WILLIAM H. SHELDON'S CONSTITUTIONAL PSYCHOLOGY: THE SOMATOTYPE AS FICTION

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(ABSTRACT)

In this thesis I argue that William H. Sheldon's somatotypes can be seen as fictional constructions. The traditional notion of idealization in prose fiction intrudes into Sheldon's reading of his somatotypes; the same kind of idealization, based on anthropological stereotyping, that had marked the science, or pseudo-science, of physiognomy. An integral aspect of physiognomy had been biological hierarchy and distinction, which had undergirded both the ancient and the European class systems, and which had provided a palpable benchmark for identifying nobility, heroism, and aristocracy.

Sheldon's constitutional psychology, I argue, is a thinly disguised revolt against the falling away of this biological hegemony. The demise of heroism and "Promethean Will" or individuality was, for Sheldon, a matter of nostalgia and alienation. The somatotype studies, while fostering the illusion of detached empiricism, actually allow Sheldon to judge contemporary humanity according to antique (heroic) standards.

Sheldon's somatotypes, therefore, are artifactual; to the degree that they express as much about the "temperament" of their "author" as they do about the somatotypes themselves. In this way, Sheldon constructs his subjects. Sheldon's proposed program of "biological humanics", a variety of eugenics, was, in truth, an agenda (a fantasy) for recapturing the glory of the past. It was a scheme to reinvest power, beauty, heroism (primitive splendor), into the physical body; qualities and relationships which had characterized the ancient world, and which had been compromised by the "shopkeeper" and cowardly mentality of modern society.

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CHAPTER 1

OVERVIEW OF SHELDON'S CONSTITUTIONAL PSYCHOLOGY

I Introduction and Rationale

William H. Sheldon's research program in constitutional psychology--which dates, roughly, from the publication of Varieties of Human Physique (1940) to "The New York Study of Physical Constitution and Psychotic Pattern" (1971)--has received little critical attention outside the psychological and psychiatric community. Indeed, virtually nothing has been written about Sheldon from a broader cultural, historical, and intellectual perspective. Historians, sociologists, and philosophers alike have tended to neglect his work.[1] The purpose of this thesis is to draw attention to Sheldon's work by presenting it in a novel way. I want to show that Sheldon's somatotype work can be seen as a fictional construction.

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[1] For example, Sheldon is omitted both in Kurt Danziger's research (cited below) and in Jill Morawski's The Role of Experimentation in American Psychology. New Haven: Yale UP, 1988. To my knowledge, no writer in recent social studies of science has treated Sheldon. Recent studies dealing with the history of eugenics in America and Europe, such as Daniel Kevles' In the Name of Eugenics. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985, omit Sheldon entirely. Likewise, recent general histories of psychology also either do not mention Sheldon at all or relegate him to the margins, e.g. Thomas Hardy Leahey's A History of Psychology: Main Currents in Psychological Thought. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1987. In this text, Sheldon has been completely written out of the history of psychology. It is as if his work does not exist. Similarly, studies dealing in delinquent behavior mention Sheldon's work occasionally, usually pejoratively. A newly revised edition of Don C. Gibbons and Marvin D. Krohn's Delinquent Behavior. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1991, states that "The search for biological correlates for criminality has been flawed by low-level theorizing and claims that are inconsistent with modern knowledge in biology and genetics" (12). As usual with standard texts, wider historical and sociological considerations are ignored. Also, Mitchell G. Ash and William R. Woodward in their recent edition of Psychology in Twentieth-Century Thought and Society. New York: Cambridge UP, 1989, say nothing of Sheldon. Carl Hempel is the only mainstream philosopher of science to treat Sheldon's methodology.

Sheldon typically is seen in a conventionally "scientific" context; that is, as a medical doctor and a psychologist, the tireless investigator and the inventor of somatotypy, the scaled system for measuring the human body. He is also credited with the tripartite schema for classifying human physique: endomorphy (fat), mesomorphy (muscular), and ectomorphy (thin). While Sheldon's methods for photographing and measuring the body have persisted among a number of physical educators and trainers, and certain physical anthropologists, his psychological and psychiatric generalizations, based on these three extreme body types and their intervening variants, were perceived as controversial and were challenged from the beginning.

While I want to offer an historical context for Sheldon's career, my principal argument here is more radical. Employing the methodology of Kurt Danziger's book Constructing the Subject: Historical Origins of Psychological Research (1990), I will argue that Sheldon created a "marketable method" (Danziger 112) for his "hereditarian dogma" (112) about physique and temperament by recasting traditional anthropological stereotypes into acceptable images of positivist (or empiricist) reality.[2] I maintain that Sheldon's somatotypes do not, in fact, offer an empirical basis for determining temperament or personality. Rather, they can be seen as "window-dressing". They lend an air of scientific veracity to what is otherwise a constructed, fictional, enterprise. The somatotype photographs and measurements (especially in Varieties of Delinquent

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[2] I am appropriating Danziger's methodology here, because I think it parallels closely the traditional fictional process I am suggesting. Danziger might or might not approve. At any rate, I think that the fictionalizing process encompasses Danziger's thesis. Danziger is really saying, I believe, that scientists play much the same game as novelists and poets: they are human; they come from somewhere and are, accordingly, prejudiced in their work; and they have a propensity to tell stories (lies) in their self interest.

Youth: An Introduction to Constitutional Psychiatry (1949) and Atlas of Men: A Guide for Somatotyping The Adult Male at All Ages (1954)) provide a means for Sheldon to engage in a kind of literary art, while fostering the illusion of inductivist reporting.

A critical analogy I want to advance here involves the (approximate) equation of ideal types in the social sciences with the idealizing process that occurs in literary portraiture in the creation of fictional characters. I want to argue that Sheldon's psychological (normal) and psychiatric (abnormal) observations, diagnoses, are, in truth, cultural artifacts that express as much, or more, about the observer as they do about the observed. In this way Sheldon constructs his subjects, his patients, his "delinquents".

I contend that physiognomists and novelists have constructed their subjects for centuries, often with some scientific pretension. I want to insist that this idealizing process can and does occur in science as well as in prose fiction and that Sheldon's entire project was fraught with a kind of narrative "creativity" that scientists typically try to eschew.[3] I want to say, too, that Sheldon's procedure for making calls and judgments about somatotypes, for writing up psychiatric histories, and even for

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[3] For a recent treatment of the intrusion of narrative into evolutionary accounts, see Misia Landau's Narratives of Human Evolution 1991, Yale UP, New Haven. I think that Landau's notion of purging human evolution of story is ingenuous, as she probably realizes. Her own book is a carefully crafted story. She suggests, in the end, "that [since] evolutionary explanation is by definition a kind of narration, paleoanthropologists might consider wrestling with the 'story-telling dragon,' rather than avoiding it altogether" (175). Storytelling makes us human, say novelists. Novelists have long courted the "lie"--impressively, "truthfully", and for profit. Thomas Hardy, speaking in 1891 of the positivist pretensions of Emile Zola's Roman Experimental, Zola's (embarrassing) attempt to make novel writing scientific, reminds us that "the most devoted apostle of realism, the sheerest naturalist, cannot escape, any more than the withered old gossip over her fire, the exercise of Art in his labour or pleasure of telling a tale" (Orel 134). Forster (1927), Ricoeur (1984), and Jameson (1950), hold similar opinions about the intrusion of personality between subject and object. Indeed what Hardy labeled an "idiosyncratic mode of regard" (Orel 110) is fundamental to fictional creation.

selecting the human body as an emblem of psychological knowledge, is both a socially and a personally constructed proposition.

Similarly, novelists do not operate in splendid isolation but, rather, are a product of a given time and place, of a given culture or, to appropriate Thomas Kuhn's overworked expression, a "paradigm" (Kuhn 138). Novelists (and scientists, I contend) create or construct characters that reflect both themselves and their world.[4] In other words, the idealizing process in fiction (i.e., the inclusions and omissions, the distortions, the personal idiosyncracies, the so called "idiosyncratic mode[s] of regard") bears a remarkably close relationship to the idealizing that can occur in scientific observation and reporting. It would appear that science participates in this "fictional" process more than positivist and empiricist ideologues realized or cared to own.[5] Certainly this observation lies at the heart of Paul Feyerabend's recent essay, Wissenschaft Als Kunst (Feyerabend 4), and also at the heart of Stuart Peterfreund's recent interdisciplinary work on William Blake's rearguard action against Newton (Peterfreund 141). Such "postmodern" (romantic and revisionist) views of science as Feyerabend's and Peterfreund's have encouraged a rapprochement between literature and science. Indeed their demarcation in the modernist period, as Kuhn and Feyerabend

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[4] This is, of course, a commonplace in literary study. We refer to authors and their world, assuming its personal and social construction. We have not, however, traditionally associated this dynamic with scientists and their worlds.

[5] My thesis here is that scientists, being creators of reality as well as reporters of it, fictionalize, both intentionally and unintentionally. Sheldon's fictionalizing, like Morton's, [see section II of this chapter] was, perhaps, largely unintentional. But I also hold that Sheldon, over and above this subconscious level, relished a good story and felt that his somatotype work needed to possess a kind of literary unity--a beginning, middle, and end. Sheldon relished anecdotal material for its own sake, as I will show in chapter 3. Sheldon's delinquent youth biographies are, I contend, exercises in story-telling.

have argued, probably owed more to positivist enthusiasm than attention to the historical record.

The romantic roots of "postmodern" critiques of science are evident in Blake's notion of "sweet science", as expounded by Peterfreund;[6] in Coleridge's speculations about the relations of subject and object in his famous Dejection: An Ode;[7] and, perhaps most visibly, in Wordsworth's romantic manifesto, Preface to the Lyrical Ballads, where he declares: "We have no knowledge, that is, no general principles drawn from the contemplation of particular facts, but what has been built up by pleasure, and exists in us by pleasure alone. The Man of science, the Chemist and Mathematician, ...know and feel this" (Wordsworth 455). Wordsworth's pronouncements about the relations between poetry and science are intended as a rebellion against the perception that Newtonian science had "displaced" the human soul, that the only real knowledge *is mathematical knowledge*. Blake's literary mythology is largely dedicated to the proposition that "Urizen" (Newton's laws) does not, in fact, rule the world; that there is more in heaven and earth (namely love and passion and imagination) than is dreamt of in the mechanistic philosophies of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In some measure, as Peterfreund and others have pointed out, "postmodernism" is replaying some of the same issues that occupied the romantics;

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[6] See Stuart Peterfreund's "Blake and Anti-Newtonian Thought", Beyond the Two Cultures: Essays in Science, Technology, and Literature. eds. Slade, Joseph W. and Judith Yaross Lee, Ames: Iowa State UP, 1990.

[7] "O Lady! we receive but what we give,
And in our life alone does Nature live:
Ours is her wedding garment, ours her shroud!..."
Coleridge: Poetical Works New York, Oxford UP, 1969, p. 365.

especially to the degree that modernism and its reductionist methodologies do violence to the complexities of the human mind and spirit. And, to extrapolate to the matter at hand, these traditional and romantic sentiments are similar in spirit to a recent contention by Alan Gross (a contemporary rhetorician of science) that:

> The objectivity of scientific prose is a carefully crafted rhetorical invention, a nonrational appeal to the authority of reason; scientific reports [especially Sheldon's, I contend] are the product of verbal choices designed to capitalize on the attractiveness of an enterprise that embodies a convenient myth, a myth [namely heroism and nobility] in which apparently, reason has subjugated the passions....The brute facts of science are under a certain description (Gross 11, 15).

It is this necessary "certain description" that I want to emphasize. As Gross observes, when Gillian Beer treats Darwin's Origin of Species "less like an argument than like a novel by George Eliot or Thomas Hardy" (5), it is difficult to know where the art ends and the science begins. And, in fact, Beer has made a good case that Darwin's reading in poetry and prose fiction did much to establish his later methodology in the sciences.[8] Again, the point is that science can be perceived as yet another mode of discourse; and, as such, it is not unlike literature and the arts.

Carl Hempel, the only philosopher of science to my knowledge who has written specifically on Sheldon's methodology, places Sheldon's physique studies in the category of the "extreme types", distinguishing them, first, from "classificatory types"

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[8] See Gillian Beer's "Darwin's Reading and the Fictions of Development" in The Darwinian Heritage, David Kohn ed., Princeton: Princeton UP, 1985.

(illustrated by Ernst Kretchmer's typological theory of character and physique) and, second, from "ideal types" (Hempel 155-156). I want to suggest that Sheldon's actual methodology allows for the kind of imaginative invention and creativity included under Max Weber's "ideal type" as opposed to the "extreme type" that Hempel prescribes for Sheldon. Weber's "ideal type", according to Hempel, is:

> a mental construct formed by the synthesis of many diffuse, more or less present and occasionally absent, concrete individual phenomena, which are arranged, according to certain one-sidely accentuated points of view, into a unified analytical construct, which in its conceptual purity cannot be found in reality; it is a utopia, a limiting concept, with which concrete phenomena can only be compared for the purpose of explicating some of their significant components (156). [my emphasis]

Herein are found the same essential components of fictional idealizing, as outlined earlier: synthesis, rationalization, selection, personal idiosyncracy, "conceptual purity", and utopia.

Hempel is generous, I think, to Sheldon's somatotyping scheme, allowing it greater scientific status, at least according to his own empiricist standards, than it deserves. In other words, Hempel is underestimating the subjective element in what Sheldon is actually doing. Hempel admits, for example, the subjective character of a single individual [Sheldon or an associate] rating a subject on a specified list of traits; but he makes the fundamental assumption that such traits can, in fact, be known by Sheldon's method, or by some refined or improved version of it. "What matters" says Hempel

"is...to be aware of the extent to which subjective factors enter into the application of a given set of concepts, and to aim at a gradual reduction of their influence" (146).

Both Sheldon and Hempel assume that there exists a kind of "ground-floor" vantage point from which to observe, in this case, the human body. The construction of the subject on social, cultural, and personal grounds is minimized or, for practical purposes, ignored. Further, when Hempel discusses the explanatory liabilities of ideal types (what he labels "imaginary experimentation") in the social sciences, he freely admits that "its outcome is liable to be affected by preconceived ideas, stereotypes, and other disturbing factors" (165); all attributes, I argue, that characterize Sheldon's system. The irony in Hempel's critique is this: Hempel thinks that Sheldon is on firm scientific ground to the degree that he sticks to observables, which is one reason, one surmises, why Hempel elected to discuss and sanction Sheldon's work and why it appealed to him in the first place. Yet, despite the fact that Sheldon is dealing in observables, and despite the fact that he is practicing psychology in a quintessentially materialist fashion, he is liable still to the same "shortcomings" of "imaginary experimentation".

The rhetorical "beauty", if you will, of Sheldon's schema is that he is able, while operating under empiricist guidelines (and pleasing even Carl Hempel with his methods), to engage in a variety of fictionalizing. As I will demonstrate in chapter 3, the actual relationship between Sheldon's somatotype measurements and photographs, his line graphs, and his carefully crafted mappings, etc. on the one hand, and the actual character summations on the other, is oblique at best. I submit that Sheldon could have

made the same statements about his "types" without the empiricist window-dressing. Sheldon's quantitative descriptions, while interesting and informative in themselves, do not contribute substantively to his portrayals of temperamental differences, as he would have us believe. The precision measurements, on the contrary, serve a rhetorical (persuasive) role. They make what is at bottom an intuitive proposition (a proposition, I emphasize, that can be seen as shrewd and perceptive in its own right, which traditional forms of character reading have often been) appear scientifically legitimate. With this arrangement Sheldon is able to superimpose, as it were, his own biases, prejudices, fears, and fantasies (and probably those of many in his generation), onto bodies that know not Nietzsche.

II Sheldon's Critical Reception: A Flawed Empiricism

Stephen J. Gould in The Mismeasure of Man (1981) has established a firm precedent for this kind of critique in the biological sciences of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries by demonstrating how men like Broca, Morton, and Agassiz were so captivated by assumptions of racial superiority that their data became accordingly skewed, or idealized, to conform to preordained truths.[9] Gould shows also how, in this century, H. H. Goddard's altered photographs of the Kallikak family produced an appearance of evil or stupidity reminiscent of Victorian melodrama. Daniel Pick's recent book Faces of Degeneration: A European Disorder, c. 1848-c. 1918 (1989) portrays how the psychiatric notion of degeneration became something of an hysterical "fiction" among the European (and American) middle classes (Pick 155).[10] This same nineteenth century fiction carries over into Sheldon's work as late as the 1950s.[11] As I will discuss in chapter 2, Sheldon's major works--Varieties of Human Physique (1940), Varieties of Temperament (1942), and Varieties of Delinquent Youth (1949)--

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[9] With regard to Morton's juggling of data on craniological capacities, Gould concludes, after exhaustive reevaluation of Morton's notebooks, that " [he could] detect no sign of fraud or conscious manipulation. Morton made no attempt to cover his tracks and I must presume that he was unaware he had left them....All I can discern is an a priori conviction about racial ranking so powerful that it directed his tabulations along preestablished lines. Yet Morton was widely hailed [as Aldous Huxley was to hail Sheldon regarding the perfections of somatotyping] as the objectivist of his age, the man who would rescue American science from the mire of unsupported speculation" (Gould 69).

[10] Joseph Conrad, for example, identified the fictionalizing and patent lying that was afoot with Lombroso's "scientific" delineation of the born criminal. Conrad has Karl Yundt declare in The Secret Agent (1907): "Lombroso is an ass...Did you ever see such an idiot?...this embecile who has made his way in this world of gorged fools by looking at the ears and teeth of a lot of poor, luckless devils?"

[11] Sheldon's treatment of degeneration reaches manic proportions in the conclusion of Varieties of Delinquent Youth (1949) and in Prometheus Revisited (1975).

are anachronistic in this regard. While mainstream American psychology had shifted to behaviorism, Sheldon was still trying to validate hereditarian assumptions.[12] Indeed, Sheldon's entire opus is something of an "after-life" of nineteenth-century ways of seeing the human body.

Mary Cowling in The Artist as Anthropologist (1989) has argued that the popular art of the Victorians was founded on anthropological typing, and she maintains that we must understand this typology in order to access their physiognomical, psychological world. She even suggests that an incommensurability of sorts can accrue between different visual worlds. Sheldon, I will argue in section 1, perpetuates this evolution-based vision of man and society, a Darwinian struggle of "Winners and Losers" (Cowling 317); which, as Cowling says, was an integral part of the way Victorians saw the world. Sheldon's own visual world, I want to suggest, participated in this earlier manner of seeing. It presented a view of man and society that appealed to racial prejudice and ingrained cultural and aesthetic biases.

It was Aldous Huxley who served, if not quite as Sheldon's "bulldog", at least as his friend and advocate. Sheldon once told Humphrey Osmond that Huxley "was one of the very few people who really understood what he was getting at" (Holmes 219). Huxley, viewing Sheldon's work largely from a historical and literary tradition, writes in Harper's Magazine (1944) that Sheldon's system of classification was "more adequate

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[12] This is particularly evident in Danziger, cited earlier. Just as issues like intelligence testing in the 1920's were "socially constructed", according to Danziger, the human body offered to Sheldon and others the opportunity to preconceive it along class and racial and economic lines. Sheldon's M.A. thesis at the University of Colorado (1922) was immersed in intelligence testing and concerned the intelligence (I.Q.) of a group of Mexican schoolchildren in Colorado. White children, of course, were the standard. Similarly, Sheldon's Ph.D. dissertation at the University of Chicago (1925) played out similar intelligence issues based on human morphology.

to the facts and more potentially fruitful than any other devised hitherto" (514). Huxley endorses Sheldon's thesis, and he does so on much the same basis as Hempel. Why, according to Huxley, had earlier systems of human classification failed? "Because, as a matter of empirical fact," says Huxley, "these records and measurements could not be related in any significant way to human behavior" (514). Sheldon had solved this problem to Huxley's mind.

However, I argue that Sheldon appealed to Huxley because Sheldon, too, beneath his scientific veneer, was playing the literary game; he was, in fact, entertaining the same literary (and philosophical and religious) issues that engaged figures like Nietzsche, Forster, Lawrence--and Huxley himself. Sheldon was out for bigger game than technical expertise with the somatotype. But because Sheldon was playing the role of a man of the exact sciences, his imaginative prowess and his entertainment of broader issues, came across to his colleagues, I believe, as untoward, misplaced, superfluous. Sheldon's philosophic, religious, literary passions--whatever merit they may possess--could not, or, at any rate, did not, thrive in the empirical world Sheldon chose to engage.

Sheldon's research program succeeded to the degree that he harnessed substantial funding for his research and to the degree that his work was highly regarded by many during the zenith of his career. Why, then, has Sheldon's work lapsed into almost total neglect? Why has constitutional psychology been relegated, neglected, so severely in recent years? I venture to say that had Sheldon (given his own whimsical and fundamentally religious, literary, temperament) expressed, or been capable of

expressing, his highly romantic vision of biology and psychology in prose fiction (along with H.G. Wells, Conan Doyle, Bram Stoker, and others of this ilk), his work might never have been blacklisted as it is today. Rather, it might be accepted for the imaginative experiment that it was, unencumbered by modernist posturing about empirical facts.[13] This is especially the case in a discipline so recalcitrant and theoretically "soft" as human psychology.[14]

Sheldon the man, while personally charming to many of his friends and advocates, and capable of harnessing considerable financial support for his research from prestigious institutions, also developed a reputation for being arrogant, for having little patience for those who were unsympathetic with his views. Most recently Barbara Honeyman Heath, a physical anthropologist who assisted Sheldon during the 1950s, has portrayed him as temperamentally perverse, as one who possessed "an unfortunate predilection for deliberately antagonizing the Establishment, which...jeopardize[d] success and brilliant achievement" (Carter and Heath 3-4).[15]

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[13] For an refined treatment of facts, science, and truth in a literary context, see Paul Ramsey's The Truth of Value. Humanities Press, New Jersey, 1986.

[14] Joseph Lyons is hinting at this aspect of Sheldon in his recent book The Ecology of the Body (1987), when he declares that Sheldon "did not have this vocabulary [of phenomenology] available to him to express his thinking. He was often forced into statements that were constrained within the existing limitations of the physical science of his day" (222-223). See also Paul Meehl's astute assessment of what he calls "the soft theories of soft psychology" in "Appraising and Amending Theories: The Strategy of Lakatosian Defense and Two Principles That Warrant It", Psychological Inquiry: An International Journal of Peer Commentary and Review 1 (1990): 108-141.

[15] Emil Hartl and Edward Monnelly (with Roland Elderkin, authors of Physique and Delinquent Behavior: A Thirty-Year Follow-Up of William H. Sheldon's Varieties of Delinquent Youth. New York: Academic Press, 1982, present a somewhat more sanguine view of Sheldon the man. In a recent interview in Boston (which I conducted on November 25, 1991), Hartl and Monnelly emphasized that Sheldon, while capable of irritating people, was also affable and friendly. Hartl noted that there was also a "whimsical" side to Sheldon. Indeed, one gets the impression that Sheldon may be unique among modern American psychologists, to the extent that he retained a sense of play and humor and caprice in the midst of highly exacting, quantitative work. Indeed, based on comments from Raphael Sassower in

James Tanner, in a recent review of Carter and Heath's Somatotyping: Developments and Applications (1990), has declared that, while Sheldon was "a real prophet...he was an awkward cuss too, and made enemies with the practiced ease of the true paranoid....But his work remains important in its implications and insights and is shockingly neglected...."(Tanner 94). Even Robert Osborne, one of Sheldon's closest friends, has remarked that "Sheldon was an individualist....He rejected publication in refereed scientific journals for he saw them as the organs of prosaic minds and structured to protect the 'establishment' from the threat of original thought. He was intolerant of those he viewed as slow-witted or pompous....In his later years he managed in his way to isolate himself from all but his closest friends and alienated many of those actually necessary to the promotion and practical application of his ideas" (Sills 716).

But perhaps the most pointed remarks come, again, from Heath. While she concedes that Sheldon was a gifted man, she insists, too, that "His personal insights were often dulled by his incapacity for redeeming empathy....He knew the answers without completing the research, and was unwilling to ask the appropriate questions....He seemed to have a romantic image of himself as a tragic Arthurian knight destined to be victimized by those less cultivated and less sensitive, by prosaic intellects who referee scientific journals and deny space to 'original thought'....In conversation he showed open contempt for all the human species except those of

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a recent paper presented to the Virginia Tech STS department, "Post Modern Philosophy of Science" (26 Feb 1992), Sheldon may have been practicing a bit of "postmodernism" in the midst of high modernism. That is, he was taking time to play. But can one play incorrectly and still be postmodern? Or does one have to play "politically correct" to be postmodern?

certified Anglo-Saxon lineage. His racism and male chauvinism are shockingly evident in his writing" (Carter and Heath 15).

Another reason, perhaps, for the lack of critical attention accorded to Sheldon, especially from a political perspective, concerned his insistence on a biological determinism regarding human temperament, even to the point of dogmatism. As Hall and Lindzey pointed out, such a position as Sheldon's flew in the face of a more buoyant environmentalism in the post war era (Hall and Lindzey 376). Hence Sheldon's work, to some degree, was out of step politically. Robert Coughlan, writing in the popular press in 1951, probably summed up these feelings as well as anyone: "Whatever their merit, Sheldon's theories are not likely to be popular, and they are especially not likely to be popular in this country. Americans like to believe that anybody can do anything--that every baby born in every log cabin is a potential president....The Sheldon thesis may strike many people as fatalistic and even downright undemocratic" (Coughlan 9).

Robert Holt even declared in The Nation in 1950, in a vehement response to Gerald Sykes's favorable review of Sheldon's recently published Varieties of Delinquent Youth, that it was a "piece of dangerously fascistic pseudo-science...it is so lacking in the most elementary scientific controls...No attempt was made to ascertain the extent to which environmental influences of all kinds were responsible for any of the variables studied....The Buchenwald stench...drifts from the pages when Sheldon blandly refers to the recently arrived Jewish and Italian population of New York as 'vermin' to be wiped out....Sheldon starts out to report a study of two hundred boys and ends up with

a plan to rule the world and cure it by the worship of his own ideology....Sheldon has written a scientifically incompetent and socially vicious book" (Holt 495).

Moreover, Sheldon's methodology (namely his high correlations between physique and temperament: .79 correlation of endomorphic with viserotonic; .82 correlation of mesomorphic with somatotonic; and .83 correlation of ectomorphic with cerebrotonic) was questioned by other researchers from the beginning. While reviews of Sheldon's books were generally favorable (Book Review Digest, 1936, 1942, 1949, 1950) and even laudatory, the Holt criticism above notwithstanding, critiques from colleagues in the mainstream (largely behaviorist) psychological community were usually more reserved and skeptical.

Lloyd G. Humphreys was one of Sheldon's most outspoken critics. He contends that "The error involved in accepting Sheldon's work at face value becomes apparent when his procedure is reviewed....it is clear that the procedure [is] not empirically sound. The types originated in the arm chair...it is unlikely that the observer would find much beyond what he expected to find [from looking at large numbers of photographs]" (Humphreys 219). Humphreys concludes "that the choice of types to describe human physique and temperament automatically restricts the data in predictable ways" (227). He argues that, since Sheldon judged both the temperamental qualities as well as the physiques, "the correlations relating physique to temperament are invalidated by the fact that the same judge (Sheldon) was responsible for both sets of ratings [halo effect]" (227). He observes, finally, "that types have traditionally been defined as mutually exclusive ideals. Thus, two types can never be represented in high

degree in one person...i.e., a pigeonhole is provided for everyone. This tends to give type concepts a spurious degree of attractiveness" (227).

In a major review of the literature on constitutional factors and abnormal behavior (1960), Linford Rees reiterates Humphreys' criticisms. "The very high correlations reported by Sheldon (1942) between somatotype and temperament, have not been confirmed by other workers," he says. "It is, therefore, possible that the correlations between the physical, psychological, and physiological aspects of human constitution...,although statistically significant and biologically important, may not be great enough to serve the needs of diagnosis" (Eysenck 531). In terms of empirical confirmation, it is probably fair to state that Rees's opinion about constitutional psychology has prevailed.

Franklin Shontz suggests a similar view: "While people will probably always be fascinated by the idea that personality, temperament, or character can be read from the appearance of the body, the continued lack of success in demonstrating, under controlled conditions, that correlations of any magnitude can be consistently found causes most investigators to regard this field of study as unpromising for future work" (Corsini 330). It is also important to bear in mind that Sheldon was by no means the only researcher in the field. Rees cites no less than thirty other researchers in this century alone who have grappled with the problem of classifying physical types and who have been equally unsuccessful in reaching any hard and fast conclusions.

Sheldon also was radically--even obsessively--anti-Christian. The massive preface and conclusion to Varieties of Delinquent Youth, to which Holt is referring above,

rehearses the same thesis that Sheldon first expounded in his 1936 book, Psychology and the Promethean Will: that Christianity itself is delinquent; that, like "Freudian theology", it is a denial of what Sheldon calls "biological humanics". Christianity, Sheldon says, is a perversion of true religious energy. The proper function of religion, according to Sheldon, "is to carry and to some extent institutionalize responsibility for the biological future" (838), which is reminiscent of Count Korzibski's "orientation in time" thesis from the 1930s.

Sheldon also bears comparison here with Nietzsche or, at least, with the decidedly anti-Christian, primitivist, and "aristocratic", orientation that characterized the 1920s and 1930's in America.[16] Sheldon, as Holt rightly pointed out, moves from a presumably scientific treatment of 200 delinquent youths to a passionate indictment of traditional religion and American culture. Sheldon's ravings here call to mind Nietzsche and Thomas Carlyle and D. H. Lawrence more than they do the empiricist tradition out of which Sheldon is ostensibly working. Sheldon isn't content to stick to empirically based work nor, I contend, was he particularly fitted to do so, despite his seeming competence with it. Sheldon was something of a prophet, as Osborne and Hartl suggest. Indeed, I propose that Sheldon's shortcomings as a scientist--his controversial methodology, his propensity to dogma, his adamant religious opinions--make him highly interesting when regarded from a literary perspective. His broader cultural and religious interests always intrude into his science. If one reads all of Sheldon's work--

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[16] H. L. Mencken, one of Nietzsche's popularizers in America during the period of high modernism (approximately 1910-1940), possessed an anti-religious tone that bears comparison with Sheldon's pronouncements in Varieties of Delinquent Youth.

including Psychology and the Promethean Will (1936) and the 1975 follow-up study, Prometheus Revisited, prompted by Aldous Huxley's Brave New World Revisited--and considers this work as all of a piece, one can appreciate that Sheldon's concerns were hardly restricted to psychology and medicine. Sheldon's empiricist pretensions, as presented in his "sales rhetoric" for his constitutional psychology project, are belied, colored, by his broad-ranging moral and literary passions.

If we attend only to the high notes of Sheldon's somatotypy, namely his most popular work about body measurements and temperament, we will fail to appreciate what is actually "constructing" and motivating his work. The same Sheldon who made a life's work out of measuring the body declared that "Psychologists, in following the star of the physical sciences, seem temporarily to have forgotten what their real job is....We have recently been living in a period of rapid shift of worship from the subjective toward the objective bias...but we now seem to approach the end of it, and have begun to grope, a little hysterically, for some power that can balance and modify the extreme consequences of the current trend" (Prometheus Revisited 27).

This power Sheldon is speaking of is religious in nature. Again, not of the orthodox variety, to be sure. Sheldon's religion is humanist and literary and romantic. It draws from the tradition of the American transcendentalists Emerson and Thoreau. It "has to do with a mutually nourishing integration of feeling and intellect" (15) which organized religions have failed to achieve, because they distort and suppress the intellectual in favor of the wish function (i.e. Christian and Freudian theology). Sheldon puts all his stock in the power of human intellect and feeling, which he

considers as an entirely biological entity moving in a Darwinian framework. Sheldon's concern with reconciling the heart and the head, the emotions and the mind, bears comparison with, say, the concerns (obsessions) of D.H. Lawrence, his contemporary.[17] Certainly Sheldon shares Lawrence's emphasis on the body, but one gathers that Sheldon would part ways with Lawrence, or vice-versa, in his diagnosis of society's ills. While Lawrence was at pains to recapture primitive instincts, perhaps even at the expense of the intellect, Sheldon was equally at pains to reconcile heart and head. Sheldon inveighed against the sacrifice of intellect as much as Lawrence raved against it.

The Sheldon project, then, on empirical grounds, can be assigned to the history of psychology.[18] If one traces the trajectory of constitutional thinking with respect to psychology during the past twenty years or so, one finds that, while the labels have remained similar--physique, body image, self image, body-self relations, Kefir and Corsini's "dispositional sets", physique stereotyping, etc.--the game has, in fact, changed. Most recent studies in psychology have abandoned the attempt to arrive at

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[17] Sheldon read both Lawrence and Nietzsche, based on citations in Psychology and the Promethean Will (1936).

[18] Hartl and Monnelly point out that Sheldonian thinking continues, say, in the "Personality Variants" of Robert Cloniger, M.D. See Archives of General Psychiatry, Vol. 44, June 1987. When I presume to assign Sheldon to the history of psychology, I do so on the grounds that, while empirical studies in body-mind relations continue, they do not actually embrace Sheldon's radical premise per se: that behavior is a function of structure. Rather, they attempt either to rebut Sheldon or else they entertain a softer version of his constitutional psychology program. *It should be emphasized, however, that constitutional psychology may undergo what Lakatos has called a "problem-shift" (Lakatos 50) and radically change our entire perspective on how the body is related to the mind.*

For the most part, Sheldon has received most serious attention recently from phenomenologists; whom Sheldon, I believe, would have considered at odds with his central thesis, as I will expand on in chapter 3. Indeed, that phenomenologists should pick up Sheldon today may simply place him where he rightfully belongs--in the mainstream of twentieth-century psychiatry, a discipline that has been signally short on empirical confirmation.

a uniform, one-dimensional, model of physique and temperament in favor of an interactive, social construction of personality. Jan Strelau, a contemporary theorist, remarks that "due to methodological shortcomings, this kind of thinking [the constitutional approach to temperament] became inacceptable [sic] to psychologists....At present, among personality theorists, personality is conceived of as a product of external conditions, primarily of social character, social conditions" (Strelau 303). "There is a strong conviction" says Strelau "that no endogenic structures of personality exist other than those whose substance or content is determined by the external world" (304).

III Politics and Phenomenology

There is a strong political backlash today against the Sheldon somatotype, to the extent that it connoted race, class, and gender biases (e.g, Spillman and Everington 887; Salusso-Deonier, Markee, Peterson 603; and Ryckman et. al. 400). There now exists in the literature an egalitarian strain that would rid the human physique of stereotypes, i.e., the personal/social injustices that accrue via perception or misperception of bodies, an elaboration of what Franklin Shontz has labeled an "experiential approach" (Corsini 306) to the study of human constitution. Sheldon's causal (or, more accurately, correlational) hypothesis relating body and mind is replaced by a hypothesis involving perceptions. The heuristic (Lakatos) has shifted from a Sheldonian mind-body matrix to a perceptual matrix; and the methodology has shifted, accordingly, from surveys of bodies to surveys of perceptions about bodies. The egalitarian nature of this shift is obvious: perceptions can be altered, engineered, along new lines. Social reform makes sense under this banner. It implies democracy, while Sheldon's implies elitism.

Most recently, Joseph Lyons has appropriated the tri-partite body schema of Sheldon to suggest a phenomenological approach that does not rely on a straight comparison of a person's observed somatotype with observed traits, an approach that falls, more or less, within the "experiential approach" mentioned by Shontz above. Instead, Lyons wants to recognize the conundrum inherent in this "nineteenth-century framework of natural science" (Lyons 7) way of thinking, in favor of seeing the body

as a dynamic, interactive array of perceptions. "The reality that is lived by each of us", declares Lyons, "is lived through the body. There is no other way" (3).[19]

If Lyons' shift in methodology is similar to the "perceptual matrix" concerns of some mainstream politicos, it is also more anchored in the traditional pursuits of imaginative literature and art history. To the degree that the Sheldonian thesis survives today, it does so largely according to literary, artistic, and phenomenological standards.[20] Indeed, Lyons can be seen as salvaging arcane insights that Sheldon "stumbled" over, ones that lay outside the range of the empiricist paradigm under which he was laboring. Lyons abandons Sheldon's causal relationship between body and mind. In its place he wants to say that the three body types--Lyons does find ecto, meso, and endo a plausible physical arrangement of the human body--connote "styles" of perceiving the world. "Different styles", says Lyons "...will lead us to constituting different sorts of relations...in our observations of nature" (14). In other words, a given reality is perceived via a given body style in conjunction with a range of other social, environmental variables.

For instance, Sheldon's approach to physiognomy, to constitutional psychology, is governed by his own ecto style. What doesn't enter into Sheldon's account of mind-body relations, Lyons argues, is that an endomorph may see people on another plane

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[19] As usual, Nietzsche pioneered these epistemological dimensions of the human body. For a new account of Nietzsche's "metaphors of the body", see Eric Blondel's Nietzsche: The Body and Culture, trans. Sean Hand. Stanford: Stanford UP, 1991.

[20] I'm thinking here, too, of James Arraj's recent book, Tracking the Elusive Human Vol. II, (1990), which accommodates Sheldon's "types" into Jung's typology; and Personality Types and Holiness (1968) by Alejandro Roldan, S.J., an appropriation of Sheldon's system in making judgements about how priests with varying temperaments respond to a common call to holiness in the Church.

of perception entirely. Sheldon's schema is only one way of constituting the world--an intellectual (Promethean) way generally and a quantitative (Apollonian) way particularly. Lyons asks us to consider what an endomorphic constitutional psychology would look like, or a mesomorphic one. The implications of this thesis lead Lyons to Flaubert, Bellow, and Caravaggio and not to current empirical research in psychology The weakness in Lyons' thesis is that it strains to avoid too close an identification with Sheldon's, yet it ends in advocating an endomorph, mesomorph, ectomorph, arrangement that is strikingly similar. Lyons wants to loosen, unpack, the Sheldon thesis by wresting it away from physical science methodology.

Rom Harré has also put a new twist on Sheldon in his book, Physical Being: A Theory for a Corporeal Psychology (1991). Assuming, unlike Lyons, that Sheldon's high correlations between temperament and somatotype are valid, at least for speculative purposes, Harré asks: "Can anything else be correlated with these correlations?" (Harré 75). Harré's response is intriguing, in that it, at once, accepts the Sheldon thesis and turns it on its head.[21] "Sheldon and Stevens found", he says, "that those who did well in life were preponderantly people whose temperaments and somatotypes were well matched" (75). "Can we now introduce", asks Harré, "the idea of being comfortably settled in one's body?" (75), based on Sheldon's contention that "incompatibilities between morphology and manifest temperament...are often encountered in the analysis of personalities having a history of severe internal conflict" (75). "If body type and temperament can be 'out of sync'" says Harré, "they must

[21] Harre's speculation here is similar to a statement made by a character in a Saul Bellow novel: "The spirit of the person in a sense is the author of his body" (Bellow 71).

have independent origins in each human being. Then the fact that they are often correlated needs explanation" (75).

Harré's thesis is not original. It is yet another variation on the notion that our personalities are molded by our perception of our own bodies and the bodies of others.[22] Harré phrases this proposition succinctly, if with a want of felicity: "...one is led to wonder whether the salience of the characteristics that serve to identify the tri-polar somatic types may not be subtly predetermined by the personal differences displayed as, and taken by the researchers, to be differences in temperament. This would make the need of a causal hypothesis otiose, since the correlations would be semantic and not material. Those who deviate from these norms have simply failed to understand the meaning of their bodies as societal icons" (76).

Harré's remarks would embrace Sheldon's high correlations yet explain them differently. This shift in direction, I suggest, actually places Harré closer to the thinking, say, of Adolph Meyer or Paul Schilder than to Sheldon.[23] Sheldon, in this instance, recognizes the problem but addresses it from an entirely different angle. Yet, this is indicative, I believe, of how Sheldon's intuitive reach often exceeded his (empirical) grasp in these matters. Sheldon was shrewd enough to touch on some of the intricacies--perhaps the most critical ones--of the relation of the body to the mind, intricacies entertained by physiognomists and the literati for centuries and now being

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[22] In addition to the studies cited earlier, a particularly lucid and well written article on this point is Sara Hampson's "The Social Construction of Personality" in Personality Psychology in Europe: Theoretical and Empirical Developments, Ed. Bonarius, Van Heck, and Smid. Swets & Zeitlinger, 1984.

[23] I'm thinking particularly of Schilder's book, contemporary with Sheldon, The Image and Appearance of the Human Body: Studies in the Constructive Energy of the Psyche. New York: International Universities Press, 1950.

thrashed out by social psychologists. But he was unable, in the end, to decipher them by his chosen methods. Not only this, he managed, I believe, to avoid a lot of the complexities entirely by falling back on the role of prophet and social critic.

For, if Harré and the phenomenologists are correct; if one creates one's temperament by living in and "observing" one's own body, then the need for statistical correlations such as Sheldon's becomes superfluous. Or, stated more accurately, the correlations become superfluous once known.[24] The potential range of images (manifested as temperament) one could potentially impose on oneself is virtually infinite, because subject apparently to infinite environmental and biochemical variables. And these variables would, of course, not be limited necessarily by the static referents (traits) prescribed in Sheldon's (ectomorphically conceived?) schema. Or, viewed more charitably, Sheldon can be seen as trying to stake out exceedingly complex psychological territory by overemphasizing the veracity of photographic (one dimensional and empirical) images and by relying on his own judgment (and whimsy) to translate these images into psychological knowledge. And this was an office that Lavater and a legion of earlier practitioners of physiognomy knew well. Given this anthropological orientation (and limitation, I submit), Sheldon is at liberty to read into

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[24] I am borrowing here from Carl Hempel. Discussing the use of "extreme-type concepts" (in psychology and the social sciences), he states that "as long as explicit criteria for their use are lacking [that is, temperamental traits that would correspond in a precise, systematic way to variations in morphology], they have...essentially a programmatic but no systematic status; and once suitable criteria have been specified, the parlance of extreme types becomes unnecessary" (Hempel 159). So is the case, I argue, with Sheldon's overall "correlation" of traits with physique. Sheldon's sliding scale (which was intended to address the cul-de-sac of Kretchmer's inchoate types) does not solve the problem of "reading" minute or secondary variations in temperament from physique. It only serves to disguise it.

his somatotypes a "stock-in-trade" array of cultural stereotypes--which, temperamentally, he happened to possess in abundance.

Sheldon oversimplifies the complexities of the human mind, and body, by engaging in a highly stylized and socially estimable positivist reductionism (as Danziger points out was the case with other psychological investigators at this time): a reductionism that judges psychological knowledge according to its correspondence to observable phenomena. A similar thing might be said of behaviorist methods, whereby the interior mind is discounted entirely in favor of a restricted format of stimulus/response. Knowledge is legitimate by these lights to the degree that it can be seen as data, as numbers. The biological body becomes, in Sheldon's hands, a numerical body. But, paradoxically, this empiricism--while claiming verisimilitude--allows Sheldon to create (or replace in ersatz fashion) these omitted complexities. Once these complexities are "trimmed" and placed out of sight, once we focus on, set at center stage, the physical body; the somatotyper (Sheldon) is free to play the role of a creative writer. In artistic as well as in practical terms, Sheldon gains control of his subjects,[25] the control that an imaginative creator (novelist) has over his creations, by "constructing" (and, as it were, bullying and patronizing) them into preconceived, Darwinian, molds. And this is true, I believe, despite the fact that in Varieties of Delinquent Youth he actually

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[25] Being photographed nude places a subject in a highly vulnerable situation, psychologically as well as physically. The individual participating in this activity tends to be seen as a passive specimen. One is reminded here of Charcot's treatment of his female "hysterics". Emil Hartl remarked that one reason, perhaps a principal one, that somatotype photographs aren't taken today concerns the issue of privacy. There is a certain violation inherent in the procedure, regardless of how tactfully it is executed by the operators. Hartl also indicated that the populations Sheldon once used for his research--college students, soldiers, juvenile delinquents, hospital patients--can't be ordered up so easily today, which affirms Danziger's thesis about research psychologists enjoying more power over their subjects earlier in this century than they do today.

collects case histories on the 200 young boys as well. The case histories, as I will show in chapter 3, are accommodated into a wider narrative format that tends to snuff out individuality.

IV Gender and the Somatotype

Sheldon never produced an anticipated Atlas of Women to accompany all of his other somatotype work on men; and this despite the fact that he had every opportunity and enjoyed twenty more working years or so after the publication of Atlas of Men (1954).[26] The reasons for this are several, and the obvious one of propriety with regard to photographing naked women (thousands of them) should not be underestimated. I conjecture, however, that Sheldon may have been unable to superimpose the same Darwinian, survivalist-based generalizations onto women as he did onto men. His jargon may have broken down. His stylized vocabulary in Atlas of Men, inherited (largely) from the nineteenth century, when men were assumed to be the dominant gender and to engage most aggressively in the struggle for survival (what Ruth Bleier has called "Man the Hunter theory")[27] does not provide a full-blown nomenclature--or a ruse of one--for discussing the bodies and minds of women. But more basically Sheldon tacitly assumes man as the standard; he, wittingly or unwittingly, "retains the male norm as the measure of excellence" (Schiebinger 6).

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[26] It should be remembered, however, that Sheldon managed to survive Hodgkin's disease for many years; and his failure to create the promised Atlas of Women may be related to ill health as much as to other factors.

[27] See particularly chapter 5 in Ruth Bleier's Science and Gender. New York: Pergamon, 1984. She remarks that "One is led to wonder whether such a theory [of Man-the-Hunter] emerged from a mass of incontrovertible 'facts' and just happens so felicitously to explain modern day social arrangements and inequalities, or instead represents a creation of construction argued back from the uncomfortable awareness that men's contributions to civilization have never been separate from their acts of violence, destruction, and domination. A theory that can show the positive contributions and the violences alike to be inevitable consequences of the same characteristics that ensured the survival and evolution of the species--the courage, strength, and aggressivity of man, the hunter--is a welcome addition indeed to social scientific theory" (116-117).

Sheldon's somatotypes can be seen, in this regard, as totems of male hegemony. Sheldon appears to capture (literally, photographically) a psychiatric tradition that had tended to objectify women according to male standards.

Sheldon, I contend, if placed outside his parochial range of evolutionary discourse, was at a loss to characterize women in a way that was rhetorically plausible or persuasive. Keeping to a man's world, on the other hand, allows Sheldon to be something of a "He-Man" sergeant major among his (often green) "troops"; to pronounce on their fitness to fight and survive in the American middle-class world. Indeed, a combative, militaristic, spirit permeates all of Sheldon's somatotype work; a tone (reminiscent of "Mens sana in corpore sano" of the Victorian athletic club) that connotes a male toughness of mind and body and the psychiatric world of Henry Maudsley.[28] One might even speculate that the practice of somatotypy among men--to smuggle in "Freudian theology"--allowed Sheldon to compensate for some feeling of personal inadequacy. Barbara Heath's remark that Sheldon was "a 70-inch (178-cm) 3-31/2-5 who saw himself as a 72-inch (183-cm) 2-4-5" (Carter and Heath 15) would seem to support such a surmise.

Moreover, Sheldon had a certain predilection for physical heroics and, according to Robert Osborne, his close friend, possessed an impressive collection of books on King Arthur and the Knights of the Round Table (Sills 717). One gathers, too, that there may have been more than a little idealizing going on with Sheldon regarding "blond beasts," racial superiority, and primitive nobility; since such Nietzschean

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[28] I'm thinking particularly here of Elaine Showalter's account of Maudsley in The Female Malady: Women, Madness, and English Culture. New York: 1985.

mythologizing was popular (and pseudoscientific) fare during his formative years.[29] And Sheldon's draw to the physical body and being is likely tied in, perhaps more than has been acknowledged by his apologists, with the whole nature emphasis that marked Nazi biology. One can surmise that, despite Sheldon's political claims to the contrary in Psychology and the Promethean Will (1936),[30] the fantasy of a pure, Aryan race, and elite European culture, had its appeal.

A woman's role, at any rate, in Sheldon's biological world-view was bearing and raising children. Her physique lay outside the pale of male "daring" and "experiment". As Sheldon indicates in Atlas of Men, female somatotypes appear to be more "cloistered" and "conservative" than men's (14). Above all, they do not possess the

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[29] The popular American press abounded with such work during the nineteen teens and twenties, especially; e.g., Katherine M. H. Blackford, M.D. and Arthur Newcomb, Analyzing Character: The New Science of Judging Men; Misfits in Business, The Home and Social Life. New York: The Review of Reviews Company, 1916. As I will point out further in chapter 2, these tones of successful bourgeois negotiation of the commercial world are virtually identical with the popular advice proffered to the newly enfranchised masses by nineteenth century physiognomists. Also, the pseudoscience of race is satirized by F. Scott Fitzgerald in The Great Gatsby (1925). Fitzgerald has Tom Buchanan exclaim: "'Civilization's going to pieces....These books [Goddard's] are scientific...This fellow has worked out the whole thing. It's up to us who are the dominant race to watch out or these other races will get control of things'" (Fitzgerald 14).

[30] Sheldon in Psychology and the Promethean Will. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1936, where he expounds his Panel Psychology, insists that the mass political movements under way in Europe are symptomatic of "the divided soul" and overstimulation in the populace, and "Where overstimulation occurs the soul is sooner or later destroyed, and the very brain then dies back to a fraction of its activity span. Under such circumstances men must fall back upon war, upon possessiveness, upon sexuality, and upon the lust to dominate each other" (vii). While these are fine (romantic) sentiments, and the book is pregnant with them, they spell mischief. If we follow Sheldon's "voice of Prometheus" thesis to its logical conclusion, we get a world--as Sheldon later makes explicit in Varieties of Delinquent Youth (of all places)--very close to that of the jackbooted Nietzschean Ubermensch. Sheldon leads us down a romantic garden path, where feeling underpins the intellect and which appears, at least on the face of it, to be consummately humane and palatable. But his rhetoric and posturing are profoundly anti-democratic in the end, especially as his "biological humanics" gets fleshed out in a jingoistic social Darwinism. What is truly remarkable here is that Sheldon could preach this brand of politics in 1949, and again in 1975, in the aftermath of World War II. We should note that Sheldon's program has obvious cultural, intellectual, and political correlates in the 1930s. D. H. Lawrence, W. B. Yeats, and Ezra Pound--among many other intellectuals--all courted fascism. One imagines that Sheldon especially would have relished Lawrence's political novel, Kangaroo (1921).

critical mesomorphic (muscular) component that appears most to engage Sheldon's interests. A female physique (somatotype) for Sheldon appears disconcerting, in fact, since it appears to disrupt the harmony of his extant system, centered almost exclusively around men.

For example, if we agree with Sheldon that most women are endomorphs, what does this do to the (idealized) symmetry of Sheldon's schema? Do, in fact, most women possess endomorphic temperaments? The proposition perturbs. Even if Sheldon can demonstrate a high correlation between fat men and an attending propensity for comfort, socialibility, boon companionship, good food--which may be dubious to start with--how are we to apply this to women, given their predominantly endomorphic physiques? The implication is clear, even if the sense of it is not: women possess the temperaments of mothers and novelists, according to Sheldon. They nurture and emote. Being neither muscular nor (particularly) thin, they are neither physically aggressive nor (primarily) intellectual.

V Physiognomy and Fiction in the Somatotype

Chapter 2 of this thesis will attempt to place Sheldon in the greater physiognomical tradition, especially as this tradition relates to the novel. I will draw comparisons between the life and methodology of the eighteenth century Swiss physiognomist, Johann Casper Lavater (1741-1801), and Sheldon's. The aim here is to show that some of the religious, social, and metaphysical commitments of Lavater show up in Sheldon's project as well; and it may be that "doing physiognomy" entails some common assumptions and concerns. Particularly, I want to demonstrate that Lavater's physiognomical portraits and attending analyses are adversely discriminatory in much the same way as Sheldon's somatotypes. However, with the benefit of historical distance, the absurdities in Lavater's work appear in bolder relief than they do in Sheldon's.

Both Lavater and Sheldon claimed to be doing science. Lavater justifies his "science" by appealing to metaphysics, religion, and astute observation. I want to show that Sheldon engages in similar justifications. Also, Lavater's physiognomy (his massive "research program" if you will) aroused much debate. It was lauded and ridiculed by turns in much the same way as Sheldon's, a phenomena which may attend pseudoscientific pursuits generally. Unable to <u>prove</u> his thesis to the satisfaction of doubters, who would, of course, be accused of questioning the wisdom of God's creation (although his inflated rhetoric for physiognomy made up in volume what it lacked in substance), Lavater, nevertheless, had ready and pious methods for telling

"good" people from "bad" people; and his physiognomy enjoyed a broad social, religious, and literary appeal throughout Europe (Graham 561).[31]

Physiognomy, then, served as a "lode-stone" or "pole-star" for negotiating bourgeois success in the explosive and wicked storms of revolution. It was a naturalized, democratized, essay in identification. People needed to know who their fellow man (and woman) were in a quick, biological shorthand.[32] Lavater's physiognomy as it were complemented Kant's coinage of the term "anthropology". Both Lavater and Kant were looking for what Sheldon was to call a "biological identification tag" (3).[33]

Moreover, practitioners of the sentimental and, later, the realistic novel, wishing to engage in the scientific delineation of character, appropriated the methods of the physiognomists; although it is likely that it was a symbiotic process: the physiognomists may have learned as much from the novelists as the reverse, since the practice of physiognomic scrutiny of character and the literary portrait is practically the same

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[31] Physiognomy, apparently, played a similar social role as phrenology at the beginning of the nineteenth century; although their exact relationship to one another during this time hasn't been unpacked to my satisfaction and requires more investigation. Physiognomy, especially as practiced by Lavater, while possessing overlapping claims with phrenology, made no pretentions about cerebral localization, which was the specialized domain of Gall and his popularizer, Spurzheim. For a treatment of the political legitimation of phrenology in Edinburgh, see Steven Shapin and Barry Barnes, eds. Natural Order: Historical Studies of Scientific Culture. Beverly Hills: Sage, 1979.

[32] Bruno Latour rehearses Shapin's and Barnes's thesis in Science in Action (1987): how phrenology, and I think physiognomy too, "threatened to reshuffle Scottish class fabric entirely....To evaluate the moral worth of someone the questions were no longer: Who are his parents? How ancient is his lineage? How vast are his properties? But only: Does his skull possess the shape that expresses virtue and honesty?" (127).

[33] This is the term Sheldon uses in Atlas of Men (1954). I will expand on this in chapter 3.

activity.[34] Both are idealizing propositions. Character and morality are read from the shape of the human--and animal--body, based on a set of aesthetic ideals, founded principally on the perceived beauty and superiority of the European aristocracy.[35]

The social classes annealed in the nineteenth century along physiognomical, anthropological, lines. I want to argue here that this same process of idealization occurs in Sheldon's work--just as it did in the work of Lavater, Lombroso, and a legion

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[34] This is evident from Graeme Tytler's Physiognomy in the European Novel: Faces and Fortunes. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1982. He claims that "the best known...physiognomists [in this century] are, undoubtably, Kretchmer and Sheldon, though the latter's system of somatotypy is probably the most original physiognomical theory to have emerged this century" (365-366). It is, too, according to Tytler, "...in ...[its] concern with the totality of the human organism...in some sense a revival of the medieval concept of the complexio" (366). What Tytler does not emphasize in his study is that physiognomy is as much a fictional process inside or outside the novel. Also, the whole notion of physiognomy is absurd without norms upon which to configure it. Physiognomy is loaded from the start with those aspects of culture, morality, aesthetics, which positivist science is supposed to avoid. It is important to note that many English novelists (more so than continental ones) tended to satirize the pretentions of physiognomy. Also of importance here is that Sheldon's work hasn't been considered from a purely physiognomical perspective before. Except for Tytler's footnote, cited above, and another footnote by Mary Cowling, which suggests the closeness of Sheldon's delineations of character to those of the nineteenth century, Sheldon's relationship to traditional physiognomy is understated. "His [Sheldon's] classification" says Cowling "...is remarkably close to that used by nineteenth-century physiognomists and phrenologists....In the second work [Sheldon's Varieties of Temperament] Sheldon's elaborate subdivisions of temperament, and his descriptions of types...correspond closely with those which occur in Victorian works" (27-28). When Sheldon acknowledges the lineage of his constitutional psychology program, he does not mention the physiognomists specifically, but leads the reader to believe that the subject was largely pursued by medical doctors. It could be that this was a rhetorical ploy by Sheldon to blink the pseudoscientific and literary origins of his research.

[35] For a salient illustration of this, see Mary Cowling's The Artist as Anthropologist. New York: Cambridge UP, 1989, especially pages 172-173. Thomas Hardy wrestled with the use of physiognomical characterization. His first (published) novel, Desperate Remedies, reads like a physiognomical handbook in places, although in the Wessex Edition, he deletes references to Lavater. In an early edition of his second novel, A Pair of Blue Eyes (1872), he satirizes the pretentions of physiognomy. Hardy has his critical guard down here; and this kind of candor is unusual. In describing his heroine, Elfride, he says:

> Personally she was the combination of very interesting particulars, whose rarity, however, lay in the combination itself rather than in the individual elements combined. Will it be necessary to thrust her forward in the garish daylight, and describe her points as categorically as Cleopatra's messenger described Octavia's? Hardly. It might vulgarize her....For instance, the height of her forehead; the shape of her nose. These things may never be learnt to the very last page of this narrative. (3).

Having eschewed the vulgarity of empirical methods, Hardy goes on to describe Elfride in non physiognomical terms:

> ...let it be said in sly prose that he eyes were, more truly, blue as autumn distance--blue as the blue we see between the retreating mouldings of hills and woody slopes on a sunny September morning.... (4).

of novelists and physiognomists, during the nineteenth century and before. From the beginning, the practice of physiognomy, inside or outside the novel, was a device that served and preserved the status quo. Sheldon's somatotypes are a perpetuation of this grand "fiction" into this century. Physiognomy, given its historical baggage and origins, was probably a bad candidate for positivist exploitation.[36]

Chapter 3 will examine in more detail two of Sheldon's key books, Varieties of Delinquent Youth and Atlas of Men, in order to show how Sheldon creates his psychiatric/psychological fictions. Also, I want to maintain that Huxley's approval of Sheldon's work (and his appropriation of it into his own work)[37] indicates, first, how much Sheldon's thinking is entrenched in the long-standing tradition of literary portraiture; and secondly, how Huxley's own decidedly biological orientation led him to entertain many of the same controversial, anti-democratic, and, I believe, dangerous, ideas as Sheldon's. Both Huxley and Sheldon were tapping into the same racist and discriminatory "paradigm" and one that saw its apotheosis in the Nazi death camps. Their fears, fantasies, and hopes had a common root in nineteenth-century anthropological stereotypes. Huxley presented his "fictions" in the novel, which befitted

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[36] For example, recent commentators on Atlas of Men, J. Alan Burdick and D. Tess in "A Factor Analytic Study Based on the Atlas of Men", Psychological Reports, 1983, 52, 511-516, emphasize the subjectivity of Sheldon's methods. "Modern researchers", they conclude, "may be drawn to the more objective factor analysis...than to the work done by Sheldon. 'Blind' mathematical solutions were never pleasing to Sheldon, and in this lies both his strength and his weakness. It was our opinion that his work was subject to value judgements [which he derived, I argue, from the physiognomical past] in measurement that were difficult for some researchers to replicate [researchers, one surmises, who may have been less steeped in the past than Sheldon]" (515).

[37] See Milton Birnbaum, Aldous Huxley's Quest for Values. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1971. See also L.G.A. Calcraft, "Aldous Huxley and the Sheldonian Hypothesis". Annals of Science, 37 (1980), 657-671.

a man of letters. Sheldon presented his in the somatotype, which befitted a man of science.

CHAPTER 2

PHYSIOGNOMY, FICTION, AND THE SOMATOTYPE

I Lavaterian Physiognomy

A critical connection exists between Sheldon's Constitutional Psychology and the traditional science (or pseudoscience) of physiognomy.[38] Physiognomy was appropriated into the nineteenth-century novel in the form of the composite portrait, and literary portraiture as it carried over into the novel bears a striking similarity to Sheldon's depiction of his somatotype subjects. I argue that Sheldon's visually oriented psychological technique is virtually the same as that of the physiognomists and the novelists. Moreover, I maintain that Sheldon regards the ideal of "Promethean Will"--which translates as heroism and nobility--as an intuitive, aesthetic, standard for making physiognomical judgments. In Sheldon's physiognomical world, nobility and heroism are inseparable from physique.

John Graham, an authority on physiognomy and the novel, cites three major corollaries to Lavater's basic concept of physiognomy. "The first", he says, "is his argument that all created things are individually unique, distinct from all other things.

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[38] When I balk at calling physiognomy a pseudoscience, I am deferring to Stepan's and Gilman's recent injunction. "By thinking of science as objective", they say, "scientists have been in a position to dismiss areas of knowledge from the past that are now viewed as obviously out of date and biased--such as scientific racism--as nothing but 'pseudoscience'. Studying the resistance of men and women to what has been labeled a pseudoscience is then seen as a narrow endeavor, of interest primarily to the 'victims' themselves, but not central to the story of modern science. Furthermore, calling scientific racism a pseudoscience also allows scientists to refuse to confront the issue of the inherently political nature of much of the biological and human sciences, and to ignore the problem of the persistence of racial metaphors of inferiority in the sciences of today" (75-76).

'Each man is an individual self, with as little ability to become another self as to become an angel'. Second, he holds that 'Every minute part has the nature and character of the whole...Each trait contains the whole character of man, as, in the smallest works of God the character of Deity is contained'. The third corollary is the unity of each individual being....Each part of an organized body is an image of the whole, has the character of the whole." (Graham 63). [my emphasis]

If we place Lavater's physiognomy in the greater romantic tradition of nature worship (of, say, Wordsworth and Coleridge), then Sheldon's sentiments about man and nature can be seen as similar to Lavater's. Nowhere does Sheldon explicitly declare his allegiance to the spirit of Lavaterian physiognomy, except in an unpublished poem:

This volume which I hold between my hands
Contains the life breath of a man.
Between these fine gray covers lie compressed
The crowding dreams, the visions half expressed,
Of one who lived with thoughtful, searching eyes,
Who looked with love on things and men
And found in all he met a constant, new surprise.
And with compassioned pen
Wrote down the scene he saw,
And found in mar and flaw

A kind significance,

And in the broken part

An image of a whole.[39]

This poem is distinctly Lavaterian in several ways. It declares a "love" for "things and men". Sheldon sees his vocation as embracing a "love of mankind"; as one who writes about his fellows "with [a] compassioned pen". He finds in "mar and flaw" a "kind significance."

These sentiments also are reminiscent of Lavater's claim that "As Pity is awakened, cherished, and heightened, at the sight of natural evil, [attained through a knowledge of physiognomy] so is the noblest and wisest compassion roused by an acute perception and sensibility of human degeneracy: And from whom is such compassion more to be expected than from a true physiognomist?" (Lavater 5). Physiognomical knowledge, far from making one contemptuous of mankind, instills greater sensitivity and appreciation for both nobility and folly, according to Lavater. "True souls of benevolence," says Lavater, "you often shall weep tears of blood, to find men are so bad; but, often, also, shall you weep tears of joy, to find them better than the all-powerful, all-poisonous, tongue of slander would have made you believe" (5-6).

"The most humane physiognomist" declares Lavater " [is one who]...searches whatever is good, beautiful, and noble in nature, who delights in the Ideal, who...refines his taste, with humanity more improved, more perfect, more holy....[and who] approaches the sublime ideal of Grecian art [also the fascist ideal]" (9). Lavater's

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[39] This typewritten poem appears on letterhead from Columbia University, College of Physicians and Surgeons. It is undated. A photocopy of the original was given to me by Emil Hartl.

pronouncements are, of course, very pious: "Oh man! Rejoice with whatever rejoices in its existence, and contemn no being who God doth not contemn [sic]" (13). But Lavater is negotiating a precarious balance here between humility and pride. Lavater does, in fact, "contemn" a great deal. An acute knowledge of physiognomy gives him power over his fellow creatures. It enables him to pronounce on God's creation, with almost divine authority. Lavater, not unlike Sheldon, feigns the empirical, but always with a view to appreciating and justifying the ways of God in nature.

If one believes, as did Lavater and Sheldon, that a metaphysical order is reflected in the shape of the human body, being able to read that order is a special power indeed. Lavater is careful to couch his pronouncements in Christian charity and good will. But his actual practice connoted superiority and patronage. Using ancient (Greco-Roman) ideals as a standard, and one which he found evident also in the physiognomies of the European upper classes, Lavater contributed to the establishment of an early anthropology, and one that was to endure, in both theoretical and social terms, through the second world war.[40] Sheldon shares in this tradition. Admittedly he is suffusing his perspective with evolutionary metaphors, but the physiognomical project from Lavater (and his predecessors) provides an array of underlying aesthetic assumptions.

A typical character sketch from Lavater runs as follows:

> The forehead and eyebrow are much above mediocrity. Though the upper part of the eye-lid be moderate, the line of the under, that

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[40] And it endures still, if one includes the present work of The Eugenics Society in London. See Evolutionary Studies: A Centenary Celebration of the Life of Julian Huxley. ed. Milo Keynes and G. Ainsworth Harrison. London: Macmillan, 1989.

> intersects the pupil, is not so, nor is the look of the eye, or even the outline of the nose, especially at the tip. Rude as the under lip may be, there is nothing in the outline of the chin betokening want of understanding (90).

This "portrait" could be inserted into countless nineteenth-century novels with no apparent incongruity.

II Literary Portraiture and the Somatotype

The practice of literary portraiture in the nineteenth-century novel, while varying with time, place, and personality, becomes a standard for the portrayal of character. If a novelist wished to create psychologically plausible characters, he/she was obliged to emulate (or dispute) physiognomical technique; because it was perceived to be an empirical way of reading the "book" written by nature herself. In order for readers truly to know a character, it is first mandatory that they see the character. Psychological comment, knowledge, is triggered by a visualization. The "class" of a person--his/her mind, taste, morality, energy, or lack of these things--is known by anthropological inspection. Mary Cowling (1989) has demonstrated just how pervasive this visual practice was in Victorian England. Victorian art obeyed physiognomical stereotypes almost to the letter. Moreover, the European class system itself was perceived as being dictated along physiognomical lines.

Sheldon's somatotype descriptions bear a striking similarity to the stylized portraits found in the nineteenth-century novel. Thomas Hardy's Wessex novels make an especially rich source for historical comparison, because they both support and undermine Lavaterian physiognomy. Hardy, like Sheldon, I propose, was obsessed with romantic idealism, or Promethean heroism, which he identified with the decaying aristocracy; and which translates into the novel as imagination and romance. Hardy's "tragic" heroes and heroines (who are fictional projections of a portion of Hardy's own self, or selves) are marked by their inability to square their idealism with stern and

mundane reality. In the end, Hardy preserves the stability of the community: the exceptional, the imaginative, the idealistic, are ruthlessly eliminated by custom and convention. The waste is pitiful, or tragic, depending on one's persuasion. But, for Hardy, this is the reality of the modern, middle-class, world. Romance, the traditional occupation of the aristocracy, is displaced by bourgeois morality and values.[41] Or, put another way, chivalry yields to science and commerce and technique.[42]

The "new men" in Hardy's novels, those who manage to control their romantic passions and to make their individual and responsible ways in the world--such as Gabriel Oak in Far From the Madding Crowd (1874); Donald Farfrae in The Mayor of Casterbridge (1886); George Somerset in A Laodicean (1881); and Edward Springrove in Desperate Remedies (1871)--counterpoint those characters who cannot, or do not, adjust to conventional morality: Sergeant Troy, Michael Henchard, Captain de Stancy, and Aeneas Manston, respectively. Aristocratic ideals, morality, fall in the face of moderation, sexual restraint, solid-going employment, and even temper. Michael Henchard, a titan of a man, although possessing "noble" powers of "self mortification" (swearing a "sacred oath" to abstain from alcohol for twenty-one years,

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[41] Hollywood in this century serves as a surrogate aristocracy for the democratic world; to the extent that it fulfills vicariously and via mass communication the human needs for romance, heroism, pageantry, etc. that aren't possible in the customary, middle-and working-class world; at least without threat of jail, mental incarceration, etc. A Dorset rustic ruminating on the vagaries of the local gentry in 1830's may bear a striking similarity to the common person's perspective on the romantic acrobatics of Hollywood "stars" today. Mass, democratic, society appropriated the romance of the traditional aristocracy for its own fantastic purposes.

[42] Paula Power and George Somerset, at the conclusion of Hardy's A Laodicean, decide, after the burning of de Stancy castle, to leave the "edifice in ruins [and] start their married life in a mansion of independent construction..., unencumbered with the ghosts of an unfortunate line" (481). They resolve, following Matthew Arnold, to "be a perfect representative of 'the modern spirit'" (481). But Paula's romantic yearnings for medievalism persist: "...'But, George, I wish-----' And Paula repressed a sigh. 'Well?' 'I wish my castle wasn't burnt; and I wish you were a de Stancy!'" (481).

after selling his wife in a drunken stupor at a county fair) is, in the end, no match for the even tempered Scot, Donald Farfrae, in The Mayor of Casterbridge. For Farfrae, Henchard's grand oath of abstinence, while admirable in its way, is excessive and impractical. Such grand gestures are superfluous to this new man of science and technology.

Donald Farfrae's thoroughly unheroic and technical accomplishments make Henchard's ancient (aristocratic) mentality appear redundant and out of step with modern society. The great Henchard is "unmanned" in Hardy's words. Henchard, in terms of business management, is a "role-o-thumb" sort; whereas Farfrae can keep books, manage rustic employees like Abel Whittle with fair play and an even temper, and court a woman as a business arrangement; all the hallmarks of dispassionate, bougeois, success--and aristocratic disdain.

Juxtaposing Henchard and Farfrae, to appropriate Hamlet's opinion of Claudius, is like comparing Hyperion to a satyr; or, to extrapolate to the contemporary world, asking Achilles to be an electrician. The romantic world of the aristocratic mind remains at odds with the modern, scientific, technical, democratic, mind. Hardy sees them as largely antithetical qualities or polarities. Those who possess such noble passions, according to Hardy, will either manage to subdue them--and become useful members of society--or else end up in Casterbridge's "Mixen Lane" (skid-row). Or, in the case of fascism, become angry, desperate, and maladjusted men, who attempt to recapture the glories of nobility by violent and criminal means. Or, in Sheldon's case, launch a passionate defense of nobility disguised as empirical science.

It is significant that Thomas Hardy's so-called "rustic" characters are not drawn physiognomically; or, when they are, the portrait is more an attenuated parody than a picture executed in earnest. Only the primary characters receive physiognomical scrutiny. Only they are considered, in an important sense, to <u>have</u> full-blown characters, to be capable of entertaining serious moral problems and making serious moral (tragic) errors. The rustics, in fact, occupy a kind of sub-stratum of humanity in Hardy's fiction. And while he always "deal[s] mildly" with them, and even praises their down-to-earth attachment to plain morality, there is no misunderstanding about their place in the evolutionary, anthropological scheme of things. They are sometimes compared with "children" and "clowns." Indeed they stand in a similar (and traditional) relationship to the novels' heroes as Shakespeare's gravedigger stands to Hamlet. Their physiognomy is rudimentary and, altogether, unremarkable. Leaders, fighters, and lovers they signally are not.[43]

The primary characters, on the other hand, are drawn with copious visual detail along moral lines. Aeneas Manston, the villain of <u>Desperate Remedies</u> is drawn in Lavaterian style (rustics, by the way, do not possess the wits and resourcefulness to be villains). He is "an extremely handsome man" (<u>DR</u> 150). His physique is "well-formed" [Sheldon might say an ectomorphic mesomorph] and he possesses a "wonderful, almost preternatural[ly] clear complexion" (150). His forehead is "square

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[43] John Paterson has summarized the status of Hardy's rustics better than anyone else: "The Dorset peasant, at least in Hardy's picture of him, was incapable of romantic disillusion because he had never been corrupted by romantic illusion. Indeed, in the dissonant and indifferent universe with which he was familiar, the desperately heroic acrobatics of romantic egotism could appear only irrelevant or meaningless. Hardy was satisfied, more often than not, to celebrate this traditional attitude of his native Dorset" (Paterson 132).

and broad, his brows straight and firm, his eyes penetrating and clear" (150). "Eyes and forehead both would have expressed keenness of intellect too severely to be pleasing, had their force not been counteracted by the lines and tone of the lips. These were full and luscious to a surprising degree, possessing a woman-like softness of curve" (150).

Hardy's Manston is too handsome and clever in Hardy's estimation to be honest. His features are refined. His complexion is clear. His eyes are piercing. Being the bastard son of Miss Aldclyffe, the lady of Knapwater House, Manston is a sexual threat to the innocent (middle-class) Cytherea. His aristocratic blood is at odds with the plodding, honest, bourgeois, Edward Springrove, who gets the girl (Cytherea) in the end, following Manston's suicide. This is standard fare for "gothic", Victorian melodrama.

It is inconceivable in Hardy's typology that Manston could behave as he does and have a plain, undistinguished appearance. Manston is of "thoroughbred stock." His aristocratic way of life is noble and superfluous in the earnest, hard-working, middle-class world of Victorian England. His ancestors, no doubt, as did Tess Durbeyfield's (of the ancient d'Urbervilles line), molested village maidens at will. Sheldon, one surmises, would have admired Manston--a man of breeding, sensitivity, and mental bearing who is, yet, entirely at odds with the modern world; and, appropriately, takes his leave of it. Manston could be one of Sheldon's "delinquent youth." Sheldon, following Lombroso, assumes that delinquents come from the lower, and biologically inferior, orders. But there is a dilemma for Sheldon here. The aristocracy have

traditionally been the strong, beautiful, exciting, people. "Social chaos" now intrudes where solid, biological, tradition used to rule. Sheldon's heroic archetype assumes a delinquent cast.

Manston, in fact, is very close in appearance to Sheldon's (thoroughly Promethean) somatotype 126, "Company B, Platoon 1, Section 2" (see appendix, figure 1) who possesses "Features strong, well modeled, sharply chiseled. It is a decidedly handsome face. Hands and feet excellently formed....Coordination that of an athlete, although he is too light and too gynandroid for first-rate athletic competition..." (VDY 492). Manston possesses an aristocratic bearing comparable to Sheldon's somatotype "126". He is the quintessential romantic hero. He possesses a "decadent", "Byronic" mien. Note that Sheldon's "hero"--126--is not entirely mesomorphic, not a "tiger"; he has a feminine cast that precludes him from "first-rate athletic competition" (492). But this "feminine cast" presumably enhances the "t component" [beauty] of the physique, thus enhancing its grandeur and nobility; and approximating more closely the physiognomical idealizations begun in Greece and Rome, praised by Lavater, and later appropriated into fascist propaganda in this century.

Indeed Sheldon makes it clear in the "Comment" section for "126" that this somatotype is his ideal. He remarks that, if this boy's story--i.e., biography--doesn't have a happy ending, "the margin of failure is possibly the difference between real life and romance" (494). Sheldon waxes eloquent on this point. The "heroic component" evident in this youth "is not common in the ordinary routine of social contact with

people in general" (858). In fact, it is more to be found among the Hayden Goodwill Inn's deliquent population.

Springrove's physiognomy is more honest, if less refined. His features express new (mixed) blood and, perhaps, enterprise; since his physiognomy is ambivalent on this latter point. "Although the upper part of his face was handsomely formed, and bounded by lines of sufficiently masculine regularity, his brows were somewhat too softly arched and finely penciled for one of his sex" (30). Sheldon might call him a sissy. Cytherea, imagining what her future husband might look like, sees a man on the street whom she thinks might be he: "--and yet, I don't see how it could be, either" she exclaims to Owen, her brother. "He had light brown hair, a snub nose, very round face, and a peculiar habit of reducing his eyes to straight lines when looking narrowly at anything" (23). Owen corrects her false imaginings instantly: " 'O no. That was not he, Cytherea....He has dark hair, almost a Grecian nose, regular teeth, and an intellectual face'" (23-24). This is the physiognomical world in which Sheldon was at home. Whoever heard of a man of sensitivity and "breeding" having "a snub nose" and a "round face"? And even if it were possible, it is hardly typical or--natural.

Captain de Stancy in A Laodicean (1881), again, a man of aristocratic blood, yet latterly in reduced circumstances, is not a man who will thrive during "a period of democratic resurgence," to cite Sheldon. He was "tall...with a tired air; but his movement exhibited a due combination of training and flexibility of limb. His face was thin and thoughtful, its complexion being naturally pale, though darkened by a warmer sun than ours [India, no doubt]. His features were distinctly striking; his moustache

and hair raven black" (169). He can be ruthless, and it would never occur to George Somerset, the architect-hero, to cross him. Paula Power, whose Baptist father builds railroads all over England, now inhabits his family's castle. Like the decaying castle, the de Stancys are vanishing from the modern scene, being replaced by "solid-going" if unimaginative democrats and technicians.

Sheldon continued to live in this nineteenth-century, visual/psychological world; and people, somatotypes, tended to fall for him into these stereotypical categories. But perhaps more importantly, Sheldon, following Nietzsche, and angry at the triumph of democracy and the demise of primitive, "pagan" values, idealizes these values. Whereas Hardy is seeing aristocracy for what it really was by the late nineteenth century--primarily decadent, enervated, immoral, and out of step with the march of middle class, scientific, energy--Sheldon, while appropriating a similar physiognomical idiom, is actually playing a different game. Hardy does not idealize the decaying aristocracy; if anything, he condemns them, even while he is fascinated by their traditional license for power and self-indulgence. Hardy understands very clearly that the aristocratic is romantic. But romance, in the end, is destructive, retrograde. Fascist thought in this century represents a kind of last-ditch effort to recapture what had already passed historically. At any rate, it is critical to point out that Sheldon's conception of the somatotype is highly influenced by this notion of nobility and its representation in the human physique.

"In a hero", says Sheldon, "there is a quality of unstrained defiance which gives a constitutional psychologist a mediastinal tingle" (VDY 858). Such an ideal human

specimen is, for Sheldon, the soul itself; as he once expressed in an unpublished letter to a physical education professor, Philip Smithells, at the University of Otago in New Zealand:

> The profession of physical education has always seemed to me the most religious profession. Their faith is secure, and their worship serene, for they have found the Immortal Soul. The soul is the body. Nor do they need to argue or preach about this [Unlike Sheldon and Lawrence]. Rather they love to exercise it, to make it stalwart and straight, to render it redolent of sweet sweat, in short to save it by mesomorphic exhortation. Physical educators derive an ecstasy from seeing the soul stand up straight (Carter and Heath 325).

Sheldon states that "we [at the Inn] felt in some poignant way inferior to him [somatotype 126]....He had looked at what we had to offer, had not even bothered to express scorn. To him, we were the unfortunate and, I believe, the delinquent ones. We the stuffy weaklings caught in the sticky flypaper of everyday human moronity. This boy's...life...was that of a hero...he walked the earth as a god who gazed serenly upon a swarming and inferior species" (494).

Sheldon's Varieties of Delinquent Youth is replete with this kind of idealizing. Sheldon, I propose, is not seeing this youth as a poor and dispossessed member of Boston's underbelly--but as a god. Sheldon's personal mythology, if you will, constructs the youth along a Grecian, Nordic, prototype. Sheldon provides a stylized mind and soul for the youth, and one that is assumed to be noble and heroic. Whereas

other psychiatrists may have seen an arrogant, disobedient, lazy, boy in somatotype "126,"[44] Sheldon sees divinity. And this is the dilemma and irony of Sheldon's entire study of delinquent youth: he cannot square what he perceives to be noble qualities in the youth with the fact that they're delinquent. Hence Sheldon ends up arguing, somewhat obtusely, that it is not really the youth who are delinquent, but society itself.

Sheldon, then, finds himself in the "disturbing" position of partially defending delinquency, because it participates to such a palpable degree in what he considers heroic activity. Heroism, argues Sheldon, has been driven underground, as it were, by civilization. Nobility is, to this extent, and following Freud, a "discontent" of civilization. Society is destined to have to deal with these "delinquents", says Sheldon, because it has not allowed a proper outlet for their heroic qualities. The veneer of civilization cannot compete with such a biological and, therefore, psychological imperative as heroism. It used to be, says Sheldon, that heroes "were easy to recognize" (VDY 857). They "joyously killed dragons....They were large, courageous mesomorphs, very adept at mortal combat....*But the heroes who do battle against the deadly fourth panel monkey traps that lurk in delinquent institutions [i.e., Freudian and Christian theologies and bourgeois values] are not so easy to recognize, for by the*

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[44] One thinks here of Willa Cather's skillful rendering of an idealistic youth in her story (psychiatric study), Paul's Case. Paul's romantic idealism is so intense that it makes him choose suicide over what he perceives to be an ugly and vulgar existence among the bourgeoisie. He is also drawn as a well-formed, handsome youth. Cather, like Hardy, however, sees Paul (and probably would consider Sheldon's somatotype "126" similarly) as a spoiled youth who needs to grow up. It is crucial to point out that typical Victorian and modernist literary treatments of this theme side with the community in the end. Sheldon, on the other hand, may cling to this idealization too seriously. He apparently possessed this archetypal literary vision without benefit of seasoned detachment and irony to moderate it.

criteria of these very monkey traps the heroes are themselves delinquent and so to survive must also do battle against the society they so heroically serve" (857).

Sheldon says that we sacrifice Prometheus (and therefore heroism) by smoothing over the reality and usefulness of warfare and violence. By insisting, with Shelley, that Prometheus be "unbound," Sheldon would legitimate, and perpetuate, the archetypal and heroic struggle of men wrestling with, and thereby becoming, gods. Sheldon does not heed the counsel of the ancients--that Prometheus be chained to a rock forever and his liver eaten daily by vultures. Nor will he accept the seasoned counsel of the literati. Christianity and Freudianism mean giving up the struggle, knuckling under to mediocrity and the status quo. And this neither Sheldon nor his fabricated heroes will do.

Sheldon is living out a fantasy. This fantasy, obsession, underlies all of his work. Sheldon is attracted to delinquent youth, I submit, not because he harbors a generous spirit towards troubled humanity and earnestly desires its amelioration, but because he detests most of humanity and would prefer to see them eliminated. Only those who possess a "Promethean Will" quite measure up. The remainder of humanity, comprised of "wasters," "democrats," "social-workers," "morons," "Christians," "Freudians," are cowards all. Sheldon praises the few and condemns the mass. His somatotype work allows him the opportunity and leave to do this. Society and human life are intolerable for Sheldon outside the pale of intellectual, physical, heroism: a heroism that pushes society and morality, in Nietzsche's words, "beyond good and evil" and into a world governed by the prerogatives of "supermen."

III Summary

Physiognomy was, by the beginning of this century, largely "illegitimate" (i.e., non-scientific or "literary") knowledge. Therefore, if Sheldon wanted to continue this "research programme" or "paradigm" of some 3,000-year duration, he had to reconceptualize or recast the traditional image of physiognomy into the guise of modern science (modeled on the successful physical sciences); something that Lombroso, Galton, Kretchmer, Viola, Giovanni, Nacaratti (Sheldon's colleague at Chicago), and a host of others, had attempted already, albeit in a more static and one-dimensional way. The early twentieth century was for psychology and psychiatry a borderland dividing the ancient and modern.[45] The ancient persisted in constitutional types (from Hippocrates' and Galen's humoral psychology), which had seen divers permutations in the western tradition.[46]

Yet, even as Sheldon sought to make physiognomy legitimate with the somatotype, he participated in its class-ridden, "aristocratic", tradition. Lavater and Sheldon share a fundamental metaphysical, religious commitment: that the goodness of God (or created nature) is "reflected in the constitution and action of created things, of which

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[45] This is particularly evident when we examine Gordon W. Allport's Personality: A Psychological Interpretation. New York: Henry Holt, 1937. Allport's discussion of humoral psychology, ancient typology, appears remarkably antiquated today.

[46] Sheldon's constitutional psychology has not been connected with the revival of constitutional medicine in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Constitutional medicine, according to Sarah W. Tracy, served to "counterpoint...the triumph of environmentalism and reductionism in scientific medicine" (54), which was similar to what Sheldon intended with his reactionary psychology. See Sarah W. Tracy, "George Draper and American Constitutional Medicine, 1916-1946: Reinventing the Sick Man", Bulletin of the History of Medicine. 66, 1992.

man is the highest example" (Graham 62). Just as Lavater sought to "fuse science and religion through a personal enthusiasm and sensibility" (62) during high romanticism, so Sheldon attempted to reinvigorate psychology by investing it with a new and religious (and essentially romantic) surcharge: to effect, that is, "An enduring marriage of thought to feeling" (Prometheus Revisited 134).

Soul means to Sheldon "...[a] oneness, wholeness; [a] union between affect and cognition" (135); i.e., to be "whole" and "Promethean". This position has the quality of being at once consistent with traditional romanticism (yet without Mary Shelley's cautions) and modern fascism. Sheldon sees the noble human soul as estranged and alienated from the cowardly and prudential shopkeeper mentality of modern life. His mission is to reinvest an ancient sense of heroism into a "degenerate" and democratic ethos via his "biological humanics" program. Selective breeding would replace biological promiscuity and social chaos.

Sheldon thinks, along with Nietzsche and Hitler, that the modern body and mind need to be purged of Freudian, Christian, and capitalist theologies. The beauty and glory of the Greco-Roman world, exemplified by the aristocratic ideal, await, as it were, those (dictators) with enough determinination and "iron will" to bring it to biological light in this "fallen" century. The true god is man's physical being. And divinity resides for Sheldon in fortunate (traditionally warrior, aristocratic) physiques. Only a world that participates in and validates Promethean rebellion can escape decadence and social chaos.

CHAPTER 3

NARRATIVE, NOBILITY, AND THE SOMATOTYPE

I Nobility and the Somatotype

Sheldon's somatotypes are intended to serve as exemplars of empiricism, and Sheldon's chief aim is the legitimation of his constitutional psychology. For Sheldon to make his case, he must have the legitimizing presence of empirical measurement; yet, he resorts to "fictional" narratives (i.e., biographies and case histories) to communicate what is essentially a literary vision. I suggest that Sheldon, while practicing science, was obsessed with the idea of nobility, together with its aristocratic embodiment, and its qualities and prerogatives: including physical beauty and prowess; power and sensibility; and biological and temperamental superiority. It is these aristocratic standards, long the domain of elite culture, and objectified by physiognomy, that captivate Sheldon and inform his thinking. He appears unable, or unwilling, to abandon the traditional notion of mental excellence attending physical excellence. I conjecture that it is this fascination with what we might call the "aesthetics of psychology"--the wish that "truth is beauty, beauty truth"--that preordains Sheldon's somatotypes.

Sheldon's detestation of democracy and Christianity parallel fascist thinking, although he is often at pains to deny it.[47] Indeed Sheldon's passionate injunctions about promiscuous breeding and overpopulation are, I believe, reflective of a more generalized nostalgia for the old order, where a primitivist, idealized, and "Nietzschean" biology ruled. It should be born in mind that, in terms of the history of ideas, biology (of Sheldon's anthropological variety) was decidely political long before it became specifically fascist, as Daniel Pick and Sander Gilman and others have illustrated (LaCapra 72).

The literary tradition from which I am drawing here was conventional intellectual and aesthetic fare in the late nineteenth century. Fascism took seriously a "biology" that had been brewing in Europe for decades. The enfranchisement of the masses came about only with convulsive violence. Sheldon was unwilling to let go of this old order. For him, as for other fascists, it contained the essence of life: warfare, heroism, bravery, pageantry, "noble" values. Modern fascists can be seen as bogus, self-conscious, and estranged men, aping the old order; pushing an anachronistic vision of

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[47] See Pschology and the Promethean Will (1936). The psychology of fascism and its irrationalist creed is spelled out with consummate clarity by Sheldon. Indeed, Sheldon's acute, even lyrical, understanding of the nature of fascist thought reminds one of Blake's remark about Milton's supreme rendering of Satan and his indifferent rendering of Adam in Paradise Lost: Milton [and Sheldon] was, in truth, of the devil's party without knowing it.

The beginning of chapter 2 of Promethean Will reads like a selection from Nietzsche's Genealogy of Morals. It is an impassioned battle cry for primitive splendor and simplicity, an instantly gratifying antidote to the indignities of modern life, suffered by those, like Sheldon himself, who remain alienated from the modern "Waster Mind": "For in the passion of one intense purpose all the conflicts of a life can be swept away like clouds before the wind. Then even in heroic ecstasy I cannot be absurd, or laughed at....I am right, and with this thought there surges through my whole being the mystic certainty of the oneness and the meaning of life....I am master of my whole self [and take] my rightful place among the gods" (9).

man that harkened back to medieval chivalry. This was the psychological and biological world, I suggest, in which Sheldon lived and moved and had his being.

Indeed, the whole (elitist) literary practice of drawing "rustic" characters was meant to imply a biological (and therefore psychological) separation between those characters who are capable of tragic suffering and those who are not. For example, Thomas Hardy's portrayal of the rustic population in his Wessex novels continues this ancient distinction. Hardy's "main" characters, his tragic heroes and heroines, are men and women whose stature and sensibility set them apart from the rustic "herd". The "work-folk", while never patronized by Hardy, are understood to operate on a psychic level below that of their superiors.

When Hardy maintains that Dorset artisans--as opposed to the rustic population proper--are capable of tragic suffering on a scale with that of Greek tragedy, he perpetuates the ancient biological stereotypes regarding temperament and physique.[48] It is only later in Jude the Obscure (1895) that Hardy seriously begins to entertain tragic suffering apart from physique and stature, a time when the novel is abandoning the notion that character is inseparable from physique, in favor of a more purely "Freudian", modernist, non-physical, model; what was to become the "psychological novel". It is not surprising, in this light, that Sheldon should be so adamant in his opposition to Freud's theorizing. For him Freud was thoroughly unheroic and, alas--Jewish.

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[48] For an excellent treatment of Hardy's psychology, see Geoffrey Thurley's The Psychology of Hardy's Novels: The Nervous and the Statuesque. Queensland: Univ. of Queensland Press, 1976.

Sheldon, I propose, not unlike Hardy, was self conscious about this separation of the noble from the common mind (and body), because it struck at the heart of his own temperament.[49] Hardy, from "peasant" stock himself, rationalized his own psychic difference from his family and neighbors by appealing to two things: ancient nobility (exemplified by tragic suffering) and Darwinian biology. It was Hardy's literary calling, as it was for other novelists in the nineteenth century, to maintain and portray the (misplaced) presence of one with aristocratic feelings amid plain, customary people. One thinks of Henchard, Clym, Tess, and Jude, all characters who are alienated from their fellows by their respective and distinctive qualities of nobility; qualities that transcend the mundane and blinkered reality in which they find themselves. They pay the price for their individuality and their imagination in Hardy's fictional world, not because they deserve moral censure but because they do not. Hardy, like Tolstoy and Flaubert, sides, grudgingly, with the community; even while he laments, justly and appropriately, the waste and the glory of romantic idealism. Hardy's tragic characters suffer the fate that Hardy, their creator, manages to escape only narrowly.

Sheldon is engaging in a similar fiction with his somatotypes. The modern world, and the somatotypes particularly, are emblematic of a falling away from this older biological hegemony. "The species" says Sheldon, "has drifted into an age of confusion, of promiscuous overpopulation....in short, we have approached the verge

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[49] Barbara Heath says that Sheldon was (excessively) "proud of his parents' prerevolutionary New England ancestry. He liked to talk of his mother's descent from a revolutionary General Greene and of his parents' friendship with such luminaries as William James, whom he claimed as his godfather. This may well be one of his several, probably apocryphal whimsies, like that of his avowed descent from Benjamin Franklin" (Carter and Heath 4). Sheldon's enthusiasm and pretentions about ancestry are reminiscent of the typical Victorian attitude towards such matters.

of social chaos" (VDY XV). This is an especially grim diagnosis, given the overall optimism, resolve, and economic prosperity that followed the Second World War. And Sheldon declares, in a passage reminiscent of Tess's fate in Hardy's Tess of the d'Urbervilles: "Possibly the most tragic circumstance in human life is to be caught in (born into) that often strangulated pocket of biologically aristocratic stock during a period of democratic resurgence" (63-64). The idea of the aristocratic, the noble encumbered by mediocrity, is a hidden agenda both in Sheldon's own life and in his constitutional psychology.

But Sheldon, while he shares Hardy's archetypal vision of nobility victimized by democracy, does not possess Hardy's largesse of sympathy and grace. Whereas Hardy manages a stoic resignation and a "tragic" acceptance of these biological imperatives, Sheldon "kicks against the pricks". And whereas Hardy manages a seasoned detachment, Sheldon preaches his "biological humanics" (like the benighted Clym Yeobright preaching socialism to the Egdon "eremites") to whoever will listen. Few do. In taking "strangulated" aristocracy as his "text", itself an elitist perspective and one increasingly incommunicable to, and superfluous in, the modern world, Sheldon wanders out of his depths and becomes manic and estranged himself. He is victimized by the same ideas that netted such poetic worthies as Ezra Pound and W. B. Yeats, his contemporaries. Indeed, from this literary perspective, we can see a tragic aspect to

Sheldon's own life.[50] Sheldon himself is the tragic hero, as it were, and the somatotype is the cultural idiom that animates, narrates, his story.

[50] The use of biography to account for, explain, Sheldon's science is precarious business. Yet, Sheldon's personal life tends to support my overall thesis about his obsession with heroism, nobility, etc. James Arraj and Robert Osbourne and Barbara Heath suggest a similar thing. Although Arraj's comments are couched in Jungian jargon, he makes it clear that Sheldon was a profoundly frustrated man.

II Atlas of Men

In order for Sheldon's project to succeed, given his "literary" and "prophetic" temperament, it is necessary for him to seek "argumentation and proof" in the bed-rock "reality" of the somatotype.[51] Given Sheldon's empiricist philosophy of science, as revealed in Atlas of Men, literary or narrative truth has to be presented in such a way as to appear a mere "discussion" (a form consistent with good, scientific, "textbook", reporting) of the "hard" somatotype data and not a primary carrier of the argument. Sheldon presents what appears to be a new and "objective" image of empirical science, yet he "reads" the somatotype (intricately adorned in the mantle of science) according to antique standards. This employment of art to augment science is symptomatic of how entrenched Sheldon was both in story and in empirical "facts"; namely in nineteenth-century imperialist, racial, anthropological, lore; together with his faith in enlightenment science.[52]

Yet, for Sheldon, the two were, apparently, split, dissociated. His mind carries a narrative order in the midst of highly quantitative work that inherently lacks an order; or, in any event, lacks the kind of (fictional) order that appeals and that is affective and satisfying. Sheldon's preoccupations are metaphysical (even ontological) and aesthetic,

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[51] When I suggest that Sheldon sought a way to capitalize on the somatotypes, I am not also suggesting that this was a conscious decision on his part, nor that any of his "ploys" were actually intentional. I maintain, with Gould, that, like Morton's craniological capacities, Sheldon's methods were probably honest; but that his aesthetic and cultural assumptions were so strong that they clouded his perspective.

[52] According to a paper given by Tracy Teslow at Princeton University on March 7, 1992, entitled "Malvina Hoffman and the Field Museum of Natural History: Art and Science Representing Race", a similar thing is occurring during the 1930's in an American museum exhibition in Chicago.

as we can see from his snatches of "sly prose" that verge on a lyrical intensity. "The somatotype concept" he says "offers an early and rather crude tool fashioned to reflect a basic structural orderliness which can be perceived in human life. Despite the confusion now rampant in the social interrelationships of the species, underlying the social chaos is a matrix of organic order, which is to say, of beauty and truth. We are still being born into a world of such beauty as staggers the imagination and beggars speech, and the physical reality that a man is carries the stamp of truth even when the beauty is obscure to perception" (Atlas of Men 3).

This "structural orderliness which can be perceived in human life" is of the same stamp that we find in Lavaterian physiognomy: the notion that nature (or nature's God) never does anything by accident and that the underlying pattern of nature's work, which we may perceive only dimly, partakes in order and perfection. Sheldon is on a kind of search for the "holy grail" of physical nature. "In such a world" he continues, "it seems reasonable to suppose that there should be a way of so truthfully reflecting a man's structural self that the reflection will blend with the continuum of order like faint music. The somatotype is therefore a groping for a reflection in man of the orderly continuum of nature and in a more specific way it is also an attempt to identify the music of one's own particular dance of life" (3).

These comments are purely metaphorical and splendid, and they lie outside the range of Sheldon's empiricism. What does it mean, empirically, to talk of "faint music" with regard to human biology? How are we to translate "dance of life"? What, exactly, does it mean for the human form to possess "truth" and "beauty"? From a

literary perspective, the metaphors speak elegantly, even sublimely. But they help to blacklist Sheldon as an empiricist.[53] Empirical observation per se being inadequate (but rhetorically necessary) to express his overarching vision of perfection and truth in nature, and the attending biological "fall" from this pristine vision, Sheldon resorts to the metaphors of music and dance, reminiscent of Nietzsche's metaphors for tragedy and education, respectively. This generalized engagement of metaphor matches up with Sheldon's actual practice in Atlas of Men and in Varieties of Delinquent Youth.

Sheldon recognizes the objective/subjective problem that marks his somatotype project, but he understates it, or misstates it. His physical science "paradigm" is inadequate to unpack it. He justifies his somatotype methodology by suggesting an analogy with Mendeleyev's procedure in laying out a periodic table for the elements. Comparing his physiognomical procedure with (hard, positive) chemistry is, of course, to his rhetorical advantage. "Mendeleyev" says Sheldon:

> used a set of white rectangular cards, as we did. On his cards were written the names and observable properties of all the known chemical elements. On our cards were printed the names and observable structural

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[53] Freud's psychoanalysis is haunted, too, by charges of construction and fictionalization. Freud himself declared in Studies on Hysteria: "It strikes me myself as strange that the case histories I write should read like short stories and that, as one might say, they lack the serious stamp of science" (Breuer and Freud 160). Donald P. Spence argues in Narrative Truth and Historical Truth: Meaning and Interpretation in Psychoanalysis. New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1982, that an "artistic" model (270) does better justice to Freud's interpretations. "It may be useful", he says, "to think of an interpretation as being a certain kind of aesthetic experience as opposed to being an utterance that is either (historically) true or false" (268). For a partial rebuttal of Spence, see Lis Moller's The Freudian Reading: Analytical and Fictional Constructions. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991. See also Perry Meisel's "Introduction: Freud as Literature." in Freud: A Collection of Critical Essays, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1981. One might expect fiction to creep into Freud's psychoanalytic work, given its non-empirical orientation and its overall literary character. That fiction should characterize ostensibly empirical work [Sheldon's somatotypes] is all the more remarkable.

> characteristics of all the young men in the experiment, in addition to the photographs themselves. Reshuffling and rearranging his cards, Mendeleyev sought to establish sequences by which the cards would fall into meaningful series when read both left to right and up to down--like crossword puzzles...he was able in this manner not only to indicate the general direction of what later proved to be objectifiable sequences, but also to locate gaps in the sequences...and to predict in detail the nature of elements then still unknown....and since his death all of the blank spaces in his table have been filled. The blank spaces in the somatotype table have not all been filled as yet, but neither have we been dead for long (Atlas of Men 6).

Sheldon displays, consistent with his metaphysics, a faith in the underlying order of nature, the sentiments of a decided philosophical realist and religious humanist. The scientific (deistic) enlightenment lingers in these phrases: the conviction that nature is intelligible, because created by an intelligent creator whose work is not capricious or arbitrary. The iron-clad reality of created nature precludes revelation for Sheldon. Even more, these are the convictions of an empiricist who believes that the correct way to understand man is to attend to observable morphology. "By arranging, and many times rearranging, the photograph cards in series" states Sheldon, "it was possible to arrive at a perfectly true to life progression from maximal to minimum endomorphy, and then similarly for mesomorphy and ectomorphy" (6). These gradations of physique are there, like the chemical elements and like "quiet music". Moreover, Sheldon

carries a faith that the gradations will mean what he thinks they should mean, once they are known. He does not seem to appreciate that he himself is bringing, as it were, a meaning to nature. He does not realize, with Coleridge, that "we receive but what we give,/And in our life alone does Nature live" (Coleridge 365).

Sheldon is shrewd enough to admit (again, perhaps, as a rhetorical ploy) that his somatotype observations contain an element of subjectivity:

> In human consciousness there is of course no such thing as perfect objectivity, for the reading of a measurement on a scale, in millimeters, pounds, spectral position or decibels, is always in the end a subjective act--a translation into a language of what is seen, heard, or tasted and so on, and the assignment of the translated result to a class....In nearly all branches of science the general rule is to move out from subjectivity as fully and as quickly as the nature of the problem will permit. So stated, it is a good rule and certain problems in some fields (like engineering) permit of almost "foolproof" objectivity. But another good rule would be this: Retain the flexibility and tentativity of the subjective commitment as long as your problem requires it (Atlas of Men 6-7).

Sheldon seems to think that the hard sciences (namely chemistry) admit of little or no subjectivity; that what is reported is a faithful (objective) representation of what is really there. On the other hand, he underestimates, I believe, the omnipresence of the subjective in all observation. He assumes, in fact, as does Hempel, that one can

gradually move out of the realm of the subjective into a more objective, "foolproof", perspective on nature. A crucial problem is how he construes this transition.

Sheldon, apparently, is suggesting that subjectivity can lead, ultimately, to objectivity, which is, I believe, fallacious, at least to judge from Sheldon's actual practice. Sheldon oversimplifies the exact relationship between the two: "The operational difference" he says, "between subjective and objective measurement is that in the latter case the subject relies on the reading of one or more already standardized tools of measurement" (6). The issue is, in fact, more problematic than this. Sheldon assumes that he can play a subjective game until it one day (presumably by the accumulation of subjective data?) evolves into an entirely objective affair, as he thought was the case with Mendeleyev's elements.

This kind of rationalization--of assuming that one can jump from the subjective on the one hand to the objective on the other and arrive at integrated image of the body and mind--is a major flaw, I believe, in Sheldon's thinking. In the rhetoric of science, this ploy is called a "trope of argument" (Nelson 420); which is defined as a shortcut, an ellipsis, that conceals missteps in a line of reasoning. "With these", says Nelson, "social scientists try to forge links strong enough to support inferences across such levels of analysis" (420) "Tropes [however] become detours" he adds, "when they deflect argument into irrelevancies" (420), which is what Sheldon is doing, I contend,

with his zoological analogies; since they divert an ostensibly empirical discussion into literary expression.[54]

And when we examine what's really going on in, say, Atlas of Men, we can see that Sheldon's stated dynamic (from subjective to objective) actually moves in the reverse. The more objective components in Sheldon's texts are, in fact, the photographs and measurements themselves. While their selection may be problematic and the measurements themselves imperfect, they are the closest thing to empiricism we have in Sheldon's work. The more saliently subjective components--the ones largely ignored by both Sheldon and Hempel and the ones most relevant to Sheldon's psychology--are the totems and character summations that accompany each cluster of somatotypes. Over and above any biases in the actual measurement of the somatotypes themselves--imperfections that I am not denying and which seem to concern Sheldon most--is the patent idealizing and fictionalizing that go on quite apart from the actual somatotypes. Indeed, I maintain that the temperament summations and the somatotype photographs have very little to do with each other beyond physiognomical impressionism.

Sheldon's overriding psychological claim is that variations (even minute ones) in physique, measured by somatotypy, correspond to attending variations in temperament. Sheldon declares, brashly, that "the 'psychological distance' between a 5 1/2 and a

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[54] The direction of Sheldon's argument for legitimation of his constitutional psychology reflected a standard view in logical empiricism at the time; i.e., certainty in science flows upward from a subjective foundation of observation. In Sheldon's case, as I argue, the fault of his system does not actually stem from ambiguities in the observations themselves (observation statements). Rather, Sheldon abandons his empiricist procedure entirely, in favor of metaphor and heroics.

6...is as easily measured as...the distance between pink and red....A football coach who could not distinguish between a 5 1/2 and a 6 in mesomorphy would be unlikely to win games" (15). But I submit that it is not really objective, empirical, gradations of physique that inform Sheldon's delineations of temperament but, rather, a narrative that exists quite apart from empirical measurements. The somatotype, far from being any kind of empirical benchmark for measuring psychological differences in others, is, in Sheldon's hands, a means for expressing his own personality.

We can appreciate this operation by examining a typical somatotype spread in Atlas of Men. For example, somatotype 2 3 5 (labeled mesomorphic ectomorphy) is illustrated by a cluster of 17 representative photographs (see appendix, figure 2). This somatotype, we are told, comprises 2 percent of the population, or 20 per thousand, illustrated by a carefully plotted scatter-gram, a line graph, and a weight table for age and height. So far we are on what is, apparently and relatively, empirical ground. We notice, however, that the editorializing about the somatotypes is playing an entirely different game. Far from building on the somatotype photographs themselves and making calls about temperament or character accordingly, which is what would be required if we maintain that mind is a function of morphology--and one can hardly imagine actually being able to do this--Sheldon switches to another mode of discourse entirely. He moves from the empirical to the metaphorical, from the literal to the poetic, from linear specificity to a trope.

Unable to make sense of his somatotype photographs and measurements on a literal basis, which may be impossible to do, Sheldon simply changes, with a sleight of hand,

to a non literal one. Instead of specifying the expected correspondences of physique and temperament, we digress to visualizations about the shapes and habits of foxes and coyotes. At a stroke, we are thrust into the animal world (forget the human physique). We learn that this cluster of men (the 2 3 5's) are "brittle, meat-hungry hunters of great speed, resourcefulness and agility. If cornered, defiant and courageous far beyond their real strength, but normally of a furtive, secretive way of life" (85).

Far from following up on his hard-earned empirical measurements, Sheldon simply drops them, because he can do nothing else with them. Since there is very likely no such empirical relationship between mind and physique, Sheldon shifts to a zoological aestheticism.[55] We're asked to see the ways of wolves and coyotes in these photographs. There is no essential difference here between Sheldon's somatotype summaries and a poet declaring "My love is like a red, red, rose." If the poet physically produces his love as empirical evidence of his claim and exclaims: "See, a red, red rose," he is doing, in effect, what Sheldon is doing. Because his love will be

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[55] The work of the Swiss zoologist, Adolf Portmann, bears comparison with Sheldon's naturalist enthusiasm for animal morphology and behavior. Although contemporaries pursuing similar lines of thought, they appear to move in different circles entirely. Portmann was fascinated by the "looks of animals", their physiognomy; although he does not use this term. Physiognomical thought, however, abounds in Portmann's work. For example, his commentary on the appearance of the tiger: "How elaborately is the tiger's body divided up by the arrangement of stripes. The transverse markings around the limbs and body have their various directions unified by cleverly arranged gussets where the legs leave the trunk: In the magnificent pattern of the head, the most beautiful figuring is reserved for the purpose of bringing eyes and ears into relief. For all its free rhythm, the pattern nevertheless still follows strictly the arrangement of the particular parts. It emphasizes the leading pole, it frames and accentuates the important sense organs. This correlation between internal structure and outward appearance creates a unity of the visible form which appeals to us clearly in its powerful expression. [my emphasis] It is as if the higher animal becomes, in some peculiar way, transparent, since the importance of the special parts of its form, and the play of its limbs, is stressed by the accentuations in the pattern. How extraordinary it is that in the higher animals significant places should be made to stand out" (Portmann 75). This passage, I suggest, is playing a thoroughly "Sheldonian" game. Portmann's comments display a keen, artistic, feel for the appearance of animals. I submit that Sheldon, at his best, displayed a similar feel for both people and animals. At his worst, he simply abused his human subjects with cant and stereotypes.

a woman (with an inscrutable mind and body, no doubt) and not a rose at all; just as Sheldon's somatotype subjects will be all too human and bear only a metaphorical relationship to animals.

III Varieties of Delinquent Youth

In Varieties of Delinquent Youth: An Introduction to Constitutional Psychiatry (1949) Sheldon's propensity to rhetoric and narration is particularly marked. The book, in fact, as Sheldon makes clear, is an experiment in the biographical method as much as in the psychological. Fundamentally and conceptually, then, the book is anchored in story, "with [the] objective of bringing psychology back into the theatre of human life" (VDY 3) so that "Psychology might thereby fulfill its promise of providing methodology and text material for a naturalistic discipline" (3). "Hardly anything less...will in the end vindicate the presumption of a profession of psychology" (3).

Again, psychological reality for Sheldon is grounded in the human body itself, which is represented by the somatotype. His "radical premise" is that "behavior is a function of structure....Interpretation or explanation of a personality...is always undertaken against the frame of reference of a taxonomic description of the physical constitution" (4). "We find no break" he adds, "--no discontinuation--between what is physical and what is mental. We find no 'psyche' and 'soma'; no mind-body problem; no conscious versus unconscious. We find only structure and behavior, which seem to make a functional continuum" (4).

"Constitutional psychology", says Sheldon:

> is a precise reversal of the Freudian method. The body is the starting point. Instead of approaching the objective unconscious through a labyrinthine succession of devious and subjective verbalizations, the

> constitutional psychologist begins by taking a standardized photograph of it, thereby bringing it at once into the broad light of day. The initial taxonomic frame of reference is thus a completely objective instead of a completely subjective one. For what it is worth the constitutional method is direct, radical, and objective....[and finally] interpretation and understanding of resultant behavior at least approach logical cause-effect thinking" (5).

The passage speaks for itself. I want to emphasize, however, that Sheldon considers the somatotype as objective data; whereas the Freudian method, fraught with "subjective verbalizations", is not. The irony here is that Sheldon does not appreciate the inherently fictional nature of "biographical" inquiry. It is as if his own telling, or narration, of the psychiatric histories is entirely neutral or transparent. There is an empiricist confidence in the accessibility of reality from sense data. Sheldon seems to think that he is able, via his somatotypes, to access a ground-floor, bed-rock, reality that is invulnerable to the "camouflage of conscious language habits" (4). Like a good positivist, Sheldon distrusts ordinary language; but he fails to see that his entire "biographical" approach is embedded in his language, in his own capacity to create and fictionalize.[56] Fixated on the possibilities for error in the Freudian subject, he neglects to consider his own potential for "devious and subjective verbalizations".

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[56] The positivist position on poetic truth was iron-clad. Poetic truth, simply, does not exist. Poetic language is simply expressive. In terms of science, it has no truth-value. Ordinary language itself, which is embedded in the metaphorical, is considered something of a rascal. Scientific truth and poetic utterance are zealously separated. The general semantics movement in the 1930's even considered "bad" or irrational use of language (irrationalism) to be at the heart of psychiatric problems. See A.J. Ayer, ed. Logical Positivism. Glencoe: The Free Press, 1959, p. 79.

Sheldon casts the entire book as a story. The massive introduction, which comprises 112 pages, is a book in itself; not to mention Part 3, "Psychiatry of Delinquency", which is nearly 200 more pages. The entire volume is just under 1,000 pages in length. Sheldon lays out, in a format reminiscent of the beginning of a nineteenth century novel of heredity and environment, the "Setting of the Study", which is "The Hayden Goodwill Inn, 27 Wheeler Street, Boston,...a seven-story brick structure built in 1938 by the Morgan Memorial" (6). Sheldon operates on the historically oriented assumption that one cannot know the present without first knowing the past. This indicates that both a novelist and a psychiatrist (or a lawyer) have done their homework.

The setting of the Inn is concluded with a highly idealized and stylized portrait, recalling a Balzac novel or Chaucer's parade of pilgrims on their way to Canterbury:

> There were serious students and defiant educaphobes; toughs and gynandrophrenes, or "sissies"; confirmed alcoholics and abstainers; many who were sexually obsessed and others who were sexually uninitiated; loud rowdies and quiet furtives; truck drivers, barkeeps, and strong-arm men in the making, along with embryo artists, musicians, born ladies' ready-to-wear salesmen, and would-be actors. There were aspirants for the ministry, half-fledged counterfeiters, jolly panhandlers, homosexuals and homosexual prostitutes, a few pimps (8).

The prose here exhibits a certain literary lilt: a self-conscious control, balance, symmetry, and contrast, not usually found in scientific texts. "The purpose here" says

the author, "is neither to praise nor to bury but to reflect a true picture of the general setting...(10), recalling Anthony's speech in Shakespeare's Julius Ceasar.

The next paragraphs describe the "Men Who Run the Inn" (10). We are told that Emil Hartl, whom Sheldon paints as a saint, is "Tall, relaxed, kindly...who seems never to sleep and rarely to eat...He is...trusted and beloved...by desperate characters...[and] I have never known one to harbor ill will against Hartl. His presence, and even his name, are a truce to overt turbulence....he is the one man among many thousands whose presence could afford to pit itself against the morally disintegrative forces that are brought together at the Inn" (10-11). "Hartl" concludes the narrator [paraphrasing Sir Walter Raleigh], "can...take on the least promising human material without giving hostages to misfortune" (11).

The Associate Director, Ralph Lindsey, we are told, displays consummate intelligence and "Yankee wit...with an adroitness and mental alacrity rarely paralleled. Innocent as the Connecticut River of academic degrees, and free from the slang and pretense of all 'schools' of psychology and psychiatry,...[Lindsey] hide[s] behind no academic abstraction of the subject. They [both Hartl and Lindsey] have no point of view to sustain or axe to grind. They simply rolled up their pants' legs and took on the problem of delinquency as Mrs. Murphy takes on the dirty dishes, and with about the same degree of glorification" (11).

Sheldon, in rich and colorful language, is engaging in a good deal of glorification here himself. He paints, as it were, a Cooperesque (and romantic) portrait of psychiatric "noble savages" who reside outside the corrupt bastille of academic frippery

and who are unbiased in their assessments of the Inn's population. Sheldon is playing the literary critic, satirist, debunker, of the psychological establishment. He employs literary techniques to counter the claims of his rivals. He seeks to legitimate his activities with a poetic panache that verges on sarcasm. No Freudian theologians, these blood-brothers, along with Sheldon, their chief, will "work quietly near spots which crawl with delinquency and with degeneracy as a dead horse with maggots...[and will] in the course of time harvest a psychological fortune" (11).

Glossary 2 (pages 99-112) explains in detail the format for the presentation of the 200 somatotypes. It is here that we see Sheldon's narrative format and intentions spelled out most explicitly. Sheldon admits in chapter 1 that "The life history summaries are so highly condensed that possibly they should be called micrographs rather than biographs. Yet only by such condensation could 200 biographies be packed into a single publication" (3). In order to streamline the lengthy biographies (and thereby remake them into Theophrastian- or Lavaterian-like character sketches), they are compacted into a standardized (idealized) format "within approximately a thousand words and all are presented within exactly the same form, or frame, under nine headings" (99).

In this way Sheldon can edit the biographies extensively. He can include and omit as he sees fit. In effect, he can idealize, be the "author" of, these boys. These biographical selections, together with Sheldon's anthropological opinions about the visual appearance of the somatotypes, make the book his own. Yet (and this is crucial) Sheldon's rhetoric is effective in making one think that the whole procedure is as

rational and seamless as a cube root calculation. Sheldon's whimsical and literary tone, which is pervasive and characteristic, leads the reader to believe that it is he, Sheldon and his team--and not the psychological establishment--who has the inside track on delinquency.

Sheldon admits that in the final "Comment" section (and this admission is rhetorically brilliant, because it would "co-opt" the reader into Sheldon's good fun) "occasionally a bit of sociological speculation may have crept in" (110). That is, if Sheldon tells us about his mischief in advance, and explains his reasons for engaging in it, the practice is vaguely legitimized, excused. The following passage captures the special pleading that characterizes much of the book:

> I find...that after a man has successfully emerged from the age of venery a still more exciting pitfall with even graver consequences lurks in his path. This is the call to preach....It is better than the sexual orgasm because it leaves the whole personality...in triumphant exhultation....This may be why those who have once tasted the joys of college lecturing or of psychoanalyzing find it so hard to go to work (110).

Sheldon goes on to admit that the "Comments" express, vicariously, "the frustration of many men and women of my generation who have a great need to preach and cannot....It is largely for such men and women that the brief divagations and reverent ruminations...are written" (111). Sheldon openly declares that he aims to entertain and delight, the traditional office of prose fiction, as much as he aims to inform. Also,

Sheldon's "biological humanics" program, the attainment of which he claims lay in the distant future, actually resided in the past.

So where, one might ask, are the real, flesh and blood, people in all this? The real people "behind" the somatotype photographs appear never to exist at all. They are constructions, fictions; props in Sheldon's grand opera, vessels for his private biological obsessions. Sheldon's "Note on the Order of Presentation of the Cases" (111) makes explicit his desire for superimposing a kind of fictional structure on the "200 youngsters" (111). He declares that he wants to present them "as a developing story...that seem[s] to get somewhere" (111); that is, a story with a plot, with action, and with a beginning, middle, and end. "Many experiments of arrangement" he says, "were tried...none proved entirely satisfactory" (111).

But Sheldon settles, not surprisingly, on an ideal scheme whereby the boys form a "parade...ordered as a battalion of two companies, which are further divided into six major units--five platoons and a chaplain's unit" (112). That Sheldon should settle on a militaristic format for organizing these youths is part and parcel of his attachment to the military--its discipline, its physical prowess, and its aristocratic associations. To cast the boys as a military parade makes his own jingoistic comments appear more in keeping with the order of things. One imagines that many readers may have perused the book assuming it was, in fact, composed of units of soldiers. Only two lines in the introduction state otherwise.

A sampling of Sheldon's descriptive language from this "parade" of "delinquent" youths will indicate his general bearing toward his charges. For example, somatotype

188 (see appendix, figure 3) from "Company B, Platoon 2" (who, by the way, appears, by contemporary standards, as do most of Sheldon's "delinquent" youth, as a perfectly normal, imperfect, human being) is described as having a " 'Shanty Irish' look. Nose like a radish....He walks with a surly lurch. Not good at any kind of athletics or at fighting" (680). Sheldon concludes that "he is a victim of constitutional inadequacy as surely as anybody is" (682).

Somatotype 7, "Company A, Platoon 1, Section 1", according to Sheldon, "Before long...will be as heavy and barrel-bodied as a typical bartender...The face has a surly expression so pronounced as to constitute...a caricature...He is clumsy in the way that a bulldog is clumsy...Not good [either] at athletics or at fighting" (132). Somatotype 8, "Company A, Platoon 1, Section 1" (see appendix, figure 4) has "Features small and feminoid but ill-formed and poorly matched....He moves with a certain 'haunting grace like an arabesque in a minor key,' as one of his acquaintances put it" (135). Sheldon relishes anecdote. He concludes that the boy "is physically as defenseless as a baby" (135).

Somatotype 9, "Company A, Platoon 1, Section 1" (see appendix, figure 5) possesses "Features coarse...poorly formed...although he has a strain of good blood from somewhere" (138). Somatotype 12 of the same outfit "Has a loose-fibred, 'licentious' face....He moves smoothly but walks like a woman" (147). Of somatotype 18, Sheldon says "The Potter must have been badly distracted when he was making this one. Hands weak and stubby" (165). Somatotype 21 (see appendix, figure 6), which could be the physique of a Nobel Prize winner, is especially unfortunate. His "entire

body [is] ill-proportioned...Features asymmetrical, mismatched, and poorly modeled....He walks with an undulating shuffle....Inept at games and at fighting" (175).

Sheldon concludes that this boy is "Asthenic...with weak arms and an ineffectual personality...[and] it is difficult to understand deliberate encouragement of such a boy to reproduce his kind, except in the event of a very desperate and acute shortage of human beings on the earth" (176). And so on. Sheldon's overriding concern for story, I believe, subsumes his supposed intentions of dealing scientifically with his "delinquent" youth. He lets his creativity take flight, and at the expense of steady (and more pedestrian and less exhilirating?) scientific reporting.[57]

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[57] See Nancy Leys Stepan's and Sander L. Gilman's "Appropriating the Idioms of Science: The Rejection of Scientific Racism" in The Bounds of Race: Perspectives on Hegemony and Resistance. ed. Dominick LaCapra. Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1991. They concentrate specifically on "the period of transition to modern science between 1870 and 1920, when the claims of scientifically established inferiority were pressed most insistently by the mainstream scientific community" (72), a corridor which encompasses Sheldon's youth and early manhood. Stepan and Gilman seek to reveal "a body of literature by minorities and the marginal [Sheldon's delinquents] about the sciences of themselves that has been virtually untouched by historians of science" (72).

IV Summary

Sheldon possessed the mind of Thorndike and the soul of Wagner. We can see in his own "biography", I believe, the opposition of nobility--which traditionally has thriven on arrogance and prerogative and warfare--and (modern, democratic) technics; the same archetypal clash that we see in the fictional characters of Michael Henchard and Donald Farfrae in Thomas Hardy's The Mayor of Casterbridge: Henchard the powerful and primitive "nobleman" and Farfrae the physically uncommanding technician and "new man" of science, who wins the day--and this century. Sheldon, I argue, is still shadow-boxing with himself over this retrograde fantasy of an idealized nobility, the same red rag that so obsessed and motivated Nietzsche and D. H. Lawrence and scores of others in Sheldon's generation.

Sheldon's own life and character, I propose, based on comments from Barbara Heath and Robert Osborne and others, is marked by a tragic--or pathetic?--struggle with the fetishistic idea, and ideal, of decaying nobility, and what he perceives to be the increasing lack of Promethean individuality in the modern world.[58] Heath's remark, cited earlier, that Sheldon "seemed to have a romantic image of himself as a tragic Arthurian knight destined to be victimized by those less cultivated and less sensitive" (15) is, I believe, shrewd and apropos. Hardy and other novelists (especially Balzac,

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[58] Sheldon's personal frustration with modernity was manifested in a number of ways, according to Jim Arraj, who has written the closest thing we have to a biography of Sheldon. "Sheldon", says Arraj, "becomes...the man of the right. He railed against cigarettes, alcoholism, Freudianism, and the Federal Reserve Bank, and he collected the ravings of extreme right wing fanatics which were so much in opposition to the thrust of his conscious objective spirit" (Arraj 155).

