RAC.
[84] Robert L. Sutherland, Negro Youth: A Review of the Problems, Summary of research, and a Recommended Program, 39, October 1937, General Educational Board Records, Subseries 1.3, Box 558, Folder 5966, RAC.

limiting the scope on internal experiences of Black youth and documenting various patterns of individual emotional reactions to racism, this project ended up providing justifications for a particular view of the personality maladjustment among Black youth. The focus on the impact of culture – more specifically, racial inequalities in housing, employment, and social institution – on personality then became fixed on the perceived "pathology" of the Black personality.

As these studies on African American youth came to a conclusion, white sociologist Robert L. Sutherland, director of the AYC subcommittee to study African American youth, submitted a proposal to the General Education Board. He recommended "a demonstration project in the personality adjustment of Negro youth." Sutherland started his proposal by summarizing the AYC studies of Black youth:

> "The four areas research studies … presented conclusive evidence that large percentages of Negro youth by virtue of their combined handicap of racial barriers and low social position subtly reflect in their own personality traits minor or major distortions or deficiencies which compound their problem of personality adjustment in American society."[85]

Consequently, Sutherland's takeaway from the case studies appeared to be that African American youths internalized their struggles in segregated society and resulted in maladjusted personalities. Their intimate culture functioned to "prevent the development of that type of personal standards, attitudes, and habits which the general community deems desirable." Further, the "patterns of defensive behavior" African American youths developed in the face of the discriminatory culture — "patterns of withdrawal, of over-aggressiveness, of deceit, and of complacency" — would cause the "group of superior position to become even more

[85] Robert L. Sutherland, A Recommendation for a Demonstration Project in the Personality Adjustment of Negro Youth, October 27, 1939, 1, General Education Board Records, Subseries 1.3, Box 558, Folder 5965, RAC.

discriminatory" in their attitudes and treatment of the minority group.[86] Sutherland in effect avoided asking how white supremacy had made the unequal world in which African Americans lived and blamed them, not whites, if racism – as individual prejudices – intensified.

Sutherland proposed to create a new type of guidance clinics that would help develop "socially acceptable, emotionally stable, and vocationally efficient individuals free of personality distortions and motivated by socially superior standards."[87] In this case, analyzing personality in the context of cultural and social influences easily became a way of psychologizing social problems as individual personality maladjustment. In other words, as Sutherland suggested, social disadvantages became internalized as a peculiarly maladjusted personality type. By pathologizing blacks' responses in segregated society, the dynamic approach of personality analysis was implicated in the construction of a hierarchical, racist understanding of the human psyche.

Sutherland's conclusion demonstrated the power of "the damaged black psyche" image in U.S. social sciences and social policies. As historian Daryl Michael Scott argues, the construction of the black psyche as damaged by racial discrimination helped appeal to public support for desegregation in the mid-20th century. Yet it also imposed negative ramifications on African Americans' pursuit for equal citizenship rights.[88] This is because the image assumed an inevitable distortion of the Black personality in the face of racial oppression, which resulted in almost permanent maladjustment that required therapeutic intervention. The tendency to

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[86] Robert L. Sutherland, A Recommendation for a Demonstration Project in the Personality Adjustment of Negro Youth, October 27, 1939, 1-2, General Education Board Records, Subseries 1.3, Box 558, Folder 5965, RAC.
[87] Robert L. Sutherland, A Recommendation for a Demonstration Project in the Personality Adjustment of Negro Youth, October 27, 1939, 2, General Education Board Records, Subseries 1.3, Box 558, Folder 5965, RAC.
[88] Daryl Michael Scott, *Contempt and Pity: Social Policy and the Image of the Damaged Black Psyche, 1880-1996* (Chapel Hill: University of North Caroline Press, 1997). Scott does not think the studies and publications in the 1930s emphasized the damaged black personality as much as studies by the same authors after the second World War. I stress the continuities of these studies and how the authors might have adapted to the language of the funding agencies.

psychologize structural inequalities had lasting influence in mid-20th century U.S. racial politics and education trajectories, as an increasingly individualistic and therapeutic approach to interpreting and adjusting racial discrimination overshadowed systematic intervention into racialized social structures.[89]

A salient example was the psychological argument from the landmark decision *Brown v. Board of Education* in 1954. In this case, the Supreme Court cited a series of social scientific investigations on the effect of racial segregation on the Black psyche, and it concluded that segregation created permanent damage to African Americans.[90] In fact, Kenneth B. Clark — one of the key psychologists cited in the *Brown* decision — served as a research staff for at least six months in one of the AYC studies on Black youths conducted by sociologist E. Franklin Frazier.[91] At this time, Clark was a graduate student at Columbia University.

Meanwhile, the four area studies established a variety of techniques in the exploration of African American personality. For example, in the study led by Charles S. Johnson, researchers used a "color ratings test," which asked children to choose the color (amongst black, dark-brown, brown, light-brown, yellow, white) that fit specific descriptions including "principal of your school," "the poorest person you know," "the person your mother works for," "the smartest girl you know," and "the man you look up to most".[92] This type of test anticipated the coloring test and the doll experiment Kenneth B. Clark and Mamie Clark used in their study of self-esteem among African American children during the 1940s, which ultimately became a part of the

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[89] See, for example, Leah Gordon, *From Power to Prejudice: The Rise of Racial Individualism in Midcentury America* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2015); Mical Raz, *What's Wrong with the Poor? Psychiatry, Race, and the War on Poverty* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2013).
[90] *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* 347 U.S. 483 (1954), 494.
[91] Robert L. Sutherland, Preliminary Report on the Negro Youth Study, October 1, 1940, 1, General Education Board Records, Subseries 1.3, Box 558, Folder 5965, RAC.
[92] "Color Rating Test," in Charles S. Johnson, *Growing Up in the Black Belt*, Appendix, 344-346.

evidence for the psychological harm of segregation on African American children in the *Brown* decision.

After their work for the AYC youth study project, several researchers including Allison Davis, E. Franklin Frazier, Charles S. Johnson, Ira De A. Reid, and Robert L. Sutherland participated in another study on African Americans sponsored by the Carnegie Foundation.[93] This study would become Swedish scholar Gunnar Myrdal's monograph *The American Dilemma*, which constituted another core source of the *Brown* decision's social scientific references. Together, these studies played a pioneering role in the convergence of what historian Alice O'Connor calls the "liberal orthodoxy on race" in the mid-20th century. This new synthesis "defined 'the race problem' within a black/white paradigm, traced the roots of racial inequality to a wide range of social and cultural disadvantages rooted in white prejudice, and embraced integration and racial assimilation as desirable social goals."[94] Therefore, interwar social-psychological investigations into personality bore direct intellectual legacies in post-World War II human sciences and liberal social policies.

These divergent conclusions about the impact of culture on personality among different racial groups had institutional consequences, too. In 1942, after several years of high-profile work on the study and seminar on adolescent personality, Caroline Zachry became the first woman to head the Bureau of Child Guidance in New York City's Public Schools.[95] The Bureau of Child Guidance had started in 1933, providing child guidance services – the three-pronged clinical examination by psychiatrists, psychologists, and psychiatric social workers – for emotionally maladjusted students in the city's public schools. The distribution of guidance

[93] Robert L. Sutherland, Preliminary Report on the Negro Youth Study, October 1, 1940, 4, General Education Board Records, Subseries 1.3, Box 558, Folder 5965, RAC.
[94] Alice O'Connor, *Poverty Knowledge*, 76.
[95] "Dr. Caroline Zachry Gets Post as Head of School Guidance Unit," *New York Times*, Nov. 29, 1941.

resources, however, had never been adequate nor even. Over the years, the Bureau slowly expanded guidance units in different boroughs. In 1935, the Board of Education planned to add three units in Brooklyn, Queens, and the Bronx. African American community leaders in Harlem reacted against this proposal and fought to get a new guidance unit in Harlem.[96] George J. Ryan, President of the Board of Education, however, citing insufficient funds, dismissed the request. Ryan also accused African American community leaders of being "selfish," arguing that "more Negroes who are willing to make the sacrifices made by Booker T. Washington are needed in the Negro race."[97]

During peacetime, the request for more child guidance resources by the Black community only got a cold shoulder from the city's Board of Education. Once wartime public discourse brought heightened anxieties on juvenile delinquency, however, the city quickly adopted an expanded child guidance program targeting so-called maladjusted Black youths. In 1943, the Board of Education launched a 3-year education program in three Harlem schools. In a *New York Times* report named "Delinquency War Begins in Harlem," the program officials claimed that "if the delinquency problem can be checked in these 'bad spots,' a similar pattern might be adopted in other areas of the city." The Harlem project would provide an "enriched curriculum" along with special services from psychologists, psychiatrists, social workers and recreational leaders. It also proposed to separate "badly maladjusted girls" in special classes who would receive a special curriculum. [98] While the city's liberal judges and child guidance professionals were behind the funding-raising and planning activities of this project, they had to adhere to and work through wartime-hyped rhetoric against crime and delinquency promoted by the Sub-Committee

[96] "Guidance Unit being Sought," *New York Amsterdam News*, Jan. 19, 1935.
[97] "Guidance for Youth Urged: Board of Ed Ignored Harlem in Founding Bureaus," *New York Amsterdam News*, Jann. 26, 1935.
[98] "Delinquency War Begins in Harlem," *New York Times*, Sep. 29, 1943.

on Crime and Delinquency of the City-Wide Citizen's Committee.[99] They had to use the reasoning of delinquency prevention to justify the services. The Harlem community eventually got more mental health services they had earlier requested. Yet the assumptions and justifications behind the approval of the Harlem project was that African American students occupied particularly "bad spots" that tended to produce maladjusted youth who were prone to delinquency.

Caroline Zachry, together with Marion Kenworthy, long-time director of the Child Guidance Clinic in the New York School of Social Work, sat on the advisory council for the Harlem project, which focused on "pre-delinquent" students.[100] Earlier that year, when addressing problems of wartime youth problems, Caroline Zachry had expressed her opposition to the narrow focus on juvenile delinquency. She differentiated two ways of looking at an "overt act committed by a child." One was to treat this as a crime or delinquency and to impose punishment. The other was to view it as "a symptom of emotional illness," and to seek the underlying causes and to apply measures of cure. "Those of us associated, as I am, with a Bureau of Child Guidance adopt the second point of view, and to us emphasis on delinquency is to be deplored," she told the *New York Times* reporter.[101] Nevertheless, the reason why Harlem schools suddenly got more child guidance services during the War was linked to delinquency prevention. Again, a narrow focus on the prevention of social problems based on personality adjustment had won the day.

Whereas the dynamic view of personality in cultural context seemed to be an antidote to the quantification and mechanization of personality, it also worked to essentialize culture and

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[99] Gerald Markowitz and David Rosner, *Children, Race, and Power: Kenneth and Mamie Clark's Northside Center* (Charlottesville and London: University Press of Virginia, 1996), 14-15.
[100] "Delinquency War Begins in Harlem," *New York Times*, Sep. 29, 1943.
[101] "A challenge from Restless Youth," New York Times, May 2, 1943.

psychologize social struggles. Through investigations into the impact of culture on personality among different racial groups, this dynamic view of "personality and culture" ended up reifying the line between the "normal" and the "maladjusted" personality based on race. It also showed how resources regarding emotional and social adjustment were distributed to different groups of children.

Conclusion

In December 1950, the Midcentury White House Conference on Children and Youth adopted "the healthy personality" as its main theme. This was the fifth conference devoted to issues of children and youth that the President of the United States had hosted since 1909. The conference invited delegates from various scientific communities and child welfare organizations across the country. President Harry S. Truman's address at the conference denoted a sense of anxiety in the midst of a hot war during the Cold War era. By this time, U.S. troops in Korea faced a crisis as Chinese forces crossed into Korea and provided military aid for the North Korean troops. Truman stressed that "no matter how the immediate situation may develop, we must remember that the fighting in Korea is but one part of the tremendous struggle of our time – the struggle between freedom and Communist imperialism." Using this occasion to mobilize the fight on moral and spiritual fronts against Communism, he pointed out that the single most important thing for young people in the United States to meet this challenge was the "strength of character."[1]

Aside from this hyperbolical wartime rhetoric, the rest of the conference sessions proceeded with familiar themes that had been circulating in scientific communities, schools, and child welfare institutions for the past three decades. While theories and approaches regarding personality development differed, these themes stressed the growing child as a complex thinking, feeling, and acting organism, whose personality developed and changed throughout life and in accordance with a variety of particular circumstances. By focusing on the development of a healthy personality, the 1950 conference reflected the current state of scientific knowledge

[1] Harry S. Truman, "Report to the Nation," in *Proceedings of the Midcentury White House Conference* (Raleigh, NC., Health Publications Institute, Inc., 1951), 49-53.

regarding children's physical, intellectual, emotional, and social development. It also offered a series of policy recommendations regarding the role of the family, school, and social agencie in cultivating "individual happiness and responsible citizenship."[2]

Familiar figures we have met in previous chapters convened in the National Committee and the Fact-Finding Committee of the Midcentury White House Conference on Children and Youth. For instance, pediatrician Benjamin Spock, who was a contributor to the PEA adolescent study, had recently become a household name through his book *Baby and Child Care* (1946). He served as the vice chairmen of the National Committee for the conference. Lawrence K. Frank, the long-time philanthropic foundation officer and bridge-builder for various child development and social science research, also sat on that committee.

The Fact-Finding Committee, which supplied scientific materials for the conference, recruited many psychiatrists, psychologists, sociologists, anthropologists, and educational experts on children's personality development and social conditioning. These included Margaret Mead, Robert J, Havighurst, Allison Davis, E. Franklin Frazier, and Willard C. Olson. Moreover, the Fact-Finding Committee's depiction of the process of personality development from infancy to adolescence was a condensed version of Erik Erikson's thesis on the developmental stages of children and adolescents that he had gradually formulated in the 1940s.[3] A part-time staff member on the Fact-Finding Committee, Kenneth B. Clark, presented his study on "the effect of prejudice and discrimination on personality development." This panel was added as an afterthought and Clark's report received limited attention at that conference. Clark's study, however, caught the eyes of Robert Carter from the NAACP's Legal Defense Fund. Clark would

[2] Helen Witmer, and Ruth Kotinsky, eds., *Personality in the Making: The Fact-Finding Report of the Midcentury White House Conference on Children and Youth* (New York: Happer & Brothers, 1952).
[3] Helen Witmer, and Ruth Kotinsky, eds., *Personality in the Making*, 5-26.

later join the NAACP's school segregation lawsuits.[4] His report in the Midcentury conference eventually became part of the *Brown* decision's social scientific references.[5]

As this dissertation shows, before these experts convened in the Midcentury White House Conference, ideas and policy proposals regarding children's personality adjustment had traveled on a long journey since World War I. During these years, scientific experts and educators used multiple ways – child guidance clinics, personality and pupil adjustment tests, and the "personality and culture" study – to define what constituted a well-adjusted or maladjusted personality. In the making and remaking of scientific knowledge related to psychological adjustment in these decades, there was a complicated relationship between this conception and ideas of human difference.

On the one hand, "adjustment" was a relatively malleable concept. Scientists and educators who studied the idea assumed that individuals changed in relation to dynamic social processes as well as through multiple factors that contributed to desirable or problematic behaviors. Hence the idea of psychological adjustment offered opportunities to challenge rigid distinctions between the normal and the abnormal at a time when many scientists had previously embraced biologically determined conceptions of mental ability as reflected in intelligence tests. The new knowledge on psychological adjustment provided innovative ways to think about

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[4] Richard Kluger, *Simple Justice: The History of Brown v. Board of Education and Black America's Struggle for Equality* (New York: Vintage Books, 2004), 318-319. James T. Patterson, *Brown v. Board of Education: A Civil Rights Milestone and Its Troubled Legacy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 42-55.

[5] Helen Witmer, and Ruth Kotinsky, eds., *Personality in the Making*, 135-158. Clark's report was broader than the focus on the effect of segregation on Black personality in the Supreme Court's opinion. The report summarized the effect of racial, ethnic, and religious prejudices on the health of personality among majority groups (those who discriminated) and minority groups (those who were discriminated against). Clark also stated in the conclusion that "the problem of prejudices is not only a problem of individuals but also of society. The problem of reducing prejudice and eliminating discrimination must be approached on a societal basis if it is to be dealt with successfully." (p158).

individual differences in terms of personality types and traits in relation to one's family history, social life, and cultural experience.

On the other hand, because theories and measurements rested upon convenient social groupings and cultural imaginations of normal and deviant population, hierarchical understandings of human difference became embedded in standards of psychological adjustment. These standards to a large extent mirrored the existing social order and intersected with perceived social differences along the lines of race, class, gender, and sexuality. Therefore, the theories and techniques of adjustment helped reify social norms and biases in definitions of who could be happy and productive members of society.

By the mid-twentieth century, educating emotionally and socially well-adjusted citizens had become a pervasive rationale in school reform. The post-World War II era saw the heyday of Life Adjustment Education, which attempted to prepare all youth to be productive homemakers, workers, and citizens. Despite problems with budgets and professional in-fighting in schools and welfare agencies, counselors and social workers used various personality tests to detect "pre-delinquent" or "anti-social" youths, whom they referred further intervention. "Adjustment" schools or classrooms became a euphemism for special classes and detention programs targeting children who exhibited behavioral problems and disrupted classrooms.[6] In the landmark case *Brown v. Board of Education*, the Supreme Court cited psychologists' study of the personality maladjustment of African American children as evidence against legal segregation. This reasoning of permanent damage, however, reinforced racist ideas about the pathology of Black

[6] For instance, in the late 1950s and the 1960s, Los Angeles public schools established "social adjustment classes" for socially maladjusted and emotional disturbed children with above 79 I.Q. score (legal requirement for special class placement) in elementary and junior high school. There were a few contemporary master's theses that surveyed these adjustment classes, see ,for example, Helyn M. Barragar, *Positive Discipline Technique: The Social Adjustment Class* (Master Thesis, The University of Southern California, 1963).

personality. These seemingly divergent events reflected the common use (or misuse) of ideas about young people's emotional and social adjustment as justifications for school reform and policy change.

During the interwar decades, by emphasizing the role schools played in adjusting personalities and preventing social problems, the adjustment ethos and techniques increasingly laid the responsibility of adjustment on the individual's emotion and conduct, rather than on the transformation and improvement of social structures and cultural circumstances. In this way, theories of adjustment tended to translate social problems into psychological problems, especially issues within an individual's developmental process. Schooling thus functioned as an educational solution to normalize that developmental process and to correct perceived psychological maladjustments. This focus on individual adjustment according to certain emotional and behavioral norms raised questions about the school's contradictory role in promoting individuality and forging social conformity.

The stress on conformity in the language of psychological adjustment did not go unnoticed in the mid-20th century. Contemporary intellectual and cultural critiques quickly pointed out the ironies in the obsession with individual adjustment. For example, in 1955, cultural critic Lionel Trilling delivered the Freud Anniversary Lecture of the New York Psychoanalytic Society. He warned that the liberal democratic culture was permeated with a view that "man can be truly himself and fully human only if he is in accord with his cultural environment." To Trilling, the emphasis on the individual's "adjustment" to culture had

constituted a chief ground of theories regarding "education, child rearing, morality, and social action."[7]

In 1953, when the Social Science Research Council launched a new research project on emotional growth and mental health, researchers reflected upon this growing emphasis on individual adjustment. It stated that this emphasis might have overlooked the true causes of maladjustment, i.e., problems in society and culture:

> "The commonly stated goal of 'adjustment' seems to imply that the individual should find himself comfortable in the status quo, comfortable with things as they are. For some people, in some situations, the culture may be so little 'integrated' that a truly 'integrated' or 'adjusted' personality is not possible."[8]

In the phenomenally-popular Broadway musical *West Side Story* (1957) and its subsequent film adaptation, members of the Jets gang parodied entrenched images of the mentally and socially maladjusted delinquents in the song "Gee, Officer Krupke." In this song, composer Leonard Bernstein mimicked different adult roles' judgements of the delinquent youth. A judge declared "this child is depraved on account he ain't had a normal home." A psychiatrist claimed that "society's played him a terrible trick, and sociologically he's sick." A social worker then stated "It ain't just a question of misunderstood; Deep down inside him, he's no good!"[9]

The language of adjustment and maladjustment gradually lost currency among social scientists and the broader culture in the 1960s. But the tendency to psychologize social problems

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[7] Dorothy Ross, "Freud and the Vicissitudes of Modernism in the United States, 1940-1980," 171, in *John Burnham ed., After Freud Left: A Century of Psychoanalysis in America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2021); Lionel Trilling, *Beyond Culture: Essays on Literature and Learning* (New York: The Viking Press, 1965), 108-109.
[8] A Planning Proposal for Research in Emotional Growth and Mental Health, August 1953, 19, Social Science Research Council Records, Record Group 1, Series 1, Subseries 19, Box 148, Folder 818, Rockefeller Archive Center, Sleepy Hollow, New York.
[9] Leonard Bernstein, Arthur Laurents, Stephen Sondheim, Jerome Robbins, *West Side Story: A Musical* (Oxford: Heinemann Educational Publishers, 1972), 105-107. James Gilbert, *A Cycle of Outrage: America's Reaction to the Juvenile Delinquent in the 1950s* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986),193-194.

and to replace structural reform with therapeutic interventions persisted in the social sciences and became institutionalized in liberal social policies during this time.[10] For instance, mental health experts and sociologists began to use the idea of "deprivation" – sensory deprivation, maternal deprivation, and cultural deprivation, for example – to explain the detrimental effects of low-income and minority communities on children's normal intellectual, emotional, and social development. This theory provided the basis for federally-sponsored programs such as Head Start.[11] Driven by a different yet familiar logic from the conception of personality adjustment, the Great Society programs saw education as a therapeutic resource for children's normal development, with an eye to prevent poverty and race riots in targeted communities.

To be sure, this study does not intend to oppose scientific research on children's social-emotional development and mental health. The historical development of these scientific knowledge has contributed to scientists, educators, and the public's more nuanced understandings of the growing child's body and mind. Experts and programs emerged in these fields have provided professional assistance for children who were faced with emotional difficulties, trauma, and other mental health crises. Nonetheless, it is important to examine the social consequences of scientific knowledge production and of imposing seemingly objective categories of mental health on individuals.

Therefore, this dissertation explored and analyzed the specific intellectual and social contexts at play in the development of scientific theories and techniques regarding children's emotion and behavior in the first half of the 20th century. It also offered a cautionary tale about

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[10] Alice O'Connor, *Poverty Knowledge: Social Science, Social Policy and the Poor in 20th-Century U.S. History* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2001); Leah Gordon, *From Power to Prejudice: The Rise of Racial Individualism in Midcentury America* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2015).
[11] Mical Raz, *What's Wrong with the Poor? Psychiatry, Race, and the War on Poverty* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2013).

the use of schooling to solve perceived psychological and social maladjustments. Before applying psychologized categories on real people and using standards of socio-emotional adjustment to justify social policies, we need to reflect upon a series of questions. For example, how were particular theories and categories of the human mind constructed, by whom, and based on the study of which population? What kinds of assumptions about human nature and difference were embedded in these regimes of observation, classification, and intervention? To what extent does a psychological lens (broadly defined focus on the human psyche, not just the discipline of psychology) explain complex social beings? To what extent does it divert attention away from deep-rooted structural issues in society? Finally, what kind of role, and to what ends, should the school play in monitoring and intervening in the emotional and social life of children?

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