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ARSHILE GORKY

David Lester

Arshile Gorky was an Armenian, born in 1904, who, after his emigration to the USA in 1920, became a well-regarded artist. He killed himself at his home in Connecticut in 1948. There has been no detailed biography of Arshile Gorky, but his nephew Karlen Mooradian (1980) has written about him and the following description is based on that work.

Early Years In Armenia

Arshile Gorky was born on April 15, 1904, as Visdanik Adoian in the village of Khorkum on the south shore of Lake Van in what is now eastern Turkey. From an early age he showed an interest in art. He was carving wood and sculpting clay at the age of four and drawing at the age of five. Friends from those days recall Gorky painting beautiful pictures on raven's eggs and carving flutes out of wood and molding animals out of clay.

His father left for America when Gorky was four. Soon the Turkish war on Armenia intruded into his life. In 1909, Armenians were being massacred by Turkish troops, and in 1914 the Turkish forces laid siege to Van. On June 15th 1915, Gorky's family began the journey to Caucasian Armenia (in what is now the USSR), and they arrived in Yerevan on July 16th. Gorky's sister has related how they walked day and night, with little food and with little rest, and how they survived epidemics of cholera.

The war with Turkey led to massacres and starvation, and by the end of 1915 more than two million Armenians had perished, almost three quarters of the entire nation. Gorky's two older sisters (Akabi and Satenik) left for the USA in October 1916 leaving Gorky and his younger sister, Vartoosh, with their mother. The father had already left the family for the USA in 1908. In 1918, the family was living in an abandoned roofless room in a war-torn sector of Yerevan. Gorky's mother became very sick, primarily from lack of food, but the hospital would not admit her since she had a husband in America who presumably was sending her money. Gorky's sister says that no money ever arrived from her father. On March 20, 1919, Gorky's mother died in the arms of her two children. She was 39. Gorky was 15 and his sister was 13.

By the end of the year, their father had sent money to pay for their passage to America, and so the children left for Constantinople from where they travelled to Athens, eventually getting on board a ship bound for America on February 9th, 1920. They arrived at Ellis Island on February 26th and were with their older sister in Watertown, Massachusetts by March 1st. Gorky saw his father in Providence for the first time in

[1] This was originally published as *Proceedings of the Pavese Society* and distributed to two dozen colleagues and SIEC (Canada).

twelve years.

Life In America

Gorky attended a technical high school in Providence until the Spring of 1921, after which he moved back to Watertown and worked in a factory. He was soon fired, and by 1922 at the age of eighteen he was teaching art at Boston's New School of Design. In 1923, Boston's Majestic Theater hired him to entertain audiences by drawing American Presidents during intermissions. In 1925, he decided that to pursue a career in art, he had to move to New York City, and he found a studio on Washington Square.

At this time he adopted the name Arshile Gorky, primarily it seems because he was not confident of the quality of his art. He planned to use this pseudonym until his skills were perfected, after which he planned to revert back to his Armenian name. He told his sister that he did not want to bring shame on his people and that he would reveal his true identity when he became famous. Yet all of those who knew Gorky in America say that he was proud of being Armenian. He told tales of life in Armenia, sang Armenian songs and danced to them when drunk, and dreamed of returning to Armenia to live.

From 1926 to 1931, Gorky taught at the Grand Central School of Art, and students remember him as incredibly knowledgeable about art and a good teacher. He continued to paint and develop his style, and his first one-man show was at the Mellon Gallery in Philadelphia in 1934. However, as with many artists during this period, Gorky was never financially secure and usually short of money. He spent what little he had on art supplies and books. Friends and acquaintances all recalled what a fine collection of brushes and what a large quantity of paint he had in his studio, and his sister relates how he neglected his diet in order to buy all of this. She sent him money and food whenever she could to help him survive. (Times were really hard then. One of Gorky's artist friends died of malnutrition in 1936.) Friends remember him as being intense, an exciting teacher, six feet four inches tall, with a moustache and black hair. He dressed elegantly and had a dark Armenian look and messianic force. One friend related that he would go into Italian neighborhoods and calling the young men "Wops," simply to provoke physical fights for exercise.

Mooradian tells us little of his romantic life. Women fell in love with him, but he seemed to have little interest in them. There are no tales of Gorky as a lady's man or philanderer. He had a stormy romance with an Armenian model at the art school where he taught (Ruth Mussikian in 1926). Friends described Gorky's attachment to Ruth as one in which she wanted to be treated like a real person while he idealized her. He seemed to love his image of her more than the reality. Although she was Armenian, she had arrived in America when she was four years old and was thoroughly Americanized. Gorky wanted her to be Armenian. Ruth recalls that he was always painting and had no time for fun. He briefly married and divorced an American, Marney George in 1935. He married another American, Agnes Magruder, in 1941, with whom he had two daughters Maro born April 5th, 1943 and Natasha born August 8th, 1945). Though he loved his daughters

dearly, he also complained to friends that having a wife and babies in his studio made work difficult. This prompted his move out of New York to Connecticut where he could find more space.

In 1933, Gorky worked on the Civil Works Administration public works of art project, later for the Temporary Emergency Relief Administration and for the Federal Art Project. He painted murals for Newark Airport in 1935 and for the New York World's Fair in 1939.

Final Days

In 1946 Gorky was diagnosed as having cancer and was operated on several times. He had a colostomy and had to wear a colostomy bag. He had to wash carefully and watch his diet. In the same year, a fire destroyed his studio in Connecticut along with all of his work. Friends recall Gorky banging his head on the ground saying that his whole life's work had been destroyed and that he had lost everything. On December 27, 1947, unknown to him at the time, his father died in Providence, Rhode Island. On June 26, 1948, he was a passenger in a car driven by his art dealer, Julian Levy, which crashed, and he suffered a broken neck and a temporarily paralyzed painting arm. He had to wear a neck collar, and he was afraid that he might never be able to paint again. In July, 1948, his wife left him, taking the two children. He was very depressed, and his friends worried that he might kill himself. On July 21, they found that he had hung himself, leaving a note scrawled in chalk on a wooden picture crate, "Goodbye My Loveds."

Comments

Most of those who knew Gorky remembered him as a melancholy person, and his nephew says that Gorky's mother was the same. Gorky painted her as she was, smiling infrequently and "soaked in melancholy." Gorky said that his friends had to put up with Gorky once in while, but Gorky had to put up with himself all the time. He swung from feelings of despair about his work to feelings that he was a great artist. Gorky never felt at home in America. Despite the fact he took citizenship in May, 1939, he always despised America and longed to go home to Armenia. He felt that Americans did not understand or appreciate his art. "Nineteen miserable years have I lived in America". However, what is noteworthy is that he never did return. This is the more surprising since his sister and her husband did return in the 1930s and stayed two years.

The last few years of his life were marked by extreme stress: cancer, destruction by fire of his art, a broken neck and paralysis of his arm, and the break up of his marriage. These losses may have been more difficult for Gorky to cope with given the early losses of his life and his tendency to depression. Though there is no indication that he had contemplated suicide at earlier times, at the age of forty-four he felt unable to go on with his life.

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LEICESTER HEMINGWAY

David Lester

Ernest Hall was born in 1840 in Britain, came to the United States as a teenager and fought in the Civil War. Later, he made money in the cutlery business in Chicago. In 1905 he was dying and suffering from severe pain. He was planning to kill himself with a gun that he kept under his pillow. His son-in-law removed the bullets, and he tried to shoot himself with the unloaded gun.

His son-in-law was Ed Hemingway, a doctor. In 1928 Ed Hemingway suffered a financial loss from properties he had bought in Florida and he discovered, in addition, that he had diabetes which he had failed to diagnose and treat. He suffered from terrible headaches, hardening of the arteries and angina pectoris. He feared gangrene of his feet, a result of the untreated diabetes, which might have necessitated amputation. Ed Hemingway shot himself in his bedroom one lunchtime with a .32 Smith and Wesson revovlver that had been used by his father, Anson Hemingway, in the Civil War.

Ed Hemingway had six children. Ursula Hemingway Jepson developed cancer and underwent three operations. She was depressed, and in 1966 she killed herself with an overdose of drugs. The suicide of Ed Hemingway's oldest son, Ernest Hemingway is well known. The youngest child, Leicester, was born in 1915, in Oak Park, Illinois, and he killed himself on September 13, 1982 in Miami Beach, Florida.

Leicester (Hemingway, 1961) notes that he was unplanned. He was looked after by his five older siblings, and even Ernest changed his diapers sometimes. Leicester learnt to hunt and fish both from his father and from Ernest. Leicester was sixteen years younger than Ernest and did not get to know his older brother well until the 1930s. He spent much effort imitating and trying to win the favor of his older brother, but eventually (in the 1940s) Ernest rejected him. Leicester remembers Ernest coming home from the First World War as a hero, and he remembers idolizing him. When Ernest later went to Paris with his new wife, Hadley, Leicester wrote to him to send him stamps and foreign money for his collection. Leicester went to Ernest's high school and wrote for the same school newspaper (*The Trapeze*). Ernest encouraged Leicester to be a writer and advised him to work in journalism as he himself had done.

Leicester had similar looks to Ernest, but inherited his mother's blue eyes and blond hair. According to Meyers (1985), Ernest said that he always disliked Leicester. Leicester reminded him of his mother. He was also embarrassed by Leicester's enthusiasm and ineptitude and the failure of almost all his endeavors. He wrecked a boat he had built sailing it to Cuba in 1934. He tried to be a sportsman, tough guy, and writer but never equalled Ernest. (Of course, had he ever equalled Ernest, Ernest would have been extremely jealous!) Ernest also felt that Leicester traded on Ernest's reputation and was a bore and a nuisance. When Leicester would write to his mother and tell her tales about himself that were false, Ernest would criticize him, ignoring the fact that he himself had done the same thing.

Leicester was home in bed with flu on the day his father came home at lunch and shot himself. Leicester, only thirteen years old, discovered the body.

In 1936, Leicester married an adopted daughter of his Uncle Tyler, and they had two sons (Peter and Jake).[2] He built boats, worked for the USIS in Bogota, went into the shrimp business, declared himself king of a tiny Caribbean island, was a bookmaker, a publicity man for a jai alai fronton in Miami, ran a charter boat in Montego Bay, and wrote adventure stories for a magazine in New York City. He published a war novel (*The Sound of Trumpets*) in 1953, which Ernest considered inferior. Later, Ernest burnt one of Leicester's manuscripts without telling him.

Leicester spent time with his brother during the years in Cuba in the 1930s, joining in his fishing and drinking adventures. Ernest needed to have a kid brother around, someone to whom he could show off, someone to teach, someone to admire him. Leicester himself noted that his worshipful awe of Ernest helped the relationship with his brother. For a while, Leicester filled the role of junior crony, obliging confidant and trusted playmate.

In a reversal of roles, it was Leicester in 1940 who took a small boat through the Caribbean searching for Nazi refueling stations for their submarines. Though Ernest never admitted it, he followed Leicester's example and spent part of the war searching for Nazi support groups in the Caribbean. Leicester worked in radio intelligence, a military film unit and the signal corps during the war and met up with Ernest in London.[3] Leicester obtained frequent leaves to either assist Ernest or to nurse him through his injuries.

Leicester continued to imitate his brother after Ernest's death. He grew a beard and began to resemble him physically. For the last five years of his life, he published a small monthly newsletter on fishing (*The Bimini Out Islands News*), living with his second wife Doris and his two daughters (Ann and Hilary). He developed severe diabetes and had five operations. Threatened with loss of his limbs he became depressed. He shot himself in the head with a borrowed handgun (*New York Times*, September 15, 1982).

Analysis

Leicester's father shot himself, depressed and suffering from diabetes. Ernest shot himself, depressed and suffering from diabetes. Leicester shot himself, depressed and suffering from diabetes. Even if we grant the possibility of a genetic predisposition to depression, the modelling by Leicester of his life on the life of his revered old brother is noteworthy. The suicides both took place under similar circumstances, after a long life and while suffering from a terminal illness, as did those of their father and their sister.

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[2] After Ernest's son Gregory was divorced in 1966, Leicester brought up his two sons. (Both Gregory and his wife had psychiatric problems.)

[3] Leicester encouraged Mary Welsh to meet his brother while in London, and she eventually became Ernest's fourth wife.

Leicester's life seemed to be an imitation of his brother's, but much less successful in the view of commentators. Leicester was not judged to be as good a novelist or journalist. He was a mere side note in biographies of Ernest. The New York Times indexed his death under Ernest's name, and his suicide was seen as Leicester imitating Ernest once again.

The traumatic event in Leicester's childhood was finding his father's body after the suicide. A father whom he adored came by to check on his fever and then walked along to his own bedroom to shoot himself. Much later, the brother whom he had worshipped shot himself. And in 1982, Leicester was suffering from diabetes and dreading the amputation of his feet. The illness would have restricted his life and prevented him from doing most of the things that gave him pleasure in life. The idea of suicide as a solution had been planted in his mind at an early age and, with the examples of his father and brother, it was the obvious thing to do.

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THE AFFAIR OF GABRIELLE RUSSIER

David Lester

Gabrielle Russier? Not a name well known to people in America. But her suicide raised a storm of controversy in France in 1969. Gabrielle, a female high school teacher, has an affair with her seventeen year-old student, is imprisoned for it and sentenced to a year in prison. But because of the likelihood of a Presidential pardon for all minor offenders, the prosecutor appeals for a severer sentence, whereupon Gabrielle kills herself.

Gabrielle's suicide raises issues different from other cases because here the conflict between the individual and society is present. Was the French criminal justice system to blame for her suicide? But first, the facts, for which I rely on Gallant (1971).

The Facts

Gabrielle was American-French, born in 1940 perhaps. Her father was French, a Parisian lawyer, and her paternal grandfather was a clergyman. Her mother came from Utah, and her maternal grandfather, George Smith, raised horses in Logan, near Salt Lake City. Her grandmother was still alive, living in Idaho. During the crisis, Gabrielle's parents were in Paris, but as her mother was paralyzed and an invalid, they do not appear to have visited her.

We learn little of Gabrielle's childhood or early years. She was raised in France as a Protestant, a member of a tight minority. The first news we have of her is that she was in Morocco, teaching at the Moulay Abdullah College, which had the reputation of having tough Moroccan kids to teach. Her husband, Michel Nogues, was an engineer, stationed at Casablanca. While there, she became active in the movement to grant Algeria independence, a policy opposed by the French Government.

In 1962 she is separated from her husband and is setting up a home with her two children, Valerie and Joel, twins born maybe in 1956 or 1958. We never learn anything about the problems between Gabrielle and Michel except that they had a basic incompatibility. However, they remained friendly, and he helped her (and the children) during the crisis. After the divorce, she resumed her maiden name.

She enrolled at the University of Aix-en-Provence, France, to study French literature. She performed well in her *diplome d'etudes superieures* and began to prepare for the next step, the *agregation*. The agregation took most of her time from 1966 to 1967, and she passed it with honors in French.

Her thesis analyzed the use of the past-tense in modern French authors, and she was considered to have the potential to be a brilliant linguist. In return for her student stipend of $200 a month, she was required to teach in state schools or colleges for ten years.

She began teaching again in October 1967, at the Lycee Saint-Exupery in Marseilles. She was thirty (but looked eighteen) and was teaching French literature to the tenth, eleventh and twelfth grades. From the start she treated her students nontraditionally. She became their friend as well as their teacher. She met them outside of school, went to movies with them, had them over to her apartment, and joined them in student protests. The students worshipped her, nicknaming her "Gatito", Spanish for little cat, and addressed her with the tu of familiarity.

Her left wing views and highly unusual behavior for a teacher led to rumors that she was starting a Communist cell. This was the 1960s; her car had flowers on the rear window and a sign *Make Love Not War*.

Her relationships with her students was very unlike her relationship with her children. Valerie and Joel were kept in their separate rooms which they were not allowed to leave without permission. They were forbidden to interrupt adults, make unnecessary noise, eat between meals, or help themselves to food. Visitors remarked that they were not aware that any children lived in the apartment.

The Affair

Christian Rossi was seventeen, with a younger sister and two brothers. His parents were both agreges and taught at the University of Aix-en-Provence, a few minutes drive from Marseilles. His parents were both Communists, but Christian was a Maoist, much more modern. His mother had been a young agregee too, taught at a lycee in Marseilles and adored by her students who addressed her as tu. This similarity may have accounted for her extreme reaction upon learning of her son's affair with Gabrielle (as well as his choice of a lover).

When Christian was sixteen, Gabrielle invited him to a movie, and he went on condition that she accompany him to a Maoist meeting. For this first date, she called his parents for permission. (She had formerly studied under them, and so they were acquainted.) Five weeks later, without his parents knowledge, they went to Italy for a vacation. (Christian's parents believed him to be hitchhiking with a male classmate.)

In the summer of 1968, his parents sent him to Bonn, but Gabrielle arrived and took him back to Marseilles for a clandestine three weeks together. That was about the sum of their affair.

For the next year, until Gabrielle's death, Christian was in hiding, in psychiatric clinics or in a home for delinquents, or under scrutiny by his relatives. Gabrielle was in jail, in hospital, convalescing or being followed by police wherever she went.

What triggered all of this was that Christian and Gabrielle wanted to live together. The parents refused, and life at their home became a continual struggle. Gabrielle asked for a leave with pay and was granted one from October 1968 to April 1969. Friends

describe her as having had a nervous breakdown. She had fits of trembling, spoke only in a whisper, and talked only about her affair with Christian.

Christian was packed off to a boarding school in the Pyrenees, where Gabrielle visited him secretly. Gabrielle was offered a post at the University of Rennes to get her away from the area, but she refused it. Christian ran away, and his parents, avowed Communists and opponents of the oppressive bourgeois, turned to the French courts for help!

Causing a minor to leave home is a crime in France. The sentence is two to five years if no force is involved. It is rare for a women to be the offender, but when a woman is involved the law is more punitive. If the offender had been a male, most likely the case would never have gone to court or, if it had, it would have been quickly dismissed.

The sexism of the Russier affair is an extra complexity. Though female liberation has had a long struggle in America, Europe lags far behind. Gabrielle was nine before women were allowed to vote, twenty-eight before married women could have bank accounts, and thirty before she could get contraceptive advice legally from a physician.

In December 1968 in court, Gabrielle was asked where Christian was. She refused to tell and was insolent to the magistrate. Three weeks later she was arrested for the first time. The French criminal justice permits a person to be arrested without anyone being informed. Gabrielle was not allowed to telephone until the next day. And she was treated like an ordinary criminal: stripped, searched, fingerprinted, and imprisoned.

From this point on, too, the affair was public knowledge. But because the state can suppress information in the government-owned radio and television channels, most of the information and debate was through the private media, such as Radio Monte Carlo.

If you are educated and living at a respectable address and if the crime is not too serious, you are usually released until the case comes up in court. But Gabrielle was not. If she had informed on Christian, she would have been freed. But she did not. When he did give himself up, Gabrielle was released after five days.

Christian's parents asked the judge to send him to a center for delinquents for evaluation (over Christmas). The center declared him normal, and they sent him to a psychiatric clinic. He escaped, but the court sent him back to the center for delinquents again from which he was transferred to a school for problem boys. He left every weekend and spent the time openly with Gabrielle (followed by plainclothes policemen). The judge warned Gabrielle, but his parents resolved the matter, temporarily, by having him committed to a psychiatric clinic for two months for a sleep cure (in which the patient is drugged and kept asleep for many days at a time).

He agreed not to see Gabrielle again and was sent to his grandmother's. He fled but met Gabrielle only once. He knew that if he disappeared, Gabrielle would be jailed. Gabrielle supposedly told him, "Do what you like."

Gabrielle was arrested in mid-April and held for eight weeks until mid-June when Christian again gave himself up. She was not responsible this time for Christian's disappearance, and she had not been convicted of any crime. Her lawyers' appeals for release were nonetheless turned down twice.

Gabrielle found prison horrible. It seemed to break her spirit, as evidenced by her letters written from prison and reprinted in Gallant's book on the affair. In addition, she was allowed no visitors. (Her mother was too sick to leave Paris.) She worried about her children and her financial situation. (Two days before her trial, the Ministry of Education asked her to pay back the two months salary she had received while in prison.) Her mail was lost, both incoming and outgoing, making it hard for her to stay in contact with her friends.

Michel, her ex-husband, met her when she was released from prison. She was thin and haggard. She cried almost continually and spoke in a whisper. Now she could talk only of the horrors of prison and her anxiety over the coming trial. She was unable to shop, cook, or look after her son Joel. (Valerie was away at camp.)

Just before the trial she attempted suicide with barbiturates but was saved by a neighbor. A psychiatrist she saw merely gave her more sleeping pills. The trial began on July 10th. The prosecutor wanted a thirteen month suspended sentence. This would have ensured that Gabrielle would have been denied the Presidential pardon which all minor offenders get when a new President takes power in France. Thirteen months suspended would have meant that Gabrielle would have had a criminal record, but would be spared more prison. (The criminal record would have enabled the Ministry of Education to deny her a teaching position.) She was fined $100 and given a twelve month suspended sentence. That meant amnesty and no criminal record.

Thirty minutes after the trial ended, the prosecutor announced he would appeal the sentence. This is rare. One lawyer knew of only ten such appeals for any crime in the previous forty years.

Gabrielle was so upset that a sleep cure was recommended, following which she went to the Pyrenees for a rest to try to avoid the depression that frequently follows a sleep cure. (The letters from Gabrielle reprinted in Gallant's book imply that she went to the Pyrenees instead of taking the sleep cure.) There she again attempted suicide and was rescued. She came home to Marseille at the end of August. A Saturday night. No one met her at station. She was alone. She didn't unpack. She did have a drink and coffee with someone on Sunday. The cups and glasses were still dirty. Then she sealed the doors and windows, turned on the gas, and swallowed all the pills she had. September 1st 1969. The firemen broke in on Monday. This time too late.

Comments

Writing about the case now, it easy to focus on the social and political elements of

the case, those that polarized people at the time in France.

How could the state have prosecuted and humiliated a person for a mere affair with a seventeen year-old willing man? It is easy to be angry with the French criminal justice system and with the sexist attitudes in France that led to Gabrielle's persecution but would have excused her had she been a man. It is easy to be angry at Christian's parents, left-wing critics of the bourgeoisie, yet using the government's oppressive machinery to persecute their son's lover. And why? Perhaps his mother was jealous at losing her son's love to this rival. Perhaps the father wanted Gabrielle as his lover (though Gallant dismisses this possibility as foolish)? How else to explain their bizarre behavior unless by imputing unconscious motives to them.

So Gabrielle's death can be laid at the door of Christian's parents and of the French criminal justice system.

But wait. Gabrielle was thirty, intelligent and educated. She had spent most of her life in the educational system. As student and as teacher. She knew the system. To sleep with your student is wrong. It is wrong in college. It is even more reprehensible in school. Not that it doesn't happen. Of course it does. And of course there is sexism in it. Male teachers are typically excused while female teachers are punished. But the fact that it happens and people get away with it does not make it right. All of us in the teaching profession know the rule, unwritten though it has been for years.

Gabrielle knew the rule. And she broke it. No one forced her to break it. She did it voluntarily and knowingly. And as a leftist, someone who participated in the student demonstrations of May 1968 against the government, she knew about oppression. Marxists are opposed to oppression (though in reality they become as oppressive as right-wingers once in power). And as a leftist, Gabrielle should have been even more sensitive to the abuse of power that can accompany sleeping with someone beneath you in power or status. Gabrielle is, therefore, responsible.

So let us look at Gabrielle in more detail. We have very little information since Gallant in her excellent book neglects the kind of information that psychologists need. What of her childhood? Nothing. Her teens and college days? Divorced, a mother, and an eccentric teacher. Close and friendly with her teenage students, but a harsh disciplinarian with her children. Inhumanly harsh. Where does this come from?

How do people describe her? Her biographer, Gallant, says, "One felt that Gabrielle must have been terribly innocent." Naive? Hardly. Gabrielle writes from prison, "I would like so much like to understand what I'm guilty of." If this is a political statement, fine. But we all know what she is guilty of. Abusing her position of authority as a teacher. Does she not know?

The word that seems appropriate is immature. Here we have a thirty year-old woman who can't stand the responsibility of children (so she isolates them in their rooms), who can't tolerate marriage with a peer, and who rejects the company of

intellectual equals.[4] Instead, she chooses her teenage students as friends, companions and lovers. Interestingly, in prison, she befriended an eighteen year-old narcotics addict, Muriel. She tried to educate Muriel in literature and became very attached to her. Gallant says, "...she had a great desire to be loved and needed by someone young." Gabrielle could relate only to teenagers. Perhaps because she herself was mentally only a teenager.

What is the source of this immaturity, this arrested development? Here we are lost, for we know nothing about Gabrielle's first twenty five years. What other clues are there? We are told that, "...Gabrielle knew what she wanted and had a great appetite for gaining control over other people. She was expert at setting the stage for emotional scenes and then acting in them. The result was that life around her was often tense." Again, this seems like the behavior of an immature person. When faced with prison, Gabrielle said, "When I am in jail, Christian's parents will see how much I love him." Highly unlikely. They would see someone who has poor impulse control. Who must have what she wants right now, without compromise.

She referred to herself as Antigone, and one French commentator on the case, Raymond Jean, also saw Gabrielle as like Antigone. Stubborn, challenging and exasperating. Provoking others into persecuting her because she will not acknowledge the rules of the game. And dying for it. She also identified with Meursault, the protagonist of Camus' *The Stranger*.

Gabrielle externalizes the blame for her misfortune. She sees herself as the victim. What made it difficult for her to change this attitude and perhaps cope with the crisis she has created is that she was to some extent correct. But Gabrielle herself cannot change the rules of the game. It is now the 1990s, almost twenty years later, and woe betide any high school teacher who sleeps with a student.

Strangely, her case perhaps changed the French system a little because of the public interest in and debate about the case. But that is incidental. Her strategy was not one planned to achieve this. She became a martyr, but constructive change is brought about by those able politicians who can use such cases to propose legislative changes.

Gabrielle disintegrated under the stress of the case. She became depressed and extremely anxious. In prison, she feared going mad. She wrote, "I'm frightened of going mad and especially of not being able to look at people outside anymore without thinking of here, without being disfigured by everything I am seeing." Her suicide may have been motivated in part by this fear. Some people go mad so as not to kill themselves. Some kill themselves so as not to go mad.

The affair of Gabrielle is complicated. A woman prefers the company of youth. But she is thirty. Adults cannot always behavior like children and be excused. Yet the reaction of the French criminal justice system was overly harsh and sexist. Christian's

[4] Gabrielle had many adult friends who helped her through her ordeal. She was, therefore, able to relate to her peers.

parents over-reacted and persuaded the legal and mental health systems to support them. And Gabrielle is dead.

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O. HOBART MOWRER

David Lester

Hobart Mowrer, you ask? Who is he? Actually he is quite famous. He was President of the American Psychological Association and is the most well-known American psychologist to kill himself. Hobart is interesting because he wrote three autobiographical essays during his life in which he is relatively open about his personal troubles. This provides us with a source of material that may be especially useful for our task of understanding suicide.

Hobart's Early And Professional Life

Hobart was born in 1907, when his father was 45 and his mother 39. He had a sister and a brother much older than he was, and Hobart describes his childhood as like being raised by grandparents rather than parents. His brother was like an uncle and his sister like an aunt.

His father was a farmer but, when Hobart was six, sold his farm and moved into town (Unionville, Missouri). In their community, the Mowrers were relatively well off, and Hobart sees himself as having been a privileged youngster. His father died in 1920. Hobart started high school living as a boarder in town, while his mother sold the family house and moved to live with Hobart's sister. After a year, she moved back into town and lived with Hobart in modest quarters. His mother was depressed after her husband's death and never really recovered from it, although she lived another twenty seven years.

Hobart describes himself as lonely in high school, with low self-esteem. His peers saw him as aloof and conceited, however. He says it was a foregone conclusion that he would go to the University of Missouri at Columbia, which he did from 1925 to 1929. In his senior year, he became pinned to a talented student-pianist (which was not his first romance) and resigned from the university before graduation. He resigned because he had conducted a questionnaire study on sexual attitudes for which his professor was dismissed and his department chairman suspended. Hobart lost his laboratory assistantship, and he resigned from the university in protest. (Later, the university did grant Hobart his AB degree and eventually awarded him a certificate of merit as a distinguished alumnus.) His romance also came to naught.

During his high school and college years, Hobart was an accomplished musician and spent weekends and summers playing in bands, even travelling abroad one summer with a band.

In April, 1929, he applied to Johns Hopkins University as a graduate student and was admitted. He was awarded his PhD in 1932. While at graduate school, Hobart met and married Willie Mae (Molly) Cook, and they stayed married (happily he says) until Molly's death in 1979.

Academic jobs were scarce, and so Hobart went off by himself in 1932 to Northwestern University as a post-doctoral fellow for a year, followed by a year at Princeton University and two years at Yale University, after which he became an instructor at Yale University for four years.

His research during this time was on the vestibular system. (This controls our sense of balance.) However, at Yale University he became interested in translating Freud's psychoanalytic ideas into the language of learning theory. This work led to Hobart receiving prominence.

In 1935, Molly resigned from her position at Johns Hopkins to join Hobart at Yale. She worked there as a psychologist at a children's center, and she and Hobart published a classic paper on the treatment of bed-wetters. In 1940, Molly retired to raise her three children.

In 1940, Hobart joined Harvard University for eight years (with one year off to work for the Office of Strategic Services in Washington DC where he helped select people for hazardous assignments). Hobart disliked Harvard on the whole and was grateful to move to the University of Illinois in 1948 as a Research Professor. He remained there until his suicide in 1982.

Professionally, his interests began to shift. He became more and more interested in psychotherapy and soon developed a theory of mental illness that led to widespread scorn from his academic colleagues. His theory, often called the religious or moral model, proposed that mental illness resulted from sin and subsequent repression of the guilt. A cure could be obtained by confessing the sins and doing penance.

Despite the ridicule that his ideas received, other theorists were working on similar ideas, though phrasing them in much more acceptable terms. Eventually, people realized that the same principles as those proposed by Hobart had been used in Alcoholics Anonymous for many years and also underlay the treatment techniques used by shamans in primitive societies. Thus, his ideas eventually became a little more acceptable to others.

In the 1960s, Hobart and his wife began to work with groups to help those who were suffering from psychological disturbances, but by the 1970s Hobart began to follow the drift in American thought during the period toward the importance of inherited physiological factors in causing mental illness.

This professional path is of some small interest. But it becomes critical when we learn that Hobart suffered from eight more or less incapacitating depressions during his life. Not only that, his psychological theories were affected by his own mental suffering. And, as his later theory argued, confession was curative for him. Thus, Hobart confessed in talks and in published papers to his own psychological difficulties. Indeed, when he was due to be installed as President of the American Psychological Association in 1953, Hobart became psychotic and was hospitalized. His colleagues knew this, but installed

him as President anyway.

So let us turn to his personal life.

Hobart's Depressions

Hobart's first depression occurred when he was fourteen, about a year and a half after his father's death. He felt depersonalized and unreal, and this state lasted two years. One doctor removed his tonsils while another prescribed bed-rest and a special diet. Hobart attributes this depression to sexual conflicts and to an "ugly perversion" that he practised. When I would teach Hobart's theories to my classes, I would think of writing to him to ask what was this perversion. I have always suspected that it was nothing exceptional. Perhaps simple masturbation. But I never wrote. And now he is dead, and he never did confess the exact nature of his sexual conflicts. I don't know of any ugly perversion, except for those that cause pain to other people. I doubt that Hobart's sexual thoughts and behaviors did that. I pitied this young kid, feeling terribly guilty over sexual thoughts and habits that, probably, nearly all of us have. Hobart feels that this depression drew him toward psychology as a career. (It also brought an end to his perversion.)

His state during the next few years is illustrated by one event. He was due to appear in a minstrel show during his sophomore year, but panicked at the last moment and quit. He says that he felt so guilty about this that he withdrew from school for the rest of the semester! He further says that he made good grades in his final two years of high school "thanks to the wonderful tolerance and trust of my classmates."

The second depression came eight years later during graduate school in Baltimore in 1929. His physician prescribed bed rest and sedation, and Hobart tried psychoanalysis. (In this, he was able to confess his guilty secrets to his psychotherapist.

The third depression came in 1933 while he was finishing his post-doctoral work at Northwestern University. It lifted after a few months. The fourth depression occurred when Hobart was at Yale, but lifted after his wife joined him there. After this depression, he began three years of classical psychoanalysis which did not help him.

The fifth depression struck at Harvard in 1940, and Hobart tried psychoanalysis again. The next was in 1944 after the Mowrers had moved to Washington for the year. The seventh occurred in 1953 and was the most severe episode. It seemed unrelated to any external circumstance, for both his professional career and his personal life were progressing well. He was admitted to a small psychiatric hospital run by the Department of Psychiatry at the University of Illinois. He stayed there three and a half months.

(There was no anti-depressant medication then, and Hobart sensibly declined electroconvulsive treatment. Maybe as a psychologist, he knew of the possible memory loss it often produces?) The final depression we know of occurred in 1966.

Hobart sees six factors as leading to his depressions. First, there was a genetic

component. His mother and some of her relatives had suffered from depressions. In fact, he remembered that his mother was sick a lot with what he later found out was labelled "nerves" and "depression", and that his parents quarrelled occasionally. Furthermore, he responded well to antidepressant drugs when they were developed, and this further convinced him of the biochemical basis for depression.

Secondly, Hobart knows that the loss of his father was traumatic for him. It occurred when he still felt ambivalent toward his father and without time to prepare for the loss (because his father's illness was brief), and he was unable to grieve at the time. (Hobart notes that he was out of touch with his emotions for most of his life.)

Third, Hobart notes that he was an obsessive worker, a trait that often accompanies depression, and which Hobart sees as deriving from his father's desire that Hobart pursue and succeed at a professional career. His father's ambition had been frustrated, and he pushed his son into fulfilling his own desires. Hobart says that he did not have his breakdowns as a result of overworking, but that his work was a way of holding in check and neutralizing his psychological conflicts.

Fourth, Hobart's father was a stern disciplinarian and severely punished talking back and expressions of anger in his children. Not only did Hobart suppress his emotional life, but the blocking of anger may have encouraged his depressions, for many depressions result from blocked anger.

Fifth, Hobart notes that he was a pampered child, a little prince. But rather than becoming the King after his father died, Hobart became a nothing, a nobody. (After the Mowrers moved into town, they were never able to mix easily with upper middle class professional and mercantile families. They were on the edge of town geographically and sociologically.) During his freshman year at high school, he was rejected by the football team and had difficulties with algebra and Latin. These external events reinforced these feelings of worthlessness.

Sixth and finally, we get to Hobart's theory of mental illness. He never had anyone to confess his guilt to. His Protestant religion permitted confession only to God. That was not enough for Hobart. Nor was confession to his psychoanalysts later. In 1944, Hobart confessed to his wife his adolescent secrets and additional ones from after his marriage, including his adulteries. (He tells us nothing more about these, whether he really loved the women involved, for example. If he loved the women, then to lose them would have been traumatic.) She was surprised, compassionate, angry, relieved and reassured. This confession brought Hobart and Molly closer and made Hobart less prone to depression. He says that the hour of truth with Molly did more to release him from neurotic bondage than all the professional psychotherapy he had received. Hobart also confessed to other misbehaviors: writing college papers for other students and stealing brass and copper fittings in high school (for which he was caught and made to pay). He was depression-free for thirteen years after the confessions, whereas his depressions had been increasingly frequent in recent years.

He saw his confession as good, but eventually came to realize that a meaningful penance was necessary for a complete cure. Accordingly, Hobart viewed his hospitalization at the time when he was due to be installed as President of the American Psychological Association as a meaningful penance. He suffered the humiliation of hospitalization and the pain of his only psychotic breakdown, and he might have lost the honor of being President.

Hobart's depression in 1953 was a confession to all of the psychological community; and in 1966 he wrote his first autobiography essay, now confessing to psychology students as well.

At the time of his 1974 essay, he asserted that his life was meaningful and satisfying as never before. His family was devoted, harmonious and loving. After years of professional rejection, his reputation was growing again. And now he saw his depressions as largely endogenous (that is, physiologically caused).

Molly had a stroke that largely incapacitated her left side, but her mind stayed reasonably intact. When she died in 1979 in her sleep, "...something inexpressibly precious went out of (his) life."

As long as Molly was alive, Hobart knew that his depression would lift eventually and that he would enjoy life again. With Molly dead and his children off on their own, Hobart dreaded a prolonged illness. He began to plan self-help groups for those suffering from hypoglycemia as he did, but the project did not appear to be helpful or satisfying (Hunt, 1984). He, therefore, decided to kill himself and did so on June 20, 1982.

The Final Years

In his third autobiography (Mowrer, 1983), Hobart reviewed his last ten years. Hobart expected to retire from his professorship but to continue pottering around as a learned scholar. Things did not turn out that way.

As I mentioned above, Hobart's wife, Molly, developed cardiovascular problems, resulting in a stroke which paralyzed her left side. She died in 1979, leaving Hobart feeling very alone.

Hobart himself was diagnosed as having hypoglycemia, a condition which incapacitated him with low physical and mental energy by day and insomnia and anxiety at night. Professionally, this interested him in the relationship between nutrition and mental health.

But the loss of his wife and his continuing physical and mental problems severely limited Hobart's professional involvement. Furthermore, his work on group therapy turned out not to have the vitality and durability that he had hoped for, and he lost interest in it. His lack of scholarly activity left him, in his own words, "exasperated".

He also talked of despair over the conditions in the world, in particular the pollution of the environment and the loss of many rare species of animals. Soon after writing this essay, before the book appeared in print, Hobart killed himself.

Discussion

Although the autobiographical gives us first-hand information about our subject, the information is less critical and less thorough than biographies can be. For example, a good biographer would have found out what was Hobart's teenage perversion and would given us a detailed account of Hobart's lovers outside of his marriage.

On the other hand, Mowrer is a psychologist and can explain his life course to use in psychological terms. Indeed, he gives us six reasons for his depression, neatly numbered and presented just like a teacher explaining things to his pupils.

Hobart notes the possible inherited mental disorder. And he used his own experience to formulate a novel theory of mental illness as resulting from sin and suppressed guilt. In this, Hobart's religion, together with the values of his parents that he adopted, must have a played a large role in his psychological problems.

Mowrer's family was affiliated with the church in Missouri, and Hobart went to Sunday School and church weekly. However, he rejected religion during his undergraduate days, returning to it only after his psychiatric hospitalization. In his 1966 autobiography, he says that he feels most kinship with the Anabaptism, now found only among the Amish, Mennonites and Hutterites. However, Hobart and his wife attended Presbyterian and other churches without joining any. Hobart also studied the church and its history intensively, since the early church seemed to fit his prescription of public confession and meaningful penance more closely than the modern church.

Hobart clearly accepted a strict punitive version of Christianity. To feel a kinship with the Mennonite groups indicates an acceptance of a simple life and a strict moral code. I have already mentioned my puzzlement by Hobart talking about an ugly teenage perversion. Abraham Maslow, also President of the American Psychological Association, conducted a study of psychologically healthy women and found that they had engaged more often in all kinds of sexual activities. Maslow concluded that there no perverted behaviors. There were only perverted people. It was the way in which the activity was pursued that made it perverted.

I agree with Maslow and so, when I see Hobart's condemnation of his own sexual behavior, I see that he was strongly affected by his religious and moral upbringing and that his conscience was too stern. If so, psychoanalysis should have helped him a great deal, because one of the consequences of psychoanