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MIND

Cold War Politics & the Sciences of Human Nature

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CHAPTER TWO

The Creative American

Modern society filled Cold War intellectuals with anxiety. Its bureaucracy, social fragmentation, homogeneity, and soulless consumerism represented alienation, isolation, and the evaporation of true community. It meant conformity and the erosion of the nation's frontier spirit and entrepreneurial nature. Without proper care, it could lead to mob rule or totalitarianism.

This chapter examines how Cold War social critics and policy makers found the answer to these seemingly pressing social and political problems in the systematic and scientific study of individual character. Their science provided tools for understanding the kind of person who threatened to make America into a mass or even an authoritarian society. Scientific tools also crystallized a form of the exemplary self that would inoculate America against the dangers of mass society.

The defining feature of that positive personality type was creativity, a trait taken to be interchangeable with autonomy, rationality, tolerance, and open-mindedness. John Gardner, president of the Carnegie Corporation and patron of much Cold War social science including creativity research, noted: "[Creativity] is a word of dizzying popularity. . . . It is more than a word today; it is an incantation. People think of it as a kind of wonder drug, powerful and presumably painless; and everybody wants a prescription. It is part of a growing resistance to the tyranny of formula, a new respect for individuality, a dawning recognition of the potentialities of the liberated mind."¹ Men such as Gardner believed that creative people would bring coherence to America's increasingly complex and diverse culture. At the same time, these creative people would mitigate the conformity that many social critics feared was a key charac-

teristic of both traditional society and modern mass society.² Their creativity would be the critical ingredient in making possible the “unity in diversity” that Cold War social critics believed to be the defining feature of the liberal pluralism they desired for America.³

Here I examine an effort in the 1940s and 1950s by liberal intellectuals to politicize personhood and promote autonomous selfhood in the service of making a better nation through reform of the self. My analysis centers on two ways in which intellectuals understood and advocated the connection between creativity and liberalism. First, I examine the frameworks for understanding self and society developed by liberal American intellectuals. They focused on the threats to unity and diversity, such as McCarthyism and racism. Concerned by reactionary efforts to maintain the status quo or even revert to the past, they searched for a way to achieve social and cultural unity while also respecting individuality and America’s pluralist character.

The first step in addressing this tension was to understand scientifically the kind of individual character that intellectuals thought to be most threatening to their ideal social and political order: the closed-minded authoritarian. According to social scientists, authoritarians endangered liberal, pluralist democracy because they were handicapped by a lack of psychic freedom and full selfhood. Freedom, autonomy, and creativity were defined as the inverse of these authoritarian traits. In addition to their currency within the academy and the world of social science, these models of good and bad selves provided the American public with techniques of self-inspection, tools for self-management, and benchmarks to which they could aspire.

Second, I explain how these models of the self were used for political ends. Liberal social scientists sought to mold America into a nation that fit their vision of the good society. They did so by managing the definitions of creativity and autonomy in such a way that those traits, once redefined, would describe their political allies. Conversely, the opposite traits—conformity, rigidity, and narrow-mindedness—were defined so as to apply to the liberals’ McCarthyite opponents on the right and their Communist foes on the left. By marking as irrational the social and political views they disagreed with, liberal social scientists played an important role in marginalizing non-centrist political ideas as irrational and thereby helped generate the apparent consensus of the Cold War era.⁴

Pluralism and the Challenges of Modern Society

From World War II into the Cold War, social critics, intellectuals, and policy makers came to see change, variety, and, especially, complexity as defining features of modern America.⁵ Commentators noted the proliferation of institutions, professions, occupations, and forms of knowledge, the multiplicity of religions, races, and ethnicities. Even though, in principle, liberals appreciated variety, they also felt that if it was not carefully controlled, American society and culture would fracture and undermine the nation's democracy. The question, then, was how to develop a society that would facilitate cultural unity and integration while maintaining healthy room for diversity and toleration of difference.

This focus on unity remained a constant fixture in the postwar period. For instance, it pervaded a 1957 conference devoted to understanding the "American style," sponsored by MIT's Center for International Studies (CENIS), a research arm of the CIA and the State Department. The conference attendees, luminaries of the academic and policy worlds, kept circling back to discuss how America had "fragmented into numberless small communities organized on varying social, geographical, professional, or intellectual principles; a society infinitely diverse."⁶

Likewise, in 1961, Seymour Martin Lipset and Leo Lowenthal warned: "Democracy itself is threatened [when] all discussion and decisions become segmentalized, each only understood by a tiny informed coterie."⁷ Here Lipset and Lowenthal cited and rephrased a concern C. P. Snow had raised in 1959 in *The Two Cultures*, a book concerning divisions between scientists and humanists.⁸ But, as the earlier comments by David Lilienthal, in the general education movement, and at the conference on the American Style indicate, Snow did not uncover a previously unnoticed phenomenon. Rather, his book arrived in a hospitable cultural environment and was a particularly powerful articulation of a set of social fears that had long preoccupied intellectuals.

However, the necessity that citizens manage modern America's complexity meant much more than coping with the proliferation of fields of learning or of specialized professions. More substantively, complexity also referred to social, political, and social diversity. Hence, what was needed were people who could balance two tasks: negotiating a world with increasing professional specialization and appreciating America's

pluralism. Accomplishing both tasks ultimately required a certain kind of mindset. Both tasks were also threatened by another kind of mentality: narrow-minded conformity.

Analyzing Conformity in the Social Sciences

Although intellectuals were concerned about how the complexity of modern life threatened the unity of American culture, they also identified a second challenge for the nation: finding a way for citizens to maintain their autonomy. How could citizens retain their individuality in the face of the pressures for homogenization and conformity that permeated American culture? What connected these two challenges—achieving unity and the maintenance of individual autonomy—was a consistent view and set of values regarding the self and its rational independence.

Autonomy was a theme common to discourse about life in America as well as in analyses of international politics and culture. When considering the domestic side of these issues, Americans—from the most elite circles of intellectual discourse to the popular media—focused in particular on autonomy's inverse: conformity. From the works of such popular social critics as William Whyte and David Riesman to mass-market magazines like *Reader's Digest*, *Woman's Day*, and *Life* and novels like *The Man in the Grey Flannel Suit*, Americans expressed anxiety about the growing conformity in the nation.⁹ They believed that the conditions of modern American life, including the corporatization of work and suburban homogeneity, produced conformity and therefore weakness in American culture and society. As Daniel Bell put it, "Everyone is against conformity, and probably everyone always was. Thirty-five years ago, you could easily rattle any middle class American by charging him with being a 'Babbitt.' Today you can do so by accusing him of conformity."¹⁰

These concerns about individuality at home were energized by the way social commentators and policy makers looked at international affairs. Some argued that America's inventive spirit depended on its diversity. The homogenization of thought implied by conformity thus threatened to weaken the nation. In 1959, a survey of American culture noted that variety and "heterogeneity" had become one of America's new values.¹¹ Moreover, domestic conformity suggested a worrisome lack of distance between the United States and the Soviet Union. For the group

of intellectuals concerned with “mass society,” there was a direct connection between conformity and authoritarianism.¹² The bland and homogeneous American suburb and the totalitarian machine that was the USSR shared a common feature: they were both populated by a similar sort of subject. In the imagination of liberal intellectuals, it was that kind of person who, devoid of a true self, could undermine American democracy.

Americans consistently framed the distinction between capitalism and communism as a conflict between a system that allowed freedom of thought and one that did not. These views can be found in the founding document of American Cold War strategy, George Kennan’s policy analysis in the journal *Foreign Affairs*. “NSC-68,” the National Security Council’s analysis of the USSR’s quest for world domination and recommendation for massive increases in military spending, put an official stamp on these views. It characterized American democracy as constituted by freedom of thought, reason, tolerance, diversity, and creativity. On the other hand, the USSR was driven by a quest for domination both of the world and of individual minds. More pedestrian literature, such as pamphlets circulated to high school and college administrators, articulated a similar perspective.¹³

One such pamphlet was circulated by the Educational Policies Commission (EPC), a group, as noted in the previous chapter, comprised of school superintendents, the presidents of Columbia and Harvard (Dwight Eisenhower and James B. Conant), and representatives of the U.S. Office of Education and of the Carnegie Fund for the Advancement of Teaching. Comparing the “Soviet and non-Soviet worlds,” the pamphlet defined democracy as “dedicated to the proposition that intellectual freedom is essential to the worthwhile life and development of mankind.” Communism, by contrast, was “implacably opposed” to this freedom. The pamphlet noted: “There are many other differences between the two societies, but the issue of intellectual liberty appears to be the most basic, clear-cut, difficult, and persistent.”¹⁴ Left by the wayside in this analysis was any discussion of private versus state ownership of property or free markets versus centralized control of the economy.

Academic social scientists played an important role in this particular discourse on self and society. Their work gave structure and authority to ideas about politics and personhood that circulated among educators, social critics, and policy makers. It gave Americans a system for conducting social critique in the language of the individual psyche. And

it contributed to the emphasis on psychic autonomy at home and abroad, while at the same time providing a set of formal tools for understanding persons that could be deployed by more widely read social critics.

By World War II, social scientists had devoted significant attention to political questions couched in psychological terms.¹⁵ They combined psychology and anthropology in national character studies and in the culture and personality movement, as well as in psychological explanations for the political views held by individuals. The most important work in this last genre of social science was *The Authoritarian Personality* (*TAP*), a thousand-page, twenty-six-chapter study coauthored by Theodor Adorno, Else Frenkel-Brunswik, Daniel Levinson, and R. Nevitt Sanford.¹⁶

The main task of the project that led to *TAP* was to construct a full character profile for the authoritarian personality and a set of tools by which to identify him or her. This work consequently held that prejudiced and antidemocratic beliefs were only two symptoms of a character “syndrome” that had numerous pathological manifestations. To demonstrate this pathology, the book’s research program involved constructing, administering, and statistically analyzing survey tests of ethnocentrism (the “E scale”), authoritarianism or fascism (the “F scale”), and anti-Semitism (the “AS scale”). In addition to these techniques, *TAP* included clinical interviews and use of the Thematic Apperception Test (TAT), a projective instrument similar to the Rorschach test. *TAP* repeatedly stressed that the scores produced with each of these tests were highly correlated with scores on the others.

What, then, were the characteristics of the authoritarian personality? First, authoritarians were remarkably similar to one another. *TAP* noted that, while those “extremely low” in authoritarianism were a diverse group, those who scored high on the authoritarian scale were quite uniform.¹⁷ The book thereby made a social scientific argument for the relationship of individualism to democracy and posited the nondemocratic nature of social homogeneity. It also made the identification of people afflicted with authoritarianism simple, since one was just like another.

The beauty of *TAP* was that it identified psychic traits that would appear both in relationship to other people and also intrapsychically. For instance, authoritarian people exhibited prejudiced and stereotyped thinking. On the social side, this meant “generalized ethnocentrism”—a reactionary rejection of different social groups of all kinds. The authori-

tarian person's almost compulsive prejudice came from the "need for an outgroup" and inability to identify with "humanity as a whole."¹⁸

On the personal, intrapsychic side, such prejudice meant "stereotyped thinking," "rigidity," "narrow-mindedness," and "intolerance of ambiguity." All of these terms had technical definitions and indicated forms of cognitive deficiency that would occur even in contexts stripped of social cues. Consider, for instance, one of the more widely discussed cognitive disorders associated with authoritarianism: "rigidity." Earlier psychologists had linked rigidity to lower and simpler organisms, feeble-mindedness, mental disorders, lack of creativity, lack of intelligence, and ethnocentrism. "Rigidity" had much the same connotation in *The Authoritarian Personality* as in the earlier psychological studies. However, *TAP* also emphasized the irrational nature of those afflicted with this trait.¹⁹ The stated reason for this irrationality was that authoritarians operated by "taking over conventional clichés and values. . . . There is no place for ambivalence or ambiguities. . . . Every attempt is made to eliminate them. In the course of these attempts a subtle but profound distortion of reality has taken place, precipitated by the fact that stereotypical categorizations can never do justice to all the aspects of reality."²⁰ The authoritarian's distortions of reality occurred not only in connection with his or her social judgment, but also under conditions of pure sensory stimulation. For instance, Frenkel-Brunswik found that ethnocentric children dealt particularly poorly with ambiguous perceptual stimuli.²¹

Although widely regarded as one of the important and influential works of the postwar period, *TAP* received sustained criticism for its reliance on neo-Freudian models to explain authoritarianism. For instance, noting the failure of *TAP* to control for social variables, Herbert Hyman and Paul Sheatsley were unconvinced that the cause of an authoritarian personality could be found in an individual's early family experiences and their ultimate effects on the psyche.²² The community of social psychologists seemingly agreed with this point. Ultimately, the psychodynamic theory in *TAP* was the portion of the work that was least often explored in follow-up studies, where attention was primarily focused on statistical studies using the F scale.²³

Though psychodynamic explanations were largely dropped by social scientists, the focus on the authoritarian's crippled cognitive processes remained at full strength. For instance, Jerome Fisher conducted a set

of experiments that compared the memory abilities of the ethnocentric and the non-ethnocentric. Like the authors of *TAP*, Fisher found “rigidity” and “intolerance of ambiguity” in ethnocentric subjects. He tested a group of college students for ethnocentrism using the questionnaire developed by the authors of *TAP*. He also showed them figure 2.1. After

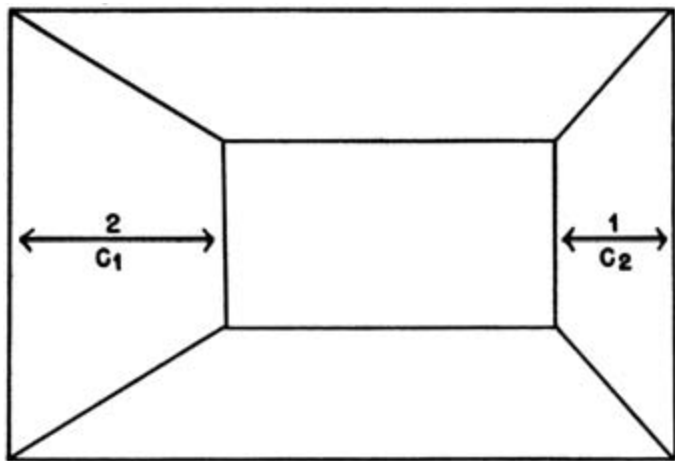


FIGURE 2.1. Stimulus image for memory tests. From Jerome Fisher, “The Memory Process and Certain Psychosocial Attitudes, with Special Reference to the Law of Prägnanz,” *Journal of Personality* 19 (1951): 406–20.

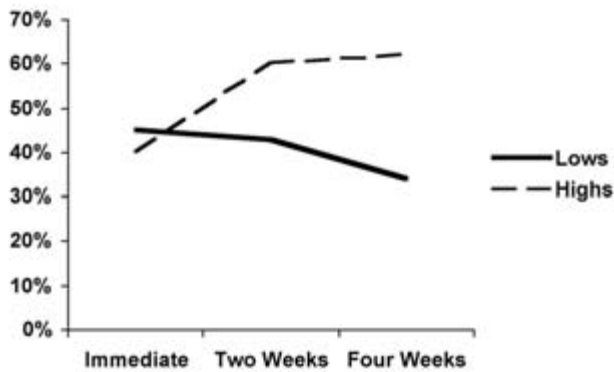


FIGURE 2.2. Percentage of individuals with High or Low authoritarianism scores who mis-recalled figure 2.1. Chart generated from data given in Fisher, “The Memory Process and Certain Psychosocial Attitudes.”

removing the figure from view, he asked the students to reproduce it. He subsequently asked them to draw the figure after two weeks and again after another two weeks. Noting that the figure was asymmetrical, such that C₁ is twice the size of C₂, Fisher then graphically compared those high in ethnocentrism (the “Highs”) against the “Lows” on the basis of their reproduction of figure 2.1 as more symmetrical than it actually was. His graph showed that those high in ethnocentrism displayed an increasing tendency to reproduce the figure symmetrically. By the fourth week, over 60 percent of the “Highs” were erroneously recalling the figure as symmetrical.²⁴

This demonstration of the cognitive deficits associated with ethnocentrism would become a touchstone of Cold War social science. They were, for instance, part of Gordon Allport’s seminal book, *The Nature of Prejudice*, the most important work on racism in the postwar period apart from Gunnar Myrdal’s *An American Dilemma*.²⁵ Allport, like Fisher and the authors of *TAP*, explained racism by pointing to the irrationality of racist views.

A second and significant attribute distinguished the democratic character from the authoritarian one: autonomy. The authoritarian’s social and cognitive deficits extended well beyond the prejudice that closed him or her off from experience of the world. Ultimately, the root of the authoritarian’s illness was the lack of a true self. He or she was consequently dominated by other people, by experience, or by society. The authoritarian’s attachment to “conventional clichés and values” was a “crutch” that substituted for the absent self. *TAP* noted the ethnocentrist’s “conformity to externally imposed values,” “blind submission to the ingroup,” and “uncritical obedience” to authority figures.²⁶ The authors also observed that people with democratic minds possessed “greater autonomy,” “an internalized conscience . . . oriented toward genuine, intrinsic values and standards rather than toward external authorities,”²⁷ and an inner core that defined the autonomous self.

TAP concluded that autonomy allowed individuals not only to be true to themselves but also to maintain a connection with truth and reality. Conformity, on the other hand, produced only lies and errors in vision, memory, or logic. Ultimately, this account of conformity was embedded in the very tools that psychologists developed to diagnose it. In the work of Solomon Asch and Richard Crutchfield, the measure of conformity was defined as the percentage of times that a subject yielded to community consensus when that community was in error. By contrast, the in-

herent value of individuality could be seen in the fact that truth could be achieved only through difference from the group.²⁸

Fashioning Tools to Measure Creativity

As they had with other character traits, social scientists looked to develop systematic measures of creativity and autonomy. Even though these were, in principle, democratic traits that everyone but authoritarians possessed, in practice it was important to be able to rank people according to their level of creativity. To accomplish this task, intellectuals relied on well-conditioned sensibilities as well as elaborate systems of popular and expert characterological analysis to identify and measure autonomy and creative thinking. Ultimately, scientific and lay psychological knowledge reinforced each other and provided psychologists, social critics, policy makers, and their audiences with consistent and reliable techniques for molding themselves and judging others on the basis of their autonomy and creativity or lack thereof.

Major work on the psychology of creativity began after World War II and grew out of military and defense concerns. The Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) and the National Science Foundation (NSF) supported psychological research on creativity as a part of their graduate research fellowship programs.²⁹ For grant officers, the problem was one of predicting the future. They needed to identify individuals who would, at a later date, be the most productive architects of the next generation of atomic weaponry. Ultimately, the trait of creativity was one of the factors the officers settled on to make these predictions.

With the support of the Carnegie Corporation and the Rockefeller Foundation, a second major research project was initiated in 1949 at Berkeley's Institute of Personality Assessment and Research (IPAR). IPAR united members of the *Authoritarian Personality* project with alumni of the personnel assessment project of the Office of Strategic Services (OSS), predecessor of the CIA, to develop standards for evaluating creativity and "personal effectiveness."³⁰

Three critical assumptions linked these projects for identifying the creative kind of person. First, creativity was assumed to be a useful, productive, social trait. It was not to be understood simply as a mental process. It would consequently be measured in terms of the novel creation of

actual products, whether they were poems, patents, buildings, or bombs. Second, the procedures for identifying creative people were developed out of techniques used to study potential OSS officers, airplane mechanics, or atomic scientists. Third, psychologists devised instruments for measuring and understanding creativity that were calibrated by preexisting nonscientific notions of what it was and who possessed it. That is, they found exemplary individuals who were already known for their creativity and then built tools that could distinguish these people from everyone else. Although the methods of defining, measuring, and predicting creativity varied from psychologist to psychologist, the one thing that they shared was an effort to standardize and ratify *preexisting* views and understandings of who was creative and who was not.³¹ Psychologists thereby constructed psychological theory directly on top of a foundation of popular wisdom about creativity.

As a consequence of using preexisting criteria for creativity, psychology's measures of autonomy, creativity, and conformity aligned closely with cultural and socioeconomic divisions in American culture. Thus, for example, the IPAR researcher Richard Crutchfield found that scientists were creative and nonconformist, while the opposite held true for military officers.³² He also found that creativity and conformity were opposite traits. Thus, one could expect to find the least creativity among the segments of society that were most conformist, rigid, or authoritarian.

Crutchfield and other psychologists noted that women were more conformist than men. Presumably because he was so convinced by his own work and because it fit with prevailing stereotypes, Crutchfield subsequently went on to publish a widely used textbook in which he erroneously cited the work of other psychologists as confirming his own finding of gender differences in conformity.³³ The majority of researchers on creativity joined Crutchfield in finding women both more conformist and less creative than men. Frank Barron, another IPAR researcher, articulated a typical view when he wondered whether men created ideas and women created children.³⁴

Other social scientists confirmed Barron's findings that related creativity and its opposite, authoritarianism, to class and cosmopolitan cultivation. They found that authoritarianism was inversely correlated with both education and measured intelligence.³⁵ In fact, education was so closely tied to liberal democratic thinking that college seniors were less authoritarian than first-year students.³⁶ Further, adults who had attained

only a grammar school education were over twice as likely as those with a college education to agree with statements that were indicators of authoritarianism. For instance, 80 percent of those with grammar school education agreed “the most important thing to teach children is absolute obedience to their parents.” In contrast, only 35 percent of college educated respondents agreed with this statement.³⁷

While questions such as these managed to divide people along educational lines, other tools for identifying authoritarianism were similarly effective in making social distinctions. A reliable way of distinguishing the Highs (in authoritarianism) from the Lows was to ask them to name people they admired. Those low in authoritarianism responded with such names as “Whitman, Pushkin, Beethoven, Voltaire, Bertrand Russell, Comte, Maimonides, Confucius, Sir William Osler, Freud, [and] Pestalozzi.” On the other hand, the Highs responded with “Marshall, MacArthur, Lindbergh, the Pope, Henry Ford, Washington, Teddy Roosevelt, Kate Smith, [and] Bing Crosby.” The authors of *TAP* read these two groups of names as an indication that democratically minded people valued “intellectual, aesthetic, and scientific achievement, social contribution, and democratic social change,” while authoritarians valued “power and control, conservative Americana, etc.” On the other hand, critics of *TAP* noted another difference: the individuals admired by democratically minded Americans were “largely unknown to non-intellectuals.”³⁸

The difference between these two classes of responses is underlined by research that made direct connections between class and authoritarianism. *TAP* found that a person’s ethnocentrism score reflected his or her parents’ and grandparents’ professions. On the one hand, people who appreciated ethnic and racial difference had parents and grandparents in professional fields. On the other hand, it noted “salesmen, policemen, firemen and their families seem to be more frequently among the prejudiced.”³⁹ Given the oft-repeated opposition of authoritarianism and creativity, it would have been easy in the 1950s to conclude that the highly educated children of professionals were the most likely to have democratic, creative, and autonomous characters.

Measures of creativity and authoritarianism were incredibly effective in dividing American society at its joints. They were tools so well attuned to their context that one psychologist recalls that as an untrained student without ever having seen the psychological instruments, he could predict with 80 percent accuracy whether a person was authoritarian or

not simply by seeing him or her.⁴⁰ These psychological instruments and the traits they reified thus crystallized the Cold War culture that connected class, cultural sensibility, religion, and political orientation.

Social scientists were quite explicit about the cultural foundations of authoritarianism. In his early work on the subject, for instance, the sociologist Seymour Martin Lipset repeatedly connected the tolerant, democratic mindset with “sophistication,” education, and cosmopolitan experience.⁴¹ At the same time, he and the other contributors to the leading social scientific examination of the radical right found authoritarianism and support of McCarthy concentrated among the working class, farmers, and small businessmen.

However, subsequent research would question the assertion that support of McCarthy was based in the working class. Even Lipset would begin to see concentrations of McCarthy defenders among middle- and upper-class Republicans. This transition in perception highlights the elitist and historically rooted nature of the 1950s research that linked democratic thinking with cultural sophistication.⁴²

Applying the Closed Mind in Politics

Having framed their vision of society in terms of the individual character and psyche, midcentury Americans turned to managing political discourse by shaping the very meanings of the open, autonomous mind and the closed, conformist mind. Social scientists thereby prepared a technology for conducting politics in psychological terms. Their tools enabled those who adopted them to wear a mantle of apolitical, nonideological science while at the same time labeling certain political positions as objectively irrational.

According to some Cold War centrists, political views that fell outside the mainstream had all the attributes of conformist authoritarianism—rigidity, closed-mindedness, and intolerance—and were therefore unworthy of consideration. Although the specific political views criticized as rigid and closed-minded varied, through the 1950s and into the 1960s it was liberal centrists who most often applied such epithets to their opponents—whether Communists or others on the left or racists, Joseph McCarthy and his supporters, or members of the John Birch Society on the right.⁴³

The centrist character of this psychological/political technology is evident in the publishing history of *TAP*, in its reception, and in work that

followed in the same genre of political psychology. One of the works that inspired *TAP* was developed using a Marxist framework. In this form, the scale of political personality ranged from bad to good as the political spectrum moved from authoritarian to neutral to revolutionary. However, this tripartite structure of political personality that celebrated revolutionary attitudes was dropped in *TAP* and replaced with a model that had two poles: authoritarian and democratic.⁴⁴

The new frame opened up the possibility of seeing authoritarianism on both the right and the left. While *TAP* helped initiate a pattern in Cold War culture of linking communism and fascism, the University of Chicago sociologist Edward Shils thought that *TAP* had not gone far enough. In one of the more famous critiques of *TAP*, Shils argued that its opinion scales and analyses missed the obvious fact that Communists displayed all of the mental deficiencies of authoritarians on the right.⁴⁵

Following Shils's criticism, social scientists largely looked for ways to frame authoritarianism as a trait that could characterize individuals on either the right or the left. This move had the advantage of casting the study of authoritarianism as apolitical and, consequently, more scientific. The social psychologist Milton Rokeach continued this trend by substituting a nominally politically neutral term, "closed-minded," for the loaded term "authoritarian." For psychologists, Rokeach's new instrument possessed two virtues. It could be used to label anyone, regardless of his or her politics. In addition, because of the neutrality of the tool, the act of labeling itself could be innocent of politics since it was determined not by sentiment but by purely rational expert judgment.

The use of psychology as a means of pursuing centrist politics can be readily seen in the interview forms developed by Rokeach to diagnose closed-mindedness. A primary characteristic of the "closed mind" was its tendency to engage in inappropriate social critique. Rokeach marked as closed-minded those who agreed with any of the following statements: "Most people don't give a 'damn' for others," "Unfortunately, a good many people with whom I have discussed important social and moral problems don't really understand what's going on," or "In times like these, a person must be pretty selfish if he considers primarily his own happiness."⁴⁶

Pessimism and ambition were also markers of closed-mindedness. On Rokeach's scale, respondents who agreed that "it is only natural for a person to be rather fearful of the future" or that "fundamentally, the world we live in is a pretty lonesome place" would be scored as closed-

mind. The same held true for those who hoped to make a significant difference in the world. In this case, the closed-minded person would agree with statements such as “The main thing in life is for a person to want to do something important,” “If given the chance I would do something of great benefit to the world,” or “While I don’t like to admit this even to myself, my secret ambition is to become a great man, like Einstein, Beethoven, or Shakespeare.” To Rokeach, all of these statements indicated closed-mindedness because they displayed classic symptoms of authoritarianism, including “concern with power and status” and “self-aggrandizement as a defense against self-inadequacy.”⁴⁷

Of course, there are numerous ways to read criticism of contemporary events or a desire to be of benefit to the world. One might interpret these sentiments in a neutral or even positive light. One could even reverse Rokeach’s moral calculus and criticize not the desire for change but, rather, complacency. As we will see in chapter 8, that is precisely what happened. Thus, Rokeach’s particular way of measuring closed-mindedness need not be seen simply as a psychological instrument; it also serves as a characteristic display of the limited range of action and aspiration that 1950s experts like Rokeach deemed acceptable.

In addition to crafting statements to elicit replies that would uncover respondents’ social critiques, pessimism, or hopes to have a personal impact on the world—all of which centered on discontent with the current state of affairs—Rokeach added others that were specifically designed to reveal forms of right- or left-wing ideological commitment or “opinionation.” Opinionation signaled essentially the same cognitive characteristics as closed-mindedness, including the inability to think logically. Agreeing with such statements, then, would mark the subject as being a closed-minded person of a particular sort. He offered the following examples:

Left Opinionation:

A person must be pretty stupid if he still believes in differences between the races.

A person must be pretty short-sighted if he believes that college professors should be forced to take loyalty oaths.

Only a simple-minded fool would think that Senator McCarthy is a defender of American democracy.

Thoughtful persons know that the American Legion is not really interested in democracy.

It is all too true that the rich are getting richer and the poor are getting poorer.

Right Opinionation:

It's the fellow travelers or Reds who keep yelling all the time about Civil Rights.

Any intelligent person can plainly see that the real reason that America is rearming is to stop aggression.⁴⁸

Rokeach argued that he was not measuring specific beliefs but, instead, the form in which they were expressed. What made these sample statements particular markers of closed-mindedness was the tone of assurance they expressed and the way they characterized opposing views. Rokeach implicitly demanded that—on pain of being labeled irrational—people remain unemotional on significant issues. Thus, for instance, an unwillingness to discuss differences between the races calmly was a marker of irrational ideology.

Rokeach's method of character analysis largely mirrored the techniques in *The Authoritarian Personality*. Both interpreted the opinions and beliefs expressed by subjects as symptoms of fundamental character structure. As a system for diagnosing irrationality and lack of connection with reality, Rokeach's work provided the means to dismiss social criticism from either the right or the left as unworthy of consideration.

In its very aspirations to political objectivity and neutrality, the social psychology of Rokeach and his colleagues bears the mark of its time. Although they did not always agree about where the boundaries of proper belief were located, social scientists marked certain social and political forms as sacrosanct and developed scientific tools that demonstrated the irrationality of those who dissented. At the same time, they often demanded that certain areas remain open to debate. For instance, Gordon Allport's *The Nature of Prejudice* (1954) characterized those who believed in the inequality of the races as having much the same cognitive handicaps as the authoritarians and ethnocentrists described in *TAP*. In taking such a definitive position, Allport might have been marked by Rokeach as closed-minded. On the other hand, Allport took it as entirely rational for people to be viscerally opposed to interracial marriage.

Rokeach's work, *TAP*, and the psychological research it inspired provided a foundation for much postwar cultural criticism. For instance, as was the case in *TAP*, Seymour Martin Lipset explained fas-

cism by its irrationality.⁴⁹ Another opinion survey conducted during the 1950s furthered this genre of social criticism by concluding that people who deviated from centrist political views did so because they had crippled cognitive functions, “personality malintegration,” and “social maladaptation.”⁵⁰ For the purposes of this survey, unlike in Rokeach’s work, the vehemence with which people spoke was not at issue. All that mattered was the extent to which they held unpopular views.

