Racism and Research: The Case of the Tuskegee Syphilis Study

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At that time seventy-four of the test subjects were still alive;
only twenty-eight, but perhaps more than 100, had died
directly from advanced syphilitic lesions. In August 1972,
HEW appointed an investigatory panel which issued a report
the following year. The panel found the study to have been
“ethically unjustified,” and argued that penicillin should
have been provided to the men.
This article attempts to place the Tuskegee Study in a his-
torical context and to assess its ethical implications. Despite
the media attention which the study received, the HEW Final
Report, and the criticism expressed by several professional
organizations, the experiment has been largely misunder-
stood. The most basic questions of how the study was under-
taken in the first place and why it continued for forty years
were never addressed by the HEW investigation. Moreover,
the panel misconstrued the nature of the experiment, failing
to consult important documents available at the National
Archives which bear significantly on its ethical assessment.
Only by examining the specific ways in which values are
engaged in scientific research can the study be understood.

Racism and Medical Opinion

A brief review of the prevailing scientific thought regarding
race and heredity in the early twentieth century is funda-
mental for an understanding of the Tuskegee Study. By the
turn of the century, Darwinism had provided a new ration-
ale for American racism. Essentially primitive peoples, it
was argued, could not be assimilated into a complex, white
civilization. Scientists speculated that in the struggle for sur-
vival the Negro in America was doomed. Particularly prone
to disease, vice, and crime, black Americans could not be
helped by education or philanthropy. Social Darwinists ana-
alyzed census data to predict the virtual extinction of the
Negro in the twentieth century, for they believed the Negro
race in America was in the throes of a degenerative evolu-
tionary process.

The medical profession supported these findings of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century anthropologists, eth-
nologists, and biologists. Physicians studying the effects of
emancipation on health concluded almost universally that
freedom had caused the mental, moral, and physical dete-
rrioration of the black population. They substantiated this
argument by citing examples in the comparative anatomy of
the black and white races. As Dr. W.T. English wrote: “A
careful inspection reveals the body of the negro a mass of
minor defects and imperfections from the crown of the head
to the soles of the feet....” Cranial structures, wide nasal
apertures, receding chins, projecting jaws, all typified the Ne-
gro as the lowest species in the Darwinian hierarchy.

Interest in racial differences centered on the sexual nature
of blacks. The Negro, doctors explained, possessed an exces-
sive sexual desire, which threatened the very foundations of
white society. As one physician noted in the Journal of the
American Medical Association, “The negro springs from a
southern race, and as such his sexual appetite is strong; all
of his environments stimulate this appetite, and as a general
rule his emotional type of religion certainly does not de-
crease it.” Doctors reported a complete lack of morality on
the part of blacks:

Virtue in the negro race is like angels’ visits—few and far
between. In a practice of sixteen years have never examined
a virgin negro over fourteen years of age.

A particularly ominous feature of this overzealous sexuality,
doctors argued, was the black males’ desire for white women.
“A perversion from which most races are exempt,” wrote
Dr. English, “prompts the negro’s inclination towards white
women, whereas other races incline towards females of their
own.” Although English estimated the “gray matter of the
neuro brain” to be at least a thousand years behind that of
the white races, his genital organs were overdeveloped. As
Dr. William Lee Howed noted:

The attacks on defenseless white women are evidences of
racial instincts that are about as amenable to ethical culture
as is the inherent odor of the race. When education will

THE EXPERIMENT AND HEW’S ETHICAL REVIEW

Racism and Research: The Case of the Tuskegee Syphilis Study
by ALLAN M. BRANDT

In 1932 the U.S. Public Health Service (USPHS) initiated an experiment in Macon County, Alabama, to determine the natural course of untreated, latent syphilis in black males. The test comprised 400 syphilitic men, as well as 200 uninfected men who served as controls. The first published report of the study appeared in 1936 with subsequent papers issued every four to six years, through the 1960s. When penicillin became widely available by the early 1950s as the preferred treatment for syphilis, the men did not receive therapy. In fact on several occasions, the USPHS actually sought to prevent treatment. Moreover, a committee at the federally operated Center for Disease Control decided in 1969 that the study should be continued. Only in 1972, when accounts of the study first appeared in the national press, did the Department of Health, Education and Welfare halt the experiment.

Allan M. Brandt is a doctoral candidate in the Department of History, Columbia University. He is presently writing a social history of venereal disease in the United States. Mr. Brandt was a student intern at The Hastings Center in 1977.
reduce the size of the negro's penis as well as bring about the
sensitiveness of the terminal fibers which exist in the Cauc-
sian, then will it also be able to prevent the African's birth-
right to sexual madness and excess.\footnote{In 1865, Claude Bernard, the famous French physiologist, out-
lined the distinction between a "study in nature" and experimentation. A study in nature required simple observation, an essentially passive
act, while experimentation demanded intervention which altered the
original condition. The Tuskegee Study was thus clearly not a study
in nature. The very act of diagnosis altered the original conditions.
"It is on this very possibility of acting or not acting on a body," wrote
Bernard, "that the distinction will exclusively rest between sciences
called sciences of observation and sciences called experimental."}

One southern medical journal proposed "Castration Instead of
Lynching," as retribution for black sexual crimes. "An
impressive trial by a ghost-like kuklux klan [sic] and a 'ghost'
physician or surgeon to perform the operation would make
it an event the 'patient' would never forget," noted the edi-
torial.\footnote{In 1929, under a grant from the Julius Rosenwald Fund,
the USPHS conducted studies in the rural South to determine
the prevalence of syphilis among blacks and explore the
possibilities for mass treatment. The USPHS found Macon
County, Alabama, in which the town of Tuskegee is located,
to have the highest syphilis rate of the six counties surveyed.
The Rosenwald Study concluded that mass treatment could
be successfully implemented among rural blacks. Although
it is doubtful that the necessary funds would have been allo-
cated even in the best economic conditions, after the econ-
omy collapsed in 1929, the findings were ignored. It is, how-
ever, ironic that the Tuskegee Study came to be based on
findings of the Rosenwald Study that demonstrated the pos-
sibilities of mass treatment.}

According to these physicians, lust and immorality, unstable
families, and reversion to barbaric tendencies made
blacks especially prone to venereal diseases. One doctor esti-
mated that over 50 percent of all Negroes over the age of
twenty-five were syphilitic.\footnote{Three years later, in 1932, Dr. Taliaferro Clark, Chief of
the USPHS Venereal Disease Division and author of the
Rosenwald Study report, decided that conditions in Macon County merited renewed attention. Clark believed the high
prevalence of syphilis offered an "unusual opportunity" for
observation. From its inception, the USPHS regarded the
Tuskegee Study as a classic "study in nature," rather than an experiment.\footnote{The recent syphilis control demonstration carried out in Ma-
con County, with the financial assistance of the Julius Rosen-
wald Fund, revealed the presence of an unusually high rate in
this county and, what is more remarkable, the fact that 99
per cent of this group was entirely without previous treat-
ment. This combination, together with the expected coopera-
tion of your hospital, offers an unparalleled opportunity for
carrying on this piece of scientific research which probably
cannot be duplicated anywhere else in the world.\footnote{Although no formal protocol appears to have been writ-
ten, several letters of Clark and Cumming suggest what the
USPHS hoped to find. Clark indicated that it would be im-
portant to see how disease affected the daily lives of the men:}

They come for treatment at the beginning and at the end.
When there are visible manifestations or when harried by
pain, they readily come, for as a race they are not averse to
physic; but tell them not, though they look well and feel well,
that they are still diseased. Here ignorance rates science a
fool...\footnote{The results of these studies of case records suggest the desira-
bility of making a further study of the effect of untreated
syphilis on the human economy among people now living and
engaged in their daily pursuits.\footnote{It also seems that the USPHS believed the experiment might
demonstrate that antisyphilitic treatment was unnecessary.
As Cumming noted: "It is expected the results of this study
may have a marked bearing on the treatment, or conversely
the non-necessity of treatment, of cases of latent syphilis."\footnote{The immediate source of Cumming's hypothesis appears to
have been the famous Oslo Study of untreated syphilis. Be-
tween 1890 and 1910, Professor C. Boeck, the chief of the}}

Even the best educated black, according to Murrell, could not
be convinced to seek treatment for syphilis.\footnote{The Origins of the Experiment}
Venereal disease, according to some doctors, threatened the future of
the race. The medical profession attributed the low birth rate
among blacks to the high prevalence of venereal disease
which caused stillbirths and miscarriages. Moreover, doctors believed that
treatment for venereal disease among blacks was impossible,
particularly because in its latent stage the symptoms of syph-
ilis become quiescent. As Dr. Thomas W. Murrell wrote:

So the scourge sweeps among them. Those that are treated
are only half cured, and the effort to assimilate a complex
civilization driving their diseased minds until the results are
criminal records. Perhaps here, in conjunction with tubercu-
losis, will be the end of the negro problem. Disease will ac-
complish what man cannot do.\footnote{This particular configuration of ideas formed the core of
medical opinion concerning blacks, sex, and disease in the
early twentieth century. Doctors generally discounted socio-
economic explanations of the state of black health, arguing
that better medical care could not alter the evolutionary
scheme.\footnote{In 1865, Claude Bernard, the famous French physiologist, out-
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The medical opinion concerning blacks, sex, and disease in the
seventeenth century estimated that the number of insane Negroes had in-
creased thirteen-fold since the end of the Civil War. Dr.
Murrell's conclusion echoed the most informed anthropo-
logical and ethnological data:

The Origins of the Experiment

In 1929, under a grant from the Julius Rosenwald Fund,
the USPHS conducted studies in the rural South to determine
the prevalence of syphilis among blacks and explore the

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Oslo Venereal Clinic, withheld treatment from almost two thousand patients infected with syphilis. He was convinced that therapies then available, primarily mercurial ointment, were of no value. When arsenic therapy became widely available by 1910, after Paul Ehrlich’s historic discovery of “606,” the study was abandoned. E. Brusgaard, Boeck’s successor, conducted a follow-up study of 473 of the untreated patients from 1925 to 1927. He found that 27.9 percent of these patients had undergone a “spontaneous cure,” and now manifested no symptoms of the disease. Moreover, he estimated that as many as 70 percent of all syphilitics went through life without inconvenience from the disease.20 His study, however, clearly acknowledged the dangers of untreated syphilis for the remaining 30 percent.

Thus every major textbook of syphilis at the time of the Tuskegee Study’s inception strongly advocated treating syphilis even in its latent stages, which follow the initial inflammatory reaction. In discussing the Oslo Study, Dr. J. E. Moore, one of the nation’s leading venereologists wrote, “This summary of Bruusgaard’s study is by no means intended to suggest that syphilis be allowed to pass untreated.”26 If a complete cure could not be effected, at least the most devastating effects of the disease could be avoided. Although the standard therapies of the time, arsenical compounds and bismuth injection, involved certain dangers because of their toxicity, the alternatives were much worse. As the Oslo Study had shown, untreated syphilis could lead to cardiovascular disease, insanity, and premature death.27 Moore wrote in his 1933 textbook:

Though it imposes a slight though measurable risk of its own, treatment markedly diminishes the risk from syphilis. In latent syphilis, as I shall show, the probability of progression, relapse, or death is reduced from a probable 25-30 percent without treatment to about 5 percent with it; and the gravity of the relapse if it occurs, is markedly diminished.28

“Another compelling reason for treatment,” noted Moore, “exists in the fact that every patient with latent syphilis may be, and perhaps is, infectious for others.”29 In 1932, the year in which the Tuskegee Study began, the USPHS sponsored and published a paper by Moore and six other syphilis experts that strongly argued for treating latent syphilis.30

The Oslo Study, therefore, could not have provided justification for the USPHS to undertake a study that did not entail treatment. Rather, the suppositions that conditions in Tuskegee existed “naturally” and that the men would not be treated anyway provided the experiment’s rationale. In turn, these two assumptions rested on the prevailing medical attitudes concerning blacks, sex, and disease. For example, Clark explained the prevalence of venereal disease in Macon County by emphasizing promiscuity among blacks:

This state of affairs is due to the paucity of doctors, rather low intelligence of the Negro population in this section, depressed economic conditions, and the very common promiscuous sex relations of this population group which not only contribute to the spread of syphilis but also contribute to the prevailing indifference with regard to treatment.31

In fact, Moore, who had written so persuasively in favor of treating latent syphilis, suggested that existing knowledge did not apply to Negroes. Although he had called the Oslo Study “a never-to-be-repeated human experiment,”32 he served as an expert consultant to the Tuskegee Study:

I think that such a study as you have contemplated would be of immense value. It will be necessary of course in the consideration of the results to evaluate the special factors introduced by a selection of the material from negro males. Syphilis in the negro is in many respects almost a different disease from syphilis in the white.33

Dr. O. C. Wenger, chief of the federally operated venereal disease clinic at Hot Springs, Arkansas, praised Moore’s judgment, adding, “This study will emphasize those differences.”34 On another occasion he advised Clark, “We must remember we are dealing with a group of people who are illiterate, have no conception of time, and whose personal history is always indefinite.”35

The doctors who devised and directed the Tuskegee Study accepted the mainstream assumptions regarding blacks and venereal disease. The premise that blacks, promiscuous and lustful, would not seek or continue treatment, shaped the study. A test of untreated syphilis seemed “natural” because the USPHS presumed the men would never be treated; the Tuskegee Study made that a self-fulfilling prophecy.

Selecting the Subjects

Clark sent Dr. Raymond Vonderlehr to Tuskegee in September 1932 to assemble a sample of men with latent syphilis for the experiment. The basic design of the study called for the selection of syphilitic black males between the ages of twenty-five and sixty, a thorough physical examination including x-rays, and finally, a spinal tap to determine the incidence of neuro-syphilis.36 They had no intention of providing any treatment for the infected men.37 The USPHS originally scheduled the whole experiment to last six months; it seemed to be both a simple and inexpensive project. The task of collecting the sample, however, proved to be more difficult than the USPHS had supposed. Vonderlehr canvassed the largely illiterate, poverty-stricken population of sharecroppers and tenant farmers in search of test subjects. If his circulars requested only men over twenty-five to attend his clinics, none would appear, suspecting he was conducting draft physicals. Therefore, he was forced to test large numbers of women and men who did not fit the experiment’s specifications. This involved considerable expense since the USPHS had promised the Macon County Board of Health that it would treat those who were infected, but not included in the study.38 Clark wrote to Vonderlehr about the situation: “It never once occurred to me that we would be called upon to treat a large part of the county as return for the privilege of making this study... I am anxious to keep the expenditures for treatment down to the lowest possible point because it is the one item of expenditure in connection with the study most difficult to defend despite our knowledge of the need therefor.”39 Vonderlehr responded: “If we could find from 100 to 200 cases... we would not have to do another Wassermann on useless individuals...”40

The Hastings Center
Significantly, the attempt to develop the sample contradicted the prediction the USPHS had made initially regarding the prevalence of the disease in Macon County. Overall rates of syphilis fell well below expectations; as opposed to the USPHS projection of 35 percent, 20 percent of those tested were actually diseased.\textsuperscript{41} Moreover, those who had sought and received previous treatment far exceeded the expectations of the USPHS. Clark noted in a letter to Vonderlehr:

I find your report of March 6th quite interesting but regret the necessity for Wassermanning [sic] . . . such a large number of individuals in order to uncover this relatively limited number of untreated cases.\textsuperscript{42}

Further difficulties arose in enlisting the subjects to participate in the experiment, to be “Wassermanned,” and to return for a subsequent series of examinations. Vonderlehr found that only the offer of treatment elicited the cooperation of the men. They were told they were ill and were promised free care. Offered therapy, they became willing subjects.\textsuperscript{43} The USPHS did not tell the men that they were participating in an experiment; on the contrary, the subjects believed they were being treated for “bad blood”—the rural South’s colloquialism for syphilis. They thought they were participating in a public health demonstration similar to the one that had been conducted by the Julius Rosenwald Fund in Tuskegee several years earlier. In the end, the men were so eager for medical care that the number of defaulters in the experiment proved to be insignificant.\textsuperscript{44}

To preserve the subjects’ interest, Vonderlehr gave most of the men mercurial ointment, a noneffective drug, while some of the younger men apparently received inadequate dosages of neoarsphenamine.\textsuperscript{45} This required Vonderlehr to write frequently to Clark requesting supplies. He feared the experiment would fail if the men were not offered treatment.

It is desirable and essential if the study is to be a success to maintain the interest of each of the cases examined by me through to the time when the spinal puncture can be completed. Expenditure of several hundred dollars for drugs for these men would be well worth while if their interest and cooperation would be maintained in so doing. . . . It is my desire to keep the main purpose of the work from the negroes in the county and continue their interest in treatment. That is what the vast majority wants and the examination seems relatively unimportant to them in comparison. It would probably cause the entire experiment to collapse if the clinics were stopped before the work is completed.\textsuperscript{46}

On another occasion he explained:

Dozens of patients have been sent away without treatment during the past two weeks and it would have been impossible to continue without the free distribution of drugs because of the unfavorable impression made on the negro.\textsuperscript{47}

The readiness of the test subjects to participate of course contradicted the notion that blacks would not seek or continue therapy.

The final procedure of the experiment was to be a spinal tap to test for evidence of neuro-syphilis. The USPHS presented this purely diagnostic exam, which often entails considerable pain and complications, to the men as a “special treatment.” Clark explained to Moore:

We have not yet commenced the spinal punctures. This operation will be deferred to the last in order not to unduly disturb our field work by any adverse reports by the patients subjected to spinal puncture because of some disagreeable sensations following this procedure. These negroes are very ignorant and easily influenced by things that would be of minor significance in a more intelligent group.\textsuperscript{48}

The letter to the subjects announcing the spinal tap read:

Some time ago you were given a thorough examination and since that time we hope you have gotten a great deal of treatment for bad blood. You will now be given your last chance to get a second examination. This examination is a very special one and after it is finished you will be given a special treatment if it is believed you are in a condition to stand it. . . .

Remember this is your last chance for special free treatment. Be sure to meet the nurse.\textsuperscript{49}

The HEW investigation did not uncover this crucial fact: the men participated in the study under the guise of treatment.

Despite the fact that their assumption regarding prevalence and black attitudes toward treatment had proved wrong, the USPHS decided in the summer of 1933 to continue the study. Once again, it seemed only “natural” to pursue the research since the sample already existed, and with a depressed economy, the cost of treatment appeared prohibitive—although there is no indication it was ever considered. Vonderlehr first suggested extending the study in letters to Clark and Wenger:

At the end of this project we shall have a considerable number of cases presenting various complications of syphilis, who have received only mercury and may still be considered untreated in the modern sense of therapy. Should these cases be followed over a period of from five to ten years many interesting facts could be learned regarding the course and complications of untreated syphilis.\textsuperscript{50}

“As I see it,” responded Wenger, “we have no further interest in these patients until they die.”\textsuperscript{51} Apparently, the physicians engaged in the experiment believed that only autopsies could scientifically confirm the findings of the study. Surgeon General Cumming explained this in a letter to R. R. Moton, requesting the continued cooperation of the Tuskegee Institute Hospital:

This study which was predominantly clinical in character points to the frequent occurrence of severe complications involving the various vital organs of the body and indicates that syphilis as a disease does a great deal of damage. Since clinical observations are not considered final in the medical world, it is our desire to continue observation on the cases selected for the recent study and if possible to bring a percentage of these cases to autopsy so that pathological confirmation may be made of the disease processes.\textsuperscript{52}

Bringing the men to autopsy required the USPHS to devise a further series of deceptions and inducements. Wenger warned Vonderlehr that the men must not realize that they would be autopsied:

Hastings Center Report, December 1978
There is one danger in the latter plan and that is if the colored population become aware that accepting free hospital care means a post-mortem, every darkey will leave Macon County and it will hurt [Dr. Eugene] Dibble's hospital.55

"Naturally," responded Vonderlehr, "it is not my intention to let it be generally known that the main object of the present activities is the bringing of the men to necropsy."54 The subjects' trust in the USPHS made the plan viable. The USPHS gave Dr. Dibble, the Director of the Tuskegee Institute Hospital, an interim appointment to the Public Health Service. As Wenger noted:

One thing is certain. The only way we are going to get post-mortems is to have the demise take place in Dibble's hospital and when these colored folks are told that Doctor Dibble is now a Government doctor too they will have more confidence.55*

After the USPHS approved the continuation of the experiment in 1933, Vonderlehr decided that it would be necessary to select a group of healthy, uninfected men to serve as controls. Vonderlehr, who had succeeded Clark as Chief of the Venerable Disease Division, sent Dr. J. R. Heller to Tuskegee to gather the control group. Heller distributed drugs (noneffective) to these men, which suggests that they also believed they were undergoing treatment.56 Control subjects who became syphilitic were simply transferred to the test group—a strikingly inept violation of standard research procedure.57

The USPHS offered several inducements to maintain contact and to procure the continued cooperation of the men. Eunice Rivers, a black nurse, was hired to follow their health and to secure approval for autopsies. She gave the men non-effective medicines—"spring tonic" and aspirin—as well as transportation and hot meals on the days of their examinations.58 More important, Nurse Rivers provided continuity and when these colored folks are told that Doctor Dibble is the demise will take place in Dibble's hospital.53

The project over the entire forty-year period. By supplying "medicinals," the USPHS was able to continue to deceive the participants, who believed that they were receiving therapy from the government doctors. Deceit was integral to the study. When the test subjects complained about spinal taps one doctor wrote:

*The degree of black cooperation in conducting the study remains unclear and would be impossible to properly assess in an article of this length. It seems certain that some members of the Tuskegee Institute staff such as R. R. Moton and Eugene Dibble understood the nature of the experiment and gave their support to it. There is, however, evidence that some blacks who assisted the USPHS physicians were not aware of the deceptive nature of the experiment. Dr. Joshua Williams, an intern at the John A. Andrew Memorial Hospital (Tuskegee Institute) in 1932, assisted Vonderlehr in taking blood samples of the test subjects. In 1937 he told the HEW panel: "I know we thought it was merely a service group organized to help the people in the area. We didn't know it was a research project at all then." (See, "Transcript of Proceedings," Tuskegee Syphilis Study Ad Hoc Advisory Panel, February 23, 1973, Unpublished typescript. National Library of Medicine, Bethesda, Maryland.) It is also apparent that Eunice Rivers, the black nurse who had primary responsibility for maintaining contact with the men over the forty years, did not fully understand the dangers of the experiment. In any event, black involvement in the study in no way mitigates the racial assumptions of the experiment, but rather, demonstrates their power. They simply do not like spinal punctures. A few of those who were tapped are enthusiastic over the results but to most, the suggestion causes violent shaking of the head; others claim they were robbed of their procreative powers (regardless of the fact that I claim it stimulates them).59

Letters to the subjects announcing an impending USPHS visit to Tuskegee explained: "[The doctor] wants to make a special examination to find out how you have been feeling and whether the treatment has improved your health."60 In fact, after the first six months of the study, the USPHS had furnished no treatment whatsoever.

Finally, because it proved difficult to persuade the men to come to the hospital when they became severely ill, the USPHS promised to cover their burial expenses. The Milbank Memorial Fund provided approximately $50 per man for this purpose beginning in 1935. This was a particularly strong inducement as funeral rites constituted an important component of the cultural life of rural blacks.61 One report of the study concluded, "Without this suasion it would, we believe, have been impossible to secure the cooperation of the group and their families."62

Reports of the study’s findings, which appeared regularly in the medical press beginning in 1936, consistently cited the ravages of untreated syphilis. The first paper, read at the 1936 American Medical Association annual meeting, found "that syphilis in this period [latency] tends to greatly increase the frequency of manifestations of cardiovascular disease."63 Only 16 percent of the subjects gave no sign of morbidity as opposed to 61 percent of the controls. Ten years later, a report noted coldly, "The fact that nearly twice as large a proportion of the syphilitic individuals as of the control group has died is a very striking one." Life expectancy, concluded the doctors, is reduced by about 20 percent.64

A 1955 article found that slightly more than 30 percent of the test group autopsied had died directly from advanced syphilitic lesions of either the cardiovascular or the central nervous system.65 Another published account stated, "Review of those still living reveals that an appreciable number have late complications of syphilis which probably will result, for some at least, in contributing materially to the ultimate cause of death."66 In 1950, Dr. Wenger had concluded, "We now know, where we could only surmise before, that we have contributed to their ailments and shortened their lives."67 As black physician Vernal Cave, a member of the HEW panel, later wrote, "They proved a point, then proved a point, then proved a point."68

During the forty years of the experiment the USPHS had sought on several occasions to ensure that the subjects did not receive treatment from other sources. To this end, Vonderlehr met with groups of local black doctors in 1934, to ask their cooperation in not treating the men. Lists of subjects were distributed to Macon County physicians along with letters requesting them to refer these men back to the USPHS if they sought care.69 The USPHS warned the Alabama Health Department not to treat the test subjects when they took a mobile VD unit into Tuskegee in the early 1940s.70 In 1941, the Army drafted several subjects and told them to begin antisyphilitic treatment immediately. The
USPHS supplied the draft board with a list of 256 names they desired to have excluded from treatment, and the board complied.\textsuperscript{73}

In spite of these efforts, by the early 1950s many of the men had secured some treatment on their own. By 1952, almost 30 percent of the test subjects had received some penicillin, although only 7.5 percent had received what could be considered adequate doses.\textsuperscript{72} Vonderlehr wrote to one of the participating physicians, “I hope that the availability of antibiotics has not interfered too much with this project.”\textsuperscript{73} A report published in 1955 considered whether the treatment that some of the men had obtained had “defeated” the study. The article attempted to explain the relatively low exposure to penicillin in an age of antibiotics, suggesting as a reason: “the stoicism of these men as a group; they still regard hospitals and medicines with suspicion and prefer an occasional dose of time-honored herbs or tonics to modern drugs.”\textsuperscript{74} The authors failed to note that the men believed they already were under the care of the government doctors and thus saw no need to seek treatment elsewhere. Any treatment which the men might have received, concluded the report, had been insufficient to compromise the experiment.

When the USPHS evaluated the status of the study in the 1960s they continued to rationalize the racial aspects of the experiment. For example, the minutes of a 1965 meeting at the Center for Disease Control recorded:

Racial issue was mentioned briefly. Will not affect the study. Any questions can be handled by saying these people were at the point that therapy would no longer help them. They are getting better medical care than they would under any other circumstances.\textsuperscript{75}

A group of physicians met again at the CDC in 1969 to decide whether or not to terminate the study. Although one doctor argued that the study should be stopped and the men treated, the consensus was to continue. Dr. J. Lawton Smith remarked, “You will never have another study like this; take advantage of it.”\textsuperscript{76} A memo prepared by Dr. James B. Lucas, Assistant Chief of the Venereal Disease Branch, stated: “Nothing learned will prevent, find, or cure a single case of infectious syphilis or bring us closer to our basic mission of controlling venereal disease in the United States.”\textsuperscript{77} He concluded, however, that the study should be continued “along its present lines.” When the first accounts of the experiment appeared in the national press in July 1972, data were still being collected and autopsies performed.\textsuperscript{78}

The HEW Final Report

HEW finally formed the Tuskegee Syphilis Study Ad Hoc Advisory Panel on August 28, 1972, in response to criticism that the press descriptions of the experiment had triggered. The panel, composed of nine members, five of them black, concentrated on two issues. First, was the study justified in 1932 and had the men given their informed consent? Second, should penicillin have been provided when it became available in the early 1950s? The panel was also charged with determining if the study should be terminated and assessing current policies regarding experimentation with human subjects.\textsuperscript{79} The group issued their report in June 1973.

By focusing on the issues of penicillin therapy and informed consent, the Final Report and the investigation betrayed a basic misunderstanding of the experiment’s purposes and design. The HEW report implied that the failure to provide penicillin constituted the study’s major ethical misjudgment; implicit was the assumption that no adequate therapy existed prior to penicillin. Nonetheless medical authorities

Claude Bernard on Human Experimentation (1865)

Experiments, then, may be performed on man, but within what limits? It is our duty and our right to perform an experiment on man whenever it can save his life, cure him or gain him some personal benefit. The principle of medical and surgical morality, therefore, consists in never performing on man an experiment which might be harmful to him to any extent, even though the result might be highly advantageous to science, i.e., to the health of others. But performing experiments and operations exclusively from the point of view of the patient’s own advantage does not prevent their turning out profitably to science. . . . For we must not deceive ourselves, morals do not forbid making experiments on one’s neighbor or on one’s self. Christian morals forbid only one thing, doing ill to one’s neighbor. So, among the experiments that may be tried on man, those that can only harm are forbidden, those that are innocent are permissible, and those that may do good are obligatory, Claude Bernard, An Introduction to the Study of Experimental Medicine (1865). Trans. by Henry C. Green (New York: Dover Publications, 1957).

From the HEW Final Report (1973)

1. In retrospect, the Public Health Service Study of Untreated Syphilis in the Male Negro in Macon County, Alabama, was ethically unjustified in 1932. This judgment made in 1973 about the conduct of the study in 1932 is made with the advantage of hindsight acutely sharpened over some forty years, concerning an activity in a different age with different social standards. Nevertheless, one fundamental ethical rule is that a person should not be subjected to avoidable risk of death or physical harm unless he freely and intelligently consents. There is no evidence that such consent was obtained from the participants in this study.

2. Because of the paucity of information available today on the manner in which the study was conceived, designed and sustained, a scientific justification for a short term demonstration study cannot be ruled out. However, the conduct of the longitudinal study as initially reported in 1936 and through the years is judged to be scientifically unsound and its results are disproportionately meager compared with known risks to human subjects involved. . . .
The Hastings Center


Frederickson, pp. 247-49.


English, p. 463.


10"Castration Instead of Lynching," Atlanta Journal-Record of Medicine 8 (October 1906), 457. The editorial added: "The badge of disgrace and emasculation might be branded upon the face or forehead, and branding, in the form of an R, emblematic of the crime for which this punishment was and will be inflicted."


15"Even among the educated, only a very few will carry out the most elementary instructions as to personal hygiene. One thing you cannot do, and that is to convince the negro that he has a disease that he cannot see or feel. This is due to lack of concentration rather than lack of faith; even if he does believe, he does not care; a child of fancy, the sensations of the passing hour are his only guides to the future," Murrell, "Syphilis in the American Negro," p. 847.

16"Deterioration of the American Negro," Atlanta Journal-Record of Medicine 5 (July 1903), 288.

17Murrell, "Syphilis in the Negro; Its Bearing on the Race Problem."

18The anatomical and physiological conditions of the African must be understood, his place in the anthropological scale realized, and his biological basis accepted as being unchangeable by man, before we shall be able to govern his natural uncontrollable sexual passions. See, "As Ye Sow That Shall Ye Also Reap," Atlanta Journal-Record of Medicine 1 (June 1899), 266.

19Taliaferro Clark, The Control of Syphilis in Southern Rural Areas (Chicago: Julius Rosenwald Fund, 1932), 53-58. Approximately 35 percent of the inhabitants of Macon County who were examined were found to be syphilitic.


21Taliaferro Clark to M. M. Davis, October 29, 1932. Records of the USPHS Venereal Disease Division, Record Group 90, Box 239, National Archives, Washington National Record Center, Suitland, Maryland. (Hereafter, NA-WNRC). Materials in this collection which relate to the early history of the study were apparently never consulted by the HEW investigation. Included are letters, reports, and memoranda written by the physicians engaged in the study.

22H. S. Cumming to R. R. Moton, September 20, 1932, NA-WNRC.

23Clark to Davis, October 29, 1932, NA-WNRC.

24Cumming to Moton, September 20, 1932, NA-WNRC.

25Bruising was able to locate 309 living patients, as well as records from 164 who were deceased. His findings were published as "Ueber das Schicksal der nicht spezifisch behandelt Luetiken," Archives of Dermatology and Syphilis 157 (1929), 309-32. The best discussion of the Boeck-Bruising data is E. Gurney Clark and Niels Danbolt, "The Oslo Study of the Natural History of Untreated Syphilis," Journal of Chronic Diseases 2 (September 1955), 311-44.


28Moore, p. 237.

29Moore, p. 236.


31Clark to Paul A. O'Leary, September 27, 1932, NA-WNRC. O'Leary, of the Mayo Clinic, misunderstood the design of the study, replying: "The investigation which you are planning in Alabama is indeed an intriguing one, particularly because of the opportunity it affords of observing treatment in a previously untreated group. I assure you such a study is of interest to me, and I shall look forward to its report in the future." O'Leary to Clark, October 3, 1932, NA-WNRC.


33Moore to Clark, September 28, 1932, NA-WNRC. Moore had written in his textbook, "In late syphilis the negro is particularly prone to the development of bone or cardiovascular lesions." See Moore, Modern Treatment of Syphilis, p. 35.

34O. C. Wenger to Clark, October 3, 1932, NA-WNRC.

35Wenger to Clark, September 29, 1932, NA-WNRC.

36Clark Memorandum, September 26, 1932, NA-WNRC. See also, Clark to Davis, October 29, 1932, NA-WNRC.

37As Clark wrote: "You will observe that our plan has nothing to do with treatment. It is purely a diagnostic procedure carried out to determine what has happened to the syphilitic Negro who has had no treatment." Clark to Paul A. O'Leary, September 27, 1932, NA-WNRC.

38D. G. Gill to O. C. Wenger, October 10, 1932, NA-WNRC.
Therefore, various methods were used to maintain their interest. Free medicines, burial assistance or insurance (the project being referred to as 'Miss Rivers' Lodge'), free hot meals on the days of examination, transportation to and from the hospital, and an opportunity to stop in town on the return trip to shop or visit with their friends on the streets all helped. In spite of these attractions, there were some who refused their examinations because they were not sick and did not see that they were being benefited.” (p. 393).


66Eunice Rivers, Stanley Schuman, Lloyd Simpson, Sidney Olansky, “Twenty-Five Years of Followup Experience in a Long-Range Medical Study,” Public Health Reports 68 (April 1953), 391-95. In this article Nurse Rivers explains her role in the experiment. She wrote: “Because of the low educational status of the majority of the patients, it was impossible to appeal to them from a purely scientific approach. Therefore, various methods were used to maintain their interest. Free medicines, burial assistance or insurance (the project being referred to as ‘Miss Rivers’ Lodge’), free hot meals on the days of examination, transportation to and from the hospital, and an opportunity to stop in town on the return trip to shop or visit with their friends on the streets all helped. In spite of these attractions, there were some who refused their examinations because they were not sick and did not see that they were being benefited.” (p. 393)

67Sidney Olansky, Stanley H. Schuman, Lloyd Simpson, Sidney Olansky, “Twenty-Five Years of Follow-up Experience in a Long-Range Medical Study,” Public Health Reports 68 (April 1953), 391-95. In this article Nurse Rivers explains her role in the experiment. She wrote: “Because of the low educational status of the majority of the patients, it was impossible to appeal to them from a purely scientific approach. Therefore, various methods were used to maintain their interest. Free medicines, burial assistance or insurance (the project being referred to as ‘Miss Rivers’ Lodge’), free hot meals on the days of examination, transportation to and from the hospital, and an opportunity to stop in town on the return trip to shop or visit with their friends on the streets all helped. In spite of these attractions, there were some who refused their examinations because they were not sick and did not see that they were being benefited.” (p. 393)

68See for example, Vonderlehr to B. W. Booth, April 18, 1934; Vonderlehr to E. R. Lett, November 20, 1933, NA-WNRC.


70Raymond Vonderlehr to Murray Smith, April 30, 1942; and Smith to Vonderlehr, June 8, 1942, TSS-NLM, Box 1.


72Raymond Vonderlehr to Stanley H. Schuman, February 5, 1952, TSS-NLM, Box 2.

73Wenger et al., p. 550.

74Minutes, April 5, 1965” unpublished typescript, TSS-NLM, Box 1.

75“Minutes, April 5, 1965” unpublished typescript, TSS-NLM, Box 1.


77James B. Lucas to William J. Brown, September 10, 1970, TF-CDC.

78Elizabeth M. Kennebrew to Arnold C. Schroeter, February 24, 1971, TSS-NLM, Box 1.

79See Medical Tribune (September 13, 1972), pp. 1, 20; and Report on HEW’s Tuskegee Report,” Medical World News (September 14, 1973), pp. 57-58.

80HEW Final Report, p. 7.


82HEW Final Report, pp. 8, 12.

83HEW Final Report, pp. 8, 12.


88Although it is now known that syphilis is rarely infectious after its early phase, at the time of the study’s inception latent syphilis was thought to be communicable. The fact that members of the control group were placed in the test group when they became syphilitic proves that at least some infectious men were denied treatment.

89When the subjects are drawn from minority groups, especially those with which the researcher cannot identify, basic human rights may be compromised. Hans Jonas has clearly explicated the problem in his “Philosophical Reflections on Experimentation,” Daedalus 98 (Spring 1969), 234-37. As Jonas writes: “If the properties we adduced as the particular qualifications of the members of the scientific fraternity itself are taken as general criteria of selection, then one should look for additional subjects where a maximum of identification, understanding, and spontaneity can be expected—that is, among the most highly motivated, the most highly educated, and the least ‘captive’ members of the community.”