Zola, and, in this century, Faulkner) finesse this theme with a detached, artistic, flexibility. Sheldon, on the other hand, handles the theme with considerably less delicacy, taste, and, perhaps, understanding.

Sheldon's life and work make sense, add up, when approached from this kind of literary perspective. Indeed, I contend that any assessment of Sheldon's work is impoverished without it. Hence mainstream psychology's partial and confused and inadequate assessment of his achievement. I would argue that the essence of constitutional psychology has lain outside the domain of empirical science all along. Moreover, given Sheldon's artistic predilections, it was probably warranted that he would be misunderstood by his colleagues in mainstream, American psychology (who were usually, one gathers, more thoroughly modern, democratic types) and indeed why his whole research program was such a "lone-wolf", defensive, affair.

Sheldon's constitutional psychology can be read, probably should be read, as a grand confession of nostalgia and alienation. The somatotype makes the ideal "icon"--or what, out of context, T. S. Eliot calls an "objective correlative"--for venting frustration and anger at what the world has become in this century, both biologically and socially. Constitutional psychology, with its scrutiny of the human body, allows Sheldon to wreak revenge, as it were, on humanity by masquerading an antiquated, racist, and elitist, anthropology as empiricist reality.

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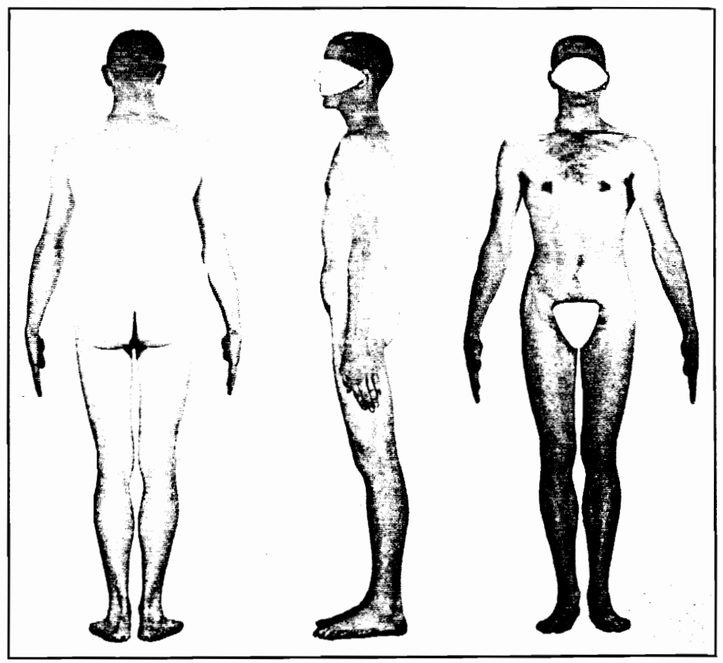
APPENDIX

126. *COMPANY B, PLATOON 1, SECTION 2*

Second-Order Psychopathy; with Minor Somatoroses: Nos. 115–132



Description: Somatotype 2½–4½–4. A 21-year-old ectomorphic mesomorph five inches above average stature. He is heavier in bone than in muscle but all segments are about evenly developed. Primary *g*+1, secondary *g*±. Primary *t* 3, secondary *t* 4. Features strong, well modeled, sharply chiseled. It is decidedly a handsome face. Hands and feet excellently formed. General strength 4, hand strength 4. Coordination that of an athlete, although he is too light and too gynandroid for first-rate athletic competition. A fairly good boxer but in no real sense a fighter.

Temperament: [illegible] of well-sustained, s[illegible] ible somatotonia. [illegible] young man of ene[illegible] expression. Steadil[illegible] successful and well [illegible] that to casual obse[illegible] seem aggressive at a[illegible] risk, is a natural lea[illegible] to strain in his son[illegible] not pugnacious fo[illegible] lenged. No indicat[illegible] poor integration [illegible] and third compon[illegible] tally, as well as [illegible] poised and well co[illegible] a "paranoid" obse[illegible] "wrong"; that he m[illegible] to work would be [illegible] standpoint of adap[illegible] youth, this is unde[illegible] perament: yet ther[illegible] of both Dionysian [illegible] totonia which in t[illegible] adaptive. ψ 2–2–1.

Delinquency: A[illegible] between 7 and 1[illegible] from school altho[illegible] teachers. He left h[illegible] juvenile hobo, an[illegible] the country. Betwee[illegible] in trouble with po[illegible] for minor stealing [illegible] country holdup w[illegible] which later was fo[illegible] in working order [illegible] came a kind of bel[illegible] responsible youth [illegible] to get along withe[illegible] sidered life a game[illegible] is to continue to ge[illegible] working. At 21 he [illegible] never yet done a d[illegible] that rather than s[illegible] rob a bank or eve[illegible]

Origins and Fam[illegible] from a rural sout[illegible] try. Father a lean [illegible] ways enjoyed goo[illegible] ne'er-do-well. He deserted the family when the boy was 4. Mother, also of native stock, married at 14 and has enjoyed excellent health. She raised her family on a semi-migratory shack-renting pattern of life. Her husband is said to have been also her uncle.

Mental History, Achievement: Finished two years of high school with a poor scholastic record. He was quite an athlete in high school and was called a good baseball pitcher. Two IQ reports, 110 and 122, here called 115. He gives the impression of being mentally alert. He has humor and conversational poise; speaks with a modest reserve and on general, nonacademic subjects is informed well beyond his age. He is far from openminded about middle class "slavery" and American politics; says that if he had "the guts and brains" he would be a communist and would "clean out that sewer in Washington." After a long conference with him the writer felt some doubt as to whether or not to join up and march on Washington.

No vocational plan. He proposes to continue to be a vagabond. The AMI that of a tall, handsome, broad-shouldered youth with superb poise, a quiet southern drawl, and a shrewd knowledge of the weaknesses or soft points of social workers.

Medical: Early medical history not known. No known illnesses or injuries. Never sick a day in his life, he says, "except once, when the old sow bit a piece out of my leg. Next day the sow had a high fever." PX reveals no significant pathology. He even has excellent teeth and good foot structure.

Running Record: He spent a winter at the Inn, seemed to have a good time, aroused numerous female hopes, and played a merry game with social agencies. He was a great leg-puller of social workers; loved to get them excited about rehabilitating or saving him, but in the end he was usually satisfied with a very small advance. He was a gentle, not a ruthless grafter. For our part we registered him in two educational programs, got him a contract in professional athletics (with a small advance for signing), and interested a couple of businessmen in the project of "making a man of him." In the end he made a monkey of them. He was only kidding, just having a good time. We once or twice suspected that he might be a graduate student in sociology somewhere, out gathering material for a thesis. Apparently he was not.

He left for a CCC camp in a distant state but it developed that all he wanted of the CCC was transportation, for within a few days he moved on. Within a year the war broke out and he was inducted into military service. There he remained for a few months, deserted, was captured and sentenced to a term in the brig. During the period of desertion, however, he had enlisted on his side the good offices of a religious organization of conscientious objectors. They soon got him an honorable discharge as a conscientious objector. He disappeared for a few months, then enlisted again in another branch of the service, where he saw action at the front, reported that he was having a great time, and shortly thereafter was heroically killed.

Summary: Tall ectomorphic mesomorph of high *t*. Excellent health; college level mentality. Problem of wanderlust and restless vagrancy.

ID 0–2–1 (3)

Insufficiencies:
- IQ .....
- Mop .....

Psychiatric:
- 1st order .....
- 2nd order 2
  Restless wanderlust (2–2–1)
- C-phobic .....
- G-phrenic .....

Residual D:
- Primary crim. 1
  Irresponsibility

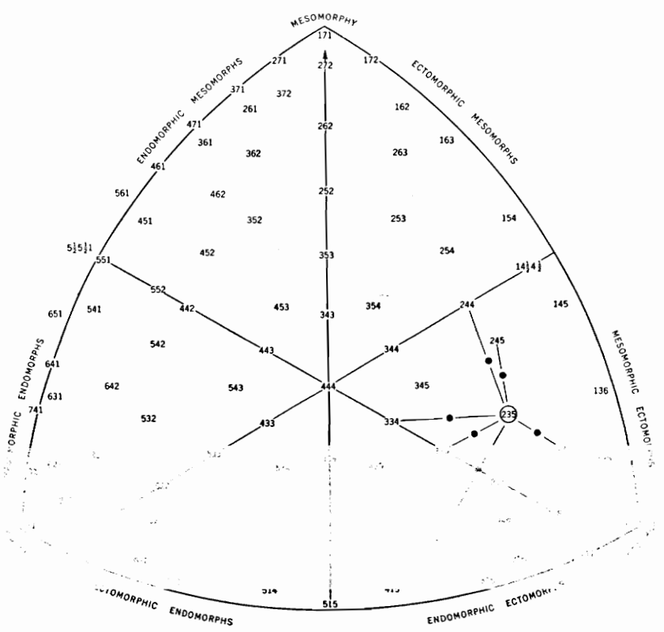
Comment: This story ought to have had a happy ending. Perhaps it did. If not, the margin of failure is possibly the difference between real life and romance.

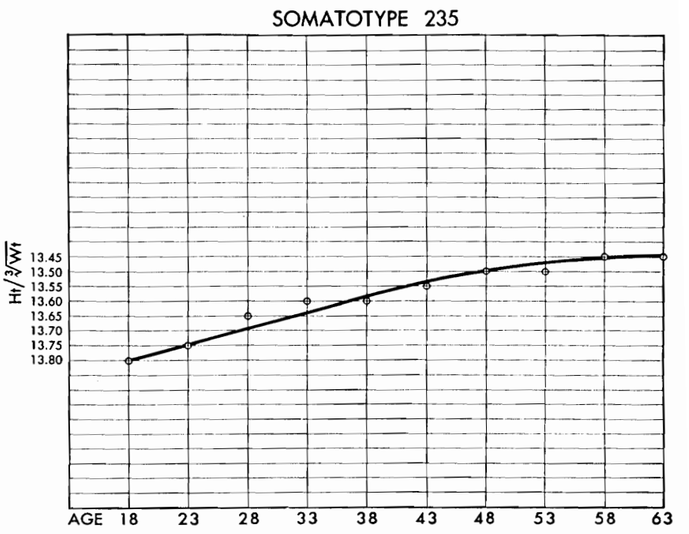
When the boy left we regretted his going, for we felt in some poignant way inferior to him, and in his final departure from us we knew that the cause we represented had sustained an undeniable setback. He had looked at what we had to offer, had not even bothered to express scorn. To him we were the unfortunate and, I believe, the delinquent ones. We the stuffy weaklings caught in the sticky flypaper of everyday human moronity. This boy's internal life, and to some extent his external life, was that of a hero. In three parts of his make-up he walked the earth as a god who gazed serenely upon a swarming and inferior species, and made his notes. In the rest of his make-up he was perhaps a somatorotic delinquent, if that means anything.

figure 1

10. DOGS OF THE NEAR SOUTHEAST. BRITTLE, DELICATE, LEAN AND FAST

Somatotype 2 3 5 *(Mesomorphic ectomorphy, 10-level.) The foxes and coyotes. Brittle, meat-hungry hunters of great speed, resourcefulness and agility. If cornered, defiant and courageous far beyond their real strength, but normally of a furtive, secretive way of life. Nos. 187–205.*





Weight for Age and Height

Height (inches)	Age									
	18	23	28	33	38	43	48	53	58	63
75	160	162	165	167	168	169	170	172	173	173
74	153	156	159	161	161	162	164	165	166	167
73	146	149	152	153	154	155	157	158	159	160
72	141	143	145	147	148	149	151	152	153	154
71	135	137	140	141	142	143	145	146	146	147
70	130	132	134	136	136	137	139	140	140	141
[illegible]										
[illegible]										
[illegible]										
[illegible]										
62	90	91	93	94	94	96	96	97	97	98
61	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	92	93	93

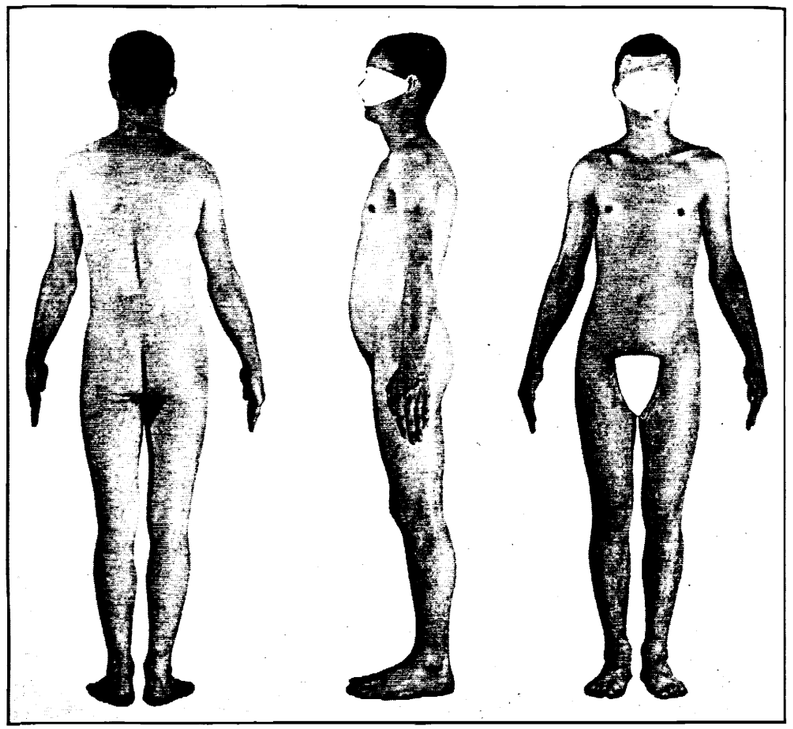
Rarity 2. Incidence 20 per thousand, or 2 per cent of the male population. We visualize the 2 2 5 as a harmless protein-hungry fellow, grateful for his living, offensive to nobody except those who are intolerant of weaklings, and, when he escapes schizophrenia, quite a faithful and conventional figure who is inclined to be bright. But the 2 3 5 is of a different and sterner stamp. He reveals an added quality of strength and defiance, and is inclined to have a touch of Promethean fire about him. In Christian times this has been the somatotype most often painted as the Christ (with the 2 3 6 a close second—see VT, p. 68; and VHP p. 155). In religious imagery, where a *savior* must intervene to defy the reigning deity and thus redeem a population grown somehow delinquent, the savior tends to be visualized in ectomorphic form, although not as a weakling. There must also be some mesomorphy, and enough enduring or defiant strength for final triumph over the established (Epimethean) pattern. The savior, it seems, must breast and stem the tide of the conventional drift of his own time, setting a pattern which eventually will *turn* the tide.

The 2 3 5 is not infrequently inclined to accept such a challenge. He is too brittle for direct fighting, too ectomorphically exposed to thrive under the overstimulation of most ordinary social life, yet has that 3 in mesomorphy, and along with it just enough of the insulation and relaxation of the first component to experience a sense of confidence and of inner well being. Moreover, his is a long lived somatotype, as the curve of nutrition shows, and he may have some subconscious foreknowledge of that. Perhaps all these factors combine to lead the 2 3 5 frequently to a defiant way of life and often to the mental hospital, with possibly now and then a savior emerging from the ranks.

figure 2

188. *COMPANY B, PLATOON 2*

Primary Criminality: Nos. 185–200



Description: Somatotype 3½–5–2. A 20-year-old slightly asthenic mesomorph of average stature. Arms a little asthenic or underdeveloped, and there is an appearance of general inadequacy which belies the rather hard facial expression. Narrow, scoliotic trunk and flaccid abdominal muscles. Yet this is *almost* a tough physique and it is closer to the golf-ball than to the tennis-ball *habitus*. Primary *g*+1; secondary *g*, no trace. Primary *t* 2, secondary *t* 2. Features pudgy, knobby. He is said to have a "Shanty Irish" look. Nose like a radish. Hands and feet crude and heavy. General strength 3, hand strength 2. Coordination only fair. He walks with a surly lurch. Not good at any kind of athletics or at fighting.

PRIMARY CRIMINALITY

Temperament: He is misleadin
less you have the habit of lookir
yond superficial appearances—b
the manifest pattern. He looks
scowly weakling, and he at first
viscerotonically adaptive to th
pressed attitudes of others. Yet
neath he is stubbornly somatoton
is ready to take long chances. He
marily interested in adventure a
tivity, not in adaptation or in
tonic satisfactions. To casual obse
he seems more viscerotonic than s
tonic. He is misleading in the w
an emasculated tomcat is mislead
the daytime. His supply of latent
is remarkable. This boy was able
ry on fairly good outward relat
the Inn through the day while sp
most of his night trailing around
tough gang, and was able to do
long periods without breakdown
parent fatigue. Temperament: P
nant somatotonia well supported
cerotonia. The aggression agai
ciety" is overt and viscerotoni
covert; there is little third com
in it. ψ 3–2–1.

Delinquency: Extensive truar
ing the first years of school, and
ent stealing during the same peri
merous court appearances betw
and 16 for larceny, breaking an
ing, use of dangerous weapons,
Between 16 and 19, five appeara
automobile stealing. No record
linquency of violence although
times caught with weapons, a
caught with a revolver.

Origins and Family: Fourth
Irish urban family. The fathe
teamster of average physique
long delinquency record: Drun
assault and battery, idleness
orderly conduct, desertion. He
family when this boy was an
died of pneumonia and alcoh
about 40. Mother a truant an
born child" as a girl. She had
timate children and was al-
idered irresponsible. This boy
with her until 14, then to fos-
s under agency management.
ing died in childhood, one is
tic, one has a long record of
inquency.

History, Achievement: Fin-
sixth grade after many fail-
reports center at 85 with very
iation. He gives just about that
n although he has bright blue
there is the feeling that "some-
boy has good in him and ought
arter."
cational plans or special abili-
athletic interests. The AMI is
sed on the low *t* (earthiness)
obvious need. The boy looks as
ded a lot. His Irish pug-face is
that it is attractive, especially
e watery blue eyes fix steadily

al: Early history unknown. No
llnesses or injuries of record.
to age 15 and intermittently
o 20. PX reveals no significant
y except poor teeth and flat

ng Record: At first he made a
pression and seemed adaptive.
time it developed that he had
ociating almost every night with
he most troublesome of Boston's
gangs. This was a loose organi-
f youths specializing in automo-
aling, breaking and entering,
ng, robbery of drunks. While
was with us the gang manhan-
couple of policemen severely
to precipitate a general "clean-
the gang. It developed that our
been a fringer, or persistent
n, for more than a year. Shortly
s episode he began to appear at
in alcoholized condition and
up on him, returning him to
rring agency.

During the succeeding half-dozen years he has had a bad time of it. Exempted from military service because of his record, he became more alcoholic and was more frequently involved in robberies. He has spent four of the past five years under detention, is now serving a sentence which will probably extend beyond the publication date of this volume.

Summary: Asthenic mesomorphy with good energy but with enough gynandroid or asthenic interference to incapacitate him for fighting and athletics. Good health except for history of enuresis; dull normal mentality. Persistent delinquency of appropriation.