Such analysis was not simply a form of independent social thought. Indeed, two organizations backed by the CIA, the Fund for the Republic and the American Committee for Cultural Freedom, suggested and financially supported research on the “radical right” by Lipset and the historian Richard Hofstadter. This work ultimately led to contributions to Daniel Bell’s volume *The Radical Right*. In his chapter, Hofstadter relied heavily on the mode of psychological analysis used in *The Authoritarian Personality*.⁵¹

David Riesman and Nathan Glazer, two contributors to *The Radical Right*, borrowed a page straight from Else Frenkel-Brunswik by explaining the behavior of the “discontented” classes in terms of their “intolerance of ambiguity.” This analysis ultimately held sway in the social sciences and led to the view that the concerns of the right wing were largely an emotional “status anxiety,” rather than legitimate or serious. It also likely helped lead liberal intellectuals like Lionel Trilling and Richard Hofstadter to conclude that there was no serious argument to be made for conservative politics.⁵² As one of Hofstadter’s graduate students, the historian Dorothy Ross, recalls, the prevailing sentiment was that conservatives “had no mind.” Such treatment of the right as irrational “pseudoconservatives” may have helped steer intellectuals away from serious consideration of conservatism until the 1980s.⁵³ It was not only liberal intellectuals who used psychology to constrain political debate, however.

Like *TAP*, a report by the Educational Policies Commission equated proper politics with mental health. The EPC warned of the “impetuous” who might call for preventive war and the “escapists” who might call for national isolationism. Such escapists, the EPC warned, were the sort of people who sought “personal isolation by trying to cut their individual lives loose from the social context.” But, the EPC noted hopefully, “It is probable, however, that the great majority will come to terms with reality. Difficult and unpleasant though that will be, it will in the long run be psychologically wholesome.” In making these arguments, the EPC thor-

oughly mixed psyche and politics. It used politics as a gauge for mental health, conflated the politics of isolationism with the “antisocial” personality, and even promoted the adoption of the politics of containment as a cure for individual emotional distress.⁵⁴

Psycho-political critique frequently involved labeling unacceptable politics as “ideology.” Social critics often contrasted free (and hence democratic) thought with ideological thought by mobilizing social psychology’s conceptual apparatus for understanding deviant politics. In this model, ideology meant conformity to a system of dogmatic ideas. As psychologists had argued, such conformity meant the loss of individual autonomy and, therefore, loss of connection with the real world. Accordingly, politicians, social critics, intellectuals, and academics suggested that the highest form of thought and political engagement was nonideological.⁵⁵

This argument was a refrain for the members of the Congress of Cultural Freedom (CCF), an international group of intellectuals covertly funded by the CIA. One member, the historian Arthur Schlesinger Jr., echoed the analysis of authoritarianism in *TAP* while serving as special assistant to President John F. Kennedy. He explained the dangers of communism to the Indian people and argued that ideology was rigid, theological dogma that “obscured reality” and operated contrary to democracy, pragmatism, and empiricism.⁵⁶

This veneration of lack of ideology operated on much the same terms as the psychological discourse on conformity. The ideologue, much like the conformist, lacked autonomy because ideological commitment was synonymous with the surrender of freedom of thought. This was a primary reason why liberal intellectuals ranging from Sidney Hook, a leading figure in the American Committee for Cultural Freedom, the U.S. affiliate of the CCF, to Arthur Lovejoy, as well as the EPC, argued that Communists should be barred from teaching positions.⁵⁷ As the EPC argued, the facts were quite clear: “The whole spirit of free American education will be subverted unless teachers are free to think for themselves. It is because members of the Communist Party are required to surrender this right . . . that they should be excluded from employment as teachers.”⁵⁸ The point here was *not* that Communist teachers would corrupt their pupils. Rather, Communists were unsuitable as teachers because, owing to their ideological commitments and party membership, their thoughts were not their own.

While serving as dean of Harvard’s faculty (1953–60), McGeorge Bundy delivered testimony to Congress in which he took almost pre-

cisely the same position. Although Bundy contended that “the real scientific strength of the country is in its free minds” and insisted that Harvard applied no political tests for employing faculty, it was nevertheless the case that the university excluded “Americans who still surrender to Communist discipline.”⁵⁹ However, even those who were not Communists but who, in Bundy’s eyes, leaned suspiciously far to the left were suspect as well.⁶⁰

Ultimately, Bundy demanded “complete candor” about past associations and activities from individuals under suspicion. This was, perhaps, because Communists were usually taken to be constitutionally dishonest. Hence a person’s ability to be truthful indicated that he or she was free from one of the primary disabilities of Communism. A complete airing of the person’s past therefore also indicated a break from it. Finally, the requirement of candor had the advantage that it put Bundy in a position to retain a nominal commitment to the freedom of ideas and yet to dismiss staff, faculty, or graduate students not for their beliefs but because they had failed to tell the whole truth.

Raymond Allen, president of the University of Washington, Seattle, built his justification for having fired tenured members of his faculty on claims similar to those of Bundy and the EPC:

A member of the Communist Party is not a free man. Freedom, I believe, is the most essential ingredient of American civilization and democracy. In the American scheme educational institutions are the foundation stones upon which real freedom rests. . . . [A] member of the Communist Party is not a free man, . . . he is instead a slave to immutable dogma. . . . His lack of freedom disqualifies him from professional service as a teacher. Because he is not free, I hold that he is incompetent to be a teacher. . . . Because he has failed to be a free agent, because he is intolerant of the beliefs of others and because education cannot tolerate organized intolerance, I hold that he is in neglect of his most essential duty as a teacher.⁶¹

Allen, Hook, Bundy, and the EPC thus reached the paradoxical position of calling for free thinking while excluding certain people from the classroom because their unconventional ideas proved that they did not exercise free thought. In fact, one of the faulty fired by Raymond Allen was not even a Communist but simply uncooperative.⁶² Operating within the same system as that advanced by *TAP*, these educators and administrators believed that the improper nature of particular political

views could be reduced to and understood in terms of the specific kinds of mentality and deficits associated with them.

Society and Well-Mannered Creativity

If improper politics could be explained by a certain form of mentality, narrow-minded conformity, intellectuals of the Cold War period offered a contrasting, positive model of individual cognition that would advance the values they believed constituted America at its best. That positive character type possessed inner autonomy, the ultimate form of which was creativity. Like conformity, creativity was more than a personal attribute. It had social ramifications. The creative person was uniquely capable of coping with the rapid pace of change that characterized modern life.⁶³ It was to be the very foundation of the modern pluralist society that social critics hoped to build.

In creativity could be found the inverse of all of the personal, emotional, cognitive, social, and political deficits of the conformist: health, flexibility, openness, tolerance, and democratic character.⁶⁴ According to the authors of *The Authoritarian Personality*, the democratic person's autonomy produced greater "creativity," "spontaneity," "imagination," and "self-actualization" than the authoritarian was capable of.⁶⁵ This meant that creativity was essential to democracy. Indeed, it was often linked to autonomy and "inner-direction."⁶⁶ Consequently, praise of creativity and criticism of authoritarianism often traveled together, as in the work of Arthur Koestler, one of the founders of the CCF.⁶⁷

As one Defense Department official indicated, many Americans believed in the opposition of authoritarianism and creative insight: "In practically every discussion of creative effort, great emphasis is placed on the point that new ideas constitute departures from conventionalized views. On this account, it is argued that any form of rigorous indoctrination tends to limit intellectual freedom and, therefore, to reduce creative capabilities."⁶⁸

For many psychologists, social scientists, public intellectuals, and their readers in the 1950s, creativity and autonomy were unalloyed aids to building a bourgeois society.⁶⁹ The social nature of creativity stands out particularly because of how carefully it was contrasted with genius, a trait that traditionally carried antisocial connotations. In opposition to creativity, genius was seen more as a product of heredity than of en-

vironment. While one *Reader's Digest* article proclaimed, "You Can Learn to Think Creatively,"⁷⁰ scientists from Francis Galton to Lewis Terman and Cyril Burt described genius as an organic property.⁷¹ Articles on genius appeared in eugenics journals, while articles on creativity appeared in the *Journal of Engineering Education*. Genius had a history of being associated with physical illness such as tuberculosis and forms of mental disorder ranging from insanity to neurosis. In contrast, experts insisted that creativity was a sign of health and that neuroses hindered creativity.⁷² A genius, unlike a creative person, could operate—perhaps even operated best—in social isolation.⁷³

Spurred by social concerns and, as I detail below, funding from the Atomic Energy Commission, research on creativity exploded after 1950. The importance of creativity to postwar Americans was significant enough that there were as many creativity studies published between 1950 and 1965 as there had been in the previous two hundred years.⁷⁴ A comprehensive bibliography on the subject indicates that although research on creativity expanded exponentially after World War II, studies on genius declined. Unlike the work on creativity, which dates predominantly to after 1955, the literature on genius dates predominantly from the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century. Studies of genius are also more European, while the creativity literature is mostly American.⁷⁵

What we see in the way postwar Americans consistently marginalized genius is how very important it was to them that positive mental traits be adaptable to society. They consequently pictured creativity as a social affair. While numerous publications examined the kinds of environments that would foster creativity, there was almost no literature on its genetic basis. Many psychologists, cultural critics, and educators agreed that creativity was much more a product of nurture than of nature. Accordingly, educational experts filled their journals with articles on how to promote student creativity.⁷⁶ Critics of education charged that schools, in fact, bled creativity out of students. But both camps believed that social environment played a vital role.

The importance of society in constituting creativity was relevant not just to everyday schoolchildren but to the best scientists and artists as well. For them, as for children, creativity demanded training, knowledge, work, and practice.⁷⁷ Industry and business publications lauded the technique of brainstorming to solve problems at factories or make marketing programs more productive.⁷⁸ Vocational guidance experts noted that creativity made for a more effective sales force.⁷⁹ Business leaders

and engineers sought ways to speed up the rate of product innovation and development by improving the work environment.⁸⁰ Complementing this trend, psychologists examined how group processes affected creative thought.⁸¹

While society affected individual creativity, so, too, did creativity impact society. As portrayed in most literature of the 1950s, individual creativity was a productive and positive force in society. The word did not then have the connotation of critical and oppositional character that it would later acquire. Thus, although the opposite of creativity was conformity, anti-conformity was by no means equivalent to creativity.

Commentators on creativity in the 1950s consistently emphasized that the rejection of social norms did not imply creative thought or character. Consider the 1959 book *The Uncommon Man: The Individual in the Organization*, by Crawford Greenwalt. In this work Greenwalt, the CEO of DuPont, proposed that his corporation should be the model for American society, since most Americans were wage earners working in similar organizations. Greenwalt suggested that America's historic strength and its best hope for future progress lay in promoting the creative potential of the common man. If organizations like DuPont would reward creative ideas, he suggested, American society would prosper.

Greenwalt called for people to practice what he called "good manners" and to follow social norms while at the same time retaining their independence of thought. His imagined society, where people could maintain their individuality while exhibiting good behavior, rested on such conservative political views as the belief that a progressive income tax hindered individual motivation.

While it might not be surprising that someone like Greenwalt would laud independence of mind as long as it was safely secured within the frame of "good manners," in fact very similar sorts of analyses came from the liberal end of the political spectrum as well. For instance, the preface to *The Creative Mind and Method*, a 1960 volume on creativity, argued that it was a mistake to identify creativity with the "prevailing picture of the . . . artist as a starving, isolated, and rather crazy individual, a social and sensual Bohemian who works in fits of inspiration—when he isn't too drunk or hopped up to work at all." Moreover, this work noted that the "tragedy" of the Beat Generation lay in its "frantic noises over nothing, its desperate rebellion without purpose, and, even more, in its urgent attempts to put equal marks between abstraction and aberration, between freedom and carelessness, between the creative and the deviant."⁸²

Although this might seem to be a conservative position, the volume's organizers were by no means cultural reactionaries. One of them, Lyman Bryson, had championed scientific humanism and social engineering, both hallmarks of left-wing politics, in his 1948 work, *Science and Freedom*.⁸³ Bryson argued that the strongest society was the one that was the most diverse and creative. He accordingly hosted and provided commentary for a radio series for WGBH that presented creative artists, "scientists, philosophers, anthropologists, psychologists, theologians, and educators" to the general public. These interviews provided the raw material for the *Creative Mind and Method* volume.⁸⁴ Given Bryson's commitment to creativity as a productive social force, the volume's prefatory critique of the Beats should be understood not so much as opposition to their unconventional modes of behavior but, rather, as an argument that there is no necessary connection between creativity and anti-conformity.

Social scientists made precisely the same point. The liberal sociologist David Riesman, for instance, wrote that "today, whole groups are matter-of-factly Bohemian; but the individuals who compose them are not necessarily free. On the contrary, they are often zealously tuned in to the signals of a group that finds the meaning of life, quite unproblematically, in an illusion of attacking an allegedly dominant and punishing majority of Babbitts." Riesman was joined in this diagnosis by many others, ranging from Paul Goodman, a left-wing poet and social critic, to Richard Crutchfield, a psychologist who specialized in the study of creativity, to Betty Friedan, who, before publishing *The Feminine Mystique*, had spent the late 1950s combating conformity among high school students. They all held that, in being unconventional, Beats and bohemians were merely slavishly following their unconventional peers.⁸⁵

Most of the discussion on the relationship between creativity and conformity was based on positions roughly similar to those staked out by Riesman and Greenwalt. Liberal and conservative social critics imagined well-mannered creativity as a solution to several different kinds of problems in postwar America, and they saw conformity as inhibiting the creativity they so desired.

Although such interpretations of the polar opposition of conformity and creative autonomy were widely shared, what was not so universal were the cultural and political values placed upon such mental traits or how to identify them. For instance, both liberals and conservatives supported modern art and jazz as creative expressions that were emblematic of the freedom of the American spirit. Fostering the appreciation of

the right kinds of culture, then, would be a way to shape individuals and politics. Intellectuals and the cultural and political elite accordingly determined that specific forms of cultural production were weapons in the Cold War struggle with the Soviet Union.

Frank Barron discovered congruence between the kinds of art that individuals preferred and where they fell on the continuum of psychological simplicity/complexity. “Complex” individuals were more creative and flexible and consistently preferred modern art, whether of the primitivist, expressionist, impressionist, or cubist variety. The “simple” person, on the other hand, evinced authoritarian personality traits (conformity, stereotyped thinking, rigid and compulsive morality, dogma, repression) and expressed a preference for more traditional representational works such as Botticelli’s *Virgin and Child*, Fra Filippo Lippi’s *The Adoration*, and Gainsborough’s *Blue Boy*.⁸⁶

Barron’s findings on art preference fit well within the cultural system of 1950s America. Consequently, the CIA supported the Congress of Cultural Freedom, which, in turn, was instrumental in arranging exhibits of abstract expressionist art in Europe.⁸⁷ The pure forms of creativity displayed by Jackson Pollock and demanded of his audience seemed to highlight the freedoms of the American way of life. While Pollock’s expressionism suggested the liberation of the individual from politics and society, the realism of Soviet art—as well as that of Pollock’s early work and the work of his mentor, Thomas Hart Benton—was directly engaged with the politics of class.⁸⁸

The question of creativity’s value demonstrates divisions within the United States over what was most genuinely American. Many intellectuals, the CIA, and the organizations it funded sought to promote modern art in the service of fighting communism and advancing autonomy, creativity, and independent thought. And psychologists produced research that demonstrated the un-American character of the right wing and people who disliked modern art. On the other hand, reactionaries ranging from real estate developers in Los Angeles to art critics for the *National Review* linked modern art and jazz with communism.⁸⁹

The conservative critique of modern art was not just about the art itself. Just as liberal social scientists used their measures of creativity and authoritarianism to criticize people who maintained a preference for traditional art, conservative opinion makers drew on their own criteria of proper citizenship to criticize those who produced and consumed modern art. This critique was continuous with McCarthy’s attack on the

Eastern establishment and the elites who populated the State Department. In both cases, waging the Cold War involved fighting those who were perceived to be eroding America from within.

Conservatives would fight the Cold War by attacking precisely those parts of culture that liberals saw as both most central to America and most antithetical to Communist values. Thus, while liberals advocated tolerance and saw conformity as characteristic of Communist totalitarianism, the sociologist Samuel Stouffer found that McCarthy drew support from people who were both ignorant and intolerant of nonconformity.⁹⁰

This association between conformity and McCarthyism appeared not only in the survey work of social scientists but also in the words of some of McCarthy's most famous defenders. In the context of a 1954 book defending Joseph McCarthy's goals and methods, William Buckley and Brent Bozell, rather than critiquing conformity as antithetical to American values, argued that it was only proper to support America by demanding conformity to its central values. Buckley contended that liberals' advertised support of academic freedom was hollow. In an earlier book, *God and Man at Yale* (1951), he had pointed out that liberals at his alma mater did not extend academic freedom to Communists and argued that the homage paid to it was merely a cover for indoctrinating students in liberalism, undermining their proper religious faith, and promoting egalitarianism and collectivism.⁹¹

McGeorge Bundy, then a professor of government at Harvard, wrote what would be used as one of Yale's semiofficial responses to Buckley's book on Yale. His scathing review rebutted Buckley's accusations, charged him with dishonesty, and attacked him as a "twisted and ignorant" man.⁹² In this review and the interchange that followed, several of the problems that Bundy and other liberals found with Communists would appear in connection with Buckley. Although Buckley's published riposte argued that it was Bundy who was dishonest, Bundy's reply maintained that even Buckley's self-defense was mendacious.

One significant issue that Bundy highlighted was Buckley's Catholic faith. He found it "strange" and "remarkable" that Buckley was "an ardent Catholic," hid that fact, and yet called for Yale to return to its religious tradition—one that, Bundy pointed out, was Protestant. Bundy was particularly bothered by Buckley's effort to conceal his "special allegiance."⁹³ Here Bundy raised the same questions about Buckley's character that he used to justify excluding Communists from Harvard and other universities: they were constitutionally dishonest and they

“surrendered” their own freedom of thought in the name of political or religious dogma.⁹⁴

Bundy asked Buckley for the same candor that he would later, as dean, demand from ex-Communists and other left-wing faculty at Harvard. In the view of Bundy and other liberal anti-Communists, both communism and Catholicism involved “special allegiance” to an institution that dictated truth rather than seeing it as something to be discovered by the individual or through a process of inquiry. Further, although Bundy did not highlight this specific point, *God and Man at Yale* advocated precisely the aspect of the Catholic educational system—that is, teaching that truth is a given rather than something to be discovered—that liberals like John Dewey and Sidney Hook had critiqued as authoritarian and that *General Education in a Free Society* had rejected as inappropriate for most American schools.⁹⁵

Bundy’s treatment of Buckley as akin to a Communist in his mindset was far from idiosyncratic. Despite the fact that Catholics from Buckley to Joseph McCarthy made careers of rooting communism out of American life, they were often read as sharing mental attributes with these enemies. As David Hollinger and John McGreevy have noted, during the 1940s and early 1950s liberal scholars, including Dewey, Hook, Rokeach, and Lipset, saw considerable overlap between the attitudes of the Catholic Church and the authoritarian mindset. This view hinged on the support of Catholics for Francisco Franco as well as on the anti-Semitism of such famous Catholics as Father Coughlin. Hook, for instance, linked the Catholic intellectual Jacques Maritain to communism, opining that “Catholicism is the oldest and greatest totalitarian movement in history.” Hook supported this claim by noting the ability of Catholics to make peace with Fascists like Mussolini; he also suggested that Maritain was comfortable with communism because, as he put it, communism and Catholicism shared “dogmatic metaphysics.”⁹⁶

* * *

The lauding of mental attributes such as a penchant for open-minded inquiry or flexibility was a partisan endeavor, even if it did not always travel under an explicit banner of political activity. When authoritarianism could be successfully measured by a person’s admiration of the pope and democratic character assessed by a person’s appreciation of

Bertrand Russell, these traits ultimately marked more than political affiliation and cognitive capabilities. They simultaneously served as effective tools for measuring and marking an individual's social position.

Conclusion

Ultimately, psychological tests of creativity and open-mindedness, much like other robust psychological instruments, such as IQ tests and the SAT, were tuned in favor of certain social, cultural, religious, economic, and political groups in America.⁹⁷ Just as psychologists such as Lewis Terman used psychometric tests to crystallize particular norms of gender and intelligence, the psychological measurements of creativity and authoritarianism reified American political, social, class, and gender divisions of the 1950s so well because they were cast in the mold of pre-existing social judgments.

Despite, or perhaps because of, the partisan nature of psychological measures of the open and creative or closed and authoritarian mind, these measures spread widely through American society. By the mid-1990s, over two thousand studies on authoritarianism had been published; they most likely involved screening hundreds of thousands of Americans. Further, anecdotal evidence indicates that unpublished examinations dwarf published studies, as academic psychologists in almost every university and college screened students in their classes for authoritarianism.⁹⁸ Consequently, despite the substantive methodological criticism *TAP* received, especially for its Freudian aspects, the social practices for identifying authoritarianism and related deficits of mind were widely propagated by social scientists and their readers. And, as with the SAT, despite the specific origins of these measures of creativity and authoritarianism, they became useful general tools for evaluating and shaping both individuals and society.

"Creativity" worked well as a measure of individual merit and as a metric for social inclusion or exclusion. In so doing, it joined other systematic means of ranking individuals such as "intelligence," "merit," and "character." The latter two terms functioned as devices for elite colleges that found intelligence and academic ability insufficient means for keeping their populations wealthy, white, and Protestant.⁹⁹ Like other mental traits, creativity was found in highest measure among the people who

framed the term. As psychologists eventually recognized, the prototype of the creative person they described was none other than the psychologists themselves or other intellectuals who were defining creativity.¹⁰⁰

The values, sensibilities, preferences, and forms of thinking that were prevalent within the community of psychologists helped to form the definition of rationality, creativity, and right thinking in mid-twentieth-century America. The creative self they saw as the solution to the problems of American life was ultimately based on a form of selfhood desired in leading research universities.

The lines of influence ran in more than one direction, however. Where intellectual values and ideals encoded in ideals of autonomy functioned to police the boundaries of acceptable politics and social thought in America, it was also the case that the values of liberal pluralism helped to structure the daily lives of intellectuals. The next chapter takes up the influence of liberal democratic thinking within the microculture of the elite academy.

Notes

Introduction

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Chapter One

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11. B. Lamar Johnson, “General Education Changes the College,” *Journal of Higher Education* 9 (1938): 18–22.

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14. The report’s authors were Paul Buck, John Finley, Raphael Demos, Leigh Hoadley, Byron Hollinshead, Wilbur Jordan, I. A. Richards, Philip Rulon, Arthur Schlesinger Sr., Robert Ulich, George Wald, and Benjamin Wright. John Dunlop, John Gauss, Howard Jones, Alfred Simpson, and Howard Wilson were committee members for part of the time. See *General Education in a Free Society* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1945), xix.

15. Serial #31, October 28, 1943; Serial #41, November 4, 1943; Serial #60, November 30, 1943; Robert Ulich at the Meeting of the Committee, February 23, 1943, Records of the Committee on General Education in a Free Society, UAI 10.528.10, Harvard University Archives. Hereafter all serial numbers in this chapter refer to the records of this committee.

16. Serial #10, September 7, 1943; Serial #339, November 2, 1943; Serial #49, November 12, 1943; Serial #56, November 18, 1943; Serial #60, November 30, 1943.

17. The other figures discussed included Plato, Aristotle, Plutarch, Quintilian, John Amos Comenius, William Petty, Samuel Hartlib, John Locke, Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, Rousseau, Pestalozzi, Herbart, Froebel, and Emerson. Robert Ulich, February 16 and 23, 1943.

18. See *General Education in a Free Society*, 40.

19. Raphael Demos, "Philosophical Aspects of the Recent Harvard Report on Education," *Philosophy and Phenomenological Research* 7, no. 2 (1946): 187–213, on 193; *General Education in a Free Society*, 41–46.

20. *General Education in a Free Society*, 41.

21. *Ibid.*, 59, 64–66, 79–80, 190.

22. *Ibid.*, 65.

23. Serial #29, October 28, 1943.

24. Hutchins, "What Is a General Education?"

25. Serial #39, November 2, 1943; Serial #68, December 9, 1943, p. 5.

26. Hutchins, "What Is a General Education?" 606.

27. *General Education in a Free Society*, 100, 91.

28. Serial #4, July 27, 1943.

29. *General Education in a Free Society*, 38, 53.

30. Serial #4, July 27, 1943, pp. 4–5.

31. *General Education in a Free Society*, 79–80. See also 106.

32. Serial #56, November 18, 1943.

33. "... encyclopedism is not enough . . ." *General Education in a Free Society*, 98.

34. *Ibid.*, 110–11.

35. Educational Policies Commission, *Education for All American Youth* (Washington, D.C.: Educational Policies Commission, National Education Association of the United States, and the American Association of School Administrators, 1944), 51–52.

36. Wilford Merton Aikin, *The Story of the Eight-Year Study: With Conclusions and Recommendations* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1942), part 4.

37. *General Education in a Free Society*, 54.

38. *Ibid.*

39. *Ibid.*

40. Demos, supp. 18, pp. 7–8. Records of the Committee on General Education in a Free Society, Harvard University Archives.

41. *General Education in a Free Society*, 54.
42. Joel Isaac, “The Harvard Pareto Circle Revisited.” Paper presented at the Cambridge Seminars in Political Thought and Intellectual History, October 27, 2008.
43. Secondary literature suggests that James Conant founded the Shop Club in the 1920s when he was a member of Harvard’s Chemistry Department. However, archival records indicate that there was already a Shop Club of Harvard faculty that dated to at least 1911. HUD 3787505, Harvard University Archives.
44. One instance of inclusion of nondisciplinary specialists in ad hoc committees is discussed in James Conant to Paul Buck, 2/20/1951, papers of the Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, 1950–51, Courses of Instr. Changes since Final Edition. Folder: Ad Hoc Committee on Social Relations 1950–51, UA III, 5.55.26, Harvard University Archives. Discussion of the establishment of the up-or-out and ad hoc systems can be found in Morton Keller and Phyllis Keller, *Making Harvard Modern: The Rise of America’s University* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 64–71.
45. George C. Homans, *Coming to My Senses: The Autobiography of a Sociologist* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Books, 1984), 121, emphasis added. The same anecdote appears in Crane Brinton and George Caspar Homans, *The Society of Fellows* (Cambridge, Mass.: Society of Fellows of Harvard University, distributed by Harvard University Press, 1959), 25.
46. Brinton and Homans, *The Society of Fellows*, 29–31.
47. *Ibid.*, 5–22. Brinton and Homans discuss how, although the house system was implemented before the founding of the Society, the idea of the Society preceded the concrete plan for houses by four years.
48. Demos, Supplement 18A, p. 22. See note 40 above.
49. Educational Policies Commission, *Education for All American Youth*, 135–37.
50. James B. Conant, *On Understanding Science* (New York: New American Library, 1951), 3–4, 6.
51. James B. Conant, “Foreword,” in Thomas Kuhn, *The Copernican Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1957), xiii.
52. *Ibid.*, xv.
53. Keller and Keller, *Making Harvard Modern*, 44.
54. See, for instance, the editorial that inaugurated the journal. Earl J. McGrath, “The General Education Movement,” *Journal of General Education* 1, no. 1 (1946): 3–8.
55. Reuben Frodin, “Editorial Comment,” *Journal of General Education* 3, no. 3 (1949): 161–62.
56. Harold Taylor, “The Philosophical Foundations of General Education,” in *Fifty-First Year Book of the National Society for the Study of Education*, ed. Nelson B. Henry (Chicago: National Society for the Study of Education, 1952),

30–35; Daniel Bell, *The Reforming of General Education: The Columbia College Experience in Its National Setting* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1966), 38.

57. Nicholas Lemann, *The Big Test: The Secret History of the American Meritocracy* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1999).

58. David Eli Lilienthal, *TVA: Democracy on the March* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1966), 77–92.

59. James B. Conant, “Some Aspects of Modern Harvard,” *Journal of General Education* 4, no. 3 (1950): 175–83, on 180.

Chapter Two

1. John W. Gardner, *Self-Renewal: The Individual and the Innovative Society* (New York: Harper and Row, 1963), 32.

2. On the conformity of traditional societies and a celebration of the modern mind, see Alex Inkeles and David Horton Smith, *Becoming Modern: Individual Change in Six Developing Countries* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1974). For discussion of the place of this work in the field of modernization theory, see Nils Gilman, *Mandarins of the Future: Modernization Theory in Cold War America* (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003).

3. The call for unity in diversity can be found in Alain Locke, “Pluralism and Intellectual Democracy,” in *Science, Philosophy and Religion* (New York: Conference on Science, Philosophy and Religion, 2nd Symposium, 1942), 97; Daniel J. Boorstin, *The Genius of American Politics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953), 28; J. Robert Oppenheimer, “Theory Versus Practice in American Values and Performance,” in *The American Style: Essays in Value and Performance*, ed. Elting E. Morison (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1958); James B. Conant, *Education in a Divided World: The Function of the Public Schools in Our Unique Society* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1948), 179; Lyman Bryson, *Science and Freedom* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1948); Margaret Mead, *And Keep Your Powder Dry: An Anthropologist Looks at America* (New York: William Morrow, 1942); Lawrence K. Frank, “Psychology and Social Order,” in *The Human Meaning of the Social Sciences*, ed. Daniel Lerner (New York: Meridian Books, 1959), 239.

4. That the 1950s represented a period of consensus and political and social quiescence was long accepted by both social critics and historians. For discussion of how social critics blinded themselves to divisions within American society, see T. J. Jackson Lears, “A Matter of Taste: Corporate Cultural Hegemony in a Mass-Consumption Society,” in *Recasting America: Culture and Politics in the Age of Cold War*, ed. Lary May (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989). For a more recent study of long-ignored divisions in Cold War America, see

Alan Brinkley, “The Illusion of Unity in Cold War Culture,” in *Rethinking Cold War Culture*, ed. Peter J. Kuznick and James Gilbert (Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2001).

5. See for instance, Daniel Bell, “America as a Mass Society: *A Critique*,” in *The End of Ideology: On the Exhaustion of Political Ideas in the Fifties* (New York: The Free Press, 1962), 37; Talcott Parsons, “Evolutionary Universals in Society,” *American Sociological Review* 29, no. 3 (1964): 339–57, on 355; Margaret Mead, *Coming of Age in Samoa: A Psychological Study of Primitive Youth for Western Civilisation* (New York: HarperCollins, 2001), 8; J. T. Dunlop et al., “Toward a Common Language for the Area of the Social Sciences” (unpublished white paper, Harvard University, 1941); George F. Kennan, “America’s Administrative Response to Its World Problems,” in *The American Style: Essays in Value and Performance*, ed. Elting E. Morison (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1958).

6. Elting E. Morison, “The Course of the Discussion,” in *The American Style*, 396. C. Wright Mills articulated a similar concern. For him the problem was not simply the fracturing of national community, but the obliteration of “small-scale discussion” in small communities, and the “leisurely human interchange of opinion.” C. Wright Mills, “Mass Society and Liberal Education,” in *Power, Politics, and People: The Collected Essays of C. Wright Mills*, ed. Irving Louis Horowitz (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1967 [1954]), 362.

7. Seymour Martin Lipset and Leo Lowenthal, “Preface,” in *Culture and Social Character: The Work of David Riesman Reviewed*, ed. Seymour Martin Lipset and Leo Lowenthal (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1961), ix–x.

8. C. P. Snow, *The Two Cultures and the Scientific Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959).

9. Richard Yates, *Revolutionary Road* (Boston: Little Brown, 1961); Sloan Wilson, *The Man in the Gray Flannel Suit* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1955); Mills, “Mass Society and Liberal Education”; David Riesman, *The Lonely Crowd: A Study of the Changing American Character* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1950); William H. Whyte Jr., *The Organization Man* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1956).

10. Bell, “America as a Mass Society: *A Critique*,” 35.

11. On the survey see Clyde Kluckhohn, “Shifts in American Values: Review of Max Lerner, *America as a Civilization: Life and Thought in the United States*,” *World Politics* 11, no. 2 (1959): 251–61. For anxieties about conformity, see Bryson, *Science and Freedom*; Conant, *Education in a Divided World*, 149.

12. Although intellectuals lacked unanimity as to whether the United States was becoming a mass society, there was more general agreement as to the linkage of conformity, mass society, and authoritarianism. Generally, through the early 1960s, liberals such as Daniel Bell did not believe that the United States was a mass society. See Bell, “America as a Mass Society: *A Critique*”; Sey-

mour Martin Lipset, *Political Man: The Social Bases of Politics* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1960). Leftists, including Irvin Howe, and European émigrés, including members of the Frankfurt School, were more likely to diagnose the United States as a mass society.

13. X [George F. Kennan], "The Sources of Soviet Conduct," *Foreign Affairs* 25 no. 4 July (1947): 566–82; "NSC-68: United States Objectives and Programs for National Security." The Truman Library has made a scan of one of the originals of NSC-68 available online: http://www.trumanlibrary.org/whistlestop/study_collections/korea/large/week2/nsc68_1.htm.

14. Educational Policies Commission, *American Education and International Tensions* (Washington: 1949), 4.

15. Allen L. Edwards, "Unlabeled Fascist Attitudes," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology* 36 (1941): 575–82; Allen L. Edwards, "The Signs of Incipient Fascism," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology* 39, no. 3 (1944): 301–16; Abraham H. Maslow, "The Authoritarian Character Structure," *Journal of Social Psychology* 18 (1943): 401–11. These built on earlier studies. See H. D. Lasswell, *Psychopathology and Politics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1930); Erich Fromm, *Escape from Freedom* (New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1941); Ross Stanger, "Fascist Attitudes: Their Determining Conditions," *Journal of Social Psychology* 7, no. 4 (1936): 438–54; Ross Stanger, "Fascist Attitudes: An Exploratory Study," *Journal of Social Psychology* 7, no. 3 (1936): 309–19.

16. The chronology, history, and prehistory of the project may be found in R. Nevitt Sanford, "A Personal Account of the Study of Authoritarianism: Comment on Samelson," *Journal of Social Issues* 42 (1986): 209–14; William F. Stone, Gerda Lederer, and Richard Christie, "The Status of Authoritarianism," in *Strength and Weakness: The Authoritarian Personality Today*, ed. William F. Stone, Gerda Lederer, and Richard Christie (New York: Springer-Verlag, 1993). For discussion of the earlier research on psychology and fascism by Erich Fromm and other members of the Frankfurt School, see Franz Samelson, "The Authoritarian Character from Berlin to Berkeley and Beyond: The Odyssey of a Problem," in *Strength and Weakness*; Franz Samelson, "Authoritarianism from Berlin to Berkeley: On Social Psychology and History," *Journal of Social Issues* 42, no. 1 (1986): 191–208; Martin Jay, *The Dialectical Imagination: A History of the Frankfurt School and the Institute of Social Research, 1923–1950* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1973).

17. Theodor W. Adorno et al., *The Authoritarian Personality* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950), 1.

18. *Ibid.*, 100, 147–49, 464, 480.

19. See the discussion in Else Frenkel-Brunswick, "Sex, People and Self as Seen through the Interviews," in *The Authoritarian Personality*, 441.

20. Else Frenkel-Brunswick, "Comprehensive Scores and Summary of Interview Results," in *The Authoritarian Personality*, 480.

21. Else Frenkel-Brunswik, "Tolerance toward Ambiguity as a Personality Variable," *American Psychologist* 3 (1948): 268.

22. Herbert H. Hyman and Paul B. Sheatsley, "The Authoritarian Personality—a Methodological Critique," in *Studies in the Scope and Method of the Authoritarian Personality*, ed. Richard Christie and Marie Jahoda (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1954).

23. Samelson, "The Authoritarian Character"; M. Brewster Smith, "The Authoritarian Personality: A Re-Review 46 Years Later," *Political Psychology* 18 (1997): 159–63.

24. Jerome Fisher, "The Memory Process and Certain Psychosocial Attitudes, with Special Reference to the Law of Prägnanz," *Journal of Personality* 19, no. 4 (1951): 406–20.

25. Gunnar Myrdal, Richard Mauritz, Edvard Sterner, and Arnold Rose, *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy*, 2 vols. (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1944); Gordon W. Allport, *The Nature of Prejudice* (Cambridge, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Pub. Co., 1954).

26. Daniel J. Levinson, "The Study of Ethnocentric Ideology," in *The Authoritarian Personality*, 149–50.

27. Else Frenkel-Brunswik, "Dynamic and Cognitive Personality Organization as Seen through the Interviews," in *The Authoritarian Personality*, 454, 467.

28. S. E. Asch, "Effects of Group Pressure Upon the Modification and Distortion of Judgments," in *Groups, Leadership and Men: Research in Human Relations*, ed. Harold Guetzkow (Pittsburgh, Pa.: Carnegie Press, 1951); Richard S. Crutchfield, "Conformity and Character," *American Psychologist* 10, no. 5 (1955): 191–98.

29. Lindsay R. Harmon, "The Development of a Criterion of Scientific Competence," in *Scientific Creativity: Its Recognition and Development*, ed. Calvin W. Taylor and Frank Barron (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1963), 45.

30. Sanford, "A Personal Account"; Barron, *Creativity and Psychological Health*, 12.

31. For results based on freeform and projective tests, see Anne Roe, "A Psychological Study of Physical Scientists," *Psychological Monographs* 43 (1951): 121–239; Anne Roe, *The Making of a Scientist* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1953).

32. Richard S. Crutchfield, "Conformity and Creative Thinking," in *Contemporary Approaches to Creative Thinking*, ed. Howard E. Gruber, Glenn Terrell, and Michael Wertheimer (New York: Atherton Press, 1962), 130.

33. Ibid. On Crutchfield's error, see Alice H. Eagly, "Sex Differences in Influenceability," *Psychological Bulletin* 85, no. 1 (1978): 86–116, on 92. Eagly noted that the textbook had erroneously used a famous study on conformity by Solomon Asch to argue for sex differences in that trait and that Asch's study had been conducted on only male subjects. The textbook in question is David Krech,

Richard S. Crutchfield, and Edgerton L. Ballachey, *Individual in Society* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1962).

34. Frank Barron, "Originality in Relation to Personality and Intellect," *Journal of Personality* 25 (1957): 730–42. This remark and a thorough analysis of gender bias in creativity and conformity studies may be found recorded in a piece by another IPAR researcher: Ravenna Helson, "Creativity in Women," in *The Psychology of Women: Future Directions in Research*, ed. Julie A. Sherman and Florence L. Denmark (New York: Psychological Dimensions, 1978).

35. Richard Christie, "Authoritarianism Reexamined," in *Studies in the Scope and Method of the Authoritarian Personality*, 168–70; Sanford, "A Personal Account," 213.

36. Sanford, "A Personal Account," 213.

37. Hyman and Sheatsley, "*The Authoritarian Personality*—a Methodological Critique," 94.

38. Adorno et al., *The Authoritarian Personality*, 95. Quotations from *TAP* are reproduced in and criticisms thereof may be found in Hyman and Sheatsley, "*The Authoritarian Personality*—a Methodological Critique," 95.

39. Else Frenkel-Brunswik, "Further Explorations by a Contributor to the *Authoritarian Personality*," in *Studies in the Scope and Method of the Authoritarian Personality*, 233.

40. Richard Christie, "Some Experimental Approaches to Authoritarianism: I. A Retrospective Perspective on the *Einstellung* (Rigidity?) Paradigm," in *Strength and Weakness: The Authoritarian Personality Today*, 88.

41. Lipset, *Political Man*.

42. Seymour Martin Lipset, "Three Decades of the Radical Right: Coughlinites, McCarthyites, and Birchers," in *The Radical Right*, ed. Daniel Bell (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Company, 1964); Michael Paul Rogin, *The Intellectuals and McCarthy: The Radical Specter* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1967).

43. See, for instance, M. Brewster Smith, "Review of T. W. Adorno, E. Frenkel-Brunswik, D. J. Levinson and R. Nevitt Sanford, *The Authoritarian Personality*," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology* 45 (1950): 775–79; Lipset, *Political Man*. For a historical analysis that drew on similar models, see Richard Hofstadter and Wilson Smith, eds., *American Higher Education: A Documentary History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961).

44. Samelson, "Authoritarianism from Berlin to Berkeley."

45. Edward Shils, "Authoritarianism: 'Right' and 'Left,'" in *Studies in the Scope and Method of the Authoritarian Personality*. For linkages of communism and fascism, see Seymour Martin Lipset, "The Sources of the 'Radical Right,'" in *The Radical Right*, 327. For general discussion of this phenomenon, see Les K. Adler and Thomas G. Paterson, "Red Fascism: The Merger of Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia in the American Image of Totalitarianism, 1930s–1950s," *American Historical Review* 75 (1970): 1046–64.

46. Milton Rokeach, *The Open and Closed Mind: Investigations into the Nature of Belief Systems and Personality Systems* (New York: Basic Books, 1960), 76, 77, 80.

47. *Ibid.*, 76.

48. *Ibid.*, 83–84.

49. Lipset, *Political Man*.

50. Giuseppe Di Palma and Herbert McClosky, “Personality and Conformity: The Learning of Political Attitudes,” *The American Political Science Review* 64, no. 4 (1970): 1054–73, on 1060.

51. The connection between the CIA and Hofstadter are discussed in David S. Brown, *Richard Hofstadter: An Intellectual Biography* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 150–52. Lipset’s work initially appeared as a Fund for the Republic pamphlet.

52. Lionel Trilling, *The Liberal Imagination: Essays on Literature and Society* (New York: Viking Press, 1950).

53. The lack of concerted attention given to conservatism is discussed in Alan Brinkley, “The Problem of American Conservatism,” *American Historical Review* 99, no. 2 (1994): 409–29.

54. Educational Policies Commission, *American Education and International Tensions*, 16.

55. See, for instance, Bell, *The End of Ideology*; Boorstin, *The Genius of American Politics*; Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr., *The Vital Center: The Politics of Freedom* (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1949).

56. “Ideology vs. Democracy.” Text of a speech by Arthur Schlesinger Jr. before the Indian Council on World Affairs, New Delhi, February 15, 1962. Papers of J. Robert Oppenheimer, Box 65, Folder: Schlesinger, Arthur. Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

57. For discussion of Hook’s and Lovejoy’s views that Communists could not think for themselves, see Ellen Schrecker, *No Ivory Tower: McCarthyism and the Universities* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 105–6.

58. Educational Policies Commission, *American Education and International Tensions*, 40.

59. Testimony delivered to the Subcommittee on the Reorganization of the Committee on Government Operations of the U.S. Senate, March 15, 1955.

60. One such individual, because of his having supported Henry Wallace’s 1948 presidential campaign, was Everett Mendelsohn, then a graduate student in History of Science. Schrecker, *No Ivory Tower*, 260.

61. Raymond B. Allen, “Communists Should Not Teach in American Colleges,” *Educational Forum* 13, no. 4 (1949): 433–40. Significantly, Allen held that people who believed in Marxism could be teachers, but that members of the Communist Party could not.

62. For discussion of the University of Washington see Ellen Schrecker, *The*

Lost Soul of Higher Education: Corporatization, the Assault on Academic Freedom, and the End of the American University (New York: The New Press, 2010), 35–38. Schrecker argues that the Washington case is critical because it set the pattern for how universities would deal with accused Communists during the McCarthy period.

63. For an expression of this sentiment, see John W. Gardner, *Excellence: Can We Be Equal and Excellent Too?* (New York: Harper and Row, 1961), 35.

64. J. G. Schimek, “Creative Originality: Its Evaluation by Use of Free-Expression Tests” (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1954), 44. Cited in Donald W. MacKinnon, “IPAR’s Contribution to the Conceptualization and Study of Creativity,” in *Perspectives in Creativity*, ed. Irving A. Taylor and Jacob W. Getzels (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1975), 64–65. Frank Barron, *Creativity and Psychological Health: Origins of Personal Vitality and Creative Freedom* (Princeton, N.J.: Van Nostrand, 1963); Frenkel-Brunswik, “Tolerance toward Ambiguity”; Lawrence S. Kubie, “Blocks to Creativity,” in *Explorations in Creativity*, ed. Ross L. Mooney and Taher A. Razik (New York: Harper and Row, 1967); Abraham H. Maslow, “Creativity in Self-Actualizing People,” in *Creativity and Its Cultivation*, ed. Harold H. Anderson (New York: Harper and Row, 1959); Rokeach, *The Open and Closed Mind*, 58.

65. Levinson, “Ethnocentric Ideology,” 150; Else Frenkel-Brunswik, “Comprehensive Scores and Summary of Interview Results,” in *The Authoritarian Personality*, 466. See also Frenkel-Brunswik, “Tolerance toward Ambiguity.”

66. See, for instance, Herbert Gutman, “The Biological Roots of Creativity,” in *Explorations in Creativity*, ed. Ross L. Mooney and Taher A. Razik (New York: Harper and Row, 1967), 3. Originally published as Herbert Gutman, “The Biological Roots of Creativity,” *Genetic Psychology Monographs* (1961): 419–58.

67. Arthur Koestler, *The Act of Creation* (New York: Macmillan, 1964); Arthur Koestler, *The Sleepwalkers: A History of Man’s Changing Vision of the Universe* (London: Hutchinson, 1959); Arthur Koestler, *Darkness at Noon* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1941).

68. This particular individual disagreed with the connection between creativity and democracy, arguing that the Soviet Union’s success in producing innovative science was a product of its investment in education, research, and development. Situated as he was in the Department of Defense’s Advanced Research Projects Agency [DARPA], this commentator had a personal stake in connecting creative ideas not to democracy but to monetary investments. N. E. Golvin, “The Creative Person in Science,” in *Scientific Creativity: Its Recognition and Development*, 20.

69. For discussion of the defense of bourgeois society by formerly radical intellectuals, see Neil Jumonville, *Critical Crossings: The New York Intellectuals in Postwar America* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press,

1991), 221–29. A continuation of this defense of bourgeois values and the associated charge that cultural radicals lacked true creativity can be found in Daniel Bell, “The Sensibility of the Sixties,” in *The Cultural Contradictions of Capitalism* (New York: Basic Books, 1976), 120–43.

70. B. Clark, “You Can Learn to Think Creatively,” *Readers Digest* 77 (1960): 66–70.

71. C. Burt, “Eugenics: Intelligence and Genius,” *British Medical Bulletin* 6 (1949): 78–79; E. Kretschmer, “The Breeding of the Mental Endowments of Genius,” *Psychiatric Quarterly* 4 (1930): 74–80; Lewis M. Terman, ed., *Genetic Studies of Genius*, 4 vols. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1925, 1926, 1930, 1957). There were, of course, exceptions to this trend of American studies on the environmental etiology of creativity. The British psychologist Charles Spearman, for instance, saw creativity as genetic. See Spearman, *Creative Mind* (New York: D. Appleton, 1931).

72. Lawrence S. Kubie, *Neurotic Distortions of the Creative Processes* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1958); Jeannette Marks, *Genius and Disaster: Studies in Drugs and Genius* (New York: Adelphi, 1925); J. F. Nisbet, *The Insanity of Genius* (New York: Scribner’s, 1912); R. K. White, “Note on the Psychopathology of Genius,” *Journal of Social Psychology* 1 (1930): 311–15; Xavier Francotte, *La génie et la folie* (Brussels: Société belge de librairie, 1890); P. Funatoli, *Il Genio e La Follia* (Siena: Tip. dell’Ancora, 1885); Barron, *Creativity and Psychological Health*; Donald W. MacKinnon, “The Nature and Nurture of Creative Talent,” *American Psychologist* 17, no. 7 (1962): 484–95, on 488.

73. For discussion of the historical connections between isolation and insightful thinking, see Steven Shapin, “‘The Mind Is Its Own Place’: Science and Solitude in 17th-Century England,” *Science in Context* 4 (1991): 191–218; Martin Kusch, “Recluse, Interlocutor, Interrogator: Natural and Social Order in Turn-of-the-Century Psychological Research Schools,” *Isis* 86 (1995): 419–39.

74. This result is recounted in Ross L. Mooney and Taher A. Razik, “Preface,” in *Explorations in Creativity*, ed. Ross L. Mooney and Taher A. Razik (New York: Harper and Row, 1967).

75. Taher A. Razik, *Bibliography of Creativity Studies and Related Areas* (Buffalo: State University of New York at Buffalo, 1965).

76. H. W. Gabriel, “On Teaching Creative Engineering,” *Journal of Engineering Education* 45 (1955): 794–801; Howard Gammon, “Some Practical Techniques for Increasing Creativity in Engineering,” *Plant Maintenance and Engineering* 21 (1960): 25–27; G. Brown, “An Experiment in the Teaching of Creativity,” *School Review* 72, no. 4 (1964): 437–50.

77. Golvin, “The Creative Person in Science”; John C. Flanagan, “The Definition and Measurement of Ingenuity,” in *Scientific Creativity: Its Recognition and Development*, edited by Calvin W. Taylor and Frank Barron (New York and London: John Wiley and Sons, 1963); Jack D. Summerfield, Lorlyn Thatcher,

and with commentary by Lyman Bryson, eds., *The Creative Mind and Method: Exploring the Nature of Creativeness in American Arts, Sciences, and Professions* (New York: Russell and Russell, 1964).

78. L. R. Bittel, "Brainstorming: Better Way to Solve Plant Problems," *Factory Management* 114, no. 5 (1956): 98–107.

79. H. R. Wallace, "Creative Thinking: A Factor in Sales Productivity," *Vocational Guidance Quarterly* 9 (1961): 223–26.

80. C. H. Greenwalt, *The Uncommon Man: The Individual in the Organization* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1959). For examination of industrial research practices, see Steven Shapin, *The Scientific Life: A Moral History of a Late Modern Vocation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008).

81. Donald W. Taylor, *Thinking* (New Haven: Yale University Department of Psychology, 1962); D. Cohen, J. W. Whitmyre, and W. H. Funk, "Effect of Group Cohesiveness and Training on Creative Thinking," *Journal of Applied Psychology* 44 (1960): 319–22; Jerome S. Bruner, "The Conditions of Creativity," in *Contemporary Approaches to Creative Thinking*, ed. Howard E. Gruber, Glenn Terrell, and Michael Wertheimer (New York: Atherton Press, 1962).

82. Summerfield, Thatcher, and Bryson, eds., *The Creative Mind and Method*. Other members of the intellectual establishment expressed similar reactions to the Beats. Among them were Daniel Bell and the contributors to *Commentary* and *Partisan Review*. See Bell, "America as a Mass Society: A Critique," 35–36; Richard Pells, *The Liberal Mind in a Conservative Age: American Intellectuals in the 1940s and 1950s* (New York: Harper and Row, 1985), 377–80; Jumonville, *Critical Crossings*, 186–93.

83. Bryson, *Science and Freedom*, x.

84. Summerfield and Thatcher, "Preface," in *The Creative Mind and Method*, ix.

85. Riesman, *The Lonely Crowd*, 246; Crutchfield, "Conformity and Creative Thinking," 126; Paul Goodman, *Growing Up Absurd: Problems of Youth in the Organized System* (New York: Random House, 1960); Daniel Horowitz, *Betty Friedan and the Making of the Feminine Mystique: The American Left, the Cold War, and Modern Feminism* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1998), 172–76. For a similar argument about the counter-conformity of juvenile delinquents, see Albert Kircidel Cohen, *Delinquent Boys: The Culture of the Gang* (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1955).

86. Barron, "Complexity-Simplicity as a Personality Dimension."

87. Frances Stonor Saunders, *Who Paid the Piper? The CIA and the Cultural Cold War* (London: Granta Books, 1999), 252–78. For its part, the State Department sponsored international tours of jazz musicians. Penny M. Von Eschen, *Satchmo Blows Up the World: Jazz Ambassadors Play the Cold War* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2006).

88. Serge Guilbaut, *How New York Stole the Idea of Modern Art: Abstract*

Expressionism, Freedom, and the Cold War (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983); Erika Doss, “The Art of Cultural Politics: From Regionalism to Abstract Expressionism,” in *Recasting America: Culture and Politics in the Age of Cold War*, ed. Lary May (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989).

89. Sarah Schrank, “The Art of the City: Modernism, Censorship, and the Emergence of Los Angeles’s Postwar Art Scene,” *American Quarterly* 56, no. 3 (2004): 663–91, on 670; William S. Schlamm, “The Self-Importance of Picasso,” *National Review*, July 13, 1957; William S. Schlamm, “150 Drawings—But Out of This World,” *National Review*, May 23, 1956. See also Mike Davis, *City of Quartz: Excavating the Future in Los Angeles* (New York: Vintage Books, 1992), 63.

90. Samuel A. Stouffer, *Communism, Conformity, and Civil Liberties: A Cross Section of the Nation Speaks Its Mind* (New York: Doubleday, 1955).

91. William F. Buckley and Brent Bozell, *McCarthy and His Enemies: The Record and Its Meaning* (Chicago: H. Regnery Co., 1954); William F. Buckley, *God and Man at Yale; The Superstitions of Academic Freedom* (Chicago: Regnery, 1951).

92. For the review, see McGeorge Bundy, “The Attack on Yale,” *The Atlantic*, November 1951, 50–52. An undated memo from the Yale Office of University Development to members of the University Committee on Endowments and Gifts calls Bundy’s review (copies of which it circulated) a “complete and convincing answer” to Buckley: a copy of the memo is in the McGeorge Bundy Personal Papers, Box 24, Folder: “God and Man at Yale” (1 of 2), John F. Kennedy Library, Boston, Massachusetts.

93. McGeorge Bundy, “McGeorge Bundy Replies,” *The Atlantic*, December 1951, 84.

94. Bundy, Testimony delivered to the Subcommittee on the Reorganization of the Committee on Government Operations of the U.S. Senate, March 15, 1955; Allen, “Communists Should Not Teach in American Colleges.”

95. See chapter 1 for discussion of this point. More broadly, on the division between an empirical and secular approach to learning and culture as opposed to one based on religious values—and the shift of the American academy to favor the former, see David A. Hollinger, *Science, Jews, and Secular Culture: Studies in Mid-Twentieth Century Intellectual History* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1996).

96. Sidney Hook, *Reason, Social Myths and Democracy* (1940; reprint, Buffalo, N.Y.: Prometheus Books, 1991), 76, 79; John T. McGreevy, “Thinking on One’s Own: Catholicism in the American Intellectual Imagination, 1928–1960,” *Journal of American History* 84, no. 1 (1997): 97–131; David A. Hollinger, “Science as a Weapon in *Kulturkämpfe* in the United States during and after World War II,” *Isis* 86 (1995): 440–54.

97. As John Carson points out, assessing the validity of a specific intelligence

test requires comparing it to results gathered by other means. John Carson, *The Measure of Merit: Talents, Intelligence, and Inequality in the French and American Republics, 1750–1940* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2007), 227.

98. On Terman and gender norms, see Jill G. Morawski, “Impossible Experiments and Practical Constructions: The Social Bases of Psychologists’ Work,” in *The Rise of Experimentation in American Psychology*, ed. Jill G. Morawski (New Haven, Conn., and London: Yale University Press, 1988); Peter Hegarty, *Gentlemen’s Disagreement: Alfred Kinsey, Lewis Terman, and the Sexual Politics of Smart Men* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013). On the extent of testing for authoritarianism, see Jos D. Meloan, “The F Scale as a Predictor of Fascism: An Overview of 40 Years of Authoritarianism,” in *Strength and Weakness: The Authoritarian Personality Today*, 49; Christie, “Authoritarianism Re-examined,” 154.

99. On merit, see Jerome Karabel, *The Chosen: The Hidden History of Admission and Exclusion at Harvard, Yale, and Princeton* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2005).

100. Frank Barron, *Creativity and Personal Freedom* (Princeton, N.J.: Van Nostrand, 1968); MacKinnon, “IPAR’s Contribution,” 77; Ross L. Mooney, “Groundwork for Creative Research,” *American Psychologist* 9, no. 9 (1954): 544–48.

Chapter Three

1. Martin Landau, Harold Proshansky, and William Ittelson, “The Interdisciplinary Approach and the Concept of Behavioral Sciences,” in *Decisions, Values and Groups*, ed. Norman Washburne (Oxford: Pergamon, 1962), 15.

2. For further discussion of this point see Robert K. Merton, “The Mosaic of the Behavioral Sciences,” in *The Behavioral Sciences Today*, ed. Bernard Berelson (New York: Basic Books, 1963).

3. John W. Bennett and Kurt H. Wolff, “Toward Communication between Sociology and Anthropology,” *Yearbook of Anthropology* (1955): 329–51, on 333, 345.

4. An example of this appeared in Sidney J. Kaplan, “An Appraisal of an Interdisciplinary Social Science Course,” *Journal of Educational Sociology* 34, no. 2 (1960): 70–77.

5. This point about the use of “cross-fertilization” rather than “cross-sterilization” follows from discussion in Margaret B. Luszki, *Interdisciplinary Team Research: Methods and Problems* (Washington, D.C.: National Training Laboratories, 1958).

6. Self Study Committee, *A Report on the Behavioral Sciences at the University of Chicago* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1954), 24 (emphasis added).

7. Luszki, *Interdisciplinary Team Research*, 193.
8. George Peter Murdock, "The Conceptual Basis of Area Research," *World Politics* 2, no. 4 (1950): 571–78.
9. R. Richard Wohl, "Some Observations on the Social Organization of Interdisciplinary Social Science Research," *Social Forces* 33, no. 4 (1955): 374–83, on 375.
10. *Ibid.*, 374.
11. *The Behavioral Sciences at Harvard* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University, 1955), 12; University of North Carolina, *Survey of the Behavioral Sciences, 1953–54: Report of the Visiting Committee* (1954), 15; Gordon W. Blackwell, "Multidisciplinary Team Research," *Social Forces* 33, no. 4 (1955): 367–74, on 370.
12. For instances of this phenomenon, see Roy R. Grinker, ed., *Toward a Unified Theory of Human Behavior* (New York: Basic Books, 1956); John Gillin, ed., *For a Science of Social Man: Convergences in Anthropology, Psychology, and Sociology* (New York: Macmillan, 1954).
13. A small sub-sample of the 107 major participants in this project included figures elsewhere discussed in this book, including Else Frenkel-Brunswik, Alex Inkeles, David McClelland, Margaret Mead, Talcott Parsons, R. Nevitt Sanford, and Edward Shils. Luszki, *Interdisciplinary Team Research*, xxi, xxv–xxvii.
14. *Ibid.*, xxii.
15. Merton, "The Mosaic of the Behavioral Sciences," 254.
16. Wohl, "Some Observations," 374.
17. Lorraine Daston and Peter Galison, *Objectivity* (New York: Zone Press, 2007); Theodore M. Porter, *Trust in Numbers: The Pursuit of Objectivity in Science and Public Life* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1995); M. Norton Wise, ed., *The Values of Precision* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1995); Joan L. Richards, "Geometry in the Age of Reason: Euclid and the Enlightenment," paper presented at the History of Science Society, Kansas City, 1998.
18. On these developments, see Thomas L. Haskell, *The Emergence of Professional Social Science: The American Social Science Association and the Nineteenth Century Crisis of Authority* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1977); Dorothy Ross, *The Origins of American Social Science* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991).
19. On such a moment, see David A. Hollinger, "Two NYUs and the 'Obligation of Universities to the Social Order' in the Great Depression," in *Science, Jews, and Secular Culture: Studies in Mid-Twentieth Century American Intellectual History* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1996).
20. See "Abstractions in Social Inquiry," in Hook, *Reason, Social Myths and Democracy*, 12–32.
21. For an example of this division from a supporter of modernity and empiricism, see Joseph Jastrow, "Psychology," in *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*,

ed. Edwin R. Seligman (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1934). For one instance of the conflict between metaphysics and science, see the debate between Hutchins on the one hand and John Dewey and Harry Gideonse on the other. Harry D. Gideonse, *The Higher Learning in a Democracy: A Reply to President Hutchins' Critique of the American University* (New York and Toronto: Farrar and Rinehart, 1937); Robert M. Hutchins, *The Higher Learning in America* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1936); John Dewey, "The Higher Learning in America" *Social Frontier* 3, no. 24 (March 1937): 167–69.

22. See for instance, Phillip Frank, "Science and Democracy," in *Science, Philosophy, and Religion: A Symposium* (New York: Conference on Science, Philosophy and Religion in their Relation to the Democratic Way of Life, Inc., 1941). Frank's analysis of the distinction between the rationalistic medieval mindset and the pragmatic modern and scientific way of thinking draws on Alfred N. Whitehead, *Science in the Modern World* (1925). While Whitehead made a similar distinction as Frank between the medieval rationalistic and the modern empiricist scientific method, Frank, unlike Whitehead, wholeheartedly praised the empiricist bent of modern science.

23. Kerry W. Buckley, *Mechanical Man: John Broadus Watson and the Beginnings of Behaviorism* (New York and London: Guilford Press, 1989); Franz Samelson, "Organizing for the Kingdom of Behavior: Academic Battles and Organizational Policies in the Twenties," *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences* 21 (1985): 33–47.

24. John M. O'Donnell, *The Origins of Behaviorism: American Psychology, 1870–1920* (New York: New York University Press, 1985).

25. Edward Franklin Buchner, "Psychological Progress in 1910," *Psychological Bulletin* 8, no. 1 (1911): 1–10.

26. John B. Watson, "Psychology as the Behaviorist Views It," *Psychological Review* 20 (1913): 158–77.

27. John B. Watson, *Behaviorism* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1925), 3.

28. Although this was a point Watson voiced early on, other behaviorists made similar arguments. See, for instance, Clark L. Hull, "Mind, Mechanism and Adaptive Behavior," *Psychological Review* 44 (1937): 1–32; Kenneth W. Spence, *Behavior Theory and Conditioning* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1956).

29. Jill G. Morawski, "Organizing Knowledge and Human Behavior at Yale's Institute of Human Relations," *Isis* 77 (1986): 219–42, on 236.

30. Gordon W. Allport, "The Psychologist's Frame of Reference," *Psychological Bulletin* 37, no. 1 (1940): 1–28, on 4; Jerome S. Bruner and Gordon W. Allport, "Fifty Years of Change in American Psychology," *Psychological Bulletin* 37, no. 10 (1940): 757–77, on 769.

31. Allport, "The Psychologist's Frame of Reference," 5; Bruner and Allport, "Fifty Years of Change," 765.

32. S. S. Stevens, “The Attributes of Tones,” *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 20 (1934): 457–59; “The Relation of Pitch to Intensity,” *Journal of the Acoustical Society of America* 6 (1935): 150–54; “Tonal Density,” *Journal of Experimental Psychology* 17 (1934): 585–91.

33. S. S. Stevens, “A Scale for the Measurement of a Psychological Magnitude,” *Psychological Review* 43, no. 5 (1936): 405–16.

34. S. S. Stevens, “Psychology, the Propaedeutic Science,” *Philosophy of Science* 3 (1936): 90–103; “The Operational Definition of Psychological Concepts,” *Psychological Review* 42 (1935): 512–27; “The Operational Basis of Psychology,” *American Journal of Psychology* 43 (1935): 323–30; “Psychology and the Science of Science,” *Psychological Bulletin* 36, no. 4 (1939): 221–63.

35. Gary L. Hardcastle, “S. S. Stevens and the Origins of Operationism,” *Philosophy of Science* 62 (1995): 404–24. For analysis of the multiple approaches to operationism, see Joel Isaac, *Working Knowledge: Making the Human Sciences from Parsons to Kuhn* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2012).

36. Stevens, “Psychology and the Science of Science,” 227–28.

37. *Ibid.*, 227, 33.

38. *Ibid.*, 221.

39. *Ibid.*, 244.

40. *Ibid.*, 236.

41. *Ibid.*, 243.

42. *Ibid.*, 236 (emphasis added).

43. Stevens, “A Scale for the Measurement of a Psychological Magnitude.” Stevens produced the loudness scale based on a review article. B. G. Curcher, “A Loudness Scale for Industrial Noise Measurements,” *Journal of the Acoustical Society of America* 6 (1935): 216–26. The research on guinea pigs was reported by H. Davis. Stevens does not give a reference for this work.

44. Stevens, “Psychology and the Science of Science,” 250. See also pages 223, 240, and 248 for Stevens linking behavioristic psychology to operationism and logical positivism.

45. Stevens himself would not properly have been identified as a behaviorist and therefore would have fallen into the multitude that Spence identified as believing in behaviorism without identifying themselves as such.

46. C. C. Pratt, *The Logic of Modern Psychology* (New York: Macmillan, 1939); Edwin G. Boring, *The Physical Dimensions of Consciousness* (New York: The Century Co., 1933).

47. George Lundberg, “Quantitative Methods in Social Psychology,” *American Sociological Review* 1 (1936): 38–54. For Lundberg’s position relative to the colleagues at Columbia and his student Harry Alpert, see Mark Solovey and Jefferson D. Pooley, “The Price of Success: Sociologist Harry Alpert, the NSF’s First Social Science Policy Architect,” *Annals of Science* 68, no. 2 (2011): 229–60. More generally on Lundberg’s views, see Jennifer Platt, *A History of Sociologi-*

cal Research Methods in America: 1920–1960, Ideas in Context 40 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

48. Bruce Kuklick, *The Rise of American Philosophy: Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1860–1930* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1977), 459–63.

49. Newman would subsequently join and eventually chair the Psychology Department at Harvard.

50. This account of the PRT draws on Ludy T. Benjamin, “The Psychological Roundtable: Revolution of 1936,” *American Psychologist* 32, no. 7 (1977): 542–49; Gary L. Hardcastle, “The Cult of Experiment: The Psychological Round Table, 1936–1941,” *History of Psychology* 3, no. 4 (2000): 334–70.

51. Department of Psychology, Meeting of the Permanent Members. Dated December 11, 1959 (perhaps 1958, based upon a pencil notation and content of the minutes). Department of Psychology and Social Relations, Permanent Member Meetings, Minutes, 1952–83, UAV 714.4, Harvard University Archives.

52. Charles G. Gross, “Psychological Round Table in the 1960s,” *American Psychologist* 32, no. 12 (1977): 1120–21. Thanks to Peter Mandler for drawing my attention to this source.

53. On the sexist exclusionary practices of the SEP, see Laurel Furumoto, “Shared Knowledge: The Experimentalists, 1904–1929,” in *The Rise of Experimentation in American Psychology*, ed. Jill G. Morawski (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1988).

54. Gross, “Psychological Round Table in the 1960s.”

55. S. S. Stevens, ed., *Handbook of Experimental Psychology* (New York: Wiley, 1951).

56. The ACLS was composed of the American Philosophical Society, American Academy of Arts and Sciences, American Antiquarian Society, American Oriental Society, American Philosophical Association, Archaeological Institute of America, Modern Language Association, American Philological Association, American Historical Association, American Economic Association, and the American Sociological Society. Charles E. Merriam, “Annual Report of the Social Science Research Council,” *The American Political Science Review* 20, no. 1 (1926): 185–89, on 185; Charles E. Merriam, “Annual Report of the American Council of Learned Societies,” *The American Political Science Review* 20, no. 1 (1926): 189–92, on 189; Charles E. Merriam, “Annual Report of the Social Science Research Council,” *The American Political Science Review* 21, no. 1 (1927): 159–61, on 161.

57. Donald Fisher, *Fundamental Development of the Social Sciences: Rockefeller Philanthropy and the United States Social Science Research Council* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1993), 44.

58. In Louis Wirth, ed., *Eleven Twenty-Six: A Decade of Social Science Research* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1940), 123, 139.

59. See Roundtable discussions in *ibid.*

60. Robert E. Kohler, “Warren Weaver and the Rockefeller Foundation Program in Molecular Biology, a Case Study in the Management of Science,” in *The Sciences in the American Context: New Perspectives*, ed. Nathan Reingold (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1979).

61. John Dewey, “Unity of Science as a Social Problem,” in *International Encyclopedia of Unified Science*, ed. Otto Neurath, Rudolf Carnap, and Charles Morris (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1938), 33; George A. Reisch, *How the Cold War Transformed Philosophy of Science: To the Icy Slopes of Logic* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), chapter 4.

62. Reisch, *How the Cold War Transformed Philosophy of Science*. Recently David Hollinger has noted that the Unity of Science movement was only a small and “sectarian” segment of a much larger and longer running endeavor that linked science to cultural pluralism and inclusiveness. David A. Hollinger, “The Unity of Knowledge and the Diversity of Knowers: Science as an Agent of Cultural Integration in the United States between the Two World Wars,” *Pacific Historical Review* 80, no. 2 (2011): 211–30.

63. Alain Locke, “Pluralism and Intellectual Democracy,” in *Science, Philosophy and Religion* (1942).

64. Allport, “The Psychologist’s Frame of Reference,” 10, 11, 16.

65. *Ibid.*, 23.

66. The connection between operationism and Islam appears in a reference to its “carpet of prayer,” *ibid.*, 22.

67. *Ibid.*, 26.

68. *Ibid.*

69. *Ibid.*, 1. The speech from which the paper was taken was delivered on September 7, 1939.

70. *Ibid.*, 26.

71. *Ibid.*, 21.

72. *Ibid.*, 18.

73. *Ibid.*, 20.

74. J. T. Dunlop et al., “Toward a Common Language for the Area of the Social Sciences” (unpublished white paper, Harvard University, 1941), 2. For discussion of the significance of this document, see “Department and Laboratory of Social Relations: The First Decade, 1946–1956” (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University, 1956); Talcott Parsons, “Clyde Kluckhohn and the Integration of the Social Sciences,” in *Culture and Life: Essays in Memory of Clyde Kluckhohn*, ed. Walter W. Taylor, John L. Fischer, and Evon Z. Vogt (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1973). Although the report is unpublished, a copy may be found in the Tozzer Library at Harvard University. Portions also appear in Talcott Parsons, *Essays in Sociological Theory* (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1949).

75. Talcott Parsons and Edward Shils, eds., *Toward a General Theory of Action* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1951).

76. For discussion of Harvard's leadership in theoretical sociology after World War II, see Henrika Kuklick, "A 'Scientific Revolution': Sociological Theory in the United States, 1930–1945," *Sociological Inquiry* 43 (1973): 3–22; Edward Shils, "Transition, Ecology, and Institution in the History of Sociology," *Daedalus* 4 (1970): 760–825.

77. Dunlop et al., "Toward a Common Language," 1.

78. *Ibid.*, 11.

79. *Ibid.*, 10 (emphasis added).

80. Talcott Parsons, *The Structure of Social Action: A Study in Social Theory with Special Reference to a Group of Recent European Writers* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1937); Harry Alpert, *Emile Durkheim and His Sociology* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1939). This reading of Alpert's position on Durkheim depends on the analysis in Solovey and Pooley, "The Price of Success."

81. Dunlop et al., "Toward a Common Language," 22.

82. In fact, several years later, Clyde Kluckhohn equated "ethos" with *Zeitgeist*. Clyde Kluckhohn, *Mirror for Man: The Relation of Anthropology to Modern Life* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1949), 34. While this work was not published until 1949, it originated in work Kluckhohn undertook in 1945–46.

83. Dunlop et al., "Toward a Common Language," 23.

84. Letter reprinted in G. W. Allport, C. K. M. Kluckhohn, O. H. Mowrer, H. A. Murray, and T. Parsons, "Confidential Memorandum on the Reorganization of the Social Sciences at Harvard." September 1, 1943. Papers of the Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, Letters to/from, 1945–46, Box: Social Science—Z; Folder: Social Sciences, UA III 5.55.26, Harvard University Archives.

85. *Ibid.*, 3, 5; Wirth, ed., *Eleven Twenty-Six*.

86. Allport et al., "Confidential Memorandum," 10–11.

87. *Ibid.*, 8.

88. On the fraught relationship between Parsons and economics, see Howard Brick, "Talcott Parsons's 'Shift Away from Economics,' 1937–1946," *Journal of American History* 87, no. 2 (2000): 490–514.

89. "Confidential Memorandum," 5 (emphasis added).

90. *Ibid.*, 15.

91. Gordon Allport to E. G. Boring, March 23, 1944. E. G. Boring Correspondence, 1919–69, First File, 1919–56. Box Allen, L.K.—Amer Journal of Psychology. Box 2 of 83. Folder Allport, Gordon, 1944–45, HUG 4229.5, Harvard University Archives.

92. For expression of these debates see E. G. Boring to Gordon Allport, May 28, and June 7, 1945. E. G. Boring Papers, Correspondence, 1919–1969, First File 1919–56, Box 2 of 83, Folder 36, HUG 4229.5, Harvard University Archives.

93. On exams and departmental requirements, see Allport to Boring, April 29, 1941 and E. G. Boring to Gordon Allport, April 27, 1941, Department

of Psychology Papers, Correspondence etc., 1937–1943, Box 2, Birkhoff-Ca/Cn, Folder, Boring, E. G. UAV 714.12, Harvard University Archives.

94. Rodney G. Triplet, “Henry A. Murray and the Harvard Psychological Clinic, 1926–1938: A Struggle to Expand the Disciplinary Boundaries of Academic Psychology” (Ph.D. diss., University of New Hampshire, 1983).

95. Gordon Allport to Dean of the Faculty G. D. Birkhoff, March 30, 1938, Department of Psychology, Correspondence, etc.

96. Talcott Parsons to Paul Buck, May 1, 1945, Papers of the Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, Letters to/from, 1944–45, R-Sociology Folder: Sociology, UA III 5.55.26, Harvard University Archives.

97. Parsons to Buck, February 19, 1945 and September 11, 1945, Papers of Clyde K. M. Kluckhohn, Correspondence, ca. 1938–1947, AC, Folder: Buck, Paul, HUG 4490.3, Harvard University Archives.

98. Gordon Allport to Paul Buck, February 14, 1945, 2, Papers of Clyde K. M. Kluckhohn.

99. Talcott Parsons to Paul Buck, May 1, 1945, Papers of the Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, Letters to/from, 1944–45, R-Sociology, Folder: Sociology, UA III 5.55.26, Harvard University Archives.

100. The reasons for Buck’s support of interdisciplinarity in the social sciences were probably multiple. As Barry Johnston has shown, Parsons had threatened to leave Harvard if its social sciences were not allowed to progress according to his vision. While that would certainly have been a significant consideration, it seems insufficient for explaining why Buck would have allowed the threat of a single, newly minted full professor to convince him to assent in the restructuring of several social science departments. Barry V. Johnston, “The Contemporary Crisis and the Social Relations Department at Harvard: A Case Study in Hegemony and Disintegration,” *The American Sociologist* 29, no. 3 (1998): 26–42, on 3.

101. On the timing of Buck’s joining the Parsonian project, see Jamie Cohen-Cole, “Thinking About Thinking in Cold War America” (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 2003).

102. Discussion of the suppression of opposition to these plans is recounted in Record of Interview, CD [Charles Dollard], Gordon Allport, Talcott Parsons, Thursday, January 10, 1946, Carnegie Corporation Grant Files, Series 1, Box 163, Folder Harvard University Laboratory of Social Relations. CUA.

103. Boring’s opposition is made clear in Boring to Stevens and Newman, November 24, 1945; Boring to Buck, November 27, 1945, Department of Psychology Papers, Department of Psychology Chairman’s Correspondence—Gordon W. Allport, 1943–46, A-D Box 1 of 4, Folder Buck re: Fission, UAV 714.12, Harvard University Archives; E. G. Boring to Robert Yerkes, December 3 and 7, 1945, E. G. Boring Papers, first file, Box 66 of 83, Folder #1513, HUG 4229.5, Harvard University Archives.

104. Administrative pressure is recounted in E. G. Boring to Robert Yerkes, December 7, 1945, E. G. Boring Papers.

105. Boring to Buck, November 27, 1945, Department of Psychology Papers, Harvard University Archives.

106. Robert Seidel, "The Origins of Lawrence Berkeley Laboratory," in *Big Science: The Growth of Large-Scale Research*, ed. Peter L. Galison and Bruce Hevly (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1992).

107. On Weaver's promotion of interdisciplinarity at Rockefeller and the transfer of these techniques to further war aims, see David A. Mindell, *Between Human and Machine: Feedback, Control, and Computing before Cybernetics* (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), 188–89.

108. Roundtable on "One Science or Many" in Wirth, ed., *Eleven Twenty-Six*.

109. On war work, see Peter Buck, "Adjusting to Military Life: The Social Sciences Go to War, 1941–1950," in *Military Enterprise and Technological Change: Perspectives on the American Experience*, ed. Merritt Roe Smith (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1985); James H. Capshew, *Psychologists on the March: Science, Practice, and Professional Identity in America, 1929–1969*; Ellen Herman, *The Romance of American Psychology: Political Culture in an Age of Experts* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1995). The outcomes of these projects include major fixtures of Cold War social science. For instance: OSS Assessment Staff, *Assessment of Men: Selection of Personnel for the Office of Strategic Services* (New York: Reinhart, 1948); Samuel A. Stouffer et al., *The American Soldier* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1949).

110. William Sewell, "Some Reflections on the Golden Age of Interdisciplinary Social Psychology," *Annual Review of Sociology* 15 (1989): 1–16, on 5.

111. Ibid.

112. Robin M. Williams Jr., "Some Observations on Sociological Research in Government During World War II," *American Sociological Review* 11, no. 5 (1946): 573–77, on 574.

113. Bruner to Allport, September 17, 1945, Papers of Jerome S. Bruner, HUG 4242.5, Harvard University Archives.

114. While he had the support of the primaries in psychology (E. G. Boring and Gordon Allport) and some support in sociology (Talcott Parsons, Gordon Allport, and Clyde Kluckhohn), Bruner's appointment to the Department of Sociology was blocked by Pitrim Sorokin and Carle Zimmerman, who saw Bruner's interests and methods as too far outside their field and interests. (Although their appointments were, respectively, in anthropology and psychology, Clyde Kluckhohn and Gordon Allport were voting members of the Department of Sociology in 1945.) Bruner's efforts to be appointed to the Department of Sociology are discussed in Jerome S. Bruner to Gordon Allport, May 24, 1945 and E. G. Boring

to Paul Buck, September 6, 1945, Papers of Jerome S. Bruner, Correspondence 1944–47, A-E, Folder: Allport, G. W. 1943–44, HUG 4242.5, Harvard University Archives; Talcott Parsons to Paul Buck, May 1, 1945, Papers of the Dean of Faculty of Arts and Sciences, Letters to/from 1944–45, R-Sociology. Folder: Sociology, UAIII 5.55.26, Harvard University Archives.

115. Samuel A. Stouffer, “Research Techniques,” in *The Social Sciences at Mid-Century* (Freeport, N.Y.: Books for Libraries Press, 1968 [1952]), 69.

116. Leonard S. Cottrell Jr., “Strengthening the Social Sciences in the Universities,” in *The Social Sciences at Mid-Century*, 32.

117. Charles Dollard, “Strategy for Advancing the Social Sciences,” in *The Social Sciences at Mid-Century*, 18. For discussion of Dollard and his relationship with Stouffer, see Ellen Condliffe Lagemann, *The Politics of Knowledge: The Carnegie Corporation, Philanthropy, and Public Policy* (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1989).

118. The Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, “Report of the Planning Group,” and meeting minutes of CASBS, June 1952. Papers of Paul Herman Buck, Box: Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, 1952–late 1960s, Folder: Misc., HUG (FP) 9.20, Harvard University Archives.

119. The yearly expenditure figures given above are only approximate since the available data gives total project allocations. Most lasted over several years and the data does not specify the expenditure burn rate. Figures given above are thus calculated as a fraction of the total grant with the assumption that funds would be used at an equal rate year to year. The total figures for 1952 are: CASBS (\$1,150,000) and “Improving Content and Methods” (\$300,000). These are also only approximate figures, but are included in the available data. Summary Report of the Behavioral Sciences Division, 1952–53, Papers of Paul Herman Buck, Harvard University Archives.

120. John W. Gardner, “International Relations and Sociology: Discussion,” *American Sociological Review* 13, no. 3 (1948): 273–75, on 273.

121. Carnegie Corporation of New York, *Annual Report* (1946), 27–28; Roger L. Geiger, “American Foundations and Academic Social Science, 1945–1960,” *Minerva* 26 (1988): 315–41, on 319.

122. *The Behavioral Sciences at Harvard*, 12.

123. Lagemann, *The Politics of Knowledge*, 170.

124. Cohen-Cole, “Thinking About Thinking,” 179–81.

125. John Gardner and Talcott Parsons, January 5, 1949, record of interview. Carnegie Corporation Grant Files. Talcott Parsons and Edward Shils, eds., *Toward a General Theory of Action* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1951).

126. For discussion of theory as tools in this project, see Joel Isaac, “Tool Shock: Technique and Epistemology in the Postwar Social Sciences,” *History of*

Political Economy 42 (Annual Supplement 2010), 133–64; Joel Isaac, “Theorist at Work: Talcott Parsons and the Carnegie Project on Theory, 1949–1951,” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 71, no. 2 (2010): 287–311.

127. A conversation with Dollard on May 13, 1946, had “fortified” Stouffer enough to “tell Conant bluntly that Harvard should not ask for any outside funds until the show was underway.” Record of Interview, CD [Charles Dollard] and Samuel Stouffer, September 26, 1946. Carnegie Corporation Grant Files.

128. Samuel Stouffer to Paul Buck, May 14, 1946, Papers of the Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, Letters to/from, 1945–46, Romance Langs. and Lits.—Social Relations, Folder: Social Relations, UAV 5.55.26, Harvard University Archives.

129. One instance was a five-page document from Conant to the Carnegie Corporation arguing just how much Harvard had committed to Social Relations. “Memorandum to the Carnegie Corporation,” James B. Conant. Receipt acknowledged by Charles Dollard July 11, 1946, Carnegie Corporation Grant Files, Series 1, Box 163, Folder: Harvard University Laboratory of Social Relations.

130. Record of Interview, CD [Charles Dollard] and Samuel Stouffer, September 26, 1946. Carnegie Corporation Grant Files. Series 1, Box 163, Folder: Harvard University Laboratory of Social Relations.

131. Samuel Stouffer to Paul Buck, May 14, 1946, Harvard University Archives.

132. These developments are discussed in the report of Harvard’s self-study, *The Behavioral Sciences at Harvard* (1955), and in correspondence between Talcott Parsons and McGeorge Bundy, who was then dean of the faculty. Talcott Parsons to McGeorge Bundy, May 9, 1955, Papers of Talcott Parsons, Correspondence and Related Papers, ca. 1930–59, Box 23 of 28, Folder: Social Relations Dept, 1948–55, HUG(FP) 15.2, Harvard University Archives.

133. Discussion of these events may be found in Ethan Schrum, “Administering American Modernity: The Instrumental University in the Postwar United States” (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 2009), 200–201; Emily Hauptmann, “The Constitution of Behaviorism: The Influence of the Ford Foundation’s Behavioral Science’s Program on Political Science,” paper presented at the Sixth Annual Workshop on the History of Economics as History of Science, École Normale Supérieure de Cachan, June 19, 2009.

134. The committee members were Thomas Carroll, John Gillin, Ernest Hilgard, F. F. Hill, Clark Kerr, Harold Lasswell, Paul Lazarsfeld, Robert K. Merton, Talcott Parsons, Edward Shils, Samuel Stouffer, Ralph Tyler, Donald Marquis, and Hans Speier.

135. People attending the meetings of the third committee were David McClelland, Irving Hallowell, Richard Hofstadter, Carl Hovland, Paul Lazarsfeld, Robert K. Merton, Henry Murray, Edward Shils, Joseph Spengler, Ralph Tyler, Allen Barton, Bernard Berelson, Thomas Cochran, Herbert Simon, and Robert

Dahl. Meeting Minutes of the Informal Planning Group on the Center for Advanced Study, Papers of Paul H. Buck, Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, 1952–late 1960s, Folder: board minutes, group minutes, HUG (FP) 9.20, Harvard University Archives.

136. Jefferson Pooley and Mark Solovey, “Marginal to the Revolution: The Curious Relationship between Economics and the Behavioral Sciences Movement in Mid-Twentieth-Century America,” *History of Political Economy* 42, annual supplement (2010): 199–233, on 226.

137. John W. Gardner Interview, Carnegie Corporation Oral History Project, Columbia University Archives; Charles Thomas O’Connell, “Social Structure and Science: Soviet Studies at Harvard” (Ph.D. diss., UCLA, 1990).

138. Pooley and Solovey, “Marginal to the Revolution.”

139. Hunter Crowther-Heyck, “Patrons of the Revolution: Ideals and Institutions in Postwar Behavioral Science,” *Isis* 97, no. 3 (2006): 420–46; Hunter Crowther-Heyck, “Herbert Simon and the GSIA: Building an Interdisciplinary Community,” *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences* 42, no. 4 (2006): 311–34.

140. See, for instance, the discussion of political science in Gilman, *Mandarins of the Future*.

141. W. Allen Wallis, *The 1953–54 Program of University Surveys of the Behavioral Sciences* (Behavioral Sciences Division, Ford Foundation, 1955).

142. On the effect of Ford grants on Stanford, see Rebecca S. Lowen, *Creating the Cold War University: The Transformation of Stanford* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1997), chapter 7.

143. Sewell, “Some Reflections on the Golden Age of Interdisciplinary Social Psychology,” 5; Wallis, *The 1953–54 Program*, 5.

144. James Bryant Conant, “Memorandum to the Carnegie Corporation,” n.d. (receipt acknowledged July 11, 1946). Carnegie Corporation Grant Files.

145. “Some Considerations on the Integration of Research,” Papers of the Department Social Relations, Correspondence, etc. 1948–194[?], A-K, UAV 801.2010, Harvard University Archives.

146. Carnegie Corporation Grant Files, Series 1, Box 163, Folder: Harvard University Laboratory of Social Relations.

147. Talcott Parsons to Paul Buck, October 10, 1947, S. S. Wilks Papers, Folder: Mosteller, Frederic C., B W665, American Philosophical Society Archives.

148. Samuel Stouffer to Parsons October 9, 1947, S. S. Wilks Papers (emphasis added).

149. Talcott Parsons to McGeorge Bundy, May 9, 1955; Jerome Bruner to McGeorge Bundy, May 10, 1955; Samuel Stouffer to McGeorge Bundy, May 9, 1955; Gordon Allport to McGeorge Bundy, May 9, 1955, Papers of Talcott Parsons, Harvard University Archives.

150. Harry Alpert, “The National Science Foundation and Social Science Re-

search,” *American Sociological Review* 19, no. 2 (1954): 208–11, on 211; Thomas Gieryn, “The U.S. Congress Demarcates Natural Science and Social Science (Twice),” in *Cultural Boundaries of Science: Credibility on the Line* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999). This point about the nonscientific nature of the social sciences was not limited to reactionary congressmen. As Daniel Lerner reported, humanistically oriented academics like Nathan Glazer also held this position. See “*The American Soldier and the Public*,” in *Continuities in Social Research: Studies in the Scope and Method of the American Soldier*, ed. Robert K. Merton and Paul F. Lazarsfeld (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1950).

151. Bernard Barber, *Science and the Social Order* (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1952), 248.

152. On the Kinsey reports and reactions to its methods, see Sarah E. Igo, *The Averaged American: Surveys, Citizens, and the Making of a Mass Public* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2007).

153. Vannevar Bush to Harlow Shapley on November 9, 1946, Papers of Vannevar Bush, Box 13, Folder: Bohman, Isaiah. Manuscript Division, Library of Congress. For further analysis of this incident and how Bush and the science establishment reacted, see Mark Solovey, “Riding the Natural Scientists’ Coattails onto the Endless Frontier: The SSRC and the Quest for Scientific Legitimacy,” *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences* 40, no. 4 (2004): 393–422.

154. George A. Lundberg, “The Social Sciences in the Post-War Era,” *Sociometry* 8, no. 2 (1945): 137–49.

155. Barber, *Science and the Social Order*, 238.

156. Solovey, “Riding the Natural Scientists’ Coattails,” 406.

157. Dollard, “Strategy for Advancing the Social Sciences,” 12.

158. Gieryn, “The U.S. Congress Demarcates Natural Science and Social Science (Twice).”

159. See, for instance, Barber, *Science and the Social Order*, 12–16, 242. Proponents of interdisciplinarity tended to rely on Conant. See Self-Study Committee, *A Report on the Behavioral Sciences at the University of Chicago*, 6–7.

160. James B. Conant, *Modern Science and Modern Man* (New York: Doubleday, 1952), 106–7. Cited in Alpert, “The National Science Foundation and Social Science Research,” 210.

161. Barber, *Science and the Social Order*, 14.

162. Luszki, *Interdisciplinary Team Research*, 168–69.

163. Harry Alpert, “The Social Sciences and the National Science Foundation: 1945–1955,” *American Sociological Review* 20, no. 6 (1955): 653–61, on 656–57 (emphasis added).

164. Alpert, “The National Science Foundation and Social Science Research,” 210. This is a direct quote from Conant, *Modern Science and Modern Man*, 106–7. The fit between Conant’s philosophy of science and that of social scientists who pressed for interdisciplinarity is likely a product of the fact that

both borrowed from the epistemological views of L. J. Henderson. On Henderson and his influence on Conant and social sciences, see “Making a Case: The Harvard Pareto Circle,” chapter 2 in Joel Isaac, *Working Knowledge: Making the Human Sciences from Parsons to Kuhn* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2012).

165. Alpert, “The National Science Foundation and Social Science Research,” 210.

166. Cohen-Cole, “Thinking About Thinking,” 168–72.

167. Harry H. Harman, *The Psychologist in Interdisciplinary Research* (Santa Monica, Calif.: RAND Corporation, 1955), 7.

168. Ibid.

169. Luszki, *Interdisciplinary Team Research*, 10.

170. Kenneth Roose, “Observations on Interdisciplinary Work in the Social Sciences,” in *Interdisciplinary Relationships in the Social Sciences*, ed. Muzafer Sherif and Carolyn Sherif (Chicago: Aldine, 1969), 323–24.

171. Raymond B. Cattell, “The Personality and Motivation of the Researcher from Measurements of Contemporaries and from Biography,” in *Scientific Creativity: Its Recognition and Development* (New York and London: John Wiley and Sons, 1963); Crutchfield, “Conformity and Creative Thinking”; Gutman, “The Biological Roots of Creativity”; Lawrence S. Kubie, “Blocks to Creativity,” in *Explorations in Creativity*, ed. Ross L. Mooney and Taher A. Razik (New York: Harper and Row, 1967), 36; Frank Barron, “The Needs for Order and for Disorder as Motives in Creative Activity,” in *Scientific Creativity: Its Recognition and Development*, ed. Calvin W. Taylor and Frank Barron (New York and London: John Wiley and Sons, 1963), 155.

172. Sharon Ghamari-Tabrizi, “Simulating the Unthinkable: Gaming Future War in the 1950s and 1960s,” *Social Studies of Science* 30, no. 2 (2000): 163–223, on 170.

173. Luszki, *Interdisciplinary Team Research*, 62, 175, 204, 205, 212, 234.

174. Ibid., 205. For another call for tolerance and flexibility in interdisciplinary endeavors, see Marshall K. Powers, “Area Studies,” *Journal of Higher Education* 26, no. 2 (1955): 82–89, 113, on 113.

175. Blackwell, “Multidisciplinary Team Research,” 371.

176. Mooney, “Groundwork for Creative Research.”

177. Frenkel-Brunswick, “Tolerance Toward Ambiguity”; Rokeach, *The Open and Closed Mind*, 16.

178. Charles N. Cofer and George Horsley Smith, “A Simple Inexpensive Classroom Demonstration of Concept Formation,” *American Psychologist* 2, no. 11 (1947): 521–22, on 522; Milton Rokeach, “‘Narrow-Mindedness’ and Personality,” *Journal of Personality* 30, no. 2 (1951): 234–51.

179. My thanks to Eugenia Lao for this observation.

180. Donald T. Campbell, “Ethnocentrism of Disciplines and the Fish-Scale

Model of Omniscience,” in *Interdisciplinary Relationships in the Social Sciences*, ed. Muzafer Sherif and Carolyn Sherif (Chicago: Aldine, 1969).

Chapter Four

1. Clark Kerr, *The Uses of the University*, 4th ed. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1995). Originally published in 1963.

2. Daniel Bell, *The Reforming of General Education: The Columbia College Experience in Its National Setting* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1966). For a similar analysis that situated the academy as alternately the center or the microcosm of society, see Kerr, *The Uses of the University*, 15, 27, 31.

3. Daniel Bell, “Notes on the Post-Industrial Society,” *The Public Interest*, no. 6 (1967): 24–35, on 30. This work found later publication in book form. Daniel Bell, *The Coming of Post-Industrial Society: A Venture in Social Forecasting* (New York: Basic Books, 1973).

4. A more recent characterization of science as a paper chase may be found in Bruno Latour and Steven Woolgar, *Laboratory Life: The Construction of Scientific Facts* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1986).

5. On the efforts of academics to separate their work from corporate research, see Shapin, *The Scientific Life*.

6. On the dramatic growth of physics during World War II and the Cold War, see Daniel J. Kevles, *The Physicists: The History of a Scientific Community in Modern America* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1995); David Kaiser, “Cold War Requisitions, Scientific Manpower, and the Production of American Physicists after World War II,” *Historical Studies in the Physical and Biological Sciences* 33, no. 1 (2002): 131–59; Peter L. Galison, *Image and Logic: A Material Culture of Microphysics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997); Paul Forman, “Behind Quantum Electronics: National Security as a Basis for Physical Research in the United States, 1940–1960,” *Historical Studies in the Physical and Biological Sciences* 18, no. 1 (1987): 149–229. On the use of the idioms of social criticism within the physics community, see David Kaiser, “The Postwar Suburbanization of American Physics,” *American Quarterly* 56 (2004): 851–88. For the expansion of science and of the university more generally during this period, see Peter L. Galison and Bruce Hevly, eds., *Big Science: The Growth of Large-Scale Research* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1992); David Hounshell, “The Cold War, RAND, and the Generation of Knowledge,” *Historical Studies in the Physical Sciences* 27 (1997): 236–67; Stuart W. Leslie, *The Cold War and American Science: The Military-Industrial-Academic Complex at M.I.T. and Stanford* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993); Capshew, *Psychologists on the March*; Roger L. Geiger, *Research and Relevant Knowledge: American Research Universities since World War II* (New York and

Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993); R. C. Lewontin, “The Cold War and the Transformation of the Academy,” in *The Cold War and the University*, ed. Noam Chomsky et al. (New York: The New Press, 1997).

7. For typical expressions of these concerns, see, for instance, Daniel Bell, “The Disjunction of Culture and Social Structure: Some Notes on the Meaning of Social Reality,” *Daedalus* 94, no. 1 (1965): 208–22; Lyman Bryson, Louis Finkelstein, and Robert M. MacIver, eds., *Approaches to National Unity: Seventh Symposium, Conference on Science, Philosophy and Religion* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1945); James B. Conant, “Unity and Diversity in Secondary Education,” *Vital Speeches* 18, no. 15 (1952): 463–65.

8. Peter L. Galison, Bruce Hevly, and Rebecca Lowen, “Controlling the Monster: Stanford and the Growth of Physics Research, 1935–1962,” in *Big Science*; Mirowski, *Machine Dreams*; Edwards, *The Closed World: Computers and the Politics of Discourse in Cold War America*.

9. On speaking properly as a marker of cultural capital, see Pierre Bourdieu, “The Production and Reproduction of Legitimate Language,” in *Language and Symbolic Power: The Economy of Linguistic Exchanges* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1991). For effects of genteel discourse and self-presentation on the production, communication, and stabilization of scientific work, see Mario Biagioli, *Galileo, Courtier: The Practice of Science in the Culture of Absolutism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993); Steven Shapin, *A Social History of Truth: Civility and Science in Seventeenth-Century England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994).

10. For insightful analysis of the “subculture” as a category of analysis in intellectual history, see Joel Isaac, “Tangled Loops: Theory, History and the Human Sciences in Modern America,” *Modern Intellectual History* 6 (2009): 397–424.

11. Thomas C. Schelling, *The Strategy of Conflict* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1980 [1960]), 12–13. Schelling’s framing was far from idiosyncratic. For discussion of how the U.S. press and foreign policy establishment portrayed Mossadeq as a child in need of discipline, see John Foran, “Discursive Subversions: *Time* Magazine, the CIA Overthrow of Mussaddiq, and the Installation of the Shah,” in *Cold War Constructions: The Political Culture of United States Imperialism*, ed. Christian G. Appy (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press).

12. Amadae, *Rationalizing Capitalist Democracy*; Nicholas Guilhot, “Cyborg Pantocrator: International Relations Theory from Decisionism to Rational Choice,” *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences* 47, no. 3 (2011): 279–301.

13. For discussion of the content and context-free nature of small group studies as well as its rise and fall, see Joseph E. McGrath, “Small Group Research, That Once and Future Field: An Interpretation of the Past with an Eye to the Future,” *Group Dynamics: Theory, Research, and Practice* 1, no. 1 (1997):

7–27; John D. Greenwood, *The Disappearance of the Social in American Social Psychology* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 185–215.

14. Margaret Mead and Paul Byers, *The Small Conference: An Innovation in Communication* (The Hague, Paris: Mouton, 1968), 10–13, 113–16.

15. For instance, Robert F. Bales, “How People Interact in Conferences,” *Scientific American* 192 (1955): 31–55; D. G. Marquis, Harold Guetzkow, and R. W. Heyns, “A Social Psychological Study of the Decision-Making Conference,” in *Groups, Leadership and Men: Research in Human Relations*, ed. Harold Guetzkow (Pittsburgh, Pa.: Carnegie Press, 1951).

16. See, for instance, Sidney Verba, *Small Groups and Political Behavior: A Study of Leadership* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1961). One seminal study, completed in the 1950s and which circulated in draft form for two decades, argued that the nation is a network of individuals connected to one another. That is, it is not an anonymous, faceless mass. Even a “hermit in the Okefenokee Swamps” and another “hermit in the Northwest woods” would be linked to each other through a chain of only about seven individuals, each who knew at least one or two other members of the chain. Ithiel de Sola Pool and Manfred Kochen, “Contacts and Influence,” *Social Networks* 1, no. 1 (1978): 5–51, on 18.

17. Mead and Byers, *The Small Conference*, 3, 9.

18. *Ibid.*, 111.

19. *Ibid.*, 108.

20. UNESCO, *The Technique of International Conferences: A Progress Report on Problems and Methods* (Paris: UNESCO/SS/3, 1951).

21. Brock Chisholm, preface to Mary Capes, *Communication or Conflict: Conferences: Their Nature, Dynamics, and Planning* (New York: Association Press, 1960), xi. General biographical and professional information on Chisholm may be found in Allan Irving, *Brock Chisholm: Doctor to the World* (Markham, Ont.: Fitzhenry and Whiteside, 1998); John Farley, *Brock Chisholm, the World Health Organization, and the Cold War* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2008).

22. Techniques for studying conferences were supplied by the specialists in small group studies. These were the University of Michigan Research Center for Group Dynamics, Harvard Department of Social Relations, Tavistock Institute of Human Relations, and the University of Liverpool Department of Social Science. UNESCO, *The Technique of International Conferences*, 5. For discussion of the UN and its relationship to small group research, see Mead and Byers, *The Small Conference*.

23. Perrin Selcer, “The View from Everywhere: Disciplining Diversity in Post-World War II International Social Science,” *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences* 45, no. 4 (2009): 309–29, on 324.

24. The Macy conferences are detailed in Heims, *The Cybernetics Group*; Dupuy, *The Mechanization of the Mind*.

25. Margaret Mead, "Cybernetics of Cybernetics," in *Purposive Systems: Proceedings of the First Annual Symposium of the American Society for Cybernetics*, ed. Heinz von Foerster et al. (New York and Washington: Spartan Books, 1968), 9–10.

26. Margaret Mead, preface to Charles Darwin, *The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals. With Photographic and Other Illustrations. With a Preface by Margaret Mead* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1955), vi.

27. The conference proceedings, first published in early 1965, indicate that the conference took place about a year earlier. The participants were Daniel Bell, Frederick Burkhardt, Douglas Bush, Bruce Chalmers, Benjamin DeMott, Lillian Hellman, Hudson Hoagland, György Kepes, Leon Kirchner, Harold Lasswell, William Letwin, Herbert Marcuse, Margaret Mead, Robert K. Merton, Elting Morison, Robert Morison, F. S. C. Northrop, Talcott Parsons, Don K. Price, Edward Purcell, W. V. O. Quine, I. A. Richards, Walter Rosenblith, B. F. Skinner, Krister Stendahl, Julius Stratton, George Wald, and Harry Woolf. "Preface to the Issue," *Daedalus* 94, no. 1 (1965): iii–iv, on iii.

28. Daniel Bell, "The Disjunction of Culture and Social Structure: Some Notes on the Meaning of Social Reality," in *Science and Culture: A Study of Cohesive and Disjunctive Forces*, ed. Gerald Holton (Boston: Beacon Press, 1967), 244. Originally published as Bell, "The Disjunction of Culture and Social Structure: Some Notes on the Meaning of Social Reality," *Daedalus* 94, no. 1 (1965): 208–22.

29. James S. Ackerman, "On *Scientia*," in *Science and Culture: A Study of Cohesive and Disjunctive Forces*, ed. Gerald Holton (Boston: Beacon Press, 1967), 19.

30. Ackerman's sense of the creativity of interdisciplinarity also appeared in his analysis of the relative architectural skills of Michelangelo and Antonio da Sangallo the Younger. James S. Ackerman, *The Architecture of Michelangelo* (New York: Viking Press, 1961), xxxiii–xxxiv.

31. Gerald Holton, "The Thematic Imagination in Science," in *Science and Culture: A Study of Cohesive and Disjunctive Forces*, ed. Gerald Holton (Boston: Beacon Press, 1967); Gerald Holton, *Thematic Origins of Scientific Thought*, 2d ed. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1988).

32. W. W. Rostow, "The National Style," in *The American Style: Essays in Value and Performance*, ed. Elting E. Morison (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1958); George F. Kennan, "America's Administrative Response to Its World Problems," in *The American Style*; Richard M. Bissell Jr., "Comment on Kennan," in *The American Style*.

33. Robert S. McNamara, "Convocation Address at Millsaps College." Febru-

ary 24, 1967. Copy in Joshua Lederberg Papers, 1904–2003, Box 105, Folder 28. Modern Manuscripts Collection, History of Medicine Division, National Library of Medicine, Bethesda, Md.; MS C 552. *Unique Identifier*: BBGDMS. Copy: <http://profiles.nlm.nih.gov/BB/G/D/M/S/>.

34. On the elite theory of democracy in postwar political science, see Gilman, *Mandarins of the Future*, 47–56.

35. Mills, “Mass Society and Liberal Education,” 357–58.

36. *General Education in a Free Society*, 54.

37. Jacob Bronowski, *Science and Human Values* (New York: Julian Messner, 1956).

38. For discussion of the pervasiveness of this practice, see Dennis Wrong, “The United States in Comparative Perspective: Max Lerner’s America as a Civilization,” *The American Journal of Sociology* 65, no. 5 (1960): 499–604. Wrong suggests that disciplines treating themselves as nations fulfill Emile Durkheim’s hopes for the management of anomie in mass society.

39. OSS Assessment Staff, *Assessment of Men: Selection of Personnel for the Office of Strategic Services*.

40. For commentary on Chicago’s social sciences, see Leonard D. White, “Introduction,” in *The State of the Social Sciences*, ed. Leonard D. White (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956), ix; Merton, “The Mosaic of the Behavioral Sciences.”

41. Gardner, *Excellence: Can We Be Equal and Excellent Too?* 10.

42. John Gillin, “Grounds for a Science of Social Man,” in *For a Science of Social Man*, ed. John Gillin (New York: Macmillan, 1954), 4.

43. On anti-Semitism in the fields of psychology and history, see Andrew S. Winston, “‘As His Name Indicates’: R. S. Woodworth’s Letters of Reference and Employment for Jewish Psychologists in the 1930s,” *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences* 32, no. 1 (1996): 30–43; Andrew S. Winston, “The Defects of His Race: E. G. Boring and Antisemitism in American Psychology,” *History of Psychology* 1, no. 1 (1998): 27–51; Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream: The “Objectivity Question” and the American Historical Profession* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 172–73.

44. Hollinger, “Jewish Intellectuals and the De-Christianization of American Public Culture in the Twentieth Century.”

45. Gillin, “Grounds for a Science of Social Man,” 5. For other instances of the equation of interdisciplinarity with social toleration, see Allport, “The Psychologist’s Frame of Reference”; Locke, “Pluralism and Intellectual Democracy”; Powers, “Area Studies,” 84.

46. Selcer, “The View from Everywhere.”

47. Kerr, *The Uses of the University*, 15, 27, 31.

48. For an explicit instance of this sentiment, see Mead and Byers, *The Small Conference*, 5–6.

49. One study noted the inverse correlation between authoritarianism scores and several different measures of intelligence including mathematical operations, mathematical problems, scientific vocabulary, scientific facts, scientific experience, scientific interpretation, intellectual curiosity, and sophistication. Frank N. Jacobson and Salomon Rettig, "Authoritarianism and Intelligence," *Journal of Social Psychology* 50, no. 2 (1959): 213–19, on 215, 17.

50. For commentary by founders, see "Points of Discussion Regarding A Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences," Papers of Paul H. Buck, Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, 1952–late 1960s, Folder: board minutes, group minutes. Subsequent discussion about the Center can be found in "Report to the Board of Trustees and Advisory Committee of a Committee on the Future of the Center Appointed by the Director," November 16, 1954, p. 12, Papers of Paul Hovland, Box 13, Folder 19, Yale University Archives.

51. Frank Fremont-Smith, "The Josiah Macy, Jr. Foundation Conference Program," in *Cybernetics: Circular, Causal, and Feedback Mechanisms in Biological and Social Systems, 10th Annual Meeting*, ed. Heinz Von Foerster (New York: Josiah Macy, Jr. Foundation, 1955), 11.

52. Among the authors in Anshen's several series were Marshall McLuhan, Jonas Salk, Werner Heisenberg, Paul Tillich, Konrad Adenauer, Erich Fromm, Kenneth Boulding, George Miller, H. Stuart Hughes, Raymond Aron, Howard Mumford Jones, Jacques Maritain, René Dubos, and Robert Mclver.

53. Mary Catherine Bateson, "Notes on Varieties of Unification," n.d. (evidence in other documents indicates c. 1968), Papers of Ruth Nanda Anshen, Box 15, no folder, Columbia University Archives.

54. Crutchfield, "Conformity and Creative Thinking"; Crutchfield, "Conformity and Character"; McGreevy, "Thinking on One's Own: Catholicism in the American Intellectual Imagination, 1928–1960."

55. E. G. Boring to Paul Buck, September 9, 1946, Dean, Faculty of Arts and Sciences, Letters to/from, 1946–47, Philosophy—S Misc., UA III 5.55.26, Harvard University Archives.

56. Donald T. Campbell, "A Tribal Model of the Social System Vehicle Carrying Scientific Knowledge," *Knowledge* 1, no. 2 (1979): 181–201. These figures are based on the research reported in D. L. Krantz and L. Wiggins, "Personal and Impersonal Channels of Recruitment in the Growth of Theory," *Human Development* 16 (1973): 133–56. My thanks to William Wimsatt for bringing this source to my attention.

57. Morawski, "Organizing Knowledge," 237.

58. Charles Gross recounting his experiences with Skinner, personal communication.

59. Verplanck, "Glossary."

60. On Charles Hockett's unifying efforts at CASBS, see Gregory Radick,

The Simian Tongue: The Long Debate about Animal Language (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 288–89.

61. Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, “List of Fellows,” 1955–2008. My thanks to Melissa Johnson, director of Development and Communications for the Center, for making this information available.

62. George A. Miller, Eugene Galanter, and Karl H. Pribram, *Plans and the Structure of Behavior* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1960).

63. “CASBS Special Projects by year, 1956–2010, by final year,” http://www.casbs.org/userfiles/Special_projects_1956–2010.pdf.

64. Herbert Simon Archive, “Consulting—1942–2000—Box 42—Administrative Record—Ford Foundation Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences—Planning Group: December 1, 1952”: 4. <http://diva.library.cmu.edu/webapp/simon/item.jsp?q=/box00042/fld03362/bd10005/doc0001/>.

65. Meeting Minutes of the Informal Planning Group on the Center for Advanced Study, fourth meeting, December 20, 1952, p. 8, Papers of Paul H. Buck, Harvard University Archives.

66. *Ibid.*, p. 23.

67. *Ibid.*

68. Sigmund Koch, “Epilogue: Some Trends of Study I,” in *Psychology: A Study of a Science*, vol. 3: *Formulations of the Person and the Social Context*, ed. Sigmund Koch (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1959); Jerome S. Bruner, “Mechanism Riding High: Review of Kenneth W. Spence, *Behavior Theory and Conditioning*,” *Contemporary Psychology* 2, no. 6 (1957): 155–57; Noam Chomsky, “Review of B. F. Skinner, *Verbal Behavior*,” *Language* 35, no. 1 (1959): 26–58; Miller, Galanter, and Pribram, *Plans*.

69. O’Donnell, *The Origins of Behaviorism: American Psychology, 1870–1920*.

70. Morawski, “Organizing Knowledge.”

71. Jerome S. Bruner to Talcott Parsons, March 30 (context indicates 1949), Papers of Talcott Parsons, Correspondence and Other Papers, 1935–1955, Box 6 of 19, Folder: Carnegie Project Correspondence, HUG 42.8.4, Harvard University Archives.

72. For an instance of pluralism’s use as a marker of democratic character, see Lipset, *Political Man*.

73. Gerald Holton, “On the Educational Philosophy of the Project Physics Course,” in *The Scientific Imagination: Case Studies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 184–85. For instances of the use of de Tocqueville as an authority on America and its character, see Henry Steele Commager, *The American Mind: An Interpretation of American Thought and Character since the 1880s* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1950); Max Lerner, *America as a Civilization: Life and Thought in the United States Today* (New York,

Conn.: Simon and Schuster, 1957), 72. Lerner would also go onto edit a 1965 edition of de Tocqueville's *Democracy in America*.

74. J. Robert Oppenheimer, "The Growth of Science and the Structure of Culture: Comments on Dr. Frank's Paper," in *Science and the Modern Mind*, ed. Gerald Holton (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1958), 73. For further discussion of Oppenheimer's call for cultural integration by intimate discussion, see Charles Thorpe, *Oppenheimer: The Tragic Intellect* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 273–80.

75. Westbrook, *John Dewey and American Democracy*; Keith Michael Baker, *Condorcet: From Natural Philosophy to Social Mathematics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975).

76. Amy Gutmann and Dennis F. Thompson, *Democracy and Disagreement* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1996).

77. For instance, see Jürgen Habermas, *Communication and the Evolution of Society* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1979); Dennis F. Thompson, *The Democratic Citizen: Social Science and Democratic Theory in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970).

78. Testimony to the role of parties in the community and intellectual life in Cambridge can also be found in the diaries of Edmund Wilson and Arthur Schlesinger Jr.

79. Discussion of the value of community and interdisciplinary discussion at the American Academy of Arts and Sciences can be found in its bulletin and in its house organ, *Daedalus*. See, for instance, "Summary of the Discussion at the Meeting on February 13," *Bulletin of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences* 5, no. 6 (1952): 2; "Academy Conferences," *Bulletin of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences* 10, no. 1 (1956): 2–4. For discussion of the role of creativity and avant garde sensibility for the community at the RAND Corporation, see Sharon Ghamari-Tabrizi, *The Worlds of Herman Kahn: The Intuitive Science of Thermonuclear War* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2005).

80. On Georgetown society and its membership, see C. David Heymann, *The Georgetown Ladies' Social Club: Power, Passion, and Politics in the Nation's Capital* (New York: Atria Books, 2003). On the CIA's connections with the American press, see Carl Bernstein, "The CIA and the Media," *Rolling Stone*, October 20, 1977. On connections between the Bundys and journalists like Lippman and the Alsop brothers, see Kai Bird, *The Color of Truth: McGeorge Bundy and William Bundy, Brothers in Arms: A Biography* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1998).

81. The membership of the supper club included Elting Morison, Kingman Brewster, Max Millikan, George Homans, Myron Gilmore, Robert Lee Wolff, McGeorge Bundy, Victor Weisskopf, Edward Purcell, Edwin Land, Will Haw-

thorne, Julius Stratton, Wassily Leontief, and Jerome Bruner. Occasional visitors such as Robert Oppenheimer, Ernst Gombrich, Walter Lippmann, Alfred Kazin, and Carl Kaysen joined the club for dinner and conversation. Allan A. Nedell, “‘Truth Is Our Weapon’: Project Troy, Political Warfare, and Government-Academic Relations in the National Security State,” *Diplomatic History*, 17, no. 3 (1993): 399–420; Allan A. Nedell, “Project Troy and the Cold War Annexation of the Social Sciences,” in *Universities and Empire: Money and Politics in the Social Sciences During the Cold War*, ed. Christopher Simpson (New York: The New Press, 1998); Jerome S. Bruner, *In Search of Mind: Essays in Autobiography* (New York: Harper and Row, 1983), 210.

82. On government-military-academic interdisciplinary study groups, see Jack S. Goldstein, *A Different Sort of Time: The Life of Jerrold Zacharias* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1992).

83. On Los Alamos, see interviews in “The Day After Trinity”; on the Rad Lab, see Goldstein, *A Different Sort of Time*; on social science see Bruner, *In Search of Mind*.

84. On the relationships among Project Troy, CENIS, the State Department, the Ford Foundation, and the CIA see Nedell, “Project Troy”; Nedell, “‘Truth Is Our Weapon.’”

85. Bird, *The Color of Truth*, 139–40; Bruce Kuklick, *Blind Oracles: Intellectuals and War from Kennan to Kissinger* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2006), 82.

86. Christopher Rand, “Center of a New World,” part 3, *The New Yorker*, April 25, 1964, 92. The full series may be found in book form as Christopher Rand, *Cambridge, U.S.A.: Hub of a New World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964).

87. McGeorge Bundy’s use of private meetings that screened critical debate continued after the 1950s and again after his tenure as National Security Advisor. In May 1971, Bundy held an off-the-record and invitation-only set of talks at the Council of Foreign Relations defending U.S. policy in Vietnam. Bird, *The Color of Truth*, 396.

88. Bruner, *In Search of Mind*, 225.

89. *Ibid.*, 223.

90. *Ibid.*, 219.

91. Victor Frederick Weisskopf, *The Joy of Insight: Passions of a Physicist* (New York: Basic Books, 1991), 161.

92. Bruner, *In Search of Mind*, 224.

93. Jerome Bruner interview, March 1952, p. 10. Anne Roe Papers, American Philosophical Society.

94. Weisskopf, *The Joy of Insight*, 161.

95. Richard Parker, *John Kenneth Galbraith: His Life, His Politics, His Economics* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2005), 251–52, 264–67.

96. Initial plans for the Center stipulated that it, like the Institute for Advanced Study, would be populated by a long-term faculty and shorter-term visitors. See Meeting Minutes of the Informal Planning Group on the Center for Advanced Study, Papers of Paul H. Buck, Harvard University Archives.

97. Morison, “The Course of the Discussion,” 395–96.

98. Herbert Goldhamer as quoted in “Conference of Social Scientists, September 14–19, 1947.” RAND Corporation, June 9, 1948. Report R-106, viii.

99. Mead and Byers, *The Small Conference*, 36.

100. *Ibid.*, 35.

101. Transcripts of the UN-sponsored conferences on how to run a conference may be found in Capes, *Communication or Conflict*. On similar policies of the Macy Foundation in sponsoring conferences, see also the comments of Frank Fremont-Smith in Heinz von Foerster, ed., *Cybernetics*, 11–12.

102. Capes, *Communication or Conflict*, 61.

103. *Ibid.*, 61–62.

104. Morison, “The Course of the Discussion,” 413–14.

105. Henry B. Phillips, “Smoker in the Lounge,” *Bulletin of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences* 6, no. 8 (1953): 1. Substantive analysis of this question can also be found in contemporary publications. See, for instance, Daniel Lerner, “The Social Sciences: Whence and Whither?” in *The Human Meaning of the Social Sciences*, ed. Daniel Lerner (New York: Meridian Books, 1959); Max Millikan, “Inquiry and Policy: The Relation of Knowledge to Action,” in *The Human Meaning of the Social Sciences*.

106. Bird, *The Color of Truth*, 193.

107. “Ode to the Friday Evening on the Thursday Evening,” April 28, 1960, Papers of Jerome Bruner, Correspondence, Box 3 of 4, Folder: Bundy, McGeorge, HUG 4242.9, Harvard University Archives.

108. For instance, McGeorge Bundy’s brother William was married to Acheson’s daughter Mary. Bundy’s family friendship with luminaries of the legal world paved the way for an invitation to McGeorge to clerk for Supreme Court Justice Felix Frankfurter although he had no formal legal training. When he declined the post, it was offered to William who did have a law degree, but who also declined. Bird, *The Color of Truth*, 100, 55.

109. Bird, *The Color of Truth*, 150–51.

110. For Bundy’s comparison of Cuban counterrevolutionaries to Harvard professors who had been given their walking papers, see David Halberstam, *The Best and the Brightest* (New York: Random House, 1972), 95. For discussion of Bundy’s own role in the Bay of Pigs operation, in preventing views opposed to the operation from reaching the president, and the conclusion that he was not responsible for the operation’s failure, see Bird, *The Color of Truth*, 193–99.

Chapter Five

1. On the Voice of America, see Alan L. Heil, *Voice of America: A History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003); Holly Cowan Shulman, *The Voice of America: Propaganda and Democracy, 1941–1945* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1990); David F. Krugler, *The Voice of America and the Domestic Propaganda Battles, 1945–1953* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2000).

2. George Miller, “Thinking, Cognition, and Learning,” in *The Behavioral Sciences Today*, ed. Bernard Berelson (New York: Basic Books, 1963), 150.

3. Graham Richards, “Of What Is History of Psychology a History?” *British Journal for the History of Science* 20 (1987): 201–11; Didier Anzieu, *Freud’s Self-Analysis*, The International Psycho-Analytical Library, no. 118 (London: Hogarth Press and the Institute of Psycho-analysis, 1986); John E. Toews, “Historicizing Psychoanalysis: Freud in His Time and for Our Time,” *Journal of Modern History* 63 (1991): 504–45; Carl E. Schorske, *Fin-De-Siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture* (New York: Vintage Books, 1981); Ian A. M. Nicholson, “Gordon Allport, Character, and the ‘Culture of Personality,’ 1897–1937,” *History of Psychology* 1, no. 1 (1998): 52–68.

4. Laurence D. Smith, “Metaphors of Knowledge and Behavior in the Behaviorist Tradition,” in *Metaphors in the History of Psychology*, ed. David E. Leary (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 237–66; Laurence Smith, *Behaviorism and Logical Positivism: A Reassessment of the Alliance* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1986); Ernest R. Hilgard and Gordon H. Bower, *Theories of Learning*, 3d ed. (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1966), 104.

5. In an examination of a later period and somewhat different vision of mind than that considered in this chapter, Gerd Gigerenzer has shown how cognitive psychologists’ own ways of thinking and working became the model for human cognition. Gigerenzer, “Discovery in Cognitive Psychology: New Tools Inspire New Theories,” *Science in Context* 5, no. 2 (1992): 329–50; Gigerenzer, “From Tools to Theories: A Heuristic of Discovery in Cognitive Psychology,” *Psychological Review* 98, no. 2 (1991): 254–67. For general discussion of the cognitive revolution, see Gardner, *The Mind’s New Science*; Mandler, “Origins of the Cognitive (R)Evolution”; John D. Greenwood, “Understanding the ‘Cognitive Revolution’ in Psychology,” *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences* 35, no. 1 (1999): 1–22; Baars, *The Cognitive Revolution in Psychology*; Dupuy, *The Mechanization of the Mind*. Robins, Gosling, and Craik have provided an empirical study of how cognitive psychology supplanted behaviorism. See “An Empirical Analysis of Trends in Psychology,” *American Psychologist* 54, no. 2 (1999): 117–28. Thomas Leahey has argued that the cognitive revolution was not actually a “real” revolution: see “The Mythical Revolutions of American Psychology,” *American Psychologist* 47 (1992): 308–18. On the other hand, histori-

ans and psychologists continue to use the term. Without seeking to judge the validity of the term, this chapter follows the actors' categories in adopting the term "cognitive revolution."

6. Some of Simon's works in this vein are "Cognitive Science: The Newest Science of the Artificial," *Cognitive Science* 4 (1980): 33–46, reprinted in *Mind and Cosmos: Essays in Contemporary Science and Philosophy*, University of Pittsburgh Series in the Philosophy of Science, vol. University of Pittsburgh Series in the Philosophy of Science, vol. 3 (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1966); "Thinking by Computers," in *Mind and Cosmos*; "Scientific Discovery and the Psychology of Problem Solving," in *Mind and Cosmos*.

7. Theo Lentz, "The Attitudes of World Citizenship," *Journal of Social Psychology* 32 (1950): 207–14, on 213–14.

8. Archives of the Ford Foundation, Grant Files, Reel R-004, Grant 53–78, Project Proposal, Jerome S. Bruner to Ford Foundation, 1/9/53.

9. Abraham H. Maslow, "Problem-Centering Versus Means-Centering in Science," *Philosophy of Science* 13 (1946): 326–31; Abraham H. Maslow, "Cognition of the Particular and of the Generic," *Psychological Review* 55 (1948): 22–39; Hadley Cantril, "Toward a Scientific Morality," *The Journal of Psychology* 27 (1949): 363–76; Hadley Cantril, "An Inquiry Concerning the Characteristics of Man," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology* 45, no. 3 (1950): 490–503; Clyde Kluckhohn, "Universal Values and Anthropological Relativism," in *Modern Education and Human Values* (Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1952); Lawrence K. Frank, *Nature and Human Nature: Man's New Image of Himself* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1951).

10. Rokeach, *The Open and Closed Mind*, 65. For a similar, but only slightly less politically charged, argument, see Edward C. Tolman, "Cognitive Maps in Rats and Men," *Psychological Review* 55, no. 4 (1948): 189–208, on 207–8.

11. Herbert Feigl, "The Philosophical Embarrassments of Psychology," *American Psychologist* 14, no. 3 (1959): 115–28, on 118.

12. The split was noted by many leaders of psychology. The social psychologist Gordon Allport parsed the division in psychology similarly. To Allport, psychology was split between "Lockeans" and "Leibnizians." Allport's behavioristic Lockeans believed that humans could be completely explained (and were determined by) their experiences and the stimuli that impinged upon their senses. According to Allport, Leibnizians believed that the human mind was, at least in part, autonomous. Gordon W. Allport, *Becoming: Basic Considerations for a Psychology of Personality* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1955). Others who saw a similar division in psychology included six presidents of the APA (Tolman[1937], Hebb [1960], Rogers[1947], Hilgard[1949], Harlow [1958], and Miller [1969]), the editor of *The Journal of Experimental Psychology* (Melton), and the author of one of the most widely read textbooks in psychology (Hilgard). See Miller, Galanter, and Pribram, *Plans and the Structure of Behav-*

ior, 7–8; D. O. Hebb, “The American Revolution,” *American Psychologist* 15 (1960): 735–45; Harry F. Harlow, “Current and Future Advances in Physiological and Comparative Psychology,” *American Psychologist* 11 (1956): 273–77, on 274; George A. Kelley, “I Itch Too,” *American Psychologist* 10, no. 4 (1955): 172–73; Ernest R. Hilgard, *Theories of Learning* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1948), 9; Theodore C. Kahn, “Clinically and Statistically Oriented Psychologists Split Our Profession,” *American Psychologist* 10, no. 4 (1955): 171–72; Carl R. Rogers, “Persons or Science? A Philosophical Question,” *American Psychologist* 10, no. 7: 267–78; Tolman, “Cognitive Maps”; Arthur W. Melton, “Present Accomplishments and Future Trends in Problem-Solving and Learning Theory,” *American Psychologist* 11 (1956): 278–81. Hilgard’s *Theories of Learning* is particularly significant due to its wide readership. In surveys conducted in 1953–54 and 1958–59, it was recommended for graduate education by over half of surveyed departments. Hilgard’s text was one of only six books to rate so highly. See Norman D. Sundberg, “Basic Readings in Psychology,” *American Psychologist* 15 (1960): 343–45.

13. David McClelland noted: “[P]sychologists used to be interested in what went on in people’s heads. . . . [B]ut with the rise of modern scientific psychology we lost interest in ideas, by and large.” David C. McClelland, “The Psychology of Mental Content Reconsidered,” *Psychological Review* 62, no. 4 (1955): 297–302, on 297.

14. Positivist, operationist, and behavioristic psychology had such claim on being the “fundamental” part of psychology that it was a notable event when social and clinical psychologists characterized their own work as “fundamental.” Sigmund Koch, “Epilogue: Some Trends of Study I,” 5.

15. In his presidential address to the American Psychological Association, Donald Hebb remarked that learning had been “the fundamental issue in psychology” ever since the work of J. B. Watson and Edward Thorndike in the early twentieth century. Hebb, “The American Revolution,” 736.

16. “Between 1944 and 1950, 70 percent of the articles on learning and motivation in the *Journal of Experimental Psychology* and the *Journal of Comparative and Physiological Psychology* cited Hull.” Alexandra W. Logue, “The Growth of Behaviorism: Controversy and Diversity,” in *Points of View in the Modern History of Psychology*, ed. Claude E. Buxton (Orlando: Academic Press, 1985), 180. Logue cites evidence collected in Kenneth W. Spence, “Clark Leonard Hull: 1884–1952,” *American Journal of Psychology* 65 (1952): 639–46.

17. A useful overview of learning theory, including both perspectives, is Hilgard and Bower, *Theories of Learning*. Discussion of the marginality of Gestalt theory may be found in Michael Sokal, “The Gestalt Psychologists in Behaviorist America,” *American Historical Review* 89, no. 5 (1984): 1240–63; Mitchell G. Ash, “Gestalt Psychology: Origins in Germany and Reception in the United States,” in *Points of View in the Modern History of Psychology*, ed. Claude E.

Buxton (Orlando: Academic Press, 1985). On understanding and cognition, see I. Krechevesky, “The Genesis of ‘Hypotheses’ in Rats,” *Psychological Review* 45 (1932): 107–33; I. Krechevesky, “‘Hypothesis’ vs. ‘Chance’ in the Pre-Solution Period in Sensory Discrimination-Learning,” *University of California Publications in Psychology* 6 (1932): 27–44; Tolman, “Cognitive Maps.”

18. In descending order of size of APA membership, the top ten psychological specialties in 1952 were clinical, educational, experimental, industrial, vocational, social, general, developmental, personality, and physiological. S. H. Sanford, “Annual Report of the Executive Secretary,” *American Psychologist* 7 (1952): 686–96; cited in William A. Hunt, *The Clinical Psychologist* (Springfield, Ill.: Charles C. Thomas, 1956), 14. For excellent analysis of the changing composition of the discipline, see Capshew, *Psychologists on the March*.

19. Frederick L. McGuire, “On the Issue ‘What Is Science?’” *American Psychologist* 11, no. 3 (1956): 152–53, on 153; George A. Kelley, “I Itch Too”; Carl R. Rogers, “Persons or Science? A Philosophical Question”; Hans H. Strupp et al., “Comments on Rogers’ ‘Persons or Science,’” *American Psychologist* 11, no. 3 (1956): 153–57; E. B. Skaggs, “Personalistic Psychology as Science,” *Psychological Review* 52 (1945): 234–48; E. Parker Johnson, “On Readmitting the Mind,” *American Psychologist* 11 (1956): 712–14, on 712.

20. Johnson, “On Readmitting the Mind,” 712.

21. Lawrence N. Solomon, “The Paradox of the Experimental Clinician,” *American Psychologist* 10, no. 4 (1955): 170–71, on 170.

22. Allport, “The Psychologist’s Frame of Reference”; Harry F. Harlow, “The Nature of Love,” *American Psychologist* 13, no. 12 (1958): 673–85, on 674; Sanford C. Ericson, “Unity in Psychology: A Survey of Some Opinions,” *Psychological Review* 48, no. 1 (1941): 73–82, on 76.

23. Bruner, “Mechanism Riding High,” 156; Daniel Brower, “The Problem of Quantification in Psychological Science,” *Psychological Review* 56, no. 6 (1949): 325–33, on 326, 328, 330, and 332.

24. Howard E. Gruber, Kenneth R. Hammond, and Richard Jessor, “Foreword,” in *Contemporary Approaches to Cognition* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1957), v.

25. B. F. Skinner, “Are Theories of Learning Necessary?” *Psychological Review* 57, no. 4 (1950): 193–216; B. F. Skinner, “A Case History in Scientific Method,” *American Psychologist* 11, no. 5 (1956): 221–33.

26. On the scientific virtues of mechanical objectivity, “trained judgment,” and the role of intuition in the latter, see Daston and Galison, *Objectivity*, 115–90, 358–61.

27. Else Frenkel-Brunswik, “Intolerance of Ambiguity as an Emotional and Perceptual Personality Variable,” *Journal of Personality* 18, no. 1 (1949): 108–43; Frenkel-Brunswik, “Further Explorations by a Contributor to the *Authoritarian Personality*.”

28. W. C. H. Prentice, "Operationism and Psychological Theory: A Note," *Psychological Review* 53, no. 4 (1946): 247–49, on 247.

29. Frederick C. Thorne, "Psychologists, Heal Thyselves!" *American Psychologist* 11, no. 3 (1956): 152.

30. For discussion about the inter-species applicability of laws of behavior, see John Dollard and Neal E. Miller, *Personality and Psychotherapy: An Analysis in Terms of Learning, Thinking, and Culture* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1950), 63; Skinner, "A Case History in Scientific Method," 221–33.

31. M. E. Bitterman, "Toward Comparative Psychology of Learning," *American Psychologist* 15 (1960): 704–12, on 705, 11. For other attacks on this methodological assumption, see William F. Dukes, "The Snark Revisited," *American Psychologist* 15 (1960): 157; Frank A. Beach, "The Snark Was a Boojum," *American Psychologist* 5, no. 5 (1950): 115–24.

32. Donald Hebb, *The Organization of Behavior: A Neuropsychological Theory* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1949), 4. For other examples of psychologists noting the religious nature of behaviorism, see Harry F. Harlow, "Mice, Monkeys, Men, and Motives," *Psychological Review* 60, no. 1 (1953): 23–31, on 23; Jerome S. Bruner, "Neural Mechanisms in Perception," *Psychological Review* 64 (1957): 340–58, on 341; Hunt, *The Clinical Psychologist*, 7.

33. Chomsky, "Review of B. F. Skinner, *Verbal Behavior*," 32, 35, 39. On forgetting and ignoring inconvenient evidence see 40, nn. 23, 42.

34. Lucille C. Birnbaum, "Behaviorism in the 1920s," *American Quarterly* 7, no. 1 (1955): 15–30, on 15.

35. *Ibid.*, 30.

36. Koestler, *The Act of Creation*, 560–61.

37. Koestler, *The Sleepwalkers*.

38. This image of religion and particularly Catholicism as dogmatic and antiscientific (and antidemocratic) appeared particularly strongly during World War II and afterward in the writings of Sidney Hook. Sidney Hook, "Democracy and Education: Introduction," in *The Authoritarian Attempt to Capture Education: Papers from the Second Conference on the Scientific Spirit and Democratic Faith* (New York: King's Crown Press, 1945); Hook, *Reason, Social Myths and Democracy*.

39. Sigmund Koch, "Epilogue: Some Trends of Study I," 732, 734–35, 69, 776–77, 786.

40. *Ibid.*, 783.

41. *Ibid.*

42. *Ibid.*, 748, 70. Koch also suggested a contrast between the "realities of science" and the "facile myth" advanced by the Age of Theory. See *ibid.*, 786

43. *Ibid.*, 769–70.

44. *Ibid.*, 776–78.

45. Ibid., 785–86.
46. Ibid., 786.
47. Ibid., 770–85.
48. See P. McKellar, *Imagination and Thinking: A Psychological Analysis* (New York: Basic Books, 1957).
49. Koch, “Epilogue,” 783.
50. Ibid., 748, 786; see also Hunt, *The Clinical Psychologist*, 6.
51. Koch, “Epilogue,” 787–88.
52. However, according to Lawrence D. Smith in *Behaviorism and Logical Positivism*, logical positivism was not, as Koch argued, a phenomenon that arose outside of psychology and was subsequently adopted by it. Instead, Smith argues, behaviorists like Clark Hull had developed methodological commitments on their own, and only subsequently adopted positivist language to describe their prior programs. If Smith is correct and Koch was wrong about the origins of logical positivism in psychology, it only strengthens the argument I have been making. It suggests the particular strength of the cultural construct that explained rigidity and closed-mindedness as products of lack of autonomy and external influence.
53. Christopher D. Green, “Of Immortal Mythological Beasts: Operationism in Psychology,” *Theory and Psychology* 2, no. 3 (1992): 291–320; Andrew S. Winston and Daniel J. Blais, “What Counts as an Experiment? A Transdisciplinary Analysis of Textbooks, 1930–1970,” *American Journal of Psychology* 109, no. 4 (1996): 559–616.
54. For example, see Kenneth MacCorquodale and Paul E. Meehl, “On a Distinction between Hypothetical Constructs and Intervening Variables,” *Psychological Review* 55 (1948): 95–107, on 96.
55. Herbert Feigl, “The Philosophical Embarrassments of Psychology,” 115.
56. Bruner, “Mechanism Riding High,” 155–57; Gustav Bergmann and Kenneth W. Spence, “Operationism and Theory in Psychology,” *Psychological Review* 48, no. 1 (1941): 1–14; Kenneth W. Spence, “The Empirical Basis and the Theoretical Structure of Psychology,” *Philosophy of Science* 24, no. 2 (1957): 97–108.
57. See Oppenheimer, “Theory Versus Practice”; James B. Conant, *Science and Common Sense* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1951); Conant, *Modern Science and Modern Man*; Conant, *On Understanding Science*; Warren Weaver, “Science and Faith,” Delivered on Layman’s Sunday in the Congregational Church of New Milford, Connecticut, May 16, 1954. Papers of Vannevar Bush, Box 117, Folder: Weaver, Warren, (1948–1954), Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.
58. Koestler, *The Act of Creation*; Bronowski, *Science and Human Values*.
59. Bernard Barber, *Science and the Social Order*. On Parsons’s philosophy

of science, see Charles Camic, “Introduction: Talcott Parsons before *the Structure of Social Action*,” in *Talcott Parsons: The Early Essays*, ed. and with an Introduction by Charles Camic (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991).

60. Conant, *On Understanding Science*; Thomas S. Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962). On the relationship between Conant and Kuhn, see Steve Fuller, *Thomas Kuhn: A Philosophical History for Our Times* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000).

61. Bronowski, *Science and Human Values*, 48–49.

62. Jacob Bronowski, “Analogy in Science,” *American Psychologist* 11, no. 3 (1956): 127–35, on 130.

63. *Ibid.*, 134

64. *Ibid.*, 135.

65. A similar critique of narrowness and overconcern with rigor can be found in the work of psychologist Abraham Maslow; see his “Problem-Centering Versus Means-Centering in Science.” Several years later, Maslow would focus this general critique of methodological fetishism in a discussion of the problem of means-centering in psychology. Maslow, “The Expressive Component of Behavior,” *Psychological Review* 56, no. 5 (1949): 261–72, on 261.

66. “Bruner, “Mechanism Riding High”; Spence, *Behavior Theory and Conditioning*.

67. Koch, “Epilogue,” 784–86.

68. Surveying the field in his 1960 presidential address to the APA, Donald Hebb remarked: “Though this opposition of aims may seem over-simplified, I believe it is fundamentally sound. How [should we] understand otherwise the learning theorist’s [i.e., the behaviorist’s] bland refusal even to discuss attention or purpose, or the cognitive psychologist’s happy preference for phenomena he cannot explain—so long as the other cannot explain them either?” Hebb, “The American Revolution,” 737.

69. Jerome S. Bruner, Jacqueline J. Goodnow, and George A. Austin, *A Study of Thinking* (London: John Wiley and Sons, 1956), 6.

70. *Ibid.*, 233.

71. *Ibid.*, 10, 14, 17, 19, 31, 37–38, 54, 56, 92, 233, 244, 246.

72. *Ibid.*, 7, emphasis added.

73. *Ibid.*, 19; Ernest Mayr, “Concepts of Classification and Nomenclature in Higher Organisms and Microorganisms,” *Annals of the New York Academy of Science* 56 (1952): 391–97. Six years before publication of *A Study in Thinking*, the psychologist Hadley Cantril, with whom Bruner had worked during World War II, made similar points. He noted that “variables scientists use do not exist in their own right. They are only aspects abstracted out of the total situation by scientists as inquiring human beings endowed with the capacity to manipulate ideas.” Citing Einstein and Infeld, Cantril also noted the “creative imagination” necessary in science. Cantril, “An Inquiry Concerning the Characteris-

tics of Man,” 491; Albert Einstein and L. Infeld, *The Evolution of Physics*, 2d ed. (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1942), 95.

74. Bruner, Goodnow, and Austin, *A Study of Thinking*, 7.

75. Ibid.

76. Ibid., 8.

77. See Koch, “Epilogue,” 768–69; Bruner, “Mechanism Riding High,” 156; Bruner, “Neural Mechanisms in Perception,” 340–58; Miller, Galanter, and Pribram, *Plans*, 21–25; D. O. Hebb, “The Problem of Consciousness and Introspection,” in *Brain Mechanisms and Consciousness*, ed. E. D. Adrian (Oxford: Blackwell, 1954), 404.

78. “Cognition and the Limits of Scientific Inquiry.” Unpublished paper read at the Institute for the Unity of Science at the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1951, Jerome S. Bruner Papers, HUG 4242.28, Harvard University Archives.

79. Bruner based this argument on a series of experiments he conducted on how expectation determines what people see. For historians of science, the most notable of these experiments is one that examines how individuals experience gestalt switches in their perception when viewing miscolored playing cards such as black hearts. Jerome S. Bruner and Leo J. Postman, “On the Perception of Incongruity: A Paradigm,” *Journal of Personality* 18 (1949): 206–23. This paper was one of Thomas Kuhn’s central examples of gestalt switching in *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*.

80. Bruner, “Mechanism Riding High.”

81. Eugene Galanter and Murray Gerstenhaber, “On Thought: The Extrinsic Theory,” *Psychological Review* 63, no. 4 (1956): 218–27, on 219. Bruner later made a similar argument: “I am inclined to think of mental development as involving the construction of a model of the world in the child’s head, an internalized set of structures for representing the world around him.” Jerome S. Bruner, “On Learning Mathematics,” in *On Knowing: Essays for the Left Hand* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1979 [1962]), 103.

82. An earlier, but uncited, form of this argument can be found in Kenneth James Williams Craik, *The Nature of Explanation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1943). While Craik has been credited with inspiring cognitive psychology, remarkably the first citation of his work in *Psychological Review*, the leading theoretical journal of the American Psychological Association, occurred well after the cognitive project was off the ground. See Lawrence E. Arend, “Spatial Differential and Integral Operations in Human Vision,” *Psychological Review* 80, no. 5 (1973): 374–95.

83. Bruner, Goodnow, and Austin, *A Study of Thinking*, 6–7; Galanter and Gerstenhaber, “On Thought”; Miller, Galanter, and Pribram, *Plans*; Noam Chomsky, “Review of B. F. Skinner, *Verbal Behavior*,” in *The Structure of Language*, ed. J. A. Fodor and J. J. Katz (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall,

1959); Herbert A. Simon, “Understanding Creativity,” in *Creativity: Its Educational Implications*, ed. John Curtis Gowan, George D. Demos, and E. Paul Torrence (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1967); Allen Newell, J. C. Shaw, and Herbert A. Simon, “The Processes of Creative Thinking,” in *Contemporary Approaches to Creative Thinking*, ed. Howard E. Gruber, Glenn Terrell, and Michael Wertheimer (New York: Atherton Press, 1962); Simon, “Scientific Discovery and the Psychology of Problem Solving”; A. Newell, J. C. Shaw, and H. Simon, “Elements of a Theory of Human Problem Solving,” *Psychological Review* 65 (1958): 151–66.

84. Noam Chomsky, “Three Models for the Description of Language,” *IRE Transactions on Information Theory* IT-2, no. 3 (1956): 113–24, on 113, 116; Chomsky, *Syntactic Structures* (The Hague: Mouton Publishers, 1957); Chomsky, “Logical Structure of Linguistic Theory,” 6 (typescript, 1955–56, available at <http://alpha-leonis.lids.mit.edu/chomsky/>).

85. Skinner, “Are Theories of Learning Necessary?”; Skinner, “A Case History in Scientific Method.”

86. Chomsky, “Review of B. F. Skinner, *Verbal Behavior*,” 56–57.

87. Roger W. Sperry, “On the Neural Basis of the Conditioned Response,” *British Journal of Animal Behavior* 3 (1955): 41–44; cited in Chomsky, “Review of B. F. Skinner, *Verbal Behavior*,” 44. This use of biological evidence to attack behaviorism appeared in the work of other cognitive scientists. See, for instance, Jerome Bruner’s review of physiological evidence that indicated that behaviorists failed to understand reflexes—the very foundation of their own use of conditioned reflexes as the model of all behavior. Bruner, “Neural Mechanisms in Perception.”

88. For discussion of S-R chains, see Hilgard and Bower, *Theories of Learning*.

89. The proof hinged on the point that embedded sentences can be of arbitrary length. However, that would require the machine which generated the sentence to have an arbitrary number of states—so that it would have to be an infinite-state machine.

90. Miller, Galanter, and Pribram, *Plans*; see, for instance, Galanter and Gerstenhaber, “On Thought.” Noam Chomsky and George A. Miller, “Finite State Languages,” *Information and Control* 1 (1958): 91–112; George A. Miller and Noam Chomsky, “Finitary Models of Language Users,” in *Handbook of Mathematical Psychology*, vol. 2, ed. R. D. Luce, R. R. Bush, and Eugene Galanter (New York: Wiley, 1963); Noam Chomsky and George A. Miller, “Introduction to the Formal Analysis of Natural Languages,” in *Handbook of Mathematical Psychology*, vol. 2.

91. Randy Allen Harris, “Chomsky’s Other Revolution,” in *Chomskyan (R) Evolutions*, ed. Douglas A. Kibbee (Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2010).

92. Baars, *The Cognitive Revolution in Psychology*, 212.
93. Hebb, “The American Revolution,” 740, emphasis added.
94. For discussion of this paradox, see Hunter Crowther-Heyck, “George A. Miller, Language, and the Computer Metaphor of Mind,” *History of Psychology* 2 (1999): 37–64.
95. Miller, Galanter, and Pribram, *Plans*, 41.
96. B. F. Skinner, “Why I Am Not a Cognitive Psychologist,” in *Reflections on Behaviorism and Society* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1978).
97. Herbert Simon and Allen Newell, “Computer Simulation of Human Thinking and Problem Solving,” in *Management and the Computer of the Future*, ed. Martin Greenberger (New York: MIT Press and Wiley, 1962).
98. Newell, Shaw, and Simon, “Elements of a Theory of Human Problem Solving”; Newell, Shaw, and Simon, “The Processes of Creative Thinking”; Miller, Galanter, and Pribram, *Plans*.
99. Henri Poincaré, *Science and Method*, trans. F. Maitland (New York: Dover, 1952); G. Polya, *How to Solve It* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1945); G. Polya, *Mathematics and Plausible Reasoning* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1954); Michael Polyani, *Personal Knowledge* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958). Cited in Miller, Galanter, and Pribram, *Plans*, 87, 160, 167–69, 179, 180, 183, 191. For additional references to Poincaré and Polya see Newell, Shaw, and Simon, “The Processes of Creative Thinking.”
100. “Bibliography—Miscellaneous Comments on Starred Items,” Commentary—1958 [bundled] (Consulting—Social Science Research Council—Conferences and Seminars—Summer Research Training Institute on Simulation of Cognitive Processes—1958). Herbert Simon Digital Archive. <http://diva.library.cmu.edu/Simon/index.html>. See also Newell, Shaw, and Simon, “Elements,” 153 n. 2; Allen Newell and Herbert Simon, *The Simulation of Human Thought* (Santa Monica, Calif.: The RAND Corporation, 1959), 10.
101. For instance, Philip N. Johnson-Laird, *The Computer and the Mind: An Introduction to Cognitive Science* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1988).
102. John von Neumann, “The General and Logical Theory of Automata,” in *Cerebral Mechanisms of Behavior: The Hixon Symposium*, ed. Lloyd A. Jeffries (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1951).
103. For reflection on the critique of finite-state languages as criticism of information theory and of engineers, see Noam Chomsky, “Of Minds and Language,” *Biolinguistics* 1 (2007): 9–27, on 11.
104. Janet Martin-Nielsen, “‘It Was All Connected’: Computers and Linguistics in Early Cold War America,” in *Cold War Social Science: Knowledge Production, Liberal Democracy, and Human Nature*, ed. Mark Solovey and Hamilton Cravens (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).
105. George A. Miller, *Occasional Paper #1: A Very Personal History* (Cam-

bridge, Mass.: MIT Cognitive Science Workshop, June 1, 1979), 7. Miller generously asserts that Chomsky did not seek to use his paper as an attack on the engineers and information theorists, but Chomsky asserts that the critique was intentional.

106. George A. Miller, "The Magical Number Seven, Plus or Minus Two: Some Limits on Our Capacity for Processing Information," *Psychological Review* 63 (1956): 81–97.

107. Claude Shannon, "A Mathematical Theory of Communication," *Bell Systems Technical Journal* 27 (1948): 379–423, 623–56.

108. See George A. Miller, "The Human Link in Communication Systems," in *The Psychology of Communication*. Originally published in *Proceedings of the National Electronics Conference* 12 (1956): 395–400.

109. Miller, *The Psychology of Communication*, vi.

110. "Information and Memory," in Miller, *The Psychology of Communication*, 8. Originally published as George A. Miller, "Information and Memory," *Scientific American*, August 1956: 42–46.

111. Miller, "The Human Link," 49.

112. This was also a departure from the research agenda that Miller himself had been pursuing for almost a decade. During that decade Miller and his collaborators had completed one study after another that explored human abilities to recognize, react to, or remember words that were statistical approximations of English. In this he followed the method of Claude Shannon. In this early work, Miller contended that people have a fixed channel capacity. See George A. Miller, *Language and Communication* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1951), 84.

113. Herbert A. Simon, *Models of My Life* (New York: Basic Books, 1991), 205–7.

114. Margaret A. Boden, "Personal Politics and Ideology Machines," in *Artificial Intelligence and Natural Man* (New York: Basic Books, 1977); Boden, *Mind as Machine: A History of Cognitive Science*, 709–12.

115. Edwin G. Boring, "Mind and Mechanism," *American Journal of Psychology* 59, no. 2 (1946): 173–92; Saul Gorn, "On the Mechanical Stimulation of Habit-Forming and Learning," *Information and Control* 2 (1959): 226–59; Howard S. Hoffman, "The Analogue Lab: A New Kind of Teaching Device," *American Psychologist* 17, no. 10 (1962): 684–94.

116. Laurence D. Smith, "Metaphors of Knowledge and Behavior in the Behaviorist Tradition," 249–54.

117. Boring, "Mind and Mechanism," 178. For discussion of the exchange between Boring and Wiener, see Peter Galison, "The Ontology of the Enemy: Norbert Wiener and the Cybernetic Vision," 247, 251–52.

118. Boring, "Mind and Mechanism," 183–84.

119. Allen Newell, J. C. Shaw, and Herbert Simon, "Report on a General Problem-Solving Program," in *Proceedings of the International Conference on*

Information Processing (Paris: 1959). Cited in Miller, Galanter, and Pribram, *Plans*, 189.

120. Miller, Galanter, and Pribram, *Plans*, 41.

121. Lawrence D. Smith has noted the tendency of neo-behaviorists to see the mode of animal thinking described in their work as functioning in essentially the same fashion as their announced prescriptions (philosophy of science) for their own thinking. See *Behaviorism and Logical Positivism*.

122. A notable exception to this is Robert Abelson's simulation of Barry Goldwater's ideology. For discussion of this program see Boden, "Personal Politics and Ideology Machines."

123. Miller, "Thinking, Cognition, and Learning," 149–50.

Chapter Six

1. Angela N. H. Creager, Elizabeth Lunbeck, and M. Norton Wise, *Science without Laws: Model Systems, Cases, Exemplary Narratives, Science and Cultural Theory* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2007); Angela N. H. Creager, *The Life of a Virus: Tobacco Mosaic Virus as an Experimental Model, 1930–1965* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002).

2. Howard Gardner, *The Mind's New Science*; M. Posner and G. L. Schulman, "Cognitive Science," in *The First Century of Experimental Psychology*, ed. E. Hearst (Hillsdale, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1979).

3. Noam Chomsky, *Cartesian Linguistics* (New York and London: Harper and Row, 1966); Noam Chomsky, *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1965).

4. See, for instance, Jerome S. Bruner, *Toward a Theory of Instruction* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1966); Jerome S. Bruner, *The Process of Education* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1960); Jerome S. Bruner, "The Act of Discovery," *Harvard Educational Review* 31, no. 1 (1961): 21–32.

5. The psychologists included Roger Brown, Mary Henle, Ulric Neisser, Donald Norman, Bärbel Inhelder, Nancy Waugh, Patricia Greenfield, Susan Carey, Jacques Mehler, Doris Aaronson, Daniel Kahneman, John Carroll, David McNeill, David Olson, and Walter Reitman. Linguistics was represented by Noam Chomsky, Roman Jakobson, Jerry Fodor, and Jerrold Katz, biology by Ernst Mayer, mathematics by Benoit Mandelbrot and Seymour Papert, pediatrics by T. Berry Brazelton, history by H. Stuart Hughes, psychiatry and psychoanalysis by Jacques Lacan and Joseph Jaffe, and decision theory and industrial administration by Herbert Simon. The roster of the Center's students, visitors, and directors can be found in Jerome S. Bruner, "Founding the Center for Cognitive Studies," in *The Making of Cognitive Science: Essays in Honor of George A.*

Miller, ed. William Hirst (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988); Harvard University Center for Cognitive Studies, *Annual Reports* (Cambridge, Mass.: 1961–69).

6. Jerome Bruner and George Miller to Nathan Pusey, January 4, 1962, Papers of the Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, letters to/from, 1961–62, Box 2, Folder: Cognitive Studies, Center for, UA III 5.55.26. Harvard University Archives.

7. NIH Grant Application, “Studies in Cognition,” December 13, 1965, Administrative Papers of the Center for Cognitive Studies [hereafter CCS], Grant Requests, Proposals & Reports, Folder: NIH Proposal, UA V. 290.15, Harvard University Archives.

8. Following common usage by mid-twentieth-century psychologists, “tool” here refers to an individual physical instrument, an assemblage of the same, an experimental method, or an organized way of categorizing, seeing, or approaching the world.

9. Lecture notes from “The Materialist Tradition,” Lecture 4, 5. Social Sciences 8: Psychological Conceptions of Man, Harvard University. Delivered on October 6, 1960. Personal papers of George A. Miller, Princeton University Department of Psychology.

10. For a more recent discussion of the linkage between new tools and new theories in cognitive psychology, see Gigerenzer, “Discovery in Cognitive Psychology: New Tools Inspire New Theories”; Gigerenzer, “From Tools to Theories: A Heuristic of Discovery in Cognitive Psychology.”

11. For discussion of the role of the war on fostering task-oriented, interdisciplinary research, see Peter Galison, “The Americanization of Unity,” *Daedalus* 127, no. 1 (1998): 45–71, on 59–65. For discussion of how this practice developed out of Warren Weaver’s earlier style at the Rockefeller Foundation, see Mindell, *Between Human and Machine: Feedback, Control, and Computing before Cybernetics*, 189. On reading an earlier draft of this chapter, George Miller remarked that “both Jerry [Bruner] and I were forced by WWII to become interdisciplinary (although: re different disciplines), and that we found it exciting and wanted to revive it in 1960. The war had given both of us intellectual claustrophobia.” Personal communication, December 29, 1997.

12. General discussion of Lincoln Laboratory may be found in Leslie, *The Cold War and American Science*.

13. Miller, Galanter, and Pribram, *Plans and the Structure of Behavior*.

14. Miller explained to his department chairman: “My plan is to spend this time at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton. I hope to learn more of the mathematics I need to develop some of my own theoretical notions. Since von Neumann has a group of men working on his theory of games, the Institute seems an ideal place to become familiar with this kind of theory construction.” George A. Miller to Edwin B. Newman, December 15, 1949, Papers of the Dean

of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, letters to/from, 1949–50, Phillips - S (Misc), Folder: Psychology, UA III 5.55.26, Harvard University Archives.

15. Bruner has reflected that “there have been times when I thought I would have been better off in the seventeenth century, when it was more usual to follow one’s curiosity than the straighter arrow of specialized study. I am not a good ‘discipline’ man and do not like boundaries.” Bruner, *In Search of Mind*, 8.

16. George A. Miller, “What Is Information Measurement?” *American Psychologist* 8 (1953): 3–11; George A. Miller and F. C. Frick, “Statistical Behavioristics and Sequences of Responses,” *Psychological Review* 56 (1949): 311–24; George A. Miller and Jennifer A. Selfridge, “Verbal Context and the Recall of Meaningful Material,” *American Journal of Psychology* 63 (1950): 176–85; George A. Miller, G. A. Heise, and W. Lichten, “The Intelligibility of Speech as a Function of the Context of the Test Materials,” *Journal of Experimental Psychology* 41 (1951): 329–35; Miller, “The Magical Number Seven”; George A. Miller and E. A. Friedman, “The Reconstruction of Mutilated English Texts,” *Information and Control* 1 (1957): 38–55; Noam Chomsky and George A. Miller, “Finite State Languages.” For further discussion of Miller’s postwar work, see Crowther-Heyck, “George A. Miller, Language, and the Computer Metaphor of Mind”; Edwards, *The Closed World: Computers and the Politics of Discourse in Cold War America*, chapter 7.

17. Jerome S. Bruner and Cecile C. Goodman, “Value and Need as Organizing Factors in Perception,” *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology* 42, no. 1 (1947): 33–44; Bruner and Postman, “On the Perception of Incongruity”; Posner and Schulman, “Cognitive Science.”

18. Bruner, Goodnow, and Austin, *A Study of Thinking*. Once the book was published, Bruner would tell Jean Piaget “if it had not been for you, for von Neumann and for Claude Shannon, it never would have occurred to me to take this approach.” Jerome S. Bruner to Jean Piaget, May 17, 1956, Papers of Jerome Bruner, General Correspondence, 1965–71, Papousek–Ry (gen’l), Folder: Piaget, HUG 4242.5, Harvard University Archives.

19. Crowther-Heyck, “George A. Miller, Language, and the Computer Metaphor of Mind.”

20. Jerome S. Bruner and George A. Miller to Nathan Pusey, January 4, 1962, Papers of the Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, letters to/from, 1961–62, Box 2, Folder: Cognitive Studies, Center for, UA III 5.55.26, Harvard University Archives.

21. Center for Cognitive Studies, *First Annual Report, 1960–1961*, 1–2.

22. Bruner initially presented the results of his research on the R and D group at a conference in 1958. For his paper in the conference proceedings, see Bruner, “The Conditions of Creativity.”

23. Jerome Bruner and George Miller to John W. Gardner, April 7, 1960, Papers of the Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, letters to/from, 1959–60,

Box 6, Folder: Center for Cognitive Studies, UA III 5.55.26, Harvard University Archives.

24. “Weekly Log,” 28 November, 1960, CCS, Correspondence, Budget and Equipment Papers, Harvard University Archives.

25. George Miller to Jerome Bruner, Dictaphone recording Friday, November 29, 1963, Bruner Papers, General Correspondence, 1965–71, Folder: Miller, George, HUG 4242.5, Harvard University Archives.

26. Chomsky and Miller, “Finitary Models of Language Users”; Chomsky and Miller, “Introduction to the Formal Analysis of Natural Languages.”

27. Jerome S. Bruner to Mary Jane Aschner, June 28, 1961, Bruner Papers, General Correspondence, 1962–64, Box A, Folder: Aschner. HUG 4242.5. Harvard University Archives.

28. George A. Miller, “Language and Psychology,” in *New Directions in the Study of Language*, ed. Eric H. Lenneberg (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1964), 94.

29. See, for instance, CCS, *Third Annual Report, 1962–1962*, 5.

30. David French, quoted in CCS, *First Annual Report, 1960–1961*, 4.

31. See Rose R. Olver, “A Developmental Study of Cognitive Equivalence” (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1962).

32. George A. Miller, “Project Grammarama,” in *The Psychology of Communication* (New York: Basic Books, 1967), 125–87.

33. George A. Miller, “Computers, Communication, and Cognition,” in *The Psychology of Communication*, 114–15.

34. For instance, see Chomsky, “Three Models for the Description of Language.”

35. Chomsky, *Syntactic Structures*, 18–25. The original proof appears in Chomsky, “Three Models for the Description of Language.”

36. George A. Miller, Lecture Notes for Psychology 165: Psychology of Speech and Communication. October 4–18, 1957, HUC 8957.272.165, Harvard University Archives.

37. On the significance of embedded sentences to the work of the Center, see *Third Annual Report, 1962–1963*, 39.

38. George A. Miller, “Computers, Communication, and Cognition.”

39. A sampling of this line of Bruner’s research follows. Bruner and Goodman, “Value and Need”; Bruner and Postman, “On the Perception of Incongruity”; Jerome S. Bruner and Mary C. Potter, “Interference in Visual Recognition,” *Science* 144, no. 3617 (1964): 424–25; Jerome S. Bruner, “On Perceptual Readiness,” *Psychological Review* 64 (1957): 123–52. The eye camera and associated research is discussed in J. F. Mackworth and N. H. Mackworth, “Eye Fixations Recorded on Changing Visual Scenes by the Television Eye-Marker,” *Journal of the Optical Society of America* 48 (1958): 439–45; N. H. Mackworth, “A Stand Camera for Line-of-Sight Recording,” *Perception and Psychophysics* 2 (1967):

119–27; N. H. Mackworth and E. L. Thomas, “A Head Mounted Eye Marker Camera,” *Journal of the Optical Society of America* 52 (1962): 713–16.

40. CCS, *First Annual Report, 1960–1961*, 8.

41. CCS, *Second Annual Report, 1961–1962*, 5.

42. Ibid.

43. Donald A. Norman, interview, August 2, 1997. See also Donald A. Norman and Willem J. M. Levelt, “Life at the Center,” in *The Making of Cognitive Science: Essays in Honor of George A. Miller*, ed. William Hirst (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

44. Jerome S. Bruner, interview, May 7, 1997.

45. CCS, *Second Annual Report, 1961–1962*, 5.

46. Donald A. Norman, interview, August 2, 1997.

47. Bruner, “The Conditions of Creativity.” This work was a part of a quickly growing research area concerned with understanding creativity and using group brainstorming to produce innovation among businessmen, engineers, scientists, and students. See, for instance, William J. J. Gordon, *Synectics* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1961); A. F. Osborn, *Applied Imagination: Principles and Procedures of the Creative Process*, rev. ed. (New York: Scribner’s, 1953).

48. NIH Grant Application, “Studies in Cognition,” December 13, 1965. CCS, Grant Requests, Proposals and Reports, Folder: NIH Proposal, 4. UA V. 290.15.

49. George A. Miller to Jerome S. Bruner, August 21, 1963, Bruner Papers, General Correspondence, 1962–64, Box L-O, Folder: M, HUG 4242.5, Harvard University Archives.

50. CCS, *Annual Report, 1965–66*, 39–40.

51. For discussion of the role of behaviorism in establishing the disciplinary autonomy of psychology, see O’Donnell, *The Origins of Behaviorism: American Psychology, 1870–1920*.

52. Donald A. Norman, interview, August 8, 1997; Norman and Levelt, “Life at the Center.”

53. On Postman, see Bruner Papers, General Correspondence, 1948–1951, Box Meikle-Postman, Folder: Postman, Harvard University Archives. On Mackworth, see CCS Papers, Correspondence, UA V.290.5, Harvard University Archives.

54. Jerome S. Bruner et al., *Studies in Cognitive Growth* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1966); Jerome S. Bruner, “The Growth and Structure of Skill,” in *Motor Skills in Infancy*, ed. K. J. Connolly (London and New York: Academic Press, 1971); Chomsky, *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax*; Patricia M. Greenfield and Jerome S. Bruner, “Culture and Cognitive Growth,” in *Handbook of Socialization Theory and Research*, ed. David A. Goslin (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1969); Miller, “Project Grammarama”; Mackworth, “A Stand Camera.”

55. Randy Allen Harris, *The Linguistics Wars* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 68, 271.

56. Norman and Levelt, “Life at the Center,” 101. Also CCS *Annual Reports* (especially before 1965); NIH Grant Application, “Studies in Cognition,” December 13, 1965, CCS, Grant Requests, Proposals and Reports, Folder: NIH Proposal, 3–4. UA V. 290.15, Harvard University Archives; Donald A. Norman, interview, August 2, 1997; CCS, “Final Report 1965–1972,” Carnegie Corporation Grant Files, Series 2, Box 606: Harvard University—Thought Processes, Columbia University Archives; Bruner, *In Search of Mind*; Bruner, “Founding the Center.”

57. CCS, *Third Annual Report, 1962–1963*, 8.

58. NIH Grant Application, “Studies in Cognition,” December 13, 1965, Harvard University Archives.

59. Interview, name withheld.

60. CCS, *First Annual Report, 1960–1961*, 10.

61. Jerome S. Bruner to Ross Stanger, February 9, 1962, Bruner Papers, General Correspondence, 1961–62, Box N-Z, Folder S, HUG 4242.5, Harvard University Archives. In the last couple of years before the move to William James Hall, the Center had an outpost on Garden Street. However, the split that ensued did not draw energy from the Center’s Kirkland Street home base because the majority of the Center’s activities remained in the original location.

62. CCS, *Fifth Annual Report, 1964–65*, 7–8.

63. Interview with Donald A. Norman, August 2, 1997.

64. One was George Miller. Interview, September 25, 1997.

65. Doris Aaronson, Personal Communication, August 23, 1997; interview with Mary Potter, October 8, 1997; Interview with George Miller, September 25, 1997.

66. Jerome Bruner to Hilde Himmelweit, March 22, 1971, Bruner Papers, General Correspondence, 1965–71, Head Start – I, Folder: Himmelweit, Hilde, HUG 4242.5, Harvard University Archives.

67. Nathan Pusey, handwritten memo to himself outlining a meeting with Bruner and Miller, January 12, 1962, Papers of the Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, letters to/from, 1961–62, Box 2, Folder: Cognitive Studies, Center for, UA III 555.26, Harvard University Archives.

68. Bruner to Bertie Woolf, October 26, 1970. Bruner Papers, Personal Correspondence and Papers, N-P, Folder: NICHD 03049 Request for Renewal, HUG 4242.18, Harvard University Archives.

69. Bruner mentions this group briefly in “Founding the Center for Cognitive Studies.” For details on Bread and Roses, see Nancy Hawley, “Dear Sisters,” October 8, 1970, Annie Popkin Papers, Box 2, Folder 39, Schlesinger Library; Kathy McAfee and Myrna Wood, “Bread and Roses,” in *Voices from Women’s Liberation*, ed. Leslie Tanner (New York: Signet Books, 1970); Alice Echols, *Daring to Be Bad: Radical Feminism in America, 1967–1975* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1989); Ann Hunter Popkin, “Bread and Roses: An

Early Moment in the Development of Socialist-Feminism” (Ph.D. diss., Brandeis University, 1978).

70. Rose Olver, interview, September 8, 1998.

71. Among the numerous accounts these events have received are Diane Ravitch, *The Troubled Crusade: American Education 1945–1980* (New York: Basic Books, 1983); Richard Norton Smith, *The Harvard Century: The Making of a University to a Nation* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1986). The full story remains clouded, however, as Harvard’s administrative records on the event are sealed until at least 2029.

72. Jerome Bruner to Daniel Kahneman, March 22, 1971. Bruner Papers, General Correspondence, 1965–71, Kagan–Kennedy, Folder: Kahneman, Daniel. HUG 4242.5. Harvard University Archives.

73. Ulric Neisser, *Cognitive Psychology* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1967), 5.

74. CCS, “Final Report 1965–1972,” Carnegie Corporation Grant Files, Series 2, Box 606: Harvard University—Thought Processes, Columbia University Archives.

75. Among these are Willem Levelt’s role in founding the Max Plank Institute in Nijmegen, Jacques Mehler’s in the *Journal of Cognition*, and George Miller’s in the program in cognitive science at Princeton. In addition, Howard Gardner shaped Project Zero at Harvard and Donald Norman shaped the program at UCSD along the lines they saw at the Center. Donald A. Norman, interview, August 2, 1997; Howard Gardner, *To Open Minds* (New York: Basic Books, 1989), 54–55.

76. Bruner, “Founding the Center,” 97.

77. CCS, *Seventh Annual Report, 1966–1967* (Cambridge, Mass.), 1.

Chapter Seven

1. Charles Laird, *Through These Eyes* (National Film Board of Canada, 2004).

2. Peter B. Dow, *Schoolhouse Politics: Lessons from the Sputnik Era* (Cambridge Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1991), 164–65.

3. Analysis in this chapter centers on the ways MACOS grew from cognitive psychology and was embedded in science curriculum reform. For discussion of how MACOS fit within reform of social studies curricula, see Ronald W. Evans, *The Hope for American School Reform: The Cold War Pursuit of Inquiry Learning in Social Studies* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011); Ronald W. Evans, *The Tragedy of American School Reform: How Curriculum Politics and Entrenched Dilemmas Have Diverted Us from Democracy* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).

4. Ellen Condliffe Lagemann, *An Elusive Science: The Troubling History of Education Research* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 47; Westbrook, *John Dewey and American Democracy*, 97, 101–2, 167–73.

5. Diane Ravitch, *The Troubled Crusade: American Education 1945–1980* (New York: Basic Books, 1983), 55, 67–68.

6. Andrew Hartman, *Education and the Cold War: The Battle for the American School*, 101–6; Michelle Nickerson, “Domestic Threats: Women, Gender and Conservatism in Los Angeles, 1945–1966” (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 2003), 132, 147; Perrin Selcer, “Patterns of Science: Developing Knowledge for a World Community at UNESCO” (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 2011), chapter 2. Nickerson also provides general discussion of the role of educational activities as a critical part of the conservative movement, helping to pave the way for women to move from political inactivity into more nationally visible and male-dominated organizations, such as the John Birch Society.

7. Nickerson, “Domestic Threats,” 174–75.

8. Kurt Lewin, “Group Decision and Social Change,” in *Readings in Social Psychology*, ed. E. E. Macoby, T. M. Newcomb, and E. L. Hartley (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1958); Ronald Lippett, *Training in Community Relations* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1949).

9. The roots of conference planning in group dynamics are discussed in Mead and Byers, *The Small Conference*.

10. Selcer, “Patterns of Science,” chapter 2.

11. Ibid.

12. Nickerson, “Domestic Threats,” 150.

13. Hartman, *Education and the Cold War*, 104.

14. Langton T. Crane, *The National Science Foundation and Pre-College Science Education, 1950–1975: Report Prepared for the Subcommittee on Science, Research, and Technology of the Committee on Science and Technology, U.S. House of Representatives* (Washington: Science Policy Research Division, Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress, 1975), 51–55; J. Merton England, *A Patron for Pure Science: The National Science Foundation's Formative Years, 1945–57* (Washington, D.C.: National Science Foundation, 1983), 242–43.

15. Arthur Bestor, *Educational Wastelands: The Retreat from Learning in Our Public Schools* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1953). On Bestor, see Ravitch, *The Troubled Crusade*, 75–76; Arthur Zilversmit, *Changing Schools: Progressive Education Theory and Practice, 1930–1960* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 109–10; Lawrence Arthur Cremin, *The Transformation of the School: Progressivism in American Education, 1876–1957* (New York: Vintage Books, 1961), 344–47.

16. John L. Rudolph, *Scientists in the Classroom: The Cold War Reconstruction of American Science Education* (New York: Palgrave, 2002), 115, 131, 144.

17. Ibid., 124–25; Jack S. Goldstein, *A Different Sort of Time: The Life of Jerrold Zacharias*, 164–65, 187.

18. Goldstein, *A Different Sort of Time*, 142.

19. James B. Conant, “The Superintendent Was the Target,” *The New York Times*, April 29, 1951.

20. Zilversmit, *Changing Schools*, 216–17 n. 7.

21. Rudolph, *Scientists in the Classroom* 121, 235 n. 39.

22. Ibid., 120.

23. Proposal to the Ford Foundation for the Support of a Curriculum Development Program in the Humanities and Social Sciences by American Council of Learned Societies and Educational Services Incorporated, 9/1/62 to 9/30/63. Signed by Frederick Burkhardt, president, ACLS; James Killian, chairman of the Corporation, MIT; Jerrold Zacharias, ESI vice president; Carroll Newsom, president, ESI. Jerome S. Bruner, Correspondence: Misc. Organizations, ESI, PERD, Publishers, 1964–65, Box 1 of 8, Folder: ESI Pre-1965 Files, HUG 4242.9, Harvard University Archives.

24. Barbara Barksdale Clowse, *Brainpower for the Cold War: The Sputnik Crisis and National Defense Education Act of 1958* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1981); Ravitch, *The Troubled Crusade*, 229.

25. Wayne W. Welsch, “Twenty Years of Science Curriculum Development: A Look Back,” *Review of Research in Education* 7 (1979): 282–306, on 285.

26. Bruner, *The Process of Education*, vii, ix.

27. On the New Math, see William Wooton, *SMSG: The Making of a Curriculum* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1965); Lagemann, *An Elusive Science: The Troubling History of Education Research*, 166–68; Christopher James Phillips, “The American Subject: The New Math and the Making of a Citizen” (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 2011).

28. Rudolph, *Scientists in the Classroom*, 121.

29. 1965 program description in Hillier Krieghbaum and Hugh Rawson, *An Investment in Knowledge: The First Dozen Years of the National Science Foundation’s Summer Institutes to Improve Secondary School Science and Mathematics Teaching, 1954–1965* (New York: New York University Press, 1969), 9. The cost of the summer institutes and curriculum development is given in Lagemann, *An Elusive Science*, 169.

30. Welsch, “Twenty Years of Science Curriculum Development,” 284.

31. Sales numbers from Peter B. Dow, “Innovation’s Perils: An Account of the Origins, Development, Implementation, and Public Reaction to *Man: A Course of Study*” (Ed. D., Harvard University, 1979), 72.

32. Theodore W. Hippie, Thomas R. Giblin, and Jack Megenity, “Have Your Students Read . . . ?” *Phi Delta Kappan* 53, no. 7 (1972): 441–42, on 441. The most widely assigned book was Charles E. Silberman, *Crisis in the Classroom: The Remaking of American Education* (New York: Random House, 1970).

33. Harold G. Shane, "Significant Writings That Have Influenced the Curriculum: 1906–81," *Phi Delta Kappan* 62, no. 5 (1981): 311–14, on 311.

34. Bruner, Goodnow, and Austin, *A Study of Thinking*.

35. Jerome S. Bruner, Rose R. Olver, and Patricia M. Greenfield, introduction to *Studies in Cognitive Growth: A Collaboration at the Center for Cognitive Studies* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1966); Bruner, *In Search of Mind: Essays in Autobiography*.

36. One case was Miller's discussion of how the distance covered by a falling object could be coded in a table with entries for distance covered at each moment or a single equation: distance = $gt^2/2$. George A. Miller, *Language and Communication* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1951), 234.

37. Jerome S. Bruner, "Going Beyond the Information Given," in *Beyond the Information Given: Studies in the Psychology of Knowing* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1973), 226. Bruner's comment here is based on work originally reported in Bruner, Goodnow, and Austin, *A Study of Thinking*.

38. Bruner, "Going Beyond," 224.

39. For a related view that thinking is defined by filling in gaps between available information, see also Frederic C. Bartlett, *Thinking: An Experimental and Social Study* (New York: Basic Books, 1958).

40. Rudolph, *Scientists in the Classroom*, 115–18. Compare Dewey's advocacy of teaching where direct experience comes first and laws second. "The young begin with active occupations having a social origin and use, and proceed to a scientific insight in the materials and laws involved." John Dewey, *Democracy and Education: An Introduction to the Philosophy of Education* (New York: Macmillan, 1916), 227.

41. For a transcript of this teaching method in operation—psychologist Mary Henle teaching one child to identify nouns, verbs, and tenses—see "Instructional Interview #2," n.d. Box 5, Folder 1. Peter Dow, *Man: A Course of Study* Records, Monroe Gutman Library Special Collections. For discussion of the use of transformational grammars in the course, see Jerome S. Bruner, *Occasional Paper No. 3: Man: A Course of Study* (Cambridge, Mass.: Educational Services Incorporated, 1965), 8. One indication of the novelty of this material was that Bruner was still putting "kernel sentences" in quotes both in this paper and the reprint for a wider audience. See Jerome S. Bruner, "Man: A Course of Study," in *Toward a Theory of Instruction* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1966), 79. Compare this mode of teaching to John Dewey's assertion that teaching language for its own sake is an absurdity. John Dewey, *School and Society* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1899), 49.

42. Robert B. Westbrook, "John Dewey," *Prospects: The Quarterly Review of Comparative Education* 23, no. 1/2 (1993): 277–91.

43. Jerome S. Bruner, "After John Dewey, What?" in *On Knowing: Essays for the Left Hand* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press,

1962), 121. This chapter was originally published in *The Saturday Review*, Supplement, June 17, 1961.

44. Bruner, *The Process of Education*, 14. The claim that people and organisms had inherent interest in or were rewarded by learning itself was an anti-behaviorist position. See, for instance Chomsky, “Review of B. F. Skinner, *Verbal Behavior*.”

45. Bruner, *The Process of Education*, 33.

46. *Ibid.*, 44. In making this point Bruner was articulating in the pedagogical domain one of the findings of Jean Piaget and Bärbel Inhelder: that children developed topological before Euclidean geometry. At this time Bruner was in close communication with Piaget and Inhelder, and Inhelder herself had recently spent a year as a visitor at the Center for Cognitive Studies.

47. Bruner to J. B. Conant, 3/3/60, Jerome S. Bruner, General Correspondence, 1961–62, Box: G-M HUG, Folder: Harriet Gibney, Harvard University Archives.

48. Bruner, *The Process of Education*, 19.

49. “Report: Conference of Social Studies and Humanities Curriculum Program,” June 9–23, 1962, 2. MACOS papers, Box 1, Folder 3.

50. Goldstein, *A Different Sort of Time*.

51. “Report: Conference of Social Studies and Humanities Curriculum Program,” 3.

52. *Ibid.*, 4.

53. *Ibid.*

54. Dow, *Schoolhouse Politics*, 42.

55. “Report: Conference of Social Studies and Humanities Curriculum Program,” 18.

56. “Brief Report of a Two Week Conference held at Endicott House,” June 9–23, 1962, 4. MACOS papers, Box 1, Folder 3.

57. *Ibid.*, 5.

58. *Ibid.*

59. Dow, *Schoolhouse Politics*, 44–45.

60. The Endicott House report notes that Bruner articulated the pedagogical sequence for the social studies curricula as Action—Imagery—Notation. “A Brief Report,” 6. Compare this to the discussion of “enactive,” “ikonic,” and “symbolic” modes of cognition discussed in Jerome S. Bruner, “On Cognitive Growth,” in *Studies in Cognitive Growth: A Collaboration at the Center for Cognitive Studies*, ed. Jerome S. Bruner, Rose R. Olver, and Patricia M. Greenfield (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1966).

61. “Report: Conference of Social Studies and Humanities Curriculum Program,” 7; “Brief Report,” 3, 5.

62. Educational Services Incorporated, “A Short History of the Social Studies Program” Spring 1965, 2. MACOS records, Box 1, Folder 15.

63. “Report: Conference of Social Studies and Humanities Curriculum Program,” 24.

64. ESI Social Studies Curriculum Program, “A Narrative Report, 1962–1964,” November 1964, 10. MACOS papers, Box 3, Folder 6.

65. Dow, *Schoolhouse Politics*, 56.

66. ESI Social Studies Curriculum Program, “A Narrative Report, 1962–1964,” 11.

67. *Ibid.*, 6.

68. The members of the IRG included Bruner, Courtney Cazden, Blythe Clinchy, Gloria Cooper, Margaret Donaldson, James Gallagher, Howard Gardner, Carol Gilbert, Jean Berko Gleason, Joseph Glick, Mary Henle, Richard Jones, Helen Kenney, Judy Krieger, David McNeill, Eli Maranda, Jess Reid, Anne Ryle, Roger Wales, Dan Washburn, Babbett Whipple, and Barbara White. The envisioned role of the IRG is discussed in a “Supplementary Statement” submitted with grant proposal to the NSF, September 1, 1964, 4–5. MACOS Papers, Box 35, Folder 2.

69. ESI Social Studies Curriculum Program, “A Narrative Report, 1962–1964,” 20.

70. Dow, *Schoolhouse Politics*, 61.

71. *Ibid.*, 66.

72. *Ibid.*, 71, 77. There may have also been political reasons for Bruner’s adoption of DeVore’s tactics. It is possible that he saw Oliver’s plan as too Eurocentric. Several years later, the ESI staff was concerned enough about charges of racism that they struck a section on the !Kung from the curriculum because “it had become politically unacceptable to use materials that showed partially naked, dark-skinned ‘primitives’ in a public school classroom” (Dow, *Schoolhouse Politics*, 122). Further discussion of this development can be found in Erika Milam, “Public Science of the Savage Mind: Contesting Cultural Anthropology in the Cold War Classroom,” *Journal for the History of the Behavioral Sciences* 49, no. 3 (2013).

73. Gardner, *To Open Minds*, 52–55.

74. Dow, *Schoolhouse Politics*, 98–99.

75. *Ibid.*, 98.

76. Bruner, “The Conditions of Creativity.”

77. Babette Whipple, “The Think-In,” December 1965. MACOS papers, Box 8, Folder 4.

78. Babette Whipple, *Occasional Paper No. 10: The Group talk* (Cambridge, Mass.: Educational Services Incorporated, 1967); *Man: A Course of Study. Evaluation Strategies*, (Cambridge, Mass.: EDC, 1970).

79. Bruner, *Occasional Paper No. 3: Man: A Course of Study*, 3.

80. *Man: A Course of Study. Seminars for Teachers* (Cambridge, Mass.: EDC, 1969, 1970).

81. On the anti-racist goals of MACOS, see the commentary of Asen Balikci in Charles Laird, *Through These Eyes*.

82. Bruner, *Occasional Paper No. 3: Man: A Course of Study*, 4.

83. A similar anti-biological argument for culture and not universal biological inheritance as the essential feature of human nature can be found in the contemporary works of the anthropologist Clifford Geertz, who had been trained in the Department of Social Relations. See especially his “The Growth of Culture and the Evolution of Mind” (1962) and “The Impact of Culture on the Concept of Man” (1966). These are reprinted in Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973).

84. Jerome S. Bruner, *A Time for Learning* (Association-Sterling Films, 1973).

85. Bruner, *Toward a Theory of Instruction*, 92.

86. Peter B. Dow, “Man: A Course of Study: A Continuing Exploration of Man’s Humanness,” in *Man: A Course of Study. Talks to Teachers* (Cambridge, Mass.: EDC, 1968), 16.

87. *Man: A Course of Study. Evaluation Strategies*, 11.

88. Bruner, *A Time for Learning*.

89. *Man: A Course of Study. The Observer’s Handbook* (Cambridge, Mass.: EDC, 1970).

90. Mary Henle, “On Coping with Ambiguity,” in *Man: A Course of Study. Seminars for Teachers*.

91. Dow, *Schoolhouse Politics*, 153–56.

92. *Man: A Course of Study. Evaluation Strategies*, 12.

Chapter Eight

1. On MACOS course adoption rates, see Dorothy Nelkin, *Science Textbook Controversies and the Politics of Equal Time* (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1977), 108; cited in Mark Solovey “Social Science Funding under Siege in Conservative Times: The Case of the U.S. National Science Foundation during the 1970s.” Paper presented at the Ninth Annual Workshop on the History of Economics as History of Science, École Normale Supérieure de Cachan, June 16, 2012.

2. For discussion and defense of this methodology, see Kenneth Keniston, *The Uncommitted: Alienated Youth in American Society* (New York: Dell Publishing Co., 1970 [1965]).

3. *Ibid.*, 9.

4. On the novelty of modern alienation, see *ibid.*, 3.

5. On the role of Mills for the New Left, see James Miller, *Democracy Is in the Streets: From Port Huron to the Siege of Chicago* (Cambridge, Mass.:

Harvard University Press, 1994), 79–91. On the continuity of his thought with other social thinkers of the 1950s period, see Daniel Geary, *Radical Ambition: C. Wright Mills, the Left, and American Social Thought* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2009). Also see Kevin Mattson, *Intellectuals in Action: The Origins of the New Left and Radical Liberalism, 1945–1970* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002).

6. C. Wright Mills, “On Knowledge and Power,” *Dissent*, July 1955, 207, 212.

7. Herbert Marcuse, *One Dimensional Man: Studies in the Ideology of Advanced Industrial Society* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1964).

8. Penina Migdal Glazer, “The New Left: A Style of Protest,” *The Journal of Higher Education* 38, no. 3 (1967): 119–30.

9. “The Port Huron Statement,” 331–34, 365. As reprinted in Miller, *Democracy Is in the Streets*, 329–74.

10. “The Port Huron Statement,” 330–32, 335, 374. Several years later, Columbia University’s SDS branch likewise noted the fragmented nature of American society. Columbia Students for a Democratic Society, “The Columbia Statement,” in *The University Crisis Reader*, ed. Immanuel Maurice Wallerstein and Paul Starr (New York: Random House, 1971), 1:26.

11. Free Speech Movement, “We Want a University,” in *The Berkeley Student Revolt: Facts and Interpretations*, ed. Seymour Martin Lipset and Sheldon S. Wolin (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Company, 1965), 209.

12. Columbia Students for a Democratic Society, “The Columbia Statement,” 41–42.

13. “The Port Huron Statement,” 330.

14. Mills, “Mass Society and Liberal Education,” 357–58.

15. Martin L. King Jr., “The Role of the Behavioral Scientist in the Civil Rights Movement,” *Journal of Social Issues* 24, no. 1 (1968): 1–12, on 10–11.

16. Steve Halliwell, “Columbia: An Explanation, or Applesauce, Epicycles, and the Joplin Proviso,” in *The New Left: A Collection of Essays*, ed. Priscilla Long (Boston: Porter Sargent, 1969), 203–5; Evelyn Goldfield, Sue Munaker, and Naomi Weisstein, “A Woman Is a Sometime Thing: Cornering Capitalism by Removing 51% of Its Commodities,” in *The New Left: A Collection of Essays*, 262–63.

17. Noam Chomsky, “Introduction,” in *American Power and the New Mandarins* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1969), 9.

18. Talcott Parsons, Edward A. Shils, and with the assistance of James Olds, “Values, Motives, and Systems of Action,” in *Toward a General Theory of Action*, ed. Talcott Parsons and Edward A. Shils (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1951), 82, 85–86, 89–90. For discussion of the significance of this paper and Parsons’s other work for modernization theory, see Gilman, *Mandarins of the Future*, 86–94. For other insightful analysis of modernization theory see David C. Engerman, ed., *Staging Growth: Modernization, Development,*

and the Global Cold War (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2003); Michael Latham, *Modernization as Ideology: American Social Science and “Nation Building” in the Kennedy Era* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000).

19. Chomsky, “Objectivity and Liberal Scholarship”; Noam Chomsky, “The Responsibility of Intellectuals,” *The New York Review of Books*, February 23, 1967. On the administration’s dishonesty, see also Howard Zinn, *Vietnam: The Logic of Withdrawal* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1967), 35, 36, 38, 59, 77, 78.

20. For instance, see the offhand remark about dishonesty in Allen Guttman, “Protest against the War in Vietnam,” *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 382 (1969): 53–63 n. 18. On Schlesinger Jr.’s lies, see *New York Times*, November 26, 1965. On the disconnect between administration rhetoric and policy, see Franz Schurmann, Peter Dale Scott, and Reginald Zelnik, *The Politics of Escalation in Vietnam* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1966).

21. Steven Brown, “Consistency and the Persistence of Ideology: Some Experimental Results,” *The Public Opinion Quarterly* 34, no. 1 (1970): 60–68.

22. See the discussion on Project Camelot in Mark Solovey, “Project Camelot and the 1960s Epistemological Revolution: Rethinking the Politics-Patronage-Social Science Nexus,” *Social Studies of Science* 31, no. 2 (2001): 171–206; Ron Robin, *The Making of the Cold War Enemy: Culture and Politics in the Military-Intellectual Complex* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2001), 206–25; Herman, *Romance of American Psychology*, 153–73.

23. Richard M. Pfeffer, ed., *No More Vietnams? The War and the Future of American Policy* (New York, Evanston, and London: Harper and Row for the Adlai Stevenson Institute for International Affairs, 1968), 50.

24. Feminist critique on this point can be found in Goldfield, Munaker, and Weisstein, “A Woman Is a Sometime Thing,” 262–63.

25. Chomsky, “The Responsibility of Intellectuals.”

26. See, for instance, C. Wright Mills, “The New Left,” *New Left Review*, September–October 1960. Reprinted in C. Wright Mills, *Power, Politics, and People: The Collected Essays of C. Wright Mills* (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1967), 247–69; Christian Bay, “The Cheerful Science of Dismal Politics,” in *The Dissenting Academy*, ed. Theodore Roszak (New York: Pantheon Books, 1968).

