

FRANCIS CECIL SUMNER: His Views and Influence on African American Higher Education

Thomas F. Sawyer
North Central College

During the mid-1920s, Francis Cecil Sumner, the first African American to earn a PhD in psychology, published 2 articles concerning strategies for the higher education of African American youths. These articles called for a system of segregated education emphasizing an “industrial” style advocated by Booker T. Washington, as well as suggesting a measure of character development. The justification cited by Sumner for such unequal education for African Americans was the cultural inferiority of that population. The present article argues that Sumner’s views were couched in terms that fit the prevailing paradigm of the White establishment, with the purpose of generating political and economic support for any type of higher education for African Americans. Evidence drawn from Sumner’s early education and his graduate school days at Clark University, as well as testimonials from colleagues and students, are provided in support of this hypothesis.

On June 11, 1920, at 3:00 p.m. at Clark University in Worcester, Massachusetts, a 24-year-old World War I veteran began the defense of his dissertation, which was titled *Psychoanalysis of Freud and Adler* (Sumner, 1920). Two hr and 35 min later, following questions from an examining committee that included G. Stanley Hall and Edwin G. Boring, Francis Cecil Sumner became the first African American to complete the requirements for the doctoral degree in the field of psychology. On June 14, 1920, Sumner was officially awarded the PhD degree (Guthrie, 1998). Thus began the career of an important, though relatively unknown—especially within the domain of psychology and higher education—figure in African American history.

Sumner left Clark to assume a teaching position at Wilberforce University in Ohio in the fall of 1920 and taught at Southern University in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, during the summer of 1921 (Thomas, 1999). In 1921 he accepted the position of Chair of the Psychology and Philosophy Departments at West Virginia Collegiate Institute (WVCI; now West Virginia State College), where he stayed until moving to Howard University for the beginning of the 1928–1929 academic year (Spencer, 1992; Thomas, 1999). During his years at WVCI, Sumner published two articles in *Educational Review* concerning strategies for the improvement of African American education in the United States (Sumner, 1926, 1927). In his book *Even the Rat Was White*, Robert Guthrie (1998) described these publications

I express appreciation to Dorothy Mosakowski, Coordinator of Archives and Special Collections at the Goddard Library of Clark University, for her valuable assistance in searching the G. Stanley Hall Papers. I also express appreciation to Dr. Frederick Watts for an interesting, enlightening, and enjoyable afternoon of conversation concerning his recollections of Francis Sumner and the development of Howard University’s Department of Psychology.

Correspondence concerning this article should be addressed to Thomas F. Sawyer, Department of Psychology, North Central College, 30 North Brainard Street, Naperville, Illinois 60566-7063. Electronic mail may be sent to tfs@noctrl.edu.

as “controversial articles” and stated that in them “Sumner strongly endorsed some of the fundamentalist reforms of Booker T. Washington” (p. 226). By present-day standards, to consider these articles controversial is understated, as they called for a system of unequal and segregated higher education for African Americans and Whites. Furthermore, Sumner (1926) proposed as justification for such a system of education that African Americans were “on a lower cultural level than the White race” (p. 43).

Sumner’s 1926–1927 Views on “Negro Education”

At the outset of his article “Philosophy of Negro Education,” Sumner (1926) described a series of stages in human civilization and cultural attainment. He went on to describe Whites as “banner-bearers of Western Civilization,” whereas African Americans were a “culturally younger” race, only “three hundred years from savagery and sixty from bondage” (p. 43). This led him to question “the feasibility of equal education for the two races” (p. 43).

In an intriguing passage, Sumner reiterated a position previously expressed by Booker T. Washington, founder of the Tuskegee Institute in Alabama. Referring to the education of African Americans during the late 1800s and early 1900s, Sumner wrote that the “formal education granted him has not materially differed from that for Whites” and that “education of the Negro fails of its fundamental purpose which neglects the fact that the Negro as a people is on a lower cultural level than the White race” (p. 43). Thus, according to Sumner the appropriate strategy would be to provide an education that would have as its primary purpose “the gradual elevation of the race through the fundamental stages of cultural evolution” (p. 43). Finally, Sumner supported Washington’s emphasis on establishing an industrial form of higher education for African Americans that stressed training in agriculture and various trades such as carpentry, plumbing, and masonry.

In addition to recounting the views of Washington, Sumner (1926) described the position of another African American social scientist, G. V. Cools, on the importance of emphasizing the building of character in the education of African American youths. Those aspects of character which Cools (1924) believed needed to be stressed in the formal education of African Americans included “to tell and live the truth fearlessly . . . to be morally clean . . . to love hard work . . . to be independent . . . to respect the rights of the other fellow . . . to make the Golden Rule the very essence of life” (p. 256). Seeming to go further than Cools, Sumner suggested a biological basis for African American inferiority by writing that “time has to be allowed for the natural selection of the socially fit” and that “sociological statistics support the contention that the lower instincts in the Negro still defy moral harnessing” (p. 44). Finally, it is interesting to note that Cools (1924) was outspoken in his belief that a significant component of African American education should be the development of racial pride. He called for an education that would counteract what he called a “destructive propaganda,” namely, “the belief—inherited from slavery—in the superiority of the White man,” and he wrote that “there is no greater enemy nor a more formidable obstacle in the Black man’s path of progress than this inherited curse” (p. 257). Sumner’s (1926) comment on this issue was that there should be “an enthusiastic acclaim of those members of the race who make genuine contributions to cultural progress” (p. 44).

Sumner’s article attracted immediate response and criticism. For example, an

editorial ("Philosophies of Negro Education") in the February 1926 issue of *Opportunity*, a publication of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, referred to Sumner's (1926) article as a "curious mixture of fact and contradiction" (p. 38). The editorial argued that "if we assume that unequal cultural levels require unequal education we assume at the same time that these levels will never meet" (p. 38). The editorial continued, saying that even the "intelligence testers concede an overlapping of individuals between races, with some individuals of the backward group superior to some of the individuals of the advanced group" and concluded that "it is doubtful if there can be such a thing as special race education" (p. 38). H. S. Chen, a Chinese graduate student at Columbia University, wrote a brief response to Sumner's *Educational Review* article (Chen, 1926), suggesting that "the fundamental fallacy with [Sumner's] argument . . . lies in the confusion of social inheritance with biological inheritance" (p. 279). Chen continued, "to argue that since a certain class of people have a lower culture so their children should be given an education on a lower level and vice versa would mean the perpetuation of the status quo" (p. 279).