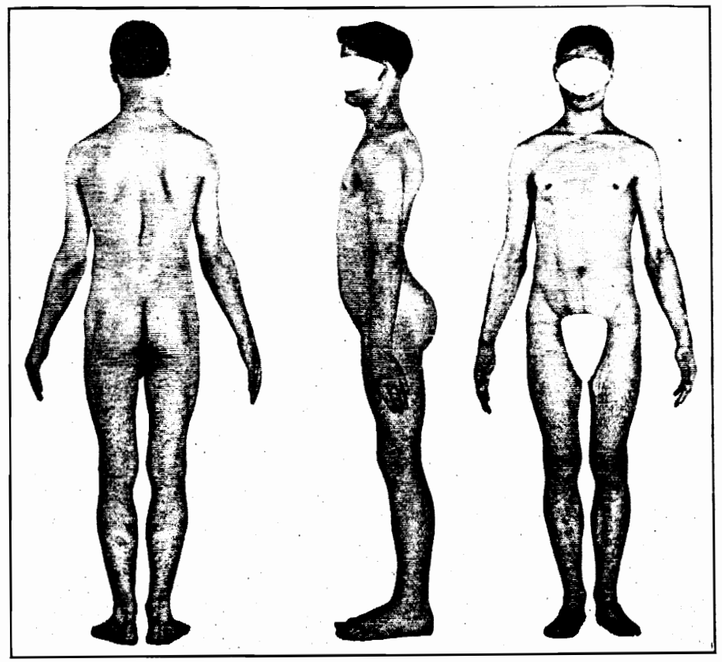
ID 2–2–3 (7)

Insufficiencies:	
IQ	1
Mop	1
Psychiatric:	
1st order	
2nd order	1
C-penia (3–2–1)	
C-phobic	1
G-phrenic	
Residual D:	
Primary crim.	3

Comment: Outlook considered poor by local authorities. He has grown more alcoholic and with advancing maturity has lost the youthful winsomeness which served him so well in earlier years. He now seems more like a weak and broken-down character. The important point is that he has always been essentially a weak character, perhaps closer to the CPI borderline than to anything that could be called dangerous criminality. With his asthenic and gynandroid complication he had no more business aspiring to make the grade as a tough criminal than he would have trying to make a professional football team. His supply of energy was remarkable but was perhaps also his undoing, for if he had not had it he would perhaps have been more inclined to compromise and adapt, as most of us have to do. In a sense this is a singularly unfortunate youth. Really a weakling and fairly close to the borderline both mentally and physically he yet is considered "normal" by conventional standards. He has therefore been given rather stiff sentences and will in future be treated by the law with comparatively little mercy. If he commits a major crime it will be difficult to make out a case that he was the victim of a psychiatric disorder. Yet he is a victim of constitutional inadequacy as surely as anybody is.

figure 3

8. *COMPANY A, PLATOON 1, SECTION 1*
Mental Insufficiency, Mild: Nos. 1–13



Description: Somatotype 3–4½–3. An 18-year-old moderately mesomorphic youth an inch under average stature. No particular dysplasias but there is a strong suggestion of asthenic insufficiency or of inadequate development in all segments. Primary *g*±, secondary *g*+1 and diffuse or general. Primary *t* 2, secondary *t* 2. Features small and feminoid but ill-formed and poorly matched. Sharp, pointed chin with a sprawling nose; wide, staring, lusterless eyes. The skin is muddy or blotchy all over the body. Hands and feet poorly formed, stubby. General strength 2, hand strength 2. Coordination good in a feminine sense. He moves with a certain "haunting grace like an arabesque in a minor key," as one of his acquaintances put it. He likes the gymnasium as a mouse likes open spaces—is physically as defenseless as a baby.

Temperament: He … overenergized, and the … that of feminine soma… example of the *DAMP* … He discusses art and mu… mindedly with meticu… guage. He seems to b… soft, quiet manner like … overenergized nurse i… bay. He is constantly … delicate maneuvers. … characterized always b… ous coyness. There se… cerebrotonic restraint. … treading on eggs an… been called schizoid. … cerotonic hunger for … proval, and a wistfu… ciable. All three ter… ponents are well rep… overwhelmed by the … complication and … blow-ups are of fre… ψ 2–2–1.

Delinquency: Vi… trums and destructi… early as 3. These spas… curred throughout h… twice been labeled *e*… atric clinics. Persiste… first year of schoo… stubborn behavior … From early childho… peculiar habit of "… up of his clothes wh… on, and during t… sometimes fecally i… tory of stealing. Fr… because of irregula… homosexuality. To … at 15 as an incorrigi…

Origins and Fam… urban family. The … serted before this … nothing is known … is a gynandroid 200-pound woman … with a court reco… for … coholism, violation … has twenty-six sc… …s during a period of seventeen years. Suffers from high blood pressure. She is energetic, mannish, dresses well, and makes a good impression. Boy reared intermittently at home and in foster homes under agency management until sent to state correctional school at 15.

Mental History, Achievement: Finished the seventh grade after many failures. IQ reports range from 71 to 79, here called 75. He gives the impression of borderline mentality or of almost total lack of mental fabric, although he has acquired quite a pattern of pseudo-cultural or pseudo-aesthetic language habits.

No vocational plan. He plays two or three musical instruments. The AMI that of a soft-spoken, effeminate youth who speaks in an affected manner, tells a disconnected story of warfare with the mother and of various ambivalences, complexes and the like—these words apparently picked up like pennies from social workers.

Medical: Birth and early history not known. No record of serious illnesses or injuries. History of fecal and urinary incontinence during his tantrums of rage, at least to age 15. Has been called epileptoid, but never diagnosed epileptic. With his active social agency background he has had many referrals to hospitals: Measles, mumps, whooping cough, chicken pox, tonsillectomy, appendectomy, running ears, nose bleeds, sprains, bad teeth, question of weak heart, psychiatric examinations. He has been hospitalized about twenty times. PX reveals no significant pathology.

Running Record: At the Inn this lad was rather an enigma. It seemed impossible to win his confidence except on an arty basis, or in an arty and *DAMP RAT* manner. Some of our gynandrophrenes became well acquainted with him but none of the staff was able to do so. He would do no kind of work except dishwashing or restaurant work. If pressed in any direction he would break out with a whole volley of somatic complaints. If pressed a little further there would be a rage tantrum with tearing of clothes and perhaps fecal incontinence. He showed a somewhat stupid sexiness with promiscuous homosexual advances, was repeatedly caught indulging in voyeurism within the House. On the other hand he was one of our scrupulously honest boys in money matters, was generous, offered to contribute from his slender earnings as a dishwasher to projects for the comfort and entertainment of "poorer boys."

We gave up on him after a few weeks and he drifted in the community for about a year. He was then inducted into military service, and was not given a medical discharge until about a year later. During the succeeding two years he has again been drifting or wandering about, has had a few odd jobs. He is now quite alcoholic but has kept out of trouble and seems not to have deteriorated observably.

Summary: An asthenic mesomorph of low *t* with secondary *g*. Overenergized, with epileptoid tantrums. *DAMP RAT* syndrome. Mentality near borderline. Many minor ailments. Persistent homosexuality.

ID 3–4–0 (7)

Insufficiencies:
- IQ 2
- Mop 1

Psychiatric:
- 1st order .....
- 2nd order 2
  - *Epileptoid (2–2–1)*
- C-phobic .....
- G-phrenic 2
  - *DAMP RAT*

Residual D:
- Primary crim. .....

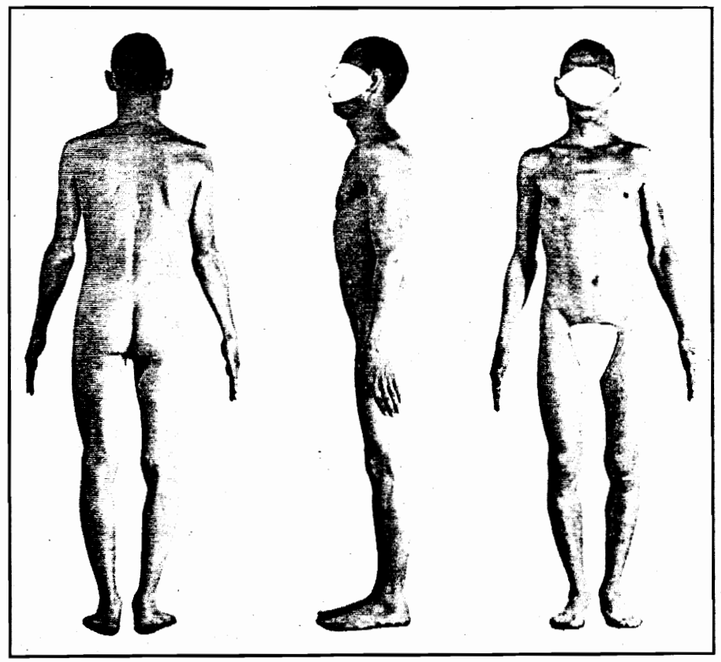
Comment: Outlook considered dark gray if not black. The real difficulty does not seem to lie in the homosexuality but in the combination of the DAMP RAT syndrome with a low IQ. This is one mixture that never seems to work, although neither of the two factors mentioned seems to be in itself at all fatal. *DAMP RAT*s reach the social top when they have first-rate mentality, and the near morons reach it if they have first-rate mesomorphy.

This is an example of one finding which is nearly constant in the series—that of the *DAMP RAT* syndrome resulting from a mating in which the mother is heavy, mesomorphic, and gynandroid, and was probably the more vigorous of the two parents.

figure 4

9. COMPANY A, PLATOON 1, SECTION 1

Mental Insufficiency, Mild: Nos. 1–13



Description: Somatotype 2–4½–3½. A 19-year-old dysplastic and dysmorphic mesomorph an inch under average stature. Neck and trunk powerfully developed. Arms show some distal ectomorphic dysplasia and also badly developed or arrested mesomorphy. Head microcephalic and oddly shaped. Primary and secondary *g*, no trace. Primary *t* 2, secondary *t* 2. Features coarse, dysmorphically large, poorly formed although the hands and feet are well shaped—he has a strain of good blood from somewhere. General and hand strength 2. Coordination poor. He handles himself as if he were two or three people, has no athletic ability, cannot fight at all.

Temperament: [illegible]ic although ineffectu[illegible]la-daptively so. He [illegible]ng about of a young [illegible]ed setter. Somatoro[illegible]he claims to have st[illegible]es, to have owned f[illegible]ve organized a dozen[illegible]ue love of danger, is [illegible]ng unnecessary chanc[illegible]ely reckless driver [illegible]nd herein seems to [illegible]usness. Courageousl[illegible]ith no vestige of figh[illegible]re-quently beaten [illegible]ws minor abrasions [illegible]of wear and tear. [illegible]lar conflict in the pi[illegible]of a cerebrotonia c[illegible]so-matotonia. He [illegible]tic and almost a ph[illegible]he photograph, at 1[illegible]-1.

Delinquency: [illegible]rn from early child[illegible]ru-ancy and freque[illegible]in-corrigible at 6 t[illegible]er to agency mana[illegible]in twenty-five diffe[illegible]ur-ing nine years, [illegible]om nearly all of th[illegible]ate correctional sch[illegible]ng and incorrigibil[illegible]no-bile stealing bet[illegible]eak-ing and entering [illegible]ar-rested at 18 for [illegible]us weapons.

Origins and F[illegible]tal child, father said t[illegible]vic origin. Mother [illegible]om France who has [illegible]ely, never accepted [illegible]re-sponsibility. Boy [illegible]un-til 6, then turne[illegible]an-agement.

Mental Histo[illegible]eft school in the s[illegible]orts range from 65 [illegible]75. Many times ex[illegible]ists and twice recommended to be sent to an institution for the feebleminded, but this was never done. He is borderline, not technically feebleminded.

No vocational plan or special ability other than a certain precociousness and independence. He "made a living in Boston on his own from about age ten," and it is reported at one agency that at 8 he "chewed, smoked, drank, and fornicated." The AMI is based on his "rejection," lack of a father, etc.

Medical: Early data not known. Long history of minor complaints since 6. Through social agencies he has been in contact with the medical profession more than forty times in a dozen years, usually because of upper respiratory infections, suspected illnesses, headaches, or vague somatic complaints. He has congenitally defective vision and badly formed, carious teeth. PX reveals no pathology of further significance.

Running Record: At the Inn he responded like a steady customer at a United Cigar Store, selecting what he wanted from a narrow range of offerings and accepting it almost without comment. About a third of his time was devoted to somatic complaints—headaches, stomach aches, ear aches, eye aches, and unlocalized aches. Hospital examination usually failed to reveal pathology. When not preoccupied with somatic difficulties he was generally involved either in the process of or in recovery from somatorotic episodes. At no time did he carry out work assignments and efforts to locate him in an outside job were wholly unsuccessful. There were periodic bouts with alcohol.

For another two years he lived in the same general pattern but was finally picked up as a draft dodger and was inducted into military service. In about a year he was given a dishonorable discharge for desertion, although not until after he had got married and started a family. For the past three years he has been regarded as a sort of bum, more deteriorated than formerly, and increasingly alcoholic.

Summary: Dysplastic, poorly developed mesomorphic physique with brittle and ineffectual arms. Mentality close to borderline. Somatorotic. Defective visually and dentally. Vague physiological insufficiency. Persistent semicriminal irresponsibility. Developing alcoholism.

ID 4–2–1 (7)

Insufficiency:	
IQ	2
Mop	2
Psychiatric:	
1st order	
2nd order	1
Somatorotic (2–2–1)	
C-phobic	1
G-phrenic	
Residual D:	
Primary crim.	1

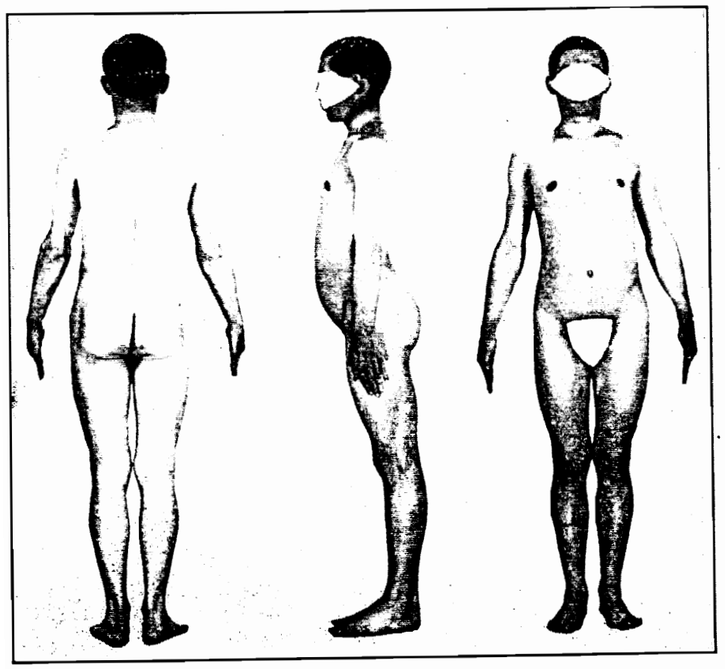
Comment: Outlook considered most dubious by local authorities. He is not regarded as a potentially successful or very dangerous criminal but seems rather to be drifting toward semi-institutional care and alcoholism.

With a low IQ, physical incompetence, and seriously defective vision, he was badly handicapped from the start. Such a person has practically no chance at success and security as a criminal, but needs either to submit to the institutions of society at large (however degrading) or to fall back in the end on specialized institutions for the care of the defective and unwary—mental hospitals and penal establishments. This youth "ought" to have found that out by the time he was 15. When the matter was put to him in essentially that way at the Inn he agreed in principle but thought he could beat the game. That is to say, he could not get into perspective regarding his own powers and constitutional endowment. There was his real failure. He is probably still unconvinced and as the fact becomes more inescapable to his full consciousness he will attempt to destroy the latter—with alcohol.

figure 5

21. COMPANY A, PLATOON 1, SECTION 2

Mental Insufficiency, Moderate: Nos. 14–26



Description: Somatotype 3½–5–2. A 21-year-old moderately asthenic mesomorph three inches under average stature. Arms short and budlike although heavy boned. Legs poorly developed. Heavy, chunky trunk. Primary *g*+1, secondary *g*±. Primary *t* 2: Entire body ill-proportioned, the various segments poorly matched. Secondary *t* 2: Features asymmetrical, mismatched, and poorly modeled. Skin texture coarse. Mouth heavy and muscular but with poor tonus. General strength 3, hand strength 2. Coordination very poor. He walks with an undulating shuffle; the legs seem to function independently of trunk muscles. He dislikes the gymnasium and PX. Inept at games and at fighting.

Temperament: S… inant, despite gen… and ineffectuality. …s active, in an awkwar… gressive way. Excess… and a small dose of t… extraversion, both s… cerotonic. When alc… less, behaved like a … ten where his bone … tion of cerebrotoni… sation consisted ma… with intermittent … matic complaints (… *driac* at one psychi…

Delinquency: E… the beginning of gr… late) running awa… and correctional h… at 9 and 10. Lar… drunkenness at 16 … Robbery with firea… automobiles at 18 … a record of fifteen … various delinquenc… Twice arrested for …

Origins and Fam… urban family. Bot… from Lithuania. Fa… type of middle sta… quate, alcoholic," … records. His IQ is r… time of our first in… been fifty-two ch… mostly for alcoholi… linquency. Later, … with diagnosis *ma… sis.* Mother describ… grasping, alcoholic… noid" and "freque… lice as a drunk." … from the home by … vention, at about … foster homes. The … *dementia praecox* a… ized at 20.

Mental History, … ished the third gra… ures, then placed in agency-controlled schools for two more years. IQ reports range from 60 to 74, bracketed here at 67. He gives an impression of high-grade feeblemindedness, combined with restless energy and with a certain dissociative or schizoid tendency. Has an obsession or belief which has been called (olfactory) hallucinative; thinks that his body emits a powerful odor, that people move as far from him as possible when he comes into a room.

No vocational plans or special abilities. The AMI that of a bewildered, floundering youth who seems to be "trying hard" and to stand in acute need of mothering.

Medical: Early history not known. Called a "queer and unadaptable child" at 6. Two episodes of pneumonia in early childhood. Several digestive upsets and numerous infections with pin worms. Prolonged treatments for venereal disease. Enuresis at least to age 16. Many psychiatric referrals resulting in such diagnoses as: *Psychopathic personality, without psychosis; primary behavior disorder; schizophrenia, other types; psychosis with psychopathic personality.* PX reveals no additional pathology. He does not know what to do with his body; seems to be somehow at odds with it.

Running Record: This boy was mainly a psychiatric and medical problem. We merely observed him, while providing headquarters for a campaign of clinical treatment, psychiatric consultation, and psychoanalytic therapy. For the better part of a year he spent most of his time in clinics; complained of numerous somatic pains, was treated regularly for lues, had recurrences of pinworms, hemorrhoids, eye trouble, and tooth trouble. He had a series of psychiatric consultations under the direction of another agency, and as this progressed, so did his alcoholism. He learned that he *had* to drink, because of repressed homosexuality and because of being rejected: also because when he didn't drink he had bad dreams about his father, etc.

Through several years, great psychiatric effort was focused on this case. At "middle-class prices," what would amount to some thousands of dollars was expended in the enterprise. Meanwhile the boy seems to have deteriorated gradually, to have become slightly more alcoholic, and perhaps a little more schizophrenic. Exempt from military service, he still lives under agency surveillance, goes on heavy alcoholic sprees about once in three weeks, and at last report was contemplating marriage. His psychiatrist suggested it "for therapeutic purposes."

Summary: Asthenic mesomorph with weak arms and an ineffectual personality. Feebleminded, with numerous immunological weaknesses. Alcoholic. Extensive juvenile misbehavior. Suggestion of prepsychotic state.

ID 5–3–0 (8)

Insufficiencies:	
IQ	3
Mop	2
Psychiatric:	
1st order (3–2–2)	2
2nd order	
C-phobic	1
G-phrenic	
Residual D:	
Primary crim.	

Comment: Outlook now called poor. Probably institutional care will be necessary in the end. From a long-range point of view, the principal problem in a case like this might seem to be first to prevent the boy from reproducing; and second, to make things as pleasant and comfortable for him as possible. Having been born into the predicament of human life without exercise of the privilege of demurral, he is certainly entitled to the most considerate and compassionate treatment available. It would seem that, in the minds of decent people, that principle ought to apply to any living creature. But it is difficult to understand deliberate encouragement of such a boy to reproduce his kind, except in the event of a very desperate and acute shortage of human beings on the earth. As for the boy's alleged psychosis, it is possible that the psychotic state is itself only a symptom which should under some circumstances be encouraged. It is possible that psychosis is sometimes pleasant. Perhaps alcoholism is only a blind groping for a certain essential pleasantness which is associated with some psychotic states.

figure 6

CURRICULUM VITA

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Awards:

Merit-based Tuition Waver.
Teaching Assistantship in Philosophy and History Departments, VPI & SU, 1990-1992.

Teaching Experience:

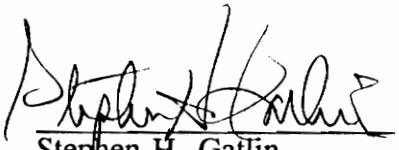
Lee College, Cleveland, TN. Part-time English Instructor, 1985-1990
Cleveland State Community College, Cleveland, TN, 1987-1988
University of Tennessee at Chattanooga, Chattanooga, TN. 1975-1976.

Presentations:

Graduate Student Conference in HPS, Princeton University, March 7, 1992. "William H. Sheldon's Constitutional Psychology: The Social Construction of the Somatotype"

Center for the Study of Science in Society, VPI & SU, April 2, 1992. "William H. Sheldon's Constitutional Psychology: Deconstructing the Somatotype"

Southern Society for Philosophy and Psychology, Annual Meeting, April 16, 1992, Memphis, TN. "William H. Sheldon's Constitutional Psychology: Science or Art?"



Stephen H. Gatlin