27. “Critiques of American Society: A Series of Twelve Talks and Discussions,” n.d. [other information indicates 1968], Lucy Candib Papers, Box 1, Folder: Critiques; Schlesinger Library; a public lecture series that also counted for course credit at MIT and Harvard.

28. To members of the unity of science movement, being an engineer rather than a scientist was to be susceptible to anti-democratic authoritarian ideology. See Phillip Frank, “Science and Democracy.”

29. Halliwell, “Columbia: An Explanation,” 203–5.

30. James Jacobs, *S. M. Lipset, Social Scientist of the Smooth Society* (Boston: New England Free Press, n.d.).

31. See Chomsky, “Introduction,” to *American Power*, 16; Zinn, *Vietnam*, 7, 50, 95, 119.

32. Irving Lester Janis, *Victims of Groupthink: A Psychological Study of Foreign Policy Decisions and Fiascos* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1972). On rigidity and intolerance of ambiguity in Rostow and Bundy, see David Grossman Armstrong, “The True Believer: Walt Whitman Rostow and the Path to Vietnam” (Ph.D. diss., University of Texas at Austin, 2000); Kai Bird, *The Color of Truth: McGeorge Bundy and William Bundy, Brothers in Arms: A Biography* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1998); David Milne, *America’s Rasputin: Walt Rostow and the Vietnam War* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2008).

33. Zinn, *Vietnam*, 90, 92. This comparison even appeared at a conference of leading foreign policy experts at the Adlai Stevenson Institute for International affairs. Attendees included Henry Kissinger, Daniel Ellsberg, Samuel Huntington, Ithiel de Sola Pool, Arthur Schlesinger Jr., and people with RAND and DOD ties such as Albert Wohlstetter and Adam Yarmolinsky. See the comments by Eqbal Ahmad as reprinted in the meeting transcript (Pfeffer, ed., *No More Vietnams?* 14–15).

34. On the inherent connection between the social sciences and democracy, see Lerner, “The Social Sciences: Whence and Whither?” 31.

35. Stephen Earl Bennett, “Modes of Resolution of a ‘Belief Dilemma’ in the Ideology of the John Birch Society,” *The Journal of Politics* 33, no. 3 (1971): 735–72. Work on cognitive dissonance originated with Leon Festinger, *When Prophecy Fails: A Social and Psychological Study of a Modern Group That Predicted the Destruction of the World* (New York: Harper and Row, 1956).

36. Donald Granberg and Gail Corrigan, “Authoritarianism, Dogmatism and Orientations Toward the Vietnam War,” *Sociometry* 35, no. 3 (1972): 468–76.

37. Sheldon G. Levy, “The Psychology of Political Activity,” *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 391 (1970): 83–96; Marc Pilisuk et al., “War Hawks and Peace Doves: Alternate Resolutions of Experimental Conflicts,” *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 9, no. 4 (1965): 491–508. This mode of analysis continued into the 1980s. See James Sidanius, “Cognitive Functioning and Sociopolitical Ideology Revisited,” *Political Psychology* 6, no. 4 (1985): 637–61.

38. Keniston’s views are analyzed in Daniel Geary, “Children of *The Lonely Crowd*: David Riesman, the Young Radicals, and the Splitting of Liberalism in the 1960s” (unpublished ms., 2012).

39. John Schultz, *The Chicago Conspiracy Trial*, rev. ed. (New York: Da Capo Press, 1993), 398.

40. Examples of this can be found in Richard Flacks, “The Liberated Gener-

ation: An Exploration of the Roots of the Student Protest,” *Journal of Social Issues* 23, no. 3 (1967): 52–75; Pilisuk et al., “War Hawks and Peace Doves.”

41. Rhoda Unger, personal communication; Naomi Weisstein, “Psychology Constructs the Female; or the Fantasy Life of the Male Psychologist (with Some Attention to the Fantasies of His Friends, the Male Biologist and the Male Anthropologist),” in *Radical Feminism*, ed. Anne Koedt, Ellen Levine, and Anita Rapone (New York: Quadrangle Books, 1973).

42. Rose Olver, interview; Rhoda Kesler Unger, *Resisting Gender: Twenty-Five Years of Feminist Psychology* (London and Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications, 1998). On the use of psychology in the second wave, see Herman, *Romance of American Psychology*, 290–304.

43. Discussion of the relationship between feminism and Weisstein’s science may be found in an unpublished job talk she gave at Brown University and in a draft of “All Mountains Moved In Fire.” Radcliffe Archives. Weisstein’s published critique of the science came after first, personal experiences, and second, politicization through discussion with the Westside Group. This chronology is inverted in her publications. In print, her technical critique of science predates her personal narrative. The account of her experience can be found in Naomi Weisstein, “‘How Can a Little Girl Like You Teach a Great Big Class of Men?’ The Chairman Said, and Other Adventures of a Woman in Science,” in *Working It Out: 23 Women Writers, Artists, Scientists, and Scholars Talk About Their Lives and Work*, ed. Sara Ruddick and Pamela Daniels (New York: Pantheon, 1977). The critique of psychological methods is Naomi Weisstein, “‘Kinder, Küche, Kirche’ as Scientific Law: Psychology Constructs the Female,” in *Sisterhood Is Powerful: An Anthology of Writings from the Women’s Liberation Movement*, ed. Robin Morgan (New York: Random House, 1970). In subsequent versions Weisstein expanded her critique to include anthropologists. See Weisstein, “Psychology Constructs the Female.”

44. Weisstein, “‘How Can a Little Girl Like You Teach a Great Big Class of Men?’”

45. Naomi Weisstein, Virginia Blaisdell, and Jesse Lemisch, *The Godfathers* (New Haven, Conn.: Belladonna Publishing, 1975), 2.

46. Weisstein’s comment about “social devices” is a quotation of Holton. Weisstein, Blaisdell, and Lemisch, *The Godfathers*, 16, 20. “Meritocratic elite” is from Zbigniew Brzezinski, “America in the Technotronic Age,” *Encounter*, January 1968, 24.

47. Weisstein, Blaisdell, and Lemisch, *The Godfathers*, 20.

48. Helen S. Astin, *The Woman Doctorate in America: Origins, Career, and Family* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1969); Linda S. Fidell, “Empirical Verification of Sex Discrimination in Hiring Practices in Psychology,” *American Psychologist* 25 (1970): 1094–98; Sandra L. Bem and Daryl J. Bem, “Case

Study of a Nonconscious Ideology: Training the Woman to Know Her Place,” in *Beliefs, Attitudes, and Human Affairs*, ed. Daryl J. Bem (Belmont, Calif.: Brooks/Cole Publishing Company, 1970), 90. In a more recent study, researchers have found that peer reviewers systematically evaluate men better than women to such an extent that women seeking a postdoctoral fellowship need more than twice the number of publications to receive the same scores as men seeking that fellowship. C. Wenneras and A. Wold, “Nepotism and Sexism in Peer Review,” *Nature* 387 (1997): 341. The finding on evaluators’ preferential ranking of men’s CVs has been replicated. See R. E. Steinpreis, K. A. Anders, and D. Ritzke, “The Impact of Gender on the Review of the Curriculum Vitae of Job Applicants and Tenure Candidates: A National Empirical Study,” *Sex Roles* 41 (1999): 509.

49. Philip Goldberg, “Are Women Prejudiced against Women?” *Trans-Action* 5 (1968): 28–30; Gail I. Pheterson, Sara B. Kiesler, and Philip A. Goldberg, “Evaluation of the Performance of Women as a Function of Their Sex, Achievement, and Personal History,” *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 19, no. 1 (1971): 114–18. A more recent ethnography made a similar point. Though not focused on gender, it noted that readers evaluated the quality of scientific papers as much by who the author was as by the paper’s content. Latour and Woolgar, *Laboratory Life*.

50. The study was Robert Rosenthal, *Pygmalion in the Classroom: Teacher Expectations and Pupils’ Intellectual Development* (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1968).

51. Historical discussion of the problem of experimenter effects can be found in Jerry M. Suls and Ralph L. Rosnow, “Concerns About Artifacts in Psychological Experiments,” in *The Rise of Experimentation in American Psychology*, ed. Jill G. Morawski (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1988).

52. Naomi Weisstein, “Psychology Constructs the Female.”

53. Arthur R. Jensen, “How Much Can We Boost IQ and Scholastic Achievement?” *Harvard Educational Review* 39 (1969): 1–123.

54. Richard Lewontin, “Race and Intelligence,” *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, March 1970, 2–8.

55. Richard J. Herrnstein, “IQ,” *Atlantic Monthly*, September 1971.

56. A useful collection of essays on both sides is Ned Joel Block and Gerald Dworkin, *The I.Q. Controversy: Critical Readings* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1976). Historical examination of the debate can be found in Graham Richards, *Race, Racism, and Psychology: Towards a Reflexive History* (London and New York: Routledge, 1997), chap. 9.

57. See Richards, *Race, Racism, and Psychology*. On sociobiologist E. O. Wilson having water poured on his head during a public symposium on sociobiology, see David L. Hull, *Science as a Process: An Evolutionary Account of the*

Social and Conceptual Development of Science (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 229.

58. William H. Tucker, “Fact and Fiction in the Discovery of Sir Cyril Burt’s Flaws,” *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences* 30 (1994): 335–47, on 336.

59. David Layzer, “Science or Superstition? (A Physical Scientist Looks at the IQ Controversy),” *Cognition* 1, nos. 2–3 (1972): 265–99.

60. Skinner’s *Beyond Freedom and Dignity* went through fifteen printings between 1971 and 1972. It was part of the Book-Of-The-Month-Club and was serialized in *Psychology Today* and *The New York Post*.

61. Noam Chomsky, “Psychology and Ideology,” *Cognition* 1, no. 1 (1971): 11–46.

62. Harlow, “The Nature of Love.”

63. Free Speech Movement, “We Want a University,” 209–10, 213–15. Leaflet originally distributed January 4, 1965; University of California, Berkeley, Study Commission on University Governance, *The Culture of the University: Governance and Education* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1968), 12, 13.

64. On the desire for a truly liberal education as a motivation for protest on the part of some supporters of the Free Speech Movement, see David A. Hollinger, “A View from the Margins,” in *The Free Speech Movement: Reflections on Berkeley in the 1960s*, ed. Robert Cohen and Reginald E. Zelnik (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2002).

65. Free Speech Movement, “We Want a University,” 214–15. The question about whether education at Berkeley was education for slaves also appears in Paul Goodman, “Thoughts on Berkeley,” *New York Review of Books*, January 14, 1965.

66. Free Speech Movement, “We Want a University,” 214; Bell, *The Reforming of General Education*; Kerr, *The Uses of the University*, 15, 27, 31.

67. “The Port Huron Statement,” 334–35.

68. On the intelligentsia or students, rather than the industrial working class, as the source of social change, see “The Port Huron Statement,” 373–74; Mills, “The New Left.” For examples of the job-training functions of the university, see Bell, *The Reforming of General Education*, 106. On students’ self-perception as a class, even as the “lumpen proletariat” or as a minority within a ghetto, see Kerr, *The Uses of the University*, 78, 101. Historical consideration of students as a class or as ghetto residents can be found in, *inter alia*, Douglas C. Rossinow, “Mario Savio and the Politics of Authenticity,” in *The Free Speech Movement: Reflections on Berkeley in the 1960s*; Miller, *Democracy Is in the Streets*. On the connections between the revival of a truly liberal education as a motivation for some supporters of the Free Speech Movement, see Hollinger, “A View from the Margins.”

69. On political action as a means of combating alienation from the self, see Douglas C. Rossinow, *The Politics of Authenticity: Liberalism, Christianity, and the New Left in America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998).

70. For a similar statement that emphasized the lack of political consciousness and social isolation, see Noam Chomsky, “Knowledge and Power: Intellectuals and the Welfare-Warfare State,” in *The New Left: A Collection of Essays*, 190.

71. Columbia Students for a Democratic Society, “The Columbia Statement,” 25–26.

72. Casey Hayden and Mary King, “Sex and Caste: A Kind of Memo,” reprinted in *Takin’ It to the Streets*, ed. Alexander Bloom and Wini Breines (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995); Alice Echols, *Daring to Be Bad: Radical Feminism in America, 1967–1975*, chap. 1; Sara M. Evans, *Personal Politics: The Roots of Women’s Liberation in the Civil Rights Movement and the New Left* (New York: Knopf, 1979), chaps. 7–8.

73. Naomi Weisstein papers, draft of “All Mountains Moved In Fire: A Personal, Political, and Scientific Memoir of the Early Women’s Liberation Movement,” unpublished ms. by Weisstein and Candace Lyle Hogan, 14–20, Carton 14, Radcliffe Archives.

74. For discussions of the importance of community in the Boston and Chicago second-wave feminist movements, see Amy Kesselman et al., “Our Gang of Four: Friendship and Women’s Liberation,” in *The Feminist Memoir Project: Voices from Women’s Liberation*, ed. Rachel Blau DuPlessis and Ann Snitow (New York: Three Rivers Press, 1998); Popkin, “Bread and Roses: An Early Moment in the Development of Socialist-Feminism.” More generally on the movement’s development out of the New Left, see Evans, *Personal Politics*; Echols, *Daring to Be Bad*.

75. Memories of the relationship between community and political activity in the feminist movement can be found in Popkin, “Bread and Roses”; Kesselman et al., “Our Gang of Four.”

76. Margaret Mead, “Purposive Systems: Proceedings of the First Annual Symposium of the American Society for Cybernetics,” 8–9. For general discussion of declining politeness and its political implications, see Kenneth Cmiel, “The Politics of Civility,” in *The Sixties: From Memory to History*, ed. David Farber (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994).

77. David S. Brown, *Richard Hofstadter: An Intellectual Biography*; Geary, “Children of *The Lonely Crowd*.”

78. For discussion of this incident, see Irving Howe, *A Margin of Hope: An Intellectual Autobiography* (San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1982), 293; Joseph Dorman, *Arguing the World: The New York Intellectuals in Their Own Words* (New York: Free Press, 2000).

79. John R. Searle, “A Foolproof Scenario for Student Revolts,” in *The Uni-*

versity *Crisis Reader*, ed. Immanuel Maurice Wallerstein and Paul Starr (New York: Random House, 1971), 2:34; originally published in *The New York Times Magazine*, December 29, 1968.

80. Geary, “Children of *The Lonely Crowd*.”

81. George F. Kennan, “Rebels Without a Program,” speech delivered at Swarthmore College, December 1967, in George Frost Kennan, *Democracy and the Student Left* (Boston: Little Brown, 1968), 4–6; originally in the *New York Times Magazine*, January 21, 1968.

82. Jerome Karabel, *The Chosen: The Hidden History of Admission and Exclusion at Harvard, Yale, and Princeton*, 71; Robert R. Weyeneth, “The Architecture of Racial Segregation: The Challenges of Preserving the Problematical Past,” *The Public Historian* 27, no. 4 (2005): 11–44; Kathleen L. Wolgemuth, “Woodrow Wilson and Federal Segregation,” *The Journal of Negro History* 44, no. 2 (1959): 158–73; Nancy J. Weiss, “The Negro and the New Freedom: Fighting Wilsonian Segregation,” *Political Science Quarterly* 84, no. 1 (1969): 61–79.

83. On the connections between civil rights activism and the Free Speech Movement, see Rossinow, “Mario Savio and the Politics of Authenticity.” It was not only at Berkeley where working for civil rights was the foundation for student activism. On Texas, see Rossinow, *The Politics of Authenticity*.

84. Lewis Samuel Feuer, *The Conflict of Generations: The Character and Significance of Student Movements* (New York: Basic Books, 1969).

85. Zbigniew Brzezinski, “Revolution and Counterrevolution (but Not Necessarily About Columbia),” *The New Republic*, June 1, 1968.

86. Daniel Bell, “Columbia and the New Left,” *Public Interest* 13 (1968): 61–101; Nathan Glazer, “‘Student Power’ in Berkeley,” *Public Interest* 13 (1968): 3–21, on 21.

87. Glazer, “‘Student Power’ in Berkeley.”

88. Bell, “Columbia and the New Left,” 92.

89. Gustav Le Bon, *The Crowd: A Study of the Popular Mind* (Atlanta: Cherokee Publishing Company, 1982 [1895]).

90. Harry F. Wolcott, “The Middlemen of MACOS,” *Anthropology and Education Quarterly* 38, no. 2 (2007): 195–206, on 200; Dow, *Schoolhouse Politics*, 199; Nick Thimmesch, “The Grass-Roots Dollar Chase—Ready on the Right,” *New York Magazine*, June 9, 1975.

91. Mike Royko, “Wife-Swapping Eskimos vs. TV Morals,” *The Denver Post*, February 9, 1976. Reagan’s attack on MACOS occurred on August 22, 1980, and is quoted on the back cover of Phyllis Schlafly, *Child Abuse in the Classroom: Excerpts from Official Transcript of Proceedings before the U.S. Department of Education* (Alton, Ill.: Pere Marquette Press, 1984). On the development of direct mail as a social and political technology for the right wing, see Bruce J. Schulman, *The Seventies: The Great Shift in American Culture, Society, and Politics* (New York: Free Press, 2001), 197–99.

92. John A. Steinbacher, *Robert Francis Kennedy, the Man, the Mysticism, the Murder* (Los Angeles: Impact Publishers, 1968).

93. William C. Martin, *With God on Our Side: The Rise of the Religious Right in America* (New York: Broadway Books, 1996), 113.

94. John A. Steinbacher, *The Conspirators: Men against God* (Whittier, Calif.: Orange Tree Press, 1972), preface. Boldface emphasis in the original.

95. Dow, *Schoolhouse Politics*, 197.

96. On the Gablers, see Dorothy Nelkin, *Science Textbook Controversies and the Politics of Equal Time* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1977), 47–48.

97. Nadine Winterhalter, President, Parents in Action to T. S. Hancock, Executive Director, Region IV Education Service Center, Houston, Texas, February 7, 1973, 2. MACOS archive.

98. Dow, *Schoolhouse Politics*, 198–99.

99. *Ibid.*, 179.

100. Steinbacher, *The Conspirators*, 51, 53.

101. Pat Robertson, *The New World Order* (Dallas: World Publishing, 1991). The similarities between Robertson's analysis and that of MACOS's earliest critics could either come from Robertson's familiarity with the works of Steinbacher or from the reliance of both authors on common source texts. On Robertson's book, see Jacob Heilbrunn, "His Anti-Semitic Sources," *The New York Review of Books*, April 20, 1995.

102. Minutes of the Board of Trustees, Madison County School District no. 38, Phoenix Arizona, October 28, 1971, 134a. On the criticism of MACOS's attention to physiology, see the allegations against "MACOS: Man A Course of Study" by parents in Bellevue, Washington, n.d. (either late 1971 or early 1972). On the class charges of evolution in and the dismissal of this charge, see "Majority Report" of the Citizens Committee for Review of MAN: A Course of Study, Presented to William Webb, Superintendent of Public Schools, Collier County, Florida, November 3, 1975, 7–8, MACOS Archive. Perhaps the difference between these positions comes from a separation between the course materials themselves and the supplemental materials available to teachers. The supplemental materials included essays for the teachers that included material from Robert Trivers and Hans Guggenheim on species evolution. However, the same booklet opened with an essay from Peter Dow, a central figure in the MACOS project. He noted "much of the data of Man: A Course of Study leads toward the study of human evolution. The course does not pursue this fascinating path, because in developing the material we came to feel that a comparative rather than an evolutionary approach to the study of man was the most effective way to introduce the subject to young children." Dow, "Man: A Course of Study: A Continuing Exploration of Man's Humanness," 15, Box 36, Folder 3 for Phoenix; Box 37, Folder 1 for Bellevue; Box 37, Folder 6 for Collier County, MACOS Archive.

103. Peter Woolfson, "The Fight over 'MACOS': An Ideological Conflict in Vermont," *Council on Anthropology and Education Quarterly* 5, no. 3 (1974): 27–30, on 28.

104. Alan Jehlen, "Social Studies Course Assailed," *The Patriot Ledger*, October 8, 1975.

105. Nadine Winterhalter to T. S. Hancock, February 7, 1973, 1.

106. "MACOS: Man A Course of Study" by parents in Bellevue, Washington, n.d., 2.

107. Bruner, "Occasional Paper No. 3: Man: A Course of Study," 4.

108. "Majority Report" of the Citizens Committee for Review of MAN: A Course of Study, Collier County, Florida, November 3, 1975, MACOS archive; "Underlying the 'MACOS' Controversy," *The Phoenix Gazette*, September 24, 1971, 10.

109. For examples of this particular mode of analysis see James J. Kilpatrick, "Is Eskimo Sex Life a School Subject?" *Boston Evening Globe*, April 2, 1975; "MACOS and Moral Values," *The Wall Street Journal*, July 21, 1975. Given the consistency of this trope that conflated discussion with approval and the fact that conservative commentary and fliers were more readily accessible than the MACOS materials themselves, this specific reading of MACOS either indicates that many conservatives had not actually read the MACOS materials, or, if they did, then this is a case that indicates the power of readers rather than authors to determine the meaning of texts.

110. Phyllis Musselman, "We're All Annimals [*sic*]—Kids Are Taught Here," *Weekly American News*, September 22, 1971. William Merse, Deacon, Covenant Presbyterian Church and State Committeeman, American Party of Collier County to Roland Anderson, Chairman, Collier County School Board, William Webb, Collier County Superintendent, Tom Morris, Middle School Supervisor, and Robert Mung, Principal, Pine Ridge Middle School, n.d. MACOS archive, Box 37, Folder 6.

111. Minutes of the Board of Trustees, Madison County School District no. 38, Phoenix Arizona, October 28, 1971, 134a; "MACOS Social? Study?" *Weekly American News*, September 1, 1971.

112. See Susan M. Marshner, *Man: A Course of Study—Prototype for Federalized Textbooks?* (Washington, D.C.: The Heritage Foundation, 1975), 26.

113. Phyllis Musselman, "Shofstall Gives Some Advice on MACOS," *Weekly American News*, September 29, 1971.

114. Onallee McGraw, "Violation of Constitutional Rights," *Bethesda-Chevy Chase Tribune*, March 2, 1973.

115. Melvyn New, "Nineteen Eighty-Four," *American Speech* 51, no. 3/4 (1976): 278–79; Joseph J. Thorndike, "The Sometimes Sordid Level of Race and Segregation": James J. Kilpatrick and the Virginia Campaign against *Brown*," in

The Moderate's Dilemma: Massive Resistance to School Desegregation in Virginia, ed. Matthew D. Lassiter and Andrew B. Lewis (Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia, 1998).

116. Kilpatrick was particularly bothered by the bill's provision that it would be applied only to states with low voter registration rates and that the bill used statistical measures to judge where discrimination had occurred. He remarked that the one-party tradition was more responsible than discrimination for low rates of voter registration. James J. Kilpatrick, "Must We Repeal the Constitution to Give the Negro the Vote?" *The National Review*, April 20, 1965, 322.

117. "Majority Report" of the Citizens Committee for Review of MAN: A Course of Study, Collier County, Florida, November 3, 1975, MACOS archive; "Underlying the 'MACOS' Controversy."

118. District School Board of Collier County, "Man: A Course of Study. Position Paper," n.d. (internal evidence indicates fall of 1975), MACOS archive. Box 37, Folder 6.

119. "Parent Evaluation—Man A Course of Study," October 26, 1971; "Parents Comments—*Man A Course of Study*—Madison Park School, Phoenix Arizona, n.d. MACOS archive. Box 36, Folder 3.

120. Arthur Block "Phoenix Reactions to MACOS," n.d., MACOS archive. Box 17, Folder 7.

121. Harriet Macintosh, Freedom for Readers, Inc., to Peter Dow, February 17, 1973. MACOS archive. Box 17, Folder 7.

122. Arthur Block, "Advantages of MACOS," *Boston Globe*, June 19, 1975.

123. Marshner, *Man: A Course of Study—Prototype for Federalized Textbooks?* 11.

124. Jerrold R. Zacharias, "Research Scholars and Curriculum Development," *PMLA* 80, no. 2 (1965): 13–15, on 13.

125. Woolfson, "The Fight over 'MACOS,'" 29. For a call for memorization, an attack on discovery-based learning, and a false assertion that NSF-sponsored curricula including New Math and MACOS had not been tested before implementation, see James J. Kilpatrick, "War Flares over Scientific Funds," *Boston Globe*, January 20, 1976.

126. P. J. MacDonald to the School Board of Madison County, n.d. [1971], 3, MACOS archive. Box 36, Folder 3; "Minority Report of Joanne McAuley, Including Dissenting and Additional Views to Accompany the Report of the Science Curriculum Implementation Review Group to the Chairman, Committee on Science and Technology," U.S. House of Representatives, October 20, 1975, in "National Science Foundation Curriculum Development and Implementation for Pre-College Science Education," report prepared for the Committee on Science and Technology, U.S. House of Representative, Ninety-Fourth Congress, 1st sess., Serial Q, November 1975. (U.S. Government Printing Office: 1975), 18–19.

127. Marshner, *Man: A Course of Study—Prototype for Federalized Textbooks?* 38.

128. *Ibid.*, 35, 43.

129. Jerome S. Bruner, Rose R. Olver, and Patricia M. Greenfield, *Studies in Cognitive Growth: A Collaboration at the Center for Cognitive Studies* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1966).

130. Bruner specified this particular end of MACOS in a film distributed to explain course goals and methods, *A Time for Learning*.

131. *Who Do We Eat?* Pamphlet circulated to encourage opposition to MACOS in Phoenix, n.d. [1971], MACOS archive. Box 36, Folder 3.

132. See for instance, Marshner, *Man: A Course of Study—Prototype for Federalized Textbooks?* 26; Onaltee McGraw, *Secular Humanism and the Schools: The Issue Whose Time Has Come* (Washington, D.C.: The Heritage Foundation, 1976), 4.

133. “Minority Report of Joanne McAuley,” 18.

134. This account of the congressional maneuvers around MACOS follows Dow, *Schoolhouse Politics*, 199–215.

135. Welsch, “Twenty Years of Science Curriculum Development.”

136. For discussion of the role of creativity at RAND, see Sharon Ghamari-Tabrizi, “Simulating the Unthinkable: Gaming Future War in the 1950s and 1960s.” Discussion of the movement of RAND intellectuals to DOD can be found in David R. Jardini, “Out of the Blue Yonder: The Transfer of Systems Thinking from the Pentagon to the Great Society, 1961–1965,” in *Systems, Experts, and Computers: The Systems Approach in Management and Engineering, World War II and After*, ed. Agatha C. Hughes and Thomas P. Hughes (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2000).

Conclusion

1. Thus, their activities were precisely the opposite of the boundary-reinforcing activities that sociologist Thomas Gieryn has discussed. Thomas Gieryn, “Boundary-Work and the Demarcation of Science from Non-Science: Strains and Interests in Professional Ideologies of Scientists,” *American Sociological Review* 48 (1983): 781–95.

2. Leahey, “The Mythical Revolutions of American Psychology”; Gardner, *The Mind’s New Science*; Baars, *The Cognitive Revolution in Psychology*; Mandler, “Origins of the Cognitive (R)Evolution”; John D. Greenwood, “Understanding the ‘Cognitive Revolution’ in Psychology,” *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences* 35, no. 1 (1999): 1–22; Boden, *Mind as Machine*.

3. Exemplary studies that track instruments in natural science include David Kaiser, *Drawing Theories Apart: The Dispersion of Feynman Diagrams in*

Postwar Physics (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005); Adele Clarke and Joan H. Fujimura, *The Right Tools for the Job: At Work in Twentieth-Century Life Sciences* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1992); Robert E. Kohler, *Lords of the Fly: Drosophila Genetics and the Experimental Life* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994); Galison, *Image and Logic*; Nicolas Rasmussen, *Picture Control: The Electron Microscope and the Transformation of Biology in America, 1940–1960* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1997).

4. Daston and Galison, *Objectivity*.

5. On pluralist practice in contemporary procedures of academic evaluation, see Michèle Lamont, *How Professors Think: Inside the Curious World of Academic Judgment* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2009).

6. Christopher Lasch, *The Culture of Narcissism: American Life in an Age of Diminishing Expectations* (New York: Norton, 1978).

7. On the politics of these methodological debates, see Daniel T. Rodgers, *The Age of Fracture* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2011).

8. Adoption of cognitive linguistics into politically charged literary theory appears in Stanley Fish, *Is There a Text in This Class? The Authority of Interpretive Communities* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1980).

9. Allan Bloom, *The Closing of the American Mind: How Higher Education Has Failed Democracy and Impoverished the Souls of Today's Students* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1988), 183, 324.

10. Discussion of conservative Christian interest in phonics can be found in Mark B. Thogmartin, "The Prevalence of Phonics Instruction in Fundamental Christian Schools," *Journal of Research on Christian Education* 3, no. 1 (1994): 103–32.

11. On colleges as "indoctrination centers," see the commentary by Rick Santorum reported in *Inside Higher Education*, February 27, 2012; <http://www.insidehighered.com/news/2012/02/27/santorums-views-higher-education-and-satan> (accessed January 5, 2013). For rejection of critical thinking, see Andrew Rosenthal "No Comment Necessary: Texas GOP 2012 Platform Opposes Teaching 'Critical Thinking Skills,'" *New York Times*, June 29, 2012; <http://takingnote.blogs.nytimes.com/2012/06/29/no-comment-necessary-texas-gops-2012-platform-opposes-teaching-critical-thinking-skills> (accessed January 5, 2013).

12. Kevin Durrheim, "Theoretical Conundrum: The Politics and Science of Theorizing Authoritarian Cognition," *Political Psychology* 18, no. 3 (1997): 625–47; Samelson, "The Authoritarian Character."

13. Bob Altemeyer, *Right-Wing Authoritarianism* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1981); Bob Altemeyer, *Enemies of Freedom: Understanding Right-Wing Authoritarianism* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1988).

14. "Bush's Final Approval Rating: 22 Percent." CBS News, February 11, 2009; http://www.cbsnews.com/2100-500160_162-4728399.html (accessed May 17, 2013).

15. David S. Amodio et al., "Neurocognitive Correlates of Liberalism and Conservatism," *Nature Neuroscience* 10 (2007): 1246–47; John T. Jost et al., "Political Conservatism as Motivated Social Cognition," *Psychological Bulletin* 129, no. 3 (2003): 339–75; John W. Dean, *Conservatives without Conscience* (New York: Viking, 2006); Sean Wilentz, "Confounding Fathers: The Tea Party's Cold War Roots," *The New Yorker*, October 18, 2010; Andrew Sullivan, "Trying to Understand the Tea Party II," *The Atlantic*, June 15, 2010; Paul Krugman, "Paranoia Strikes Deep," *New York Times*, November 9, 2009. For an argument that diagnoses conservative mental frameworks and then adds that such views have been disproven by cognitive science, see George Lakoff, *Moral Politics: How Liberals and Conservatives Think*, 2d ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002).

16. Daniel Kahneman, *Thinking Fast and Slow* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2011).

17. The alignment of centrist politics with behavioral economics can be found in Richard H. Thaler and Cass R. Sunstein, *Nudge: Improving Decisions About Health, Wealth, and Happiness* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2008).

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