Along with these responses from *Opportunity* and Chen, it should be noted that Sumner's (1926) support for Washington's position was at odds with the trend occurring within the African American intellectual community. As represented by Alain Locke's (1925) book *The New Negro*, there was at this time a sort of "Negro renaissance" occurring. According to H. A. Bullock (1967), "inspired by the imaginative and creative mind of DuBois, other Negro intellectuals combined their literary talents in the task of building race pride, defining race heroism, and 'burying Uncle Tom' " (p. 200). William Edward Burghardt DuBois, Washington's chief challenger in the early part of the 20th century, inspired poets and novelists, such as Claude McKay, Countee Cullen, and Langston Hughes, who gained prominence through writings that simultaneously expressed pride, bitterness, and an element of hope. Their fervor is illustrated by Hughes's poem *Let America Be America Again* (see Brown, Davis, & Lee, 1941, pp. 370–372), in which he wrote:

O, let America be America again—
 The land that never has been yet—
 And yet must be—the land where every man is free.
 O, yes,
 I say it plain,
 America never was America to me,
 And yet I swear this oath—
 America will be!

In addition, African American historians, led by Carter G. Woodson, attempted to "focus the Negro American's cultural tradition before the world . . . in a manner that would extol the image of the race," and they charged White historians with being biased and with "negligence in omitting significant portions of the Negro's history from their writings" (H. A. Bullock, 1967, p. 203). Social scientists also entered the fray, and "their works embraced environmentalism," locating "the causes of social disorganization among Negroes almost wholly within the realm of segregation" (H. A. Bullock, 1967, p. 205).

Despite the Negro renaissance that was occurring around him, Sumner (1927), in a second *Educational Review* article, titled "Morale and the Negro College,"

reiterated the notion of "the cultural inferiority of the Negro" and the need for limiting educational opportunity to "industrial and moral training" (p. 168). He did, however, respond to his critics by suggesting that there was some "overlapping of the two races" and that the "variation of the Negro has been considerably augmented by the admixture of White blood" (p. 168). He accepted a need for a liberalized education of "a very small fraction of the total Negro population, approximately one in 1200" (p. 168). Sumner held that "certainly the Negro race has not produced a Shakespeare or a Newton but meanwhile it cannot be denied that it has produced individuals whose cultural status plainly warrants a higher education" (p. 168). Although he admitted that educational opportunities existed at northern colleges and universities, Sumner concluded that for those very few Black youths ready for a more liberalized higher education, it could "best be worked out in institutions designed solely for Negroes i.e. in the so-called Negro colleges and universities" (p. 169). This conclusion provided context for the balance of his remarks, which called for reform in the organization and administration of Black colleges as well as a plea for economic support that would improve the "morale of the Negro college." Specifically, he called for a reduction in the number of Black institutions of higher education so as to consolidate the existing resources and provide for better equipped laboratories and libraries, a suggestion subsequently encouraged by others (e.g., Holmes, 1934). Also, he suggested an urgent need to increase faculty salaries to attract more qualified teachers and to provide funds for scholarship opportunities. Finally, Sumner commented on the importance of selecting administrators "who possess high moral and intellectual qualifications" (p. 170) to prevent the sort of autocratic leadership exerted by the administrator who feels in some way inferior to the faculty.

To summarize, it seems that initially the "philosophy of Negro education" adopted by Sumner (1926) followed closely the industrial education model developed by Booker T. Washington, with a secondary emphasis on the need to build the character of Black youths. While still holding to the premise of African American inferiority in his second article, Sumner offered more promise for liberalizing the education of a very limited number of African Americans and began to sound a bit more like DuBois. In his speeches and writings, DuBois often argued for the liberal education of a "talented tenth" of the African American population. According to Green (1970), DuBois believed that "education among Blacks must first focus upon educating the best of the race" who would then "be in a position to begin to uplift the masses" (pp. 359-360). This position also was expressed in 1924 by Kelly Miller (cited in West, 1972), then a dean at Howard University, who wrote:

Any segregated or semi-segregated group is doomed unless it develops and sustains its own leadership. . . . The segregation of the Negro makes it necessary that his professional and higher needs be met by professional men of his own race. . . . The function of the Negro college is to prepare the choice men and women of the race to fill the high places of intellectual, moral, and spiritual authority as guide, philosopher and friend of their less fortunate brethren. (p. 159)

However, while recognizing that not all African Americans may profit from a liberalized education, neither DuBois nor Miller proposed the inherent inferiority

of African Americans as a rationale for limiting educational opportunities, and they did not believe 1 in 1,200 to be a reasonable figure.

The "Hidden Agenda" Hypothesis

During this period, people who were interested in developing opportunities for the higher education of African American youths in the South were between the proverbial rock and a hard place. There was little hope that Southern colleges and universities would be integrated at any time soon, so there was a need to rely on African American institutions. However, funding for these institutions was, as Sumner (1927) pointed out, woefully inadequate. Horace Mann Bond (1934), in his book *The Education of the Negro in the American Social Order*, noted the importance of philanthropic bequests to Southern African American colleges and universities and stated that "the states generally have been reluctant to assume responsibilities for Negroes" (p. 147). He also recognized "the perplexing problem" of the extent to which bequests could be a means to control the nature of the education offered, and he stated that "the large foundations have been in a position to control the thought and opinion of Negroes to an immense degree" (p. 148). However, in conclusion he did concede that the educational opportunities that did exist "would not have come from any other source" (p. 150).

In the same year, Dwight Oliver Wendell Holmes, dean of the graduate school at Howard University, echoed Bond's (1934) viewpoint in a book titled *The Evolution of the Negro College*. While discussing the status of these institutions Holmes indicated that "since control usually follows support, it is evident that the ultimate control of the Negro colleges will be mainly in the hands of the white people in this country" and that "the future of these schools depends largely upon the wisdom and benevolence of those who hold the purse strings" (Holmes, 1934, p. 203).

An observation made by DuBois in the same year that Sumner published his first article also is relevant to this point. Concerning the generosity of Northern philanthropic agencies toward Atlanta University, DuBois (1926) wrote:

If Atlanta University would surrender some of its radicalism and *conform to their notions of what a Negro institution should be* [italics added] they would support it. But the institution has continued to have a free atmosphere and the voice of the alumni in its conduct has been influential. The result is today that Atlanta University is starving to death. Unless liberal Americans come to its rescue it cannot continue to do the work which it has done so well in the past. (p. 229)

The "hidden agenda" hypothesis being proposed in this article suggests that in the face of such a "perplexing problem," as Bond (1934) put it, one may make public statements that do not coincide with personal views in an attempt to gain or preserve the necessary support of others. Indeed, such an interpretation has been offered to explain Booker T. Washington's publicly expressed views. In his preface to a volume of Booker T. Washington's autobiographical writings, Harlan (1972) described Washington as "a man of protean complexity who engaged in many private activities that contradicted the public image" (p. xv), the public image being one accepting of segregation and, to some degree, the unequal treatment of African Americans. Perhaps more pertinent was the view of W. S. Scarborough (1900), then president of Wilberforce University, who suggested that Washington

could not have accomplished the things that he did had his true views been expressed. Scarborough wrote that “in no way can [Washington] enter into the discussion of burning questions concerning the race without endangering his work . . . in no other way could he have built up Tuskegee” (p. 276).

Nearly a decade after Sumner’s (1926, 1927) articles, the debate on the merits of segregated versus mixed education was still very much alive, as evidenced by writings of DuBois. In one such article DuBois wrote:

I know that this article will forthwith be interpreted by certain illiterate “nitwits” as a plea for segregated Negro schools and colleges. It is not. It is saying in plain English: that a separate Negro School, where children are treated like human beings, trained by teachers of their own race . . . is infinitely better than making our boys and girls doormats to be spit and trampled upon and lied to by ignorant social climbers, whose sole claim to superiority is ability to kick “niggers” when they are down. (DuBois, 1935, p. 335)

DuBois (1935) summed up by writing “the Negro needs neither segregated schools nor mixed schools . . . what he needs is education” (p. 335).

In the present article I hypothesize that Sumner, in his public writings, might not have been entirely forthright concerning his educational philosophy. It is suggested that his *Educational Review* articles were couched within the paradigm held by those with political and economic power in an attempt to extract from them support for African American colleges and universities, particularly in Southern states. In other words, it is proposed that although Sumner’s goal was not different in substance from that articulated by DuBois (1926, 1935)—namely, enhanced support for the education of African American youths—his manner of achieving it was designed to be much more palatable to the White establishment of his day. Although little direct evidence has been discovered to support this hypothesis, this article provides extensive circumstantial evidence to suggest that Sumner did not adhere privately to the views he expressed publicly in his articles and identifies an episode in his life that may have prompted him to adopt the approach that he did.

Sumner’s Early Educational Experience

Sumner was born December 7, 1895. He attended elementary schools in Virginia, New Jersey, and the District of Columbia (Bayton, 1975; Spencer, 1992). However, his parents were not satisfied with the quality of the secondary education available to African American youths in the segregated schools of the early 1900s, and he received no formal high school education. Rather, his parents provided textbooks and other reading materials, and through his own and his parents’ efforts he acquired a secondary education. As his employment application to Howard University reads, he received “private instruction in secondary subjects by [his] father” (Bayton, 1975, p. 185).

As a result of his lack of a high school diploma, Sumner was required to take a written examination to assess his qualifications for admission to Lincoln University, located in Chester County, PA (Guthrie, 1998), the first such institution for African Americans in the United States. In 1911, at the age of 15, he enrolled as a freshman. He was quite successful at Lincoln, graduating in 1915 at age 19, as

valedictorian of his class. He received a bachelor of arts degree in philosophy, magna cum laude, and he received special honors in English, modern languages, and Greek (Bayton, 1975).

In his 1926 *Educational Review* article, while discussing the education of African American youths since emancipation, Sumner wrote that "the formal education granted [African American youths] has not materially differed from that for Whites" (p. 43). Clearly, it is difficult to reconcile this statement with Sumner's own experience. If it was true that the education of African Americans was not different from that of Whites, why was it necessary for him to be schooled at home and then take an examination to determine the suitability of his education prior to his admission to Lincoln University?

Sumner's Experience at Clark College and His Admission to Clark University

After receiving his degree from Lincoln University, Sumner enrolled at Clark College (of Clark University, Worcester, MA) for the purpose of securing another undergraduate degree. On-campus housing was not available to any student in that era, and it was clear that Sumner perceived restrictions as to housing, because he asked James P. Porter, then dean of Clark College, to suggest "one or two good colored families who are willing to take a boarder and lodger" (Sumner, 1915).

After receiving his second bachelor of arts degree from Clark College, Sumner returned to Lincoln, where he continued his study of psychology and German. In addition, he taught several courses in psychology and German for which he received no pay (Sumner, 1917b). During this time, in exchanges of letters with Dean Porter, Sumner explored his options for future study and career. Sumner (1917b) wrote:

Psychology appears to be the most vital subject in which I would specialize. Many have tried to discourage me from that subject, saying that it was not much in demand among colored people. However, I seem to see a great latent demand for it.

Porter (1917c) supported Sumner's suggestion in a letter of reply:

I thoroly (sic) believe that if you make of your study of psychology a practical matter you can be of greatest service to your own people. This need not be confined to teaching, for the reason that many opportunities are more and more in evidence in which the knowledge of psychology may be turned to practical account for those in whom you may be interested.

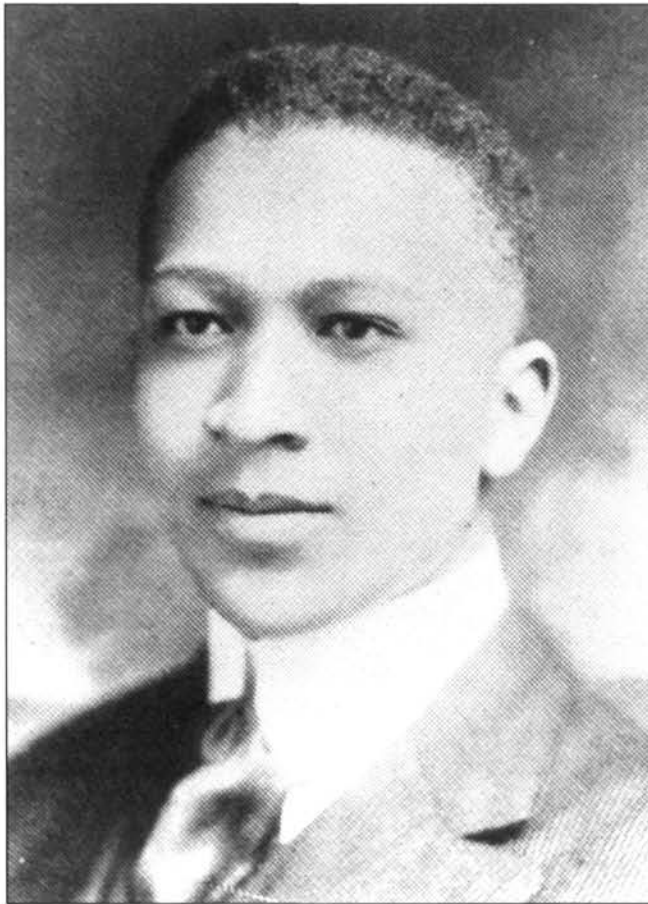
Sumner applied to graduate programs at the University of Illinois and the American University but was rejected. It is pertinent to note that in a letter of recommendation to the Committee on Graduate Fellowships at the University of Illinois, Porter (1917b) found it necessary to identify Sumner as "a colored man . . . relatively free from those qualities of body and mind which many persons of different race find so objectionable."

Finally, Sumner appealed directly to G. Stanley Hall, then president of Clark, for admission to Clark University. In a letter from Sumner (1917a) to Hall he

expressed his desire to study “race psychology.” Hall, who previously had created some controversy among the university’s trustees by his admission of women and minorities (Goodchild, 1996), replied by accepting Sumner into Clark (Hall, 1917), where he would study for a PhD in psychology. Sumner’s time at Clark was marked by a major controversy that resulted in a significant degree of opposition within the academic community at Clark and his near dismissal from the university.

A “Fellow in Psychology, Clark University” Creates Controversy in Worcester, Massachusetts

As noted in the previous section, Sumner was initially uncertain about his decision to pursue an advanced degree in psychology. In part because of encouragement from Porter (1917a), Sumner, shown in the photo while enrolled at Clark, had proposed to study psychology in order to serve the African American community. This he attempted to do shortly after arriving at Clark by means of his letters to the editor of the *Worcester Gazette*.



Francis Cecil Sumner while at Clark University, 1917–1920
(photo courtesy of Clark University Archives).

In the first of these letters (Sumner, 1918a), which he signed "Francis Cecil Sumner, Fellow in Psychology, Clark University," he sought to explain the views of "the thinking Negro" toward America's World War I policy. He wrote:

Two forces are warring in the breast of each and every colored man, woman, and child, and how could it be otherwise with things as they are? The Negro has been termed a "long sufferer" and that he has truly (sic) been. It is only with his great soul conflict of today that he is becoming conscious of his own pain and woe.

He went on to describe the size of the African American population in the United States and noted that this group was without political representation. The next idea expressed in his letter is particularly interesting in the context of the comments he would eventually make in his *Educational Review* (1926, 1927) articles:

[The African American population] pays taxes upon property valued past the billion mark. Through the South, where the bulk of this property is and where schools are separate for White and colored, there is comparatively *nothing much done for the colored people in the way of education* [italics added].

He proceeded, with great fervor, to denounce the oppression experienced by African Americans at the hands of White America:

There is no need to describe the horrid American atrocities against the Negro. Not satisfied with having reduced a people to the level of slaves, they now burn them at the stake without trial. They shoot the Negro down in his tracks, they gag him, they rape and seduce his womenfolk and then gloat over what they term the Negro's inherent immorality, degeneration, and bestiality. His home is burned from under him. In sections of the country, at times, mob law is [the] supreme representative of federal government. It is indeed a shocking wonder that some compassionate and benevolent White citizen has not founded a Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Negroes.

Finally, in a sentence that identified his attitudes toward the psychodynamic perspective, Sumner wrote "Within the soul of each member of my race the conscious self is saying, Serve your country, while the unconscious from out of the depths is thundering, You have a poor cause to serve."

These words are not consistent with those Sumner (1926, 1927) would write less than a decade later. Are these the thoughts of a writer who believed that "the formal education granted [African Americans] has not materially differed from that for Whites" (Sumner, 1926, p. 43)? Could they be the words of a person who believed Whites to be "the vanguard of civilization" and culturally superior to African Americans? Finally, could the author of this letter to the *Worcester Gazette* be the Sumner who would later write that it was the African American population for which "time has to be allowed for the natural selection of the socially fit" and that "statistics support the contention that the lower instincts in the Negro still defy moral harnessing" (Sumner, 1926, p. 44)?

Although Sumner's (1918a) first letter was outspoken, it was the second letter, published May 25, 1918, that initiated the controversy that nearly prompted his dismissal from Clark University. In this letter Sumner (1918b) suggested that the popular view in America that Germany was a barbaric, immoral, and irreligious society represented the use of projection as means of defense against the guilt

resulting from “horrid American atrocities against the Negro.” Sumner also attempted to explain America’s racial hatred by quoting Dr. William Stekel, a psychoanalyst: “We hate whole peoples because they represent a component of our ego which has fallen to repression.” The response to Sumner’s letter was swift, both from the Worcester community and from within the university.

On May 27, 1918, two prominent residents of Worcester, Charles Henry Lincoln (1918) and Henry Harmon Chamberlin (1918), wrote letters to the *Gazette* critical of Sumner’s comments. Lincoln, who possessed a bachelor of arts degree from Harvard and a PhD from the University of Pennsylvania, was a writer, historian, and archivist who had worked at the Library of Congress in Washington, DC (Nutt, 1919). His letter indicated that Sumner “is not a historian nor has he the type of mind which Americans associate with the name Sumner,” referring to the former abolitionist senator from Massachusetts, Charles Sumner (it is interesting that it was this Sumner from whom Francis Sumner’s father took his surname following the Civil War). Lincoln’s (1918) letter continued by saying that Charles Sumner’s “spirit would speak today agreeing with the neutral world of 1915 that the German treatment of Servia and Belgium was the worst which one civilized country ever accorded another” and that Germany “is learning rapidly that Americans can and will fight for the rights of man.”

Chamberlin, also a Harvard graduate, was a poet, painter, and publicist who rose to prominence prior to World War I as a result of his outspoken support for U.S. military preparedness (“Worcester poet,” 1951). At the outset of his letter he suggested that

A reptile crept into your Forum last Saturday night. I refer to a certain “Fellow in Psychology,” in Clark University, and a letter written by him. His observations on psychology are, of course, nobody’s business but his own, but his references to our country and the part she is playing in the world war are the concerns of all Worcester citizens.

Chamberlin concluded that

The opinions of the writer and of his German model are equally contemptible, but the writer has appeared in the columns of *The Gazette* under the aegis of Clark University. Everybody knows the patriotism of Clark University and *The Gazette*. It is a vital question for them both whether they will stand sponsor for a “Fellow in Psychology” who has raised a traitor’s voice in defamation of American ideals and of the spirit of the American people.

That such offense to Sumner’s letter was also taken by persons within the university is expressed in a May 27 handwritten note to G. Stanley Hall from Philip H. Churchman (1918), then professor of romance languages, who wrote:

May I call your attention to the letter in *The Gazette* of Saturday evening by Mr. F. C. Sumner, “Fellow in Psychology in Clark University”? It has created some comment in the city and should not, I think, be allowed to pass unnoticed.

It is interesting that, on May 29, 1918, 4 days after his letter was published, another letter by Sumner (1918c) was printed, which began, “I sincerely owe the community at large an apology for the misunderstanding which I have caused through my letter of last Saturday.” He stated that his purpose in writing the

previous letter was not to advocate pro-German ideas but "to point out the unjust treatment which is being accorded the Negro in sections of this country, and which treatment can but make the world outside look askance upon our fair ideals." Finally, he apologized for "attaching 'Clark University' to my name," and he admitted that the letter had been "purely a personal reaction."

It seems likely that this apology was influenced by Hall and others within the Clark academic community. It appears that Hall had been confronted by Col. A. George Bullock, chair of the university's board of trustees. In a letter written to Bullock, Hall (1918b) stated that "the sentiment inside the university is that [Sumner] merely made an indiscretion, but is entirely loyal, and *has learned a lesson that he will never forget*" [italics added]. Along with this letter, Hall submitted a 2-page memorandum to Bullock providing some details concerning both Sumner's life and an apparent conversation Hall had with Sumner concerning the letters. This memorandum, along with the letters to the editor that Sumner had written, provides evidence that the views Sumner expressed in his *Educational Review* articles in the mid-1920s were not held by him in late spring of 1918. In this memorandum, Hall said of Sumner:

He is not unnaturally tremendously interested in the problems of his race, and has devoted himself to uplift work for them. Having lived in the south, he has taken great interest, under the influence of the colored leader DuBois, who was Booker T. Washington's chief rival, in lynchings, of which he has a ghastly collection of newspaper accounts, and some of which have come pretty near to him.

Hall's reference to the influence of DuBois on Sumner is especially noteworthy. As previously noted, in his 1926 *Educational Review* article Sumner made clear his preference for the educational strategy of Washington and only hinted at the relevance of DuBois's ideas in the 1927 paper. Although Washington's influence on social issues was at its height at the turn of the century, weakening somewhat up to his death in 1915, DuBois's influence increased with the death of Washington and continued until his own death in 1963. Assuming Hall's observations concerning DuBois's early influence on Sumner are accurate, Sumner's apparent shift to the conservative philosophy of Washington would have been a shift opposite in direction to the majority of his intellectual contemporaries (H. A. Bullock, 1967).

Hall's memorandum further illuminated other effects of Sumner's letter. In the months that Sumner was on campus prior to writing the letters, arrangements had been made within the dining hall to have a special table where Sumner, and other students willing to sit with him, could eat. The need for such a special arrangement had grown out of the fact that there "happened to be at least someone at each table who preferred not to eat with a negro" (Hall, 1918b). Hall continued, "since [Sumner] wrote the article, he has been more or less censured or tabooed by his fellow students," and now no one would eat or speak with him. Also, Hall noted that Sumner had been called by the Worcester post office and required to tell "why his mail should not be held up as an enemy alien." Hall closed with "the poor chap has had his troubles and I think *learned his lesson*" [italics added].

Bullock's response to Hall, dated June 3, 1918, was brief and to the point:

I saw his letter of retraction and apology in the *Gazette* the day it was published. I think, in view of all the circumstances under which it was written and the

publication of his letter of apology, the matter had better be dropped and nothing further done about it. (A. G. Bullock, 1918b)

What was this “lesson,” referred to twice by Hall (1918b), that presumably Sumner had learned and would never forget? Was it that even in the context of a liberal institution of higher learning one cannot openly and honestly express views on social issues? Was it that professing unpopular views could lead to swift and sure negative reactions from the greater community as well as from those close to you, those whom you might have called your friends? Was it that institutions of higher education must ultimately depend on support from the outside and that those in control of such institutions would not allow threats to this support? Did he learn that there were some people who held power and others who had little or none and that one does not receive the support of those in power, and may even experience their wrath, by expressing unpopular views? Or, simply put, was the lesson that Sumner learned one of acknowledgment of the risk of taking an extreme view, and perhaps the potential benefit of assuming a more moderate position, on such controversial social issues?

It is important to remember that at the time this controversy occurred, Sumner was a 22-year-old student, enrolled for less than a year in Clark’s doctoral program. His experience demonstrated what could happen to a young African American student who expressed unpopular views. It is interesting that a similar controversy had arisen on the Clark campus at very nearly the same time, one that involved a White faculty member who already had received his PhD in sociology from Clark University. In the previously cited letter in which he defended Sumner, Hall (1918b) referred to this controversy when he wrote “may I express the hope that, whatever the committee decide[s] about Calhoun, they will be as lenient as they deem it compatible with the interests of the university and the community to be with Sumner.” Given the nature of the Clark academic community at the time, it seems reasonable to suggest that Sumner was aware of the case that involved Arthur Wallace Calhoun, the outcome of which may have contributed to whatever lesson Sumner learned.

The Case of Arthur Wallace Calhoun

Arthur Wallace Calhoun received his PhD in sociology from Clark University in 1916 and was appointed assistant professor in sociology in Clark College, the undergraduate division of the institution, and as lecturer at Clark University. On New Year’s Eve 1917, Calhoun wrote a letter to F. P. Keppel of the U.S. War Department. This letter was critical of the treatment of a Clark student, Joseph Korsak, who had been drafted, sent to Camp Devens in Massachusetts and, after achieving conscientious-objector status was being treated in such a fashion as to “coerce him into acquiescence in military service” (Calhoun, 1917). The letter received an immediate response from Col. H. R. Perry, the Commanding Officer; however, the response was directed to not Calhoun but to Clark president G. Stanley Hall. The response, which included a copy of Calhoun’s letter, questioned whether Calhoun was the type of person who should be “on the Faculty of an American School, teaching American youth” (Perry, 1918). Hall’s response to Perry indicated that he had “taken the matter up very fully with [Calhoun], and also with the head of the department” (Hall, 1918a).

Four months later, on May 28, 1918, a letter from Clark trustee Col. Bullock

reminded Hall that the university board of trustees had requested a statement from Calhoun concerning his "attitude toward the country and the prosecution of the war" and that Calhoun's reappointment was dependent on the statement "being acceptable to the Finance Committee of the University" (A. G. Bullock, 1918a). Apparently, Calhoun's statement was not acceptable even to Hall, because in a subsequent memorandum Hall intimated that he had "slowly and reluctantly come to feel we cannot encourage him to stay here and that he should go" (Hall, 1918c). In this memo Hall also noted that Calhoun realized that "if he lost his job here on a war issue, at this fever heat of public sentiment, when the great drive was on, he would never get an academic position again" (Hall, 1918c). Calhoun was not willing to compromise his views, and his failure to be reappointed to the faculty of Clark was apparent from a letter he sent to Hall requesting a letter of recommendation for a position at Swarthmore (Calhoun, 1918). In his previous conversation with Hall (Hall, 1918c), Calhoun had apparently been prophetic as to his future in academics, because he was not successful in securing the Swarthmore position or any other at an academic institution. A somewhat cryptic telegram, sent on December 4, 1919, and addressed to the president of Clark University from the Greater Iowa Association (1919) in Davenport, Iowa, requested information about a "professor of sociology or political economy whose initials are A W C." The reply from Clark identified Calhoun and said that, "he left a year ago last June" and was "now at the Tri-State Cooperative Society, Pittsburg (sic), Pa."

