

STANLEY D. PORTEUS' VIEWS ON RACE

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Porteus, a psychologist who came from Australia, published his major works during the period between World War I and II. Because this was the period when Porteus' influence was at its height and because it was then that such influence was exercised to the disadvantage of the people of Hawaii, this is the period with which this paper shall be mainly concerned.

Rather than being argumentative in nature, this paper consists almost entirely of a presentation of Porteus' views, expressed in his own words. Quotations have been selected from a number of his works and organized under the following headings:

- I. Porteus' Theory of Race
- II. The Scientific Basis of Porteus' Views
- III. Porteus' Views of People
 1. Australian Aborigines
 2. Blacks
 3. Chinese
 4. Filipinos
 5. Hawaiians
 6. Italians
 7. Japanese
 8. Portuguese
 9. Puerto Ricans
 10. Whites
 11. Women
- IV. Porteus' Social Implications

The paper concludes with a section evaluating Porteus' views.

The works of Porteus which are referred to are:

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| 1922 | <u>Studies in Mental Deviations</u> | (SMD) |
| 1924 | <u>Guide to Porteus Maze Test</u> | (GPM) |
| 1926 | <u>Temperament and Race</u> | (TAR) |
| 1932 | <u>Human Studies in Hawaii</u> | (HSH) |
| 1937 | <u>Primitive Intelligence and Environment</u> | (PIE) |
| 1947 | <u>And Blow Not the Trumpet</u> | (BNT) |
| 1965 | <u>Porteus Maze Test</u> | (PMT) |

Quotations will be referred to with the abbreviations indicated.

1. PORTEUS' THEORY OF RACE

"In our psychological investigations, for example, it is our endeavor to separate the factors which are purely environmental, such as restricted opportunities for education, limited social inheritance, etc., from those more fundamental factors of native intelligence, which have as surely set the bounds of progress for a race." (HSH, 84)

"But in discussing racial strengths and weaknesses we assert that the differences between races that are of importance are not merely differences in mentality, but differences in mental energy to which emotional, volitional and temperamental traits contribute. These psychosynergic traits we consider to have become engrained in racial character through heredity, environment interacting to select and perpetuate certain temperamental types." (TAR, 327)

"It cannot be emphasized too strongly that the question is not necessarily one of racial superiority but of racial differences. Indeed it is most unlikely that any race will have developed all-round mental superiority. There is no tribe of super-men in either mental or physical attributes. The Australian aboriginal or the negro may quite conceivably in some directions be superior to the white man. The fact that there is also overlapping among races so that very intelligent men may be found among primitive races and very unintelligent among the civilized needs no demonstration." (Emphasis mine, PIE, 5)

"...the sharpening of the struggle for existence does not apparently have the effect necessarily of lowering the mental status of a people. Thus the explanation for any intellectual backwardness of this race as a whole cannot be laid entirely at the door of environmental stress. This is in direct opposition to the idea that, given leisure, refinement in culture and progressive adaptability will necessarily follow in a race. Nature is at least as important or even more important than nurture." (Emphasis mine, HSH, 105)

"Hence the number or range of relevant stimuli in a given environment may be made the basis of distinctions in intelligence. In other words, the difference between the lower and higher animal, the stupid and the intelligent man, the superior and inferior race, may be a matter of difference in the number and range of the stimuli which each finds relevant." (Emphasis mine, HSH, 86)

"As we have previously noted, there are many who admit the reality of racial differences in capacity but would ascribe them wholly to environmental factors, among which are mentioned superior education, cultural forms and institutions, government, material wealth, etc. But it must be remembered that these are themselves the products of human invention and intelligence. It would seem for the most part that a racial group has just about the government, religion, and education that it deserves to have." (PIE, 5)

"Where superstition or faulty ideals of government or interracial jealousies disrupt progress we are fairly safe in ascribing these to racial weaknesses in temperament or mentality. In short each nation has just about the religion or the freedom that it deserves to have." (TAR, 7)

"Where opportunity is denied or environmental stimuli are restricted there can be little progress even in the well-endowed. Such was at one time the case with Japan. Her geographical and cultural isolation was so complete that she remained in semi-civilized feudalism until the door of opportunity opened for her. But to take her marvelous advance as proof of the all-importance of cultural contacts would be to ignore the fact that there has been an open door and cultural contacts in the Philippines for a much longer period without any comparable advance. The present comparative status of the peoples of the two countries is, we believe, a fairly accurate measure of their inherent potentialities." (TAR, 307)

"By mental or intellectual differences are meant comparative abilities to use the abstract symbols of thought, and to acquire that kind of education which seems essential to adequate functioning in civilization as it is constituted. It is, however, necessary to go further than that and to include among the important mental abilities an intelligent prevision of the adequacy of means to ends. I would also include among the intellectual qualities the ability to control impulsive or other behavior that would, if unchecked, obviate or nullify the effects of good planning. These qualities of foresight and control are to be considered intellectual because the cortex, the coping stone of brain development is par excellence, the organ of choice and inhibition." (PIE, 210)

"But whatever the facts regarding past levels of achievement, we cannot say that the Chinese or the Peruvians or the Egyptians have had the progressive adaptability of our own race. The fact that these ancient civilizations were once so flourishing argues that they reached a plateau of achievement at which point their development ceased to be progressive . . . Courage, determination, and capacity for organization in a nation as a whole are just as much elements in its progressive adaptability to national problems as is inventive skill; for without these, racial progress stood still or culture declined. Capacity for doing must keep pace with capacity for thinking." (TAR, 253)

II. SCIENTIFIC BASIS OF PORTEUS' VIEWS

To the extent that test data were used as a basis for Porteus' views regarding intelligence and temperament, Porteus relied on two main sources, the Porteus Maze Test, and the Porteus Social Rating Scale.

The Maze Test. First published in 1915, it consists of a maze printed on paper which is solved with a pencil. Porteus has claimed that the test (relating to the difficulty of the maze) provides a measure of intelligence and temperament. He stated:

"The tests were designed to examine the individual's ability or his tendency to use planning capacity, prudence and mental alertness in a new situation of a concrete nature. Hence, though they are primarily tests of a form of mental ability, yet because impulsiveness, irresolution, suggestibility, nervousness, and excitability interfere most with the subjects success, they are to be regarded as being in large part, tests of temperamental capacities as well." (GPM, 19)

Analysis of errors in doing mazes was claimed to provide a measure of these characteristics.

During the 1920's, a time when Porteus began to use the test in Hawaii, Porteus stated the following concerning its validity:

"The relation of maze test results to social sufficiency has been proved by many investigations. The correlations that have been obtained in these studies vary somewhat according to the age and mental level of the subjects. As a general rule the nearer the subject approaches moron levels the greater the diagnostic value of the maze tests. It is therefore of most assistance where diagnosis is most difficult -- another point of difference from most performance tests.

Nine separate studies have been made to discover the relation of social capacity to Porteus maze score and Ineach, for comparative purposes, the correlation of the Binet with social capacity has also been found." (Emphasis mine, GPM, 9)

For the maze's validity concerning race differences, Porteus asserted "In a monograph (shortly ready for publication) it will be shown that significant racial differences in temperament may be demonstrated by the application of the maze tests to racial groups. These are as permanent, apparently as the physical characteristics of race. For instance, Japanese boys were found to be superior to Chinese boys at every age from nine to fourteen years. Similarly Japanese girls are superior at every age to groups of Chinese girls. Both Japanese and Chinese boys are markedly superior to Portuguese. American boys are below the Japanese at each age up to twelve years from which point they have the advantage. Apparently therefore, the tests bring to light most important temperamental differences due to race." (Emphasis mine, GPM, 13)

The Social Rating Scale Claimed to be a measure of social adaptability, the scale consists of a check list of seven different traits:

1. Lack of Planning Capacity vs. Planning Capacity
2. Suggestibility vs. Self-determination, Resistance to suggestion.
3. Impulsiveness vs. Prudence.
4. Irresolution vs. Resolution.
5. Over-emotionality vs. Self-control.
6. Instability of Interest vs. Stability of Interest.
7. Obstrusiveness vs. Conciliatory attitude, Tact.

In Hawaii, the Social Rating Scale was administered to members of plantation families. The raters of these people are described by Porteus as follows:

"To accomplish this, ratings were obtained from twenty-five people of long experience in the islands, observers whose work brought them very intimately into contact with the various racial groups. Sixteen of the judges were plantation managers while among the remainder of the group were head workers of social settlements, plantation doctors, and several educationists. The inclusion of so many plantation managers would appear to make the ratings more indicative of industrial efficiency than of social efficiency in general, but as a matter of fact, the relation of plantation managers to the laborers is much more intimate than that of the ordinary employer to his employees and is of such a nature as to make him fully aware of the general social attributes of the people with whom he deals." (TAR,90)

With regard to the use of plantation managers, etc, as raters, Porteus stated:

"There are of course certain drawbacks to the application of rating scales in general...There are several reasons why the social ratings scale when used for racial comparisons may be expected to avoid these errors to a certain extent. Racial prejudices do of course exist, but they affect mainly the comparisons of other races with our own. The error should not be as serious if the observer is not asked to rate his own race." (TAR, 87)

III. PORTEUS' VIEWS ON PEOPLE

I. Australian Aborigines

"The aboriginal himself occupies a most interesting position in the evolutionary scale. In many respects he resembles our own primitive ancestors!" (SMD, 91)

"If also the ability to support the rigors of a terrifying environment is everyday courage, then the Australian aboriginal is much braver than I. If the assurance that life is essentially worth living under any circumstances is more firmly set in the African native's mind than in mine, then I must give him credit for a more effective foresight and hindsight than I possess. There may be many other ways in which the black man be considered superior and his contributions on the credit side of living should be freely acknowledged. But when it comes to his ability to cope with the white man's environment, which by reason of so-called progress, or of the turn of circumstances, has been thrust upon negro and aboriginal alike, then I cannot but question their adaptability, especially that of the Australian. The latter, in his natural surroundings is so far superior to the white man, that if he were even equal to the white man in the latter's environment it would be most surprising. If that were the case he would soon inherit the earth." (PIE, 213)

"However, it was in auditory rote memory that the greatest deficiency of the natives was brought to light. The memory span of the aborigines for numbers was less than that of a six year old white child. When syllables, as found in aboriginal place names, were used as a memory test, the span of rote memory was no better. These results could only be matched by the performance of mentally deficient children of our own race. The central group again exceeded the northwestern by a half year of mental age score. This deficiency of rote memory indicates an inability on the part of the aborigine to assimilate more than the rudiments of white education...In auditory memory, then, we are forced to conclude that the Australians are markedly deficient and that their mental evolution has taken a different course from ours." (HSH, 106)

"Summarizing only the experimental part of this work, we can say that the response of the aborigines to such tests as the Porteus Maze was not so markedly inferior... The capacities necessary to success in the test appear to be predominantly foresight, prudence in planning, and visual alertness. That the feebleminded make such inferior responses in the Maze Test indicates also essential differences between racial backwardness and deficient mentality." (HSH, 105)

2. Blacks

"Surely it is too much to expect that the differences between races should be as great as the differences between genius and stupidity before they may be considered important. Probably the best 60% of negroes are the equals of the lowest 60% of whites, but the fact of this amount of overlapping of the distribution of mental ability does not diminish the importance of the negro-white differences." (Emphasis mine, TAR, 310)

"It has seemed necessary not only to select for study two racial groups who are both close to the nadir of culture but also to make a very careful and detailed comparison of the conditions of life in their respective environments . . . The races chosen for the purposes of this study have been the Australian aborigines, particularly those in the center of the continent, and the Bushmen of the Kalahari and Ngamiland regions in South Africa." (Emphasis mine, PIE, 13)

"Comparing the white draft with the coloured as regards performance, in the army tests, we find distinct differences in score. Translated into mental age equivalents the median score of the coloured was only 10.4 years, more than $2\frac{1}{2}$ years below the median score of the whites. The low level of this score indicates a very serious inability in the negro on the average to avail himself to the full of educational opportunities that are afforded him. The mental inferiority which such a low score signifies is undoubtedly important." (TAR, 207)

"The comparisons that have been made with regard to the negro are most likely to be valid because the disturbing factors mentioned do not operate so heavily. The investigations have been sufficiently extensive as to cover the geographical distribution of the American negro; there is no language handicap and all social grades of the negro are represented. These studies show that the negro actually belongs, as far as all-round ability goes, to an inferior race." (TAR, 207)

"They /the Chinese/ lack the latter's /the Japanese/ genius for organization, their ambitions being rather individual than general. They are more interested in acquiring money than in improving the social or political standing of their group as a whole. To this end they exhibit remarkable thrift and patience, but their position is improved by steady accretions rather than by any bold strokes of policy." (TAR, 323)

"Griffith Taylor in a recent paper explains the lack of development of the Chinese language in this way. 'Their philosophy was ominently conservative, so that everything must be sanctioned by custom. The method of everlastingly looking backward for precept and guidance kills all progress.' What Taylor does not appear to realize is that this tendency is inborn, for it is the outcome of the submissive retrovert temperament which is apparently subject as much to hereditary transmission as are the more intellectual qualities." (TAR, 311)

"The Chinese, schooled by centuries of privation to patient and persistent effort, had also developed elements of self-determinism and conservatism in their character which made them, as a group, unpopular in any community alien to themselves." (TAR, 44)

"The Chinese, because of their intensely individualistic viewpoint and the peculiarities of their temperament, exerted little influence as a group in the Territory but like 'Ben Jonson his best piece of poetry,' their greatest contribution was the Chinese-Hawaiian sons they gave to the country." (TAR, 49)

"The advantage of the studies in Hawaii has been that one of these variables--viz. social status, has been eliminated so that differences in achievement are due entirely to inherent capacity for progressive adaptations. The question now arises whether we can trace in the history of the peoples concerned the genesis of these inherent differences. Having agreed that the Japanese, for example, as compared with the Chinese have potential advantages, can we explain the differences in character between two such closely related races? We have seen that the Chinese are inferior to the Japanese mainly in the strength of their sense of group cohesion which naturally underlies racial planfulness and ability for group organization." (TAR, 310).

4. Filipinos

"The Visayan particularly is decidedly improvident and shiftless. In tropical climates the shiftless and incapable can exist almost as well as the provident and far-seeing." (TAR, 58)

"The Visayan's lack of planning capacity and foresight is so pronounced that he is likely to lead an altogether hand-to-mouth existence without any provision for the morrow. His ambition is to live as nearly as possible like the lilies of the field--without toiling or spinning--and yet to be arrayed like Solomon. If this is impossible, then the next best thing is to live with as little labour as he can contrive." (TAR, 59)

"The Ilocano on the other hand is much more thrifty and industrious than his compatriots, but his planning capacity is rather near sighted. In preparing for the needs of tomorrow he is very likely to forget today...They have the reputation of being less courageous than the rest of the Filipinos, in this respect again resembling the Chinese. On account of the proximity of their native provinces to China it is very likely that they had originally a larger mixture of Chinese blood." (TAR, 60)

"Closely allied to Filipino inferiority as regards planning capacity is their instability of interest . . . Group imitation is very characteristic of these people. Filipino labourers tend to be clean and tidy in a clean camp, shiftless and untidy if in a dirty one. Their tendency towards group imitation is no doubt due to their extreme suggestibility . . . Internecine jealousy was the best weapon of defense in Spain's armory, and this she was able to keep keen by continually playing on an outstanding weakness of Filipino character -- suggestibility." (TAR, 61-62)

"Industrially this defect [suggestibility] has serious consequences. A group of Filipinos are at the mercy of any propagandist with a glib tongue but their chances of effective coordinated action are minimized because nothing holds them steady in their purpose for very long . . . In his way of looking at things, 'please excuse' is ample apology for any action and should wipe the slate of remembrance quite clean." (TAR, 62)

"During 1924 the Filipinos carried on a particularly ill-conceived and hopeless strike for higher wages. It was hopeless because the Filipinos did not readily cooperate together and because the door between Hawaii and the Philippines was entirely open for the coming in of new labour supplies. This strike was brought about mainly by oratorical agitators and there is more than a suspicion that the Japanese secretly formented and supported it." (TAR, 62)

"Perhaps one of the outstanding traits of Filipino makeup is his extreme super-sensitiveness especially towards the suggestion that he is in any way racially inferior . . . It has been characteristic of them to follow blindly the advice of several of their leaders in Hawaii whom they know to be utterly untrustworthy but whom they admire simply because they have shown themselves clever enough to get the best of the 'haoles' as the whites are called." (TAR, 63-64)

"A rather simple obtrusiveness is also apparent in the Filipinos. They like to attract attention. The overseer who can call the member of his gang by name finds that both his praise or censure are much more effective if he can show this mark of personal recognition. The manager who goes a little out of his way to notice the Filipino or his family is courting a very easily-won popularity." (TAR, 64)

"It has been already mentioned that the Filipino, like the Mediterranean race, belongs in temperament to the extrovert type, the temperament, that is, which is but little addicted to reflection or to the inhibition of impulse, but in which thought and feeling very readily flows over into expression and overt action of all kinds. In this respect the Filipinos are at the very opposite extreme from the taciturn, canny, long considering Scotchman. They are rather highly emotional, impulsive and almost explosive in temperament. With this type, attempts to muzzle expression are rather dangerous so that it is always better to give the Filipino plenty of opportunities to talk himself out." (Emphasis mine, TAR, 64)

"The Filipino, even if he has attained to a position of trust and responsibility, frequently requires 'following up.' He seems to have a consistent objection to 'staying put.'

Very characteristic of the primitive temperament is ostentation and love of display. Like the American negro the Filipino's first ambition is to have new clothes." (TAR, 65)

"As regards courage and hardihood the Filipino is not badly endowed but his is the small man's courage which is not of the single-minded variety but requires multiplication by the presence of the gang or mob." (TAR, 65)

"Primitive man faces many dangers from which the civilized man would shrink. It would appall the most resolute of white men to attempt to support existence in such conditions as the Australian aboriginal daily faces in the central Australian desert. Yet such people can be reduced to abject fear by the threat of the mysterious or unknown. The Filipino has by no means got rid of this 'jungle fear' as it has been aptly called. In the recent industrial troubles, many Filipinos were intimidated into joining the strikers by vague threats, and the more vague, the more effective they seemed to be." (TAR, 67)

"The Filipinos in common with other extrovert peoples are rather over-emotional but the currents of feeling do not run very deep. Their outbursts are indicative of weak inhibition rather than of strong emotions." (TAR, 67)

"Summing up these characteristics we may say that the Filipinos represent a fine example of a race in an adolescent stage of development . . . With such individuals it is rare indeed to find many with any insight into their own condition." (TAR, 67)

"What future lies ahead of the Filipino people? If mixture of blood is any benefit to a race then the Filipino should stand high . . . If the traits that we have found to be characteristic of the Filipinos in Hawaii are also typical of the Filipino at home then we are forced to the conclusion that they are a long way from the stage of development at which they could be safely entrusted with self-government. A single glance at their list of racial defects should be sufficient to demonstrate the wisdom of this conclusion." (TAR, 68)

"This is likely to be the case with the Filipinos. There is a danger not of under-educating them but of giving their education the wrong direction. The educational cloth must be cut to fit the mental pattern and there would be grave danger in giving too literary a turn to their schooling. If their immaturity of development is recognized and if it be made plain that their great defects are the faults of the adolescent temperament then it would be wise to examine our school system and revalue our educational processes in terms of their corrective effect on these flaws of adolescent character. Then with a curriculum whose content should be practical and fitted to Filipino intellectual status something might be done to lessen the period of their social mal-adjustment. If it is the boast of educators in the Philippines that they are bestowing an essentially American system of education on these people, then it is a vain boast, for it is a well known fact that receiving, like giving, is according to capacity. It is our opinion that no matter what labels of citizenship we may put on these people they remain Filipinos, and it will take much more than a knowledge of the three 'R's' to make them Americans. To make the system of schooling too over-scholastic might be worse than no benefit at all. The surest way to make a malcontent is to educate him either above his intelligence or his opportunities." (Emphasis mine, TAR, 70)

5. Hawaiians

"The shallowness of his emotional life is shown by the fact that though he is very affectionate in his attitude towards children, he is often quite willing to exchange offspring with a neighbor or friend." (TAR, 102)

"According to the given ratings the worst defects of the Hawaiian temperament are deficiency of planning capacity, extreme suggestibility and instability of interest. Those who, like Huntington, would ascribe great importance to environmental and climatic conditions might find interesting confirmation of their views in these ratings...Since there was no need for the exercise of planning capacity and foresight, there was nothing to cause a natural selection in favour of the thrifty and provident. Such resolution and courage as the Hawaiians possess--and in this they are rated a little superior to the Portuguese--were undoubtedly conserved by their tribal wars. Their lack of dependence upon reason, their former submissiveness to priests and superstition, and their present-day suggestibility, which is evidenced by their tendency to be over-swayed and influenced by a glib tongue, undoubtedly became characteristic of their behavior because of their long isolation from other races. This limited their experience to one set or system of ideas and forbade them the exercise of judgment in the balancing of alternatives, conditions from which we may suppose that the ability for self-determination and hard-headedness arose in other races. The tender-mindedness of the childish stages of development still clings about this interesting people." (TAR, 103)

"This practice of deep-sea navigation and the desire to retrace the course of their early migrations bespeaks a courage and hardihood and love of adventure unusual in the temperament of most native peoples. To the early visitors to the Islands the manners and customs of life of this people were of absorbing interest. Their heiaus, or cities of refuge, to which offenders against tribal law might flee, the custom of burying their dead in secret caves in almost inaccessible cliffs and mountain sides, their devotion to the ruling chiefs and kings, their love of ceremony and display, their readiness to invest all natural objects with legendary or mythical significance, their absolute subservience to the sway of the kahuna or priest--all these mark them as a people who have successfully emerged from the lower stages of culture but who still carry many of the signs and associations of the developing but immature race." (TAR, 27)

"The statistics of crime show that the Hawaiians or part-Hawaiians are second in point of number of convictions in proportion to population, being exceeded only by the Chinese. The crimes which they commit are, however, those which are liable to be committed by a people not wholly mature." (TAR, 30)

"It would seem from these observations that in the case of the Chinese-Hawaiian mixture the well-stabilized, docile and patient temperament of the Hawaiian tends to be transmitted to the offspring, the intellectual elements being largely contributed by the Chinese." (TAR, 32)

6. Italians

"We cannot therefore legitimately make statements as to the superiority of the races as such; all that we are justified in stating is that certain Southern European races, as they are represented in this country are inferior in capacities which underlie school proficiency. The absolute inferiority of the negro we may assume to be fairly established. It is also true that on the mental side, and probably on the temperamental also, the general position of the Italians here is low." (TAR, 210)

7. Japanese

"Even among university and high school students, imperfect knowledge of English is to be found, but despite this handicap they frequently make excellent grades. Their industriousness and capacity for long study are remarkable so that persistence tends to make up for any inferiority of learning capacity. Summing up the outstanding traits of Japanese character as these have been brought to attention during their stay in the islands, we may say that collectively they are intensely race-conscious, ready to combine for any purposes of group advancement, aggressive and rather untrustworthy when self-interest is in question. Individually they are extremely adaptable, ambitious and persistent and emotionally self controlled." (TAR, 52)

"The distrust and suspicion which the Japanese have aroused have already been alluded to. Individually the Japanese have a goods-and-chattels honesty but the principle seems of unequal application. As a group they are by no means dependable when it comes to keeping faith in their contracts. Astuteness rather than candor seems to be more highly prized among them." (TAR, 86)

"The picture that we gain from these comparisons is substantially the same in outline as we have drawn from Hawaiian experience. The Japanese on the mainland is the same alert, aggressive, farseeing, selfish and unscrupulous individual as we find him in Hawaii." (TAR, 130)

"But the important point of this whole discussion is that we are pointing out the adaptability, not of the leaders of the nation only, but of the people of the lowest social grades, a quality which is not equally apparent in people of other races." (TAR, 131)

"In short, though adaptable they are not suggestible. As a group they have not learned to conciliate and are, in fact, somewhat aggressive and unscrupulous in pursuing an advantage." (TAR, 321)

"Many of the reactions of the Japanese which are misunderstood by the whites really arise from pride, which has always been somewhat inordinate among them." (TAR, 64)

"The Japs played their cards well -- alternately truculent and conciliatory, extreme and moderate." (BNT, 136)

"The Japs, who are also familiar with volcanoes, may well have recognized that Pearl Harbor was the channel through which the great might of America must be funneled before it could spread into the distant reaches of the Pacific." (BNT, 223)

"A Jap invasion of Australia was at that time thought imminent . . . (BNT, 254)

"If this were the story of entomological science in Hawaii, the tale could go on indefinitely. Perhaps mention should be made of another Nipponese menace, the Japanese or anomala beetle." (BNT, 93)

"Intermarriages of Japanese with other racial groups were frowned upon by Japanese As a consequence out-marriages were, for many years, extremely rare though occasionally part-Japanese children were met with. One such child gave its ancestry as 'part-Japanese, part-soldier.' Another story that went the rounds told of a Japanese woman who brought her red-haired baby to the doctor's office. 'Hey, mama-san,' said the doctor, 'whatsa matter? This baby's poppa have red hair?' 'Me no know, doctor,' was the reply. 'He no take his hat off.' It was from such irregular unions that these rather uncommon part-Japanese children eventuated." (BNT, 65-66)

"The rest of the 160,000 or 122,500 Japanese, having been born in Hawaii, immigrated, without passports, from Heaven or wherever young Japanese-American babies come from." (Emphasis mine, BNT, 285)

'Can we of Japanese ancestry have equal opportunity in working on defense projects? We, too, are proud of America, and want to participate in defending these islands.' . . . The above question and comment obviously came from one of those youths who took the gift of American citizenship at its face value, and found that the certificate, under certain circumstances, fell considerably below par value. They did not understand -- and no one had told them -- that the privilege was unintentionally bestowed by the 14th Amendment to the Constitution, which aimed particularly to protect the Negroes already resident in the United States, and for whom many Americans felt the burden of responsibility. It hardly contemplated its results in non-contiguous territories of America. The final justification for making American-born individuals citizens was of course the declaration in the Preamble to the Constitution, which stated that all men were born free and equal. There, again, the bewildered American-Japanese did not comprehend that to most of those who signed the Constitution this meant 'all white men are born free and equal' the word white being understood. It took almost a hundred years of argument, a civil war, and a million lives to clarify half that sentence, and in a large part of America the question isn't settled yet. The other half, about being born equal is, unfortunately, a sociological and psychological joke. . . . The whole situation would be more adequately described if, instead of saying that Hawaii is the land of equal racial opportunity, we made the more moderate claim that it is a country of less unequal racial status. Our hypocrisy would be at least less barefaced." (BNT, 257-258)

"Much more outwardly adaptable than the Chinese he tends to identify himself with his adopted people and to demand the rights of citizenship. An instance of this identification was afforded recently in the debate between the Universities of Oxford and Hawaii. In the course of the debate one of the Japanese members of the Hawaiian team, without appreciation of the significance, humorous or otherwise, of his remark, spoke of the 'ideals for which we fought in 1776!' There is evident a desire to claim not only the rights but even the traditions of Americanism!" (TAR, 101)

"Again it is worth restating the thesis that both mental and physical changes in the young Japanese may be ascribed to Hawaii's peculiar environment with its stimulating or humanizing effects. Some of the changes in viewpoint and behavior were due to education, but in Hawaii educational efforts swam with the current and not against it, as is so often the case.

Ridiculous as may seem the identification of the Hawaiian-born Japanese with American traditions, it was a long step towards political assimilation."

(Emphasis mine, BNT, 78)

"While these countries [Australia and New Zealand] had rigidly excluded Orientals, this country up to 1907, the date of the so-called Gentlemen's Agreement,* had invited whole-sale immigration with the result that our population were in large proportion Japanese.

*This was like the Holy Roman Empire, which was neither holy nor Roman. One of the parties to the Gentlemen's Agreement was hardly a gentleman and the other hardly agreed." (BNT, 63)

8. PORTUGUESE

"The Portuguese individually have shown considerable progress but they also lack the group cohesion of the Japanese. They are slower in adapting themselves to new situations so that their general planning capacity must be considered as somewhat inferior. They too are thrifty and industrious but lack the resolution and determination of the Japanese. They are not emotionally well-controlled, are very suggestible, and possess that impulsive extrovert attitude so widely characteristic of the Mediterranean people. . . . Impulsiveness is probably one of their worst defects." (TAR, 323-324)

"From what we have said about contract labour it is plain that the conditions were only slightly better than those of the American negro under slavery -- yet what a difference in racial achievement [In Hawaii]. The Portuguese, on the other hand, if we may believe the description of the early arrivals, have made no such notable advance [as the Orientals] because their potentialities were so much less." (TAR, 308)

"The Portuguese, like the Japanese, are certainly not noted for their tact or conciliatory qualities. In this respect they rank almost as low as the Porto Rican. In comparison with both Oriental races they are impulsive, irresolute and excitable, three traits usually associated with the so-called 'Latin temperament.' Whether it is proper to speak of 'thrift' as an innate quality is doubtful but there is little doubt of the inheritance of impulsiveness and the other characteristics of the extrovert temperament." (TAR, 101)

9. PUERTO RICANS

"According to these ratings the Porto Ricans as a group show the least planning capacity, are the most impulsive and excitable and are conspicuously lacking in resolution and trustworthiness. Only in resistance to suggestion and in conciliatory attitude do they earn even moderate ratings. Their aggressiveness apparently does not impress itself upon the observers, perhaps because of their small numbers.

"Racially the Porto Rican is a hybrid of widely different blood strains, a mixture of Spanish, negro, and aboriginal Indian, so that in his racial affinities he may be said to out-Mexican the Mexican. He shares the worst qualities of the Portuguese and of the Filipino, so that of all the migrants to Hawaii he is probably the worst timber for citizenship. It will be interesting to see whether the second generation will continue to display the defects of character of the first. If so it will be a strong proof of the old adage that 'you cannot make a silk

purse out of a sow's ear.' The evidence already points that way. . . .
Apparently both character and mentality are deficient in this group." (TAR, 107-108)

10. Whites

"Another factor which has lowered the temperature of the Hawaiian melting pot is that there is no well stabilized civilization developed by a numerically important indigenous population which might form a mould into which the new racial elements would flow and solidify in pre-appointed forms. The dominant influence has of course been that of the Anglo-Saxons but, numerically speaking, this group is not overstrong." (TAR, 25)

"It may be true, it unfortunately is true, that the more intellectual stocks are losing ground, numerically speaking, through voluntary birth control."
(Emphasis mine, TAR, 351)

"The order or standing in average intelligence in these referred or clinical cases in Hawaii corresponds extremely well with that obtained in other racial comparisons, using an entirely different selection of subjects. The average Binet I.Q. of the North European group was ten points higher than that of the next racial group, the Koreans Order: North European, Korean, Chinese, North European-Hawaiian, Chinese-Caucasian-Hawaiian, Japanese, Chinese-Hawaiian, Portuguese-Hawaiian, Portuguese, Filipino, Hawaiian, Puerto Rican.
That it is probable that these results represent the racial order of intelligence is shown by the fact that if the Binet results are segregated in the two age periods, that is, cases from 6 to 12 years and cases above 12 years, the order of the racial group is practically the same, the correlation of the two sets of rank orders being .98." (Emphasis mine, HSH, 96-97)

"While we are not alarmists we recognize that a serious situation confronts the dominant white race.

