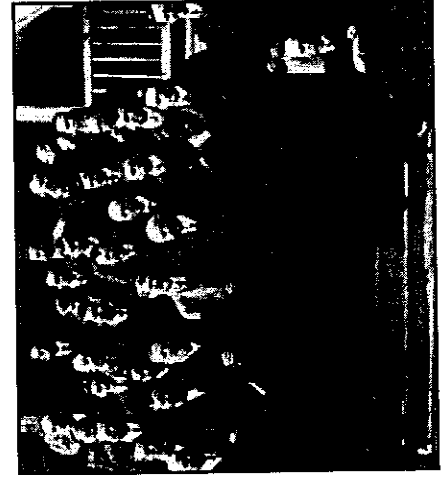


# A HISTORY OF *Psychology* IN LETTERS

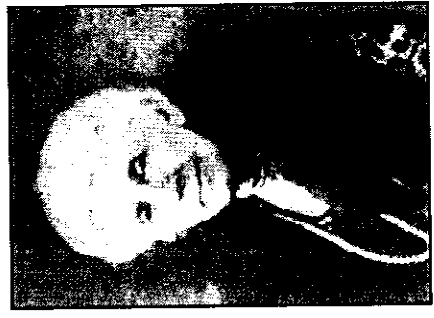
SECOND EDITION  
LUDY T. BENJAMIN, JR.

2006

Malden, MA :  Blackwell Publishing



Meeting of Titchener's Experimentalists at Princeton University, 1916; Edward B. Titchener is second from the left on the first row  
(Archives of the History of American Psychology/University of Akron)



Christine Ladd-Franklin  
(Archives of the History of American Psychology/University of Akron)

## Titchener's Experimentalists: No Women Allowed

Edward Bradford Titchener (1867-1927) was born in Chichester, England. After earning a master's degree at Oxford University, he went to Leipzig, where he earned his doctorate in psychology with Wilhelm Wundt, graduating in 1892. He arrived in the United States that year, assuming the psychology position at Cornell University recently vacated by another of Wundt's students, Frank Angell. Titchener built his laboratory in the Leipzig tradition and soon established himself as one of the foremost psychologists in the United States. In the thirty-five years of

his professional career he wrote more than two hundred articles and books and trained more than fifty doctoral students in his brand of psychology. Many of those students would found laboratories of their own, for example, Margaret Floy Washburn at Vassar College and Walter B. Pillsbury at the University of Michigan.

Titchener named his system of psychology *structuralism* because of its emphasis on discovering the elemental structure of consciousness. Conceptually, that focus of his system was similar to one of the goals of Wundtian psychology, although Wundt never used the label structuralism to refer to his psychology (see Leahy, 1981). Titchener defined psychology in the narrowest of terms. He generally opposed child psychology, abnormal psychology, and any studies on animals. His experimental science was built largely on introspection, a technique that proved to be of little use in those areas of study. It was narrower still, in comparison to Wundt, because of Titchener's adherence to positivism. Whereas Wundt sought to explain consciousness by invoking some hypothetical mental processes, Titchener avoided the mentalistic dilemma by focusing his efforts on a purely descriptive science. Cornell became the stronghold for descriptive psychology, protecting its purity from the infidels that Titchener felt made up much of American psychology.

The scientific acumen of Titchener was manifested in several ways, but is nowhere more evident than in the four volumes of his *Experimental Psychology* (1901–1905). Two of the books were for the psychology instructor and two for the student. Two dealt with quantitative studies, whereas the other two focused on qualitative studies. Collectively they were known as the "Manuals" or "Titchener's Manuals." And they were used to train an entire generation of American psychology students, not just those at Cornell, in the methods of this new science. Oswald Külpe, another Wundt doctoral student who frequently battled Titchener on theoretical grounds, called Titchener's *Experimental Psychology* "the most erudite psychological work in the English language" (Boring, 1950, p. 413).

Titchener was an excellent scientist, albeit narrow in scope, who sought to define experimental psychology wholly in his own terms. As the American Psychological Association (APA), founded in 1892 grew, its membership became increasingly diverse and its program grew to contain aspects of psychology unacceptable by Titchener's definition of experimental psychology. So in 1904 he founded his own society of experimental psychologists. In January of that year he sent a letter to approximately 20 colleagues whose research he considered acceptable. The group included James Angell, James McKeen Cattell, Raymond Dodge, Joseph Jastrow, Charles Judd, Hugo Münsterberg, Howard Warren, and Lightner Witmer, among others. The proposed organization was to be rather exclusive in its membership, "confined to the men who are working in the field of experimental psychology" (as Titchener defined them).

Many of those invited were troubled that this new organization might remove experimental psychology from the domain of the American Psychological Asso-

ciation. Angell, Jastrow, Judd, Münsterberg, and others wrote to Titchener expressing their concerns over the potential conflict with the APA. Warren was so upset about the conflict that he declined to attend the meetings of Titchener's new group for the first three years of its existence. A few complained to Titchener about the exclusion of women from the group, although one individual, Witmer, echoed his agreement with such a policy.

Although Titchener did not receive unanimous support for his group, he received enough endorsements to found the group. Its initial meeting was held at Cornell University, hosted by Titchener, of course. In his original letter he had implied that the group might be called the American Society for the Advancement of Experimental Psychology. A psychologist at the University of Toronto, August Kirschmann, urged Titchener to drop the word "American" from the title. And in Titchener's second letter to the group that term was gone. But in fact, the group never got a formal name. Instead it was always referred to as "The Experimentalists" or "Titchener's Experimentalists." Edwin G. Boring, a historian of psychology and student of Titchener's wrote that

Titchener really wanted to start an informal club of experimental psychologists, an annual meeting of the heads of laboratories, who would bring with them their most promising graduate students for stimulation. He wanted oral reports that could be interrupted, dissented from and criticized, in a smoke-filled room with no women present – for in 1904, when the Experimentalists was founded, women were considered too pure to smoke. He did not achieve his goal all at once, but he worked toward it over the years. (Boring, 1967, p. 315)

Indeed, Titchener did not achieve his goal all at once. He struggled annually to make his society what he wanted. In addition to regular complaints about competition with the older APA and the exclusion of women, objections were also raised about the elitism of the group, about the definition of what research qualified as "experimental psychology," about which students were to be invited, about how many people should be invited to the meetings, and about people reading their papers instead of discussing them informally. Apparently these issues were raised at many of the annual meetings and, on occasion, dominated the meeting such that the agenda of experimental psychology became secondary. John Watson became so disenchanted with the frequent discussions of these other issues that he stopped attending.

At an APA meeting in 1922, E. G. Boring, Karl Dallenbach (both former students of Titchener), and Samuel Fernberger discussed organizing a regular and informal discussion of experimental psychology at the annual meetings of the APA. They were worried about Titchener's reaction to the idea because he could obviously perceive it as a threat to his Experimentalists. In an effort to soften the blow, they asked Raymond Dodge to organize the first of the APA round tables. Dodge, a more senior psychologist, was a charter member of Titchener's group and a member of the APA Program Committee for 1923. Dodge wrote to

Titchener to describe the idea and his letter and Titchener's reply are included in this chapter. The APA Round Tables on Experimental Psychology did begin in 1923 and continued to be a part of the annual meetings through 1928. Attendance at the sessions was large and kept the meetings from accomplishing what the organizers had intended. Thus they disappeared after a few years (Goodwin, 1990).

In August of 1927, after the twenty-third annual meeting of the Experimentalists (there was no meeting in 1918 because of World War I), Titchener died of a brain tumor. His death provided an opportunity for his colleagues to reconsider the structure and content of the society.

The letters in this chapter tell the story of the founding of Titchener's Experimentalists. They are revealing of Titchener as psychologist and as person, and they illustrate the roles played by others important to the early development of American psychology and its organizations. They also tell of the importance of such an organization for the scientific development of its participants.

These letters also tell the story of Christine Ladd-Franklin's struggle to participate in the intellectual exchange that was enjoyed by her male colleagues. Ladd-Franklin (1847–1930), an early experimental psychologist who was well known for her work in vision and her theory of color vision, made repeated requests to be a part of the meetings, to no avail. In the previous chapter on Mary Whiton Calkins we saw that women faced overwhelming obstacles in seeking higher education at the turn of the twentieth century. There were many other barriers for women, including what Scarborough and Furumoto (1987) have labeled "collective exclusion," which is part of the story of this chapter. The letters begin with Titchener's invitation to found a new psychological organization.



### The Letters

*E. B. Titchener to approximately 20 colleagues in psychology, January 15, 1904*

I write to ask your assistance in the organization of an American society for the advancement of Experimental Psychology.

It is generally admitted that, in matters of Experimental Psychology, our own country stands second, if to any other, at most only to Germany. This honorable position has been won by the efforts of a relatively small body of men, working under all the disadvantages and discouragements that naturally accompany the establishment of a new method in science. There is, I hope, no serious danger that we shall ever derogate from it. But there is, I am sure, a serious need of organization and consolidation of our present forces. Not only would the directors of laboratories benefit by interchange of ideas and discussion of programmes; but the younger men also – and this is a point upon which I desire to lay special weight – would realise, by association, the community of their interests, the common dangers to which their profession is exposed, and their responsibilities to the science.

In proposing to found a new society, I have no desire to interfere in any way with the existing American Psychological Association. This association has done admirable work for American psychology at large. It is, however, evident that the opportunities which it offers for scientific and social intercourse have not met the special requirements of Experimental Psychology. If the new society is successful, I see no reason why it should not ultimately affiliate to the elder association. For the time being, however, it will be wiser, I believe, that the experimentalists act independently.

My ideas with regard to the proposed society are as follows: (1) that its membership be confined to men who are working in the field of experimental psychology. (2) that its discussions be confined to subjects investigated by the experimental method, (3) that it meet, once a year or oftener, at one of the larger university laboratories; and (4) that place and date of meeting be so chosen as to avoid conflict with the meetings of other scientific societies. The intention underlying these proposals is, very simply, that the experimentalists shall come together for a couple of days every year, to talk, think and act nothing but Experimental Psychology.

I earnestly hope that I may count upon your assistance. If I am fortunate enough to secure your general approval of the scheme, I will, later on, submit to you some further propositions of more detail.

*Titchener to Hugo Münsterberg, February 1, 1904*

For many years I wanted an experimental club – no officers, the men moving about and handling [apparatus], the visited lab to do the work, no women, smoking allowed, plenty of perfectly frank criticism and discussions, the whole atmosphere experimental, the youngsters taken in on an equality with the men who have arrived. I have waited so as not to interfere with the progress of the regular Assn. [the American Psychological Association] – which when all is said, cannot fulfill these requirements with present membership and organisation. Now, I think, the Assn. is firmly established; I cannot hurt it if I wanted to – as emphatically I do not; and there are enough men like-minded with me to make the Society or Club of experimentalists a reality. We cannot reduce exp. psych. to papers; and the Assn. is organized on a paper basis. We can't be frank if we have too many members; or if we have outsiders drifting in. We don't want officers – in science, of all things in the world! I have received good promise of support, and I hope we [can go ahead] without bothering the Assn.

*Edmund C. Sanford [Clark University] to Titchener, January 19, 1904*

... The question with regard to women in the association is a poser. Several of them on scientific grounds have full right to be there and might feel hurt (in a

general impersonal way) if women are not asked. On the other hand they would undoubtedly interfere with the smoking and to a certain extent with the general freedom of a purely masculine assembly. Would it be possible to give them also the chance to say whether they would like to come – assuring them by a personal note that transactions would not come off except in a partially smoke-charged atmosphere? . . .

*Lightner Witmer [University of Pennsylvania] to Titchener, January 25, 1904*

. . . I am quite positive in my objection to inviting women . . . I am sure from my experience, that you cannot run an informal meeting of men and women . . . We want a small vigorous association where we can speak our minds with perfect freedom . . . The larger and more heterogeneous the organization the more likely is vigorous discussion to be misinterpreted and to be taken as an offence by individuals who may happen to be attacked. I think that the presence of women in the organization adds greatly to this danger, owing to the personal attitude which they usually take even in scientific discussions. I favor a small association, no invited guests, and no women members.

*Titchener to various colleagues, February 6, 1904*

On January 15th I addressed a letter to a limited number of experimental psychologists, of whom you are one, asking them to cooperate with me in the formation of a society for the advancement of Experimental Psychology. The large proportion of favourable answers shows that the need of such an organization is keenly felt. There seems to be a pretty general agreement, among those whose assistance is promised, that the new society should present the following features:

- (1) no fees; no officers; organization as simple as possible;
- (2) membership small; meetings entirely informal;
- (3) for the present at least, membership confined to men;
- (4) for the present at least, no affiliation to any existing society;
- (5) meetings to be held at the larger university laboratories;
- (6) place and date of meetings to be so chosen as to avoid conflict with the meetings of other scientific societies;
- (7) special effort to be directed towards the encouragement of graduate students and the younger independent workers in Experimental Psychology;
- (8) papers, demonstrations, symposia, etc., to be strictly confined to subjects investigated by the experimental method.

All these points, however, are entirely open to discussion among those who accept membership in the society. In order that the society may have a positive

starting-point, I venture to ask you to reply to the two questions printed overleaf. I earnestly hope that the society may have the benefit of your assistance.

- (1) Are you willing to become an active member of such a society as has been described, – on the understanding that the points raised are one and all open to discussion within the society? and,
- (2) Can you attend a meeting at Ithaca during the coming Easter vacation? If so, what date would best suit you? An early reply would be appreciated.

*Notes: After Titchener hosted the initial meeting in 1904 at Cornell, subsequent meetings were held at Clark University in 1905 (E. C. Sanford), Yale University in 1906 (Charles H. Judd), the University of Pennsylvania in 1907 (Lightner Witmer), and at Harvard University in 1908 (Hugo Münsterberg). The Titchener letter that follows was intended to give Münsterberg advice on invitations and the conduct of the 1908 meeting.*

*Titchener to Hugo Münsterberg, February 29, 1908*

. . . Our original membership (apart from Harvard) is, I believe, as follows: Frank Angell, [Madison] Bentley, [Raymond] Dodge, [Charles] Judd, [Edward] Pace, [Walter] Pillsbury, [Edmund C.] Sanford, [Carl] Seashore, [Lightner] Witmer. The Chicago and Columbia people declined to come in. We invited [Howard] Warren and he came last year for the first time: I suppose that he and [J. W.] Baird should be counted members.

All of these men, therefore, are entitled to invitation . . . Any further invitations are left, I believe, entirely to the discretion of the individual members . . . You are absolutely free to invite anyone you like; and I suppose it would fall to you as chairman of the occasion, to notify [James McKeen] Cattell, [George] Stratton and James Angell, in case they cared to come or send any of their men.

I heard nothing last year of any objections to the size of the meetings: I do not think they ran over 15, and at times there were only a half dozen present. [James H.] Leuba sent in some girls [from Bryn Mawr College], whom we promptly turned out; that was sheer misunderstanding . . .

*Notes: The previous letter shows an attempted breach, intentional or not, of the "woman question." The question of women invitees would not go away as shown in the next several letters.*

*Christine Ladd-Franklin to Titchener, 1912*

. . . I am particularly anxious to bring my views up, once in a while, for hand-to-hand discussion before experts, and just now I have especially a paper which

I should like very much to read before your meeting of experimental psychologists. I hope you will not say nay!

*Note.* Titchener's reply does not exist but apparently he denied Ladd-Franklin's request to attend, which prompted the following letter.

*Christine Ladd-Franklin to Titchener, 1912*

I am shocked to know that you are still – at this year – excluding women from your meeting of experimental psychologists. It is such a very old-fashioned standpoint! [How illogical it is] that you should include in your invitation . . . the students of G. Stanley Hall, who are not in the least experimentalists and exclude the women who are doing particularly good work in the experimental laboratory of Prof. Baird . . . Have your smokers separated if you like (tho I for one always smoke when I am in fashionable society), but a scientific meeting (however personal) is a public affair, and it is not open to you to leave out a class of fellow workers without extreme discourtesy.

*Mary Whiton Calkins [see Chapter 9] to Christine Ladd-Franklin,  
August 14, 1912*

. . . As to the experimental psychologists: I of course share your regret at their attitude toward women. In fact, I have . . . spoken of the matter in years past to Dr. Titchener and to Dr. Münsterberg (the latter, I think favors their entrance). I feel the freer to speak because I no longer count myself an experimenter: but you, Miss [Eleanor] Gamble, Miss [Margaret Floy] Washburn, Miss [Helen Dodd] Cook, and several others should of course be invited. At the same time I doubt the wisdom of a public protest on the part of those who are shut out. It seems to be sufficiently a side-issue to be left to time or to protestants from within.

*Christine Ladd-Franklin to Titchener, March 21, 1914*

. . . Is this then a good time, my dear Professor Titchener, for you to hold to the medaeval attitude of not admitting me to your coming psychological conference in New York – at my very door? So unconscientious, so immoral, – worse than that – so unscientific!

<sup>1</sup> Ladd-Franklin was living in New York City.

*Titchener to Robert M. Yerkes [Harvard University], April 2, 1914*

I am not sure that we had better not disintegrate! I have been pestered by abuse by Mrs. Ladd-Franklin for not having women at the meetings, and she threatens to make various scenes in person and in print. Possibly she will succeed in breaking us up, and forcing us to meet – like rabbits – in some dark place underground . . .

*Note.* Ladd-Franklin did attend one of the sessions of the 1914 Columbia meeting, perhaps at her own initiative, perhaps at the invitation of Cattell, certainly not at the invitation of Titchener. According to E. C. Boring (1938), it marked the only attendance of women at the meetings until after Titchener's death in 1927. John Watson objected to Titchener's experimentalists for different reasons, as the following letter shows.

*John B. Watson to Howard C. Warren [Princeton University], April 14, 1916*

I have received your circular and the mileage book. I wish to thank you sincerely for the book and for the cordial invitation to come. Your memorandum, however, and certain other letters which I have received, have decided me to decline the invitation. I am going to be quite frank because I believe the ends of science and of friendship too are best conserved in that way.

Were your organization called the Titchener Club you would be acting entirely within your rights in sending out the memorandum. But this organization has called itself variously Meeting of the Experimental Psychologists, the experimentalists, etc. In other words, it is and has been a scientific gathering. In my earlier days I was more or less willing to stand for exclusiveness in science. As I grow older I get further away from this kind of thing. Every time I attend one of these meetings I am embarrassed by having to talk about the nature of the meeting, and to tell certain people that they cannot come, and I was criticized very severely for allowing too many people to come to the Baltimore meeting [hosted by Watson in 1910].

This embarrassment that I always feel in regard to these meetings takes away any pleasure that I might get from the meeting, and while I do not represent anybody but myself I seriously question the justice and wisdom of your using the term Experimental Psychologists or experimentalists. To make this organization work without hurting feelings, it should be called the Titchener Club, and invitations should be issued to join it.

Assuring both you and Titchener of my regret at not being able to see you, I am sincerely yours.

*Note.* The following letters describe the emerging experimental round-table sessions that were being planned for the meetings of the American Psychological Association. Note the difference in Titchener's replies to Dodge and Boring.

*Raymond Dodge to Titchener, April 14, 1923*

Several of the younger men wrote to me sometime ago asking about the possibility of an informal session at the time of the winter meeting of the American Psychological Association. I have been talking it over with a number of others who might be interested and believe such a session would enormously increase the profit of the winter meeting. I wish you would be good enough to give me your frank reaction to the following proposals. (1) A session open to experimentalists for the discussion of experimental and procedures by those who are responsible for them. (2) No papers to be read that belongs to the formal session of the Association. (3) Time of the session to parallel the meetings of the psychology in clinical psychology, applied psychology, probably the last session of the meeting running over into Friday morning if there is demand for it.

I am particularly interested in getting your opinion as to how such a meeting would affect the spring meeting of experimentalists in which we are both deeply interested. I am particularly interested to know if you would attend such a meeting and lend your support. It seems to me that you would be the natural person to preside. As member of the Program Committee I can get a place for it whenever you think it desirable and can probably arrange for such announcements as the situation would call for . . .

*Titchener to Raymond Dodge, April 19, 1923*

I had heard of an idea for the establishment of an Experimental Section of the Association, but your notion of informal sessions is new to me. I do not think that you need for a moment take into account the spring meeting of the Experimentalists. We have now stood up for twenty years, and so far as I can see we are good for many years more; I doubt if any action on the part of the Association will have any effect on us. If it does then we shall deserve what we get.

I cannot say, however, that I am hopeful about your plan. For one thing, the whole atmosphere of the Association is against informality and, as you yourself say, in favor of presiding and being presided over. For another thing, an informal session, if it is to be really successful, presupposes an immense amount of hard work and unselfish work on the part of one or two members of the group; and I don't know who could be persuaded to undertake that sort of job. For a third thing, the right place for an informal experimental session is the laboratory, and the laboratory thrown open for mauling and examining. You will understand that this is simply my individual opinion, which may very well be offset by the desires and opinions of other people. Personally I have decided to leave the Association owing to the \$5.00 subscription which seems to me to be preposterous. Cattell was good enough to say that the raising of the subscription would

rule out the welshers, and so I mean to make myself a nucleus for the welshing group . . .

*Titchener to Edwin G. Boring, date unknown (quoted in Boring's letter to Karl Dallenbach, May 25, 1923)*

There is a threatening complication about the Experimentalists. Dodge has decided to try to imitate us, by inaugurating a sort of round-table experimental informal conference, at the Assn. meetings. I think . . . that we shall presently be snuffed out. We are an arbitrary and one-sexed lot; and the Assn. will give room to anybody who is a member and wants to attend, and will let women in . . . All the people whom we have offended will therefore work hard for the success of the venture; and we have offended a good many.

*Note: The 24th annual meeting of the experimentalists was to be held at Yale University in 1928. But Titchener's death<sup>2</sup> on August 3, 1927 caused the group to reconsider the original plan.*

*Roswell P. Angier [Yale University] to Raymond Dodge, November 28, 1927*

The Experimentalists were, as you will remember, invited to meet at Yale next spring. Titchener's death, however, seems to several of us to have altered the situation to such an extent that it is desirable to secure the reactions of those who have longest been associated with the group to the problems of the best course to pursue in the future. Three possibilities have been suggested in informal exchange of views.

1. To hold the meeting next spring as scheduled.
2. To give up the meetings altogether.
3. To omit next spring's meeting out of respect to Titchener's memory, and then consider at leisure what to do in the future.

The various pros and cons need not be dealt with here, for they will readily occur to us who realize that Titchener not only started the meetings but was

<sup>2</sup> Ladd-Franklin wrote to Margaret Washburn in August, 1927 to ask her to write an obituary for Titchener. Washburn replied: "I never had any quarrel with him or personal grievance against him, but I have never either liked or admired him, and have had for years little agreement with his views. I have not seen him, I suppose, for twenty years, nor corresponded with him. I can think of few persons to whom I have felt less near than I have always felt to him" (cited in Scarborough & Furumoto, 1987, p. 128).

throughout their inspiration and their central figure. One suggested course may, however, be mentioned, namely, that next spring's meeting occur as contemplated and assume a character commemorative to Titchener. Some think that this would on the whole be inadvisable since eulogistic tribute would be something alien to anything that Titchener himself would have wished; and that it is too soon, on the other hand, for any of us to attempt an objective appraisal of the quality and extent of his contribution to the development of psychological thought.

Naturally Yale would be delighted to serve as host to next spring's meeting if it appears advisable on the whole to hold it; on this point, or any other phases of the matter we earnestly seek advice, and shall be grateful if you will indicate your views.

*Howard C. Warren to 14 other psychologists invited to be an organizing committee for a new organization, April 11, 1928*

The group of Experimental Psychologists organized by Professor Titchener held its final meeting at New Haven [Yale] last week. In view of Dr. Titchener's death, and because of the increasing attendance, it was agreed that these gatherings no longer fulfilled the purpose for which they were designed, namely, a conference of experimental investigators for intimate discussion of current laboratory problems. . . . The [organizing] Committee will meet at Princeton next spring, at a date to be determined later. The business will include (1) a definite decision as to the character of the new organization; (2) election of members in accordance with the policy agreed upon; (3) determination of time and place of next meeting and any other matters requiring action. It is expected that in addition to the business sessions, the opportunity will be taken to discuss laboratory problems and methods. You are requested to write to the undersigned signifying your willingness to become a member of the Committee.

### Epilogue

Thus the 1928 meeting at Yale University was considered the last meeting of Titchener's experimentalists. At that meeting a committee of five, chaired by Warren, was given the task of reorganization. That committee decided to add ten others to its membership and held its next meeting at Princeton University in 1929. It was at that meeting that the Society of Experimental Psychologists (SEP) was formally organized. The Committee of 15 asked 11 others to join them in the new society as charter members. Two of that number were women – June Etta Downey of the University of Wyoming and Margaret Floy Washburn (Titchener's first PhD student) of Vassar College – and they were invited, with the others, to the 1930 meeting. Ladd-Franklin did not receive an invitation, and she could not have attended anyway. She died at age 82 at her home in New York City on March 5,

1930, shortly before the SEP meeting. She had persisted into 1916 in her attempts to change Titchener's mind, with no success.

The new bylaws for the SEP indicated that membership would be limited to those "engaged in the advancement of experimental psychology." Further, the Society was not to exceed 50 members at any time. It still exists today as an invitation-only organization, consisting of some of the most prestigious psychologists in North America, and holding an annual meeting for the purposes of discussing experimental psychology. It was and is an important network in the discipline of psychology. The 50-member limit was changed some years ago and today's membership is around 200. The Society no longer denies membership to women, but they remain a small percentage of the membership.

In 2004, the Society of Experimental Psychologists held its centennial meeting on the campus of Cornell University. One of the faculty members at Cornell brought a guest to the meeting – well, sort of. Titchener's brain, per his wishes, is part of the brain collection at Cornell, and it was brought to the opening session of the 2004 SEP meeting. Although Titchener would not have approved of the women present in the room, he would perhaps have been gratified that his organization is still active after 100 years.

### Suggested Readings

Benjamin, L. T., Jr. (1977). The Psychological Round Table: Revolution of 1936. *American Psychologist*, 32, 542-549.

This article is a historical account (as described in Chapter 1) of a secret society organized in 1936 by a group of younger psychologists who were dissatisfied with their exclusion from the membership of the Society of Experimental Psychologists. Filled with the vigor of youth, and believing that their elders really didn't do all that much experimental work anymore, they first decided to call their organization the Society of Experimental Psychologists. One of their elders (E. G. Boring) suggested that was not a good idea, and so they changed it to the Psychological Round Table, or PRT. Participation in the PRT was by invitation only and psychologists were excluded when they reached the age of 40. Women were barred from participating until the early 1970s.

Boring, E. G. (1927). Edward Bradford Titchener: 1867-1927. *American Journal of Psychology*, 38, 489-506.

Boring's obituary of his doctoral mentor.

Boring, E. G. (1938). The Society of Experimental Psychologists, 1904-1938. *American Journal of Psychology*, 51, 410-423 and (1967). Titchener's Experimentalists. *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences*, 3, 315-325.

Boring attended his first meeting of the experimentalists in 1911 (the eighth meeting). These two articles are his histories of the experimentalist meetings.

Furumoto, L. (1992). Joining separate spheres – Christine Ladd-Franklin, woman-scientist (1847-1930). *American Psychologist*, 47, 175-182.

An excellent account of the barriers and enabling forces that shaped Ladd-Franklin as woman and as scientist.