Of course, Calhoun was not the only academic within U.S. colleges and universities who lost a position for holding unpopular views about the war. The eminent psychologist James McKeen Cattell was dismissed from Columbia University, in part because of his position on the war (Gruber, 1972; Sokal, 1981). A young instructor of psychology, Edward Chace Tolman, was dismissed from Northwestern University for his pacifist views (Benjamin, 1991). Also, in the spring of 1918, a few months before his death, Harry Kirke Wolfe narrowly avoided dismissal from the University of Nebraska (Benjamin, 1991).

It seems that Calhoun could have salvaged his position at Clark, as well as his career as a sociologist, had he been willing to apologize for his behaviors and moderate his position on issues surrounding World War I. If he knew of Calhoun's troubles, surely Sumner would have been doubly affected by the fact that in the liberal environment of Clark University taking an unpopular position on certain issues placed at risk even a successful White faculty member (Calhoun's PhD was in hand, and he had published two books). In short, the case of Calhoun—which, it should be recalled, occurred at the same time as Sumner's own problems—may have contributed to the lesson that Hall (1918b) claimed Sumner "would never forget."

Sumner's Early Career: WVCI

Although Sumner's education was interrupted by his being drafted into military service toward the end of World War I, he was finally awarded a PhD in June of 1920. With degree in hand, Sumner left Clark for a position at Wilberforce University. After a year in this position and a summer at Southern University, Sumner moved to WVCI in Institute, West Virginia, where he stayed for 7 years. His record as a faculty member at WVCI does not seem consistent with the viewpoint of African American students as culturally inferior and for whom a

liberalized higher education was not suitable. The syllabus for Sumner's introductory psychology course suggested it was on the cutting edge of the field and stated that "by means of lectures, readings, and demonstrations, the student is introduced to psychology from two standpoints: the introspective and the behavioristic" (Spencer, 1992, p. 16). The textbooks chosen for the course included Titchner's (1910) *A Textbook of Psychology*, Watson's (1919) *Psychology From the Standpoint of a Behaviorist*, and Hunter's (1919) *General Psychology*. Spencer (1992) reported that other courses that Sumner taught "were scholarly in nature, typically requiring the student to purchase two or three contemporary texts on the subject matter" (p. 16).

In a letter to J. P. Porter, the dean of Clark University, Sumner (1921) expressed his enthusiasm for his new position in a postscript that read "P.S. I am to have regular apparatus in my psychology work." He was described by Spencer (1992) as expecting "much from his charges, instructing them more like graduate students than novices" (p. 17) and by former student Angie King as "wonderful, scholarly, and motivating . . . he never taught down to his students" (Spencer, 1992, p. 17). Finally, to demonstrate his support for excellence among his students, Sumner created an award that carried a monetary prize, which was presented to the psychology student who prepared the outstanding essay on a particular theme.

Throughout his tenure at WVC Sumner became increasingly frustrated with his inability to secure funds for his research. According to Guthrie (1998), Sumner believed that "race prejudice" was behind the refusal of grant agencies to fund his research and that of other African American scientists. This prejudice also was seen by Sumner as producing the segregation of higher education that prevented him from obtaining a position in other than an African American institution, all of which also had the effect of separating him from White colleagues.

It was at this time that, despite his growing animosity toward the state of higher education, Sumner published the *Educational Review* articles on the importance of reorganizing and providing economic support for a segregated form of industrial education for African American youths. It seems reasonable to believe that Sumner's experiences as an educator at WVC had led him to recognize the futility of expecting the integration of Southern universities at any time soon. Given his experience as a graduate student at Clark, it is likely that he also understood the futility of taking a radical stand on this issue or any other social issue involving race and as a result suppressed any desire he might have had to speak out concerning the injustice that existed or to insist on equality of educational opportunities offered African American youths. Instead, he made the best of the situation and called for increased political and economic support for the "so-called Negro colleges and universities" (Sumner, 1927, p. 169). Furthermore, he argued for such support within a context that fit the prevailing paradigm of the White establishment. Although it was Sumner (1926) who wrote "the Negro as a people is on a lower cultural level than the White race," it was U.S. President Warren Harding who, in October 1921, stated that social equality between African Americans and Whites would never be possible due to "fundamental, inescapable, and eternal differences of race" (Eisenberg, 1960, p. 194). It was also at this time that Terman (see Cravens, 1992); Brigham (1922); and others, such as Pyle, Ferguson, and Garth (cited in Bond, 1934), were proposing that the intelligence test score differences that existed between racial and ethnic groups largely

represented natural differences in ability. This was the context in which Sumner was working.

Sumner resigned from WVCI in 1928 to accept a position at Howard University in Washington, DC. According to Frederick Watts, a member of Howard's Department of Psychology in 1928, Sumner was actively recruited by Howard's newly elected and first African American president, Mordecai Johnson, to develop a quality Department of Psychology at the university (F. Watts, personal communication, June 2, 1995).

Sumner's Later Career: Howard University

Early in his presidency, Johnson collaborated with the deans of Howard University to develop a faculty of the best African American scholars, one of whom was Francis Sumner. He was given the task of developing the Department of Psychology, which when he arrived consisted of Frederick Watts, a recent recipient of a master's degree in psychology from Howard (F. Watts, personal communication, June 2, 1995). On the recommendation of E. G. Boring, his former professor at Clark, Sumner successfully recruited another Clark PhD, Max Meenes, to join him and Watts at Howard (Bayton, 1975). Along with several other part-time instructors, many of whom had received their master's degrees at Howard, Sumner and his colleagues continued to develop both the undergraduate and graduate psychology programs.

Under the leadership of Sumner and his colleagues Howard University became a major force in the education of African American psychology students, even though the department at Howard did not offer the PhD degree in psychology until 1972. Nevertheless, by 1972 three hundred African Americans had earned PhDs in psychology from U.S. colleges and universities, and 60 of them had previously received a bachelor's or master's degree from the Department of Psychology at Howard (Bayton, 1975). One of Sumner's students, Kenneth Bancroft Clark, would emerge as the most successful and influential African American psychologist of the 20th century.

Sumner's Influence on Kenneth Bancroft Clark

Clark arrived at Howard in the fall of 1931 with the intention to study medicine after finishing at Howard. According to Clark, his experience in his introductory psychology class, which was taught by Francis Sumner, changed his mind, and he declared, "to hell with medical school . . . [psychology] is the discipline for me" (Hentoff, 1982, p. 45). Clark finished his bachelor's degree in psychology and earned a master's degree at Howard. He remained as an instructor in the Department of Psychology while his wife, Mamie Phipps Clark, completed her undergraduate work at Howard (Hentoff, 1982).