Madison Grant is one author who takes the most pessimistic view, regarding the future of the Nordics, as the following quotation shows: 'It would appear that in all those parts of Europe outside of its natural habitat the Nordic blood is on the wane from England to Italy and that the ancient acclimated and primitive population of Alpine and Mediterranean race are subtly reasserting their long lost political power through a high breeding rate and democratic institutions.' The factors in this decline, as Grant sees them, are that the Nordic element in such races as the Anglo-Saxon, in both its branches, form the fighting section, causing a disproportionate loss of life for this race; emigration also takes its toll of the adventure-seeking Nordics." (Emphasis mine, TAR, 329-330)

"Another conclusion that may be safely reached from consideration of the studies presented is that as far as the white race is concerned the differences should be called natio-mental rather than racial. The low position of the Portuguese is significant of this fact. But it must also be remembered that the tests used are only very partial measures of intelligence, in the broad sense that we have defined the word. It may well be that the tests used do not examine the special abilities characteristic of the Portuguese and hence do not represent their level of intelligence fairly." (PIE, 225)

"As regards order of success in performance, the study revealed the effect of geographical or cultural selection, in that the two groups of whites in Hawaii considerably excelled another group of whites of similar educational standing

examined in schools in a town in eastern United States and these, in turn, were ahead of the Portuguese. These differences showed the importance of nation-racial differences, the highest and lowest place in the array of results being held by the two branches of the white race." (HSH, 92)

11. Women

"Similarly differences in temperament in the sexes are also brought to light by the maze tests. . . . These /sex/ differences cannot be accounted for on the score of the boy's greater familiarity with the type of situation presented by the tests, though this would account for the superiority of males in many other performance tests. The maze situation is quite new to both sexes. Hence the differences in performance are most probably due to differences in temperament." (GPM, 14)

"Obviously, the differences justify only one conclusion: Males are superior, although this fact must not be interpreted as proof of general sex superiority. The possibility that men and women, boys and girls live in different environments, with different types of stimulation and conventional pressure patterns is considered. This is probably truer in primitive rather than civilized conditions, but the writer believes that this situation would not account for such a consistent trend. Probably inherent temperamental differences are to a great degree responsible." (Emphasis mine, PMT, 135)

"The usual answer to any comparison of achievement in the sexes is to point to the fact that for centuries women's opportunities have been more limited than men's. But it is ridiculous to pretend that in these days of coeducation and feminine independence each female aspirant is in some way or other dragging round behind her the load of lost opportunities of past generations. This is just as absurd as to assume -- as some do -- that woman's inferior position for centuries accounts for an inherited inferiority, as if each woman is not the daughter of her father as well as of her mother." (TAR, 162)

"After all, the question of sex differences should be stated as such, and not as a question of superiority or its reverse. It is well to recognize, however, that there are, and probably always will be, differences in achievement and that the possession of certain definite personality traits in different degrees underlies these differences. The position has been excellently summarized by Jastrow who says, 'Combine in varied measure the tangential disposition, the zest of the unfamiliar and of its conquest, the shrewdness of wit, the trend toward organization, the objective interest, the mastery of control -- all congenial and reinforcing qualities, apply them to different ends and you proceed measurably in the comprehension of masculine superiority as an executive, as a devotee of science, as a philosopher.'" (TAR, 164-165)

"The argument of both the race and sex levellers that inequalities of achievement are entirely due to restricted opportunity should surely begin to have a lessened value. Women's cultural advantages are probably at the present day equal to men's. If we accept the contention that woman's small achievement is due to the fact that she carries with her the load of centuries of repression, then that is tantamount to admitting that the disadvantage has become an inherent one." (TAR, 308-309)

IV. PORTEUS' SOCIAL IMPLICATIONS

"The demonstration of significant racial differences in certain temperamental traits leads us back to the consideration of the relation of these differences to the social adjustment of the races and also to the discussion of some of the practical implications of our conclusions." (TAR, 320)

"The progress of race is not entirely a matter of chance circumstances nor is it entirely related to racial intelligence. To borrow an apt analogy, heredity deals the player the cards but experience teaches him how to play them. But in the game of life, heredity means more than the mere dealing of the cards. We inherit also the capacity to learn to play them. It is the consideration of this dual role of heredity, of the fact that it means more than mental endowment but also the capacity to use that endowment which gives the position of the hereditarians such strength. Mental endowment is the primary or basic factor. If the individual lacks a certain basic level of mental capacity you may surround him with all the cultural or environmental stimuli that you will, and there is no progress. So education except of the very simplest kind is absolutely wasted on the idiot or imbecile and calls forth the most inadequate response from the Australian aboriginal!" (TAR, 306-307)

"Finally in enumerating the social effects of deficiency in these traits, we may consider education whose avowed aim is the making of good citizens. How can we expect education to achieve its end if the human material it works with is so inferior? . . . We have already noted the inferior position of the Filipinos and Porto Ricans both as regards educational status and their social efficiency indices. Assuming then that each dollar spent on education in this community brings us back 100 cents worth as regards teacher-training, physical equipment, wisely planned curriculum and efficient school administration, still the effect of a low average social efficiency index is very similar to having the rate of financial exchange against us, the dollar being worth only little more than seventy percent of its face value. . . . Social alleviation and effort of all kinds is a disheartening affair, a matter of helping lame dogs over stiles, and when they are over they are still lame." (TAR, 113)

"What then is the conclusion that we should reach as to the bearing of these advantages on inter-racial competition and especially with regard to our own relations with Japan. In the first place a warning is needed against those who would cry peace when there is no peace. Some representatives of religious organizations are especially prone to minimize the fact of racial competition. They would like to believe that we are already approaching a golden age of universal fraternalism and inter-nationalism and that a Christianized world will show no inequalities due to race or colour. These leaders are ably backed up by certain anthropologists who would also

minimize the effect of race on progress and achievement. Their one-sided attention to certain ethnological data leads them to neglect much of the evidence that points towards the importance of physical differences, and they also tend to regard all demonstrated differences in character or intelligence as being due to varying educational advantages. Our reply is that whether apparent or not there is going on a ceaseless racial struggle for dominance that no number of platitudes about brotherly love will obviate; and secondly that this struggle for dominance is by no means waged on equal terms." (TAR, 327)

"Our personal opinion of the inherent advantages that the Japanese race enjoys is so high that we would entirely favour a policy of rigid exclusion from Canada, United States and Australia. If, however, we wish to avoid racial rancor and bitterness it is well to state the grounds for this exclusion exactly as we have done so, and not from the standpoint of an unfounded racial superiority complex." (TAR, 335)

"Congress, too, in restricting immigration by a quota system is recognizing the fact that some check on the alien influx is necessary. But even if a ban is placed on future immigration, the various races are already tremendously represented here. Of what use is it to man the walls after the wooden horse is already within the citadel? . . . In the present state of affairs it is perhaps more proper to speak not of the Americanization of the alien but of the alienization of America." (TAR, 7)

"But perhaps the heaviest handicap that western civilization still carries is the humanitarian impulse. Side by side with the growth of medical science has been the development of this impulse towards preserving and perpetuating the unfit. The burden of controlling or caring for the dependent, the insane, the defective and the criminal becomes annually greater. . . . All that we can demand is that we discard this thinly diffused sentimentality, which masquerades as charity, and especially to have done with the idea that social work is properly an adjunct of ladies' bridge parties and afternoon teas. This is no longer the day of the well meaning amateur but of the rigorously trained and selected social scientist." (TAR, 331)

"But there should be no hesitancy in stating the claim that these lands*have been pioneered and developed through the determination of the men who pressed forward into their silent places, and by the devotion of the women who followed them. These lands belong to the white race by right of peaceful conquest, . . . In the meanwhile the Nordic strongholds in America and Australia must be developed and maintained. To throw them open to the dangers of Japanese penetration, peaceful or otherwise, would be to pursue a policy of race suicide in a direction even more effective than those in which we are wont to practice it." [*Canada, U.S.A., Australia] (TAR, 335-336)

V. EVALUATION OF PORTEUS' VIEWS

This paper shows that given the quality and quantity of Porteus' data, there is little scientific basis for Porteus' contention that differences in Intelligence and temperament among peoples are due to genetic inheritance. Porteus' insensitivity to environmental variables is clearly shown, for example, when he considered that his studies in Hawaii had sufficiently controlled environmental influences simply because, (a) "The subjects were Japanese, Chinese, Filipinos, and Portuguese children whose parents were of equivalent social and economic status, having all been brought as contract laborers." (b) "All the subjects had been educated in the same school system through the medium of the same language." And, (c) "Practically all had been born in the Islands so that length of residence was not a factor." (PIE, 221)

To presume, as Porteus did, that on the basis of such measures that environmental effects were essentially controlled is entirely ludicrous. It is not surprising, therefore, that theorists like Porteus were, in their day, severely criticized for not devoting sufficient attention to environmental influences. Porteus continually had to defend himself against such charges. (See, for example, Porteus' reaction to Klineberg in PIE, 211-200.)

Aside from judging Porteus to have made unwarranted conclusions, what can be said about him with respect to ethical and moral considerations? In this regard, one cannot help but note that Porteus was not at all hesitant in proposing the views that he held, even though those views were decidedly negative for most peoples of the world. It was not as if Porteus was unaware of their social implications. Porteus did do his work during a period which saw the rise of Fascism and the racial superiority theory of Hitler. Porteus was well aware of Hitler's views.*

Not only was Porteus keenly aware of the social implications of his work, but he himself drew many such implications on his own. As this paper showed, Porteus did not hesitate to propose that Filipinos be given a non-intellectual education, nor that Japanese be barred from immigrating to the "Nordic" countries of Canada, Australia and the U.S. There is no doubt that had the social and educational policies which Porteus advocated been adopted in Hawaii, the condition of non-white peoples in Hawaii today would be deplorable.

As the social historian Lawrence Fuchs indicates in Hawaii Pono (1961, 51, 134) and as the sociologist Andrew Lind points out in a review in the Far Eastern Quarterly (1948), the views of Porteus chiefly served the dominant haole establishment of Hawaii. During the twenties and thirties the non-haole peoples were striving for better wages, living and working conditions, for themselves, and for better education and employment opportunities, for their children. The haole establishment, however, was opposed to providing such benefits. Porteus' views argued in favor of support of such policies.

*Porteus outlines Hitler's views in his Introduction to PIE (p. 1). Actually, it is a version of Hitler's theory which Porteus himself advocates. While Hitler claimed superiority for Aryan whites over all other peoples, as was shown in this paper, Porteus makes the same claim for "Nordic" whites.

In this regard, consider, too, the struggle which non-haole peoples had during that period for dignity and equality under the law. An excerpt from an editorial in the Honolulu Star-Bulletin, March 27, 1920, shows, for example, what the Japanese were up against. The editorial is titled "Why the Japanese 'Problem' Exists":

"In our opinion this feeling toward the Japanese has been engendered almost entirely by their temperamental characteristics, their insincerity, the suavity and friendliness with which they greet one socially and the bitterness of their attacks from under cover when an issue comes to a controversy, as evidenced by their conduct of the present strike on this island. The conviction is widely entertained that the majority of the Japanese are deceitful, tricky and not to be relied upon. Such foundations as may exist for this belief have, beyond question, been furnished by many of the methods of their businessmen, as well as the attitudes of large numbers of other Japanese."

Such establishment attitudes were undoubtedly reinforced by Porteus' work. As a result of the considerations presented in this paper, I cannot but conclude that Stanley D. Porteus served the people of Hawaii badly. I do not believe, therefore, that a building on the campus of the University of Hawaii should honor this man by bearing his name.