Clark reported that Sumner's influence was critical in that Sumner had showed him "the promise of getting some systematic understanding of the complexities of human behavior and human interaction" (Hentoff, 1982, p. 45) and that such understanding could be used to solve complex social problems. Clark (quoted in Hentoff, 1982, p. 45) observed:

Professor Sumner had rigorous standards for his students. And he didn't just teach psychology. He taught integrity. And, although he led the way for other Blacks in

psychology, Sumner would permit no nonsense about there being anything like “Black psychology”—any more than he would have allowed any nonsense about “Black astronomy.” In this and in many other ways, Sumner was a model for me. In fact, he has always been my standard when I evaluate myself.

This retrospective statement by Clark is further evidence for the academic and personal challenges that Sumner expected his students to face. In addition, the fact that Sumner would not accept the notion of “Black psychology” suggests that he did not see African American people as being fundamentally distinctive from other groups, which is inconsistent with Sumner’s presumed acceptance of the biological or cultural inferiority of African Americans expressed in the *Educational Review* articles (1926, 1927).

Subsequent to leaving Howard and earning their PhDs from Columbia University, Kenneth and Mamie Clark realized Sumner’s vision of using social science to assist in solving complex social problems. It was their work on the developmental effects of prejudice, discrimination, and segregation in the developing child that was cited in the 1954 Supreme Court decision concerning *Brown et al. v. Board of Education* (“Brown et al.,” 1954), and it was this decision that undid the legal basis for the system of segregated education within the United States.

Clark’s role in this regard is certainly ironic, given the fact that less than 30 years earlier his mentor, Sumner, had advocated a system of unequal, segregated education based on the premise of cultural inferiority. But this irony is understandable given the difference in the historical contexts within which Sumner and Clark had functioned. Indeed, Myrdal (1944) defined the social context for the Clarks’s work in the preface of *An American Dilemma* when he observed that “not since Reconstruction has there been more reason to anticipate fundamental changes in American race relations, changes which will involve a development toward the American ideals” (p. xix). A basis for such optimism was nonexistent during the mid-1920s when Sumner was engaged in his effort to improve the nature of higher education for African Americans. As previously noted, in a 1921 speech President Warren Harding defined the character of the times in which Sumner began his career by indicating that there existed “fundamental, inescapable, and eternal differences of race” that made social equality impossible (Eisenberg, 1960).

In view of what has been considered here, it is reasonable to believe that Sumner’s efforts were in some way responsible both for Clark’s contributions and for the change in social climate that enabled the Supreme Court’s 1954 decision, which was handed down 4 months after Sumner suffered a fatal heart attack at his home in Washington, DC. However, Sumner was aware of the impending collapse of the legal basis for the segregated education that he and all of his students had experienced. Both he and his colleagues were also proud of the fact that one of their students had played such a significant role in segregation’s undoing (F. Watts, personal communication, June 2, 1995).

Concluding Remarks

In his *Educational Review* articles of 1926 and 1927, Sumner proposed racial inferiority as the primary rationale for a system of unequal, segregated education for African American youths. In the present article I have proposed that his articles sought to advance a hidden agenda. Specifically, I have argued that Sumner

masked his true convictions and presented a philosophy that catered to the paradigm of the White establishment so as to stimulate the economic and political support of which African American education was in such desperate need.

Of course, alternative hypotheses could be advanced to explain the change in Sumner's position on race and education during his days at Clark to those of the mid-1920s during which he published his articles. Perhaps a change in Sumner's standing (e.g., education, income, status, etc.) following his graduation from Clark University caused a shift in his attitudes. This notion receives support from Bond (1934), who wrote that students and graduates of Negro colleges "are probably the most conservative representatives of their types in America" and that such education

takes them away from their natural orientation with the masses of their race . . . in the manner of having no sympathy for the poor and weak of their own people, and concentrating all energies on the satisfaction of middle-class ambitions and desires. (p. 148)

However, subsequent to his experience at an African American institution, Lincoln University, Sumner had exhibited significant sympathy for the plight of African Americans, as is evidenced by his letters to the *Worcester Gazette*. In addition, any change in standing did not deter him from developing a teaching style described as "wonderful, scholarly, and motivating" and through which "he never taught down to his students" (Spencer, 1992, p. 17), or a professionalism that prompted Clark to say that Sumner "was a wonderful model for me" and "has always been my standard when I evaluate myself" (Hentoff, 1982, p. 45).

In addition, any change in Sumner's standing would have occurred largely within the African American community and not within psychology or higher education in general. Sumner and other African American scientists and educators of his day were well aware of limitations placed on them, such as the absence of employment opportunities at institutions other than African American ones and the lack of funds available from granting agencies (Guthrie, 1998), or attending conferences in Southern cities and being unable to stay at the same hotels as, or eat in restaurants with, White colleagues (F. Watts, personal communication, June 2, 1995). It seems reasonable to conclude that the reality of these limitations—even for Sumner, who had made it through the White graduate school system—confirmed for him the futility of arguing for a system of equal, integrated education for African American youths.

On the other hand, the evidence available to support the hidden-agenda hypothesis, although circumstantial, is considerable. It is found in Sumner's own educational experiences, and his role and treatment in, as well as his response to, the political controversy he precipitated while at Clark. Remember, it was Hall (1918b) who wrote that Sumner, as a result of that controversy, had learned a lesson that he would never forget. In addition, his contributions to psychology in general, and to the departments at WVCI and Howard University specifically, seem to contradict statements he made in *Educational Review*. Finally, testimonials of Sumner's students and colleagues suggest an educator not accepting of African American inferiority; rather, their comments suggest one who, by whatever means necessary, sought to do what he could for his students. In short,

along with the poet Langston Hughes, Sumner, in his own way, endeavored to “let America be America again.”

References

- Bayton, J. A. (1975). Francis Sumner, Max Meenes, and the training of Black psychologists. *American Psychologist*, 30, 185–186.
- Benjamin, L. T. (1991). *Harry Kirke Wolfe: Pioneer in psychology*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- Bond, H. M. (1934). *The education of the Negro in the American social order*. New York: Octagon Books.
- Brigham, C. C. (1922). *A study of American intelligence*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Brown et al. v. Board of Education of Topeka, Shawnee County, Kansas, etc. (1954). *Supreme Court Reporter*, 74, 686–693.
- Brown, S. A., Davis, A. P., & Lee, U. (Eds.). (1941). *The Negro caravan: Writings by American Negroes*. New York: Dryden Press.
- Bullock, A. G. (1918a). Letter to G. Stanley Hall, May 28, 1918. G. Stanley Hall Papers, Clark University Archives, Worcester, MA, Box 7.
- Bullock, A. G. (1918b). Letter to G. Stanley Hall, June 3, 1918. G. Stanley Hall Papers, Clark University Archives, Worcester, MA, Box 45.
- Bullock, H. A. (1967). *A history of Negro education in the South: From 1619 to the present*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Calhoun, A. W. (1917). Letter to F. P. Keppel, December 31, 1917. G. Stanley Hall Papers, Clark University Archives, Worcester, MA, Box 7.
- Calhoun, A. W. (1918). Letter to G. S. Hall, June 28, 1918. G. Stanley Hall Papers, Clark University Archives, Worcester, MA, Box 7.
- Chamberlin, H. H. (1918, May 27). Henry Harmon Chamberlin replies to Clark University fellow's attack on American ideals [Letter to the editor]. *Worcester Gazette*.
- Chen, H. S. (1926). Fallacies on Negro education. *Educational Review*, 72, 278–279.
- Churchman, P. H. (1918). Letter to G. Stanley Hall, May 27, 1918. G. Stanley Hall Papers, Clark University Archives, Worcester, MA, Box 45.
- Cools, E. G. (1924). Why Negro education has failed. *Educational Review*, 68, 254–259.
- Cravens, H. (1992). A scientific project locked in time: The Terman genetic studies of genius, 1920s–1950s. *American Psychologist*, 47, 183–189.
- DuBois, W. E. B. (1926). Negroes in college. *The Nation*, 122, 228–230.
- DuBois, W. E. B. (1935). Does the Negro need separate schools? *Journal of Negro Education*, 4, 328–335.
- Eisenberg, B. (1960). Kelly Miller: The Negro leader as a marginal man. *Journal of Negro History*, 45, 182–197.
- Goodchild, L. F. (1996). G. Stanley Hall and the study of higher education. *Review of Higher Education*, 20, 69–99.
- Greater Iowa Association. (1919). Telegram concerning Arthur Wallace Calhoun, December 4, 1919. G. Stanley Hall Papers, Clark University Archives, Worcester, MA, Box 7.
- Green, D. S. (1970). W. E. B. DuBois' talented tenth: A strategy for racial advancement. *Journal of Negro Education*, 39, 358–366.
- Gruber, C. S. (1972). Academic freedom at Columbia University: The case of James McKeen Cattell. *AAUP Bulletin*, 58, 297–305.
- Guthrie, R. V. (1998). *Even the rat was white* (2nd ed.). New York: Harper & Row.
- Hall, G. S. (1917). Letter to F. C. Sumner, April 28, 1917. G. Stanley Hall Papers, Clark University Archives, Worcester, MA, Box 45.

- Hall, G. S. (1918a). Letter to A. G. Bullock, January 18, 1918. G. Stanley Hall Papers, Clark University Archives, Worcester, MA, Box 7.
- Hall, G. S. (1918b). Letter to A. G. Bullock, May 31, 1918. G. Stanley Hall Papers, Clark University Archives, Worcester, MA, Box 45.
- Hall, G. S. (1918c). Memorandum concerning Arthur Wallace Calhoun, May 28, 1918. G. Stanley Hall Papers, Clark University Archives, Worcester, MA, Box 7.
- Harlan, L. R. (1972). *The Booker T. Washington papers: Vol. 1. The autobiographical writings*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press.
- Hentoff, N. (1982). The integrationist. *The New Yorker*, 58, 37–73.
- Holmes, D. O. W. (1934). *The evolution of the Negro college*. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University.
- Hunter, W. S. (1919). *General Psychology*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Lincoln, C. H. (1918, May 27). Mr. Sumner's psychological analysis of America's motives in light of historical facts. [Letter to the editor]. *Worcester Gazette*.
- Locke, A. (1925). *The new Negro*. New York: Boni.
- Myrdal, G. (1944). *An American dilemma: The Negro problem and modern democracy*. New York: Harper & Brothers.
- Nutt, C. (1919). *History of Worcester and its people*. New York: Lewis Historical.
- Perry, H. R. (1918). Letter to G. Stanley Hall, January 8, 1918. G. Stanley Hall Papers, Clark University Archives, Worcester, MA, Box 7.
- Philosophies of Negro education [Editorial]. (1926). *Opportunity*, 4, 38.
- Porter, J. P. (1917a). Letter to F. C. Sumner, February 17, 1917. G. Stanley Hall Papers, Clark University Archives, Worcester, MA, Box 45.
- Porter, J. P. (1917b). Letter to the University of Illinois, February 16, 1917. G. Stanley Hall Papers, Clark University Archives, Worcester, MA, Box 45.
- Scarborough, W. S. (1900). Booker T. Washington and his work. *Education*, 20, 270–276.
- Sokal, M. M. (Ed.). (1981). *An education in psychology: James McKeen Cattell's journal and letters from Germany and England 1880–1888*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Spencer, J. L. (1992). *Recollections and reflections: A history of the West Virginia State College Psychology Department 1892–1992*. Institute: Graphic Arts Production Center–West Virginia State College.
- Sumner, F. C. (1915). Letter to J. P. Porter, June 15, 1915. G. Stanley Hall Papers, Clark University Archives, Worcester, MA, Box 45.
- Sumner, F. C. (1917a). Letter to G. S. Hall, March 28, 1917. G. Stanley Hall Papers, Clark University Archives, Worcester, MA, Box 45.
- Sumner, F. C. (1917b). Letter to J. P. Porter, January 27, 1917. G. Stanley Hall Papers, Clark University Archives, Worcester, MA, Box 45.
- Sumner, F. C. (1918a, February 15). Feels he is but half a man—a plea that justice be given the Negro [Letter to the editor]. *Worcester Gazette*.
- Sumner, F. C. (1918b, May 25). German kultur finds an expression in America by the treatment accorded [Letter to the editor]. *Worcester Gazette*.
- Sumner, F. C. (1918c, May 29). Francis Cecil Sumner apologizes for letter and protests his loyalty to America [Letter to the editor]. *Worcester Gazette*.
- Sumner, F. C. (1920). Psychoanalysis of Freud and Adler. *Pedagogical Seminary*, 29, 139–168.
- Sumner, F. C. (1921). Letter to J. P. Porter, October 13, 1921. G. Stanley Hall Papers, Clark University Archives, Worcester, MA, Box 45.
- Sumner, F. C. (1926). Philosophy of Negro education. *Educational Review*, 71, 42–45.
- Sumner, F. C. (1927). Morale and the Negro college. *Educational Review*, 73, 168–172.

- Thomas, R. K. (1999). Sumner, Francis Cecil. In J. J. Garraty & M. C. Carnes (Eds.), *American national biography* (Vol. 21, pp. 142–144). New York: Oxford University Press.
- Titchner, E. B. (1910). *A textbook of psychology*. New York: Macmillan.
- Watson, J. B. (1919). *Psychology from the standpoint of a behaviorist*. Philadelphia: Lippincott.
- West, E. H. (1972). *The Black American and education*. Columbus, OH: Merrill.
- Worcester poet, painter, publicist dies. (1951, July 11). *Worcester Gazette*, pp. 1–2.

Received January 20, 1998

Revision received July 19, 1999

Accepted October 25, 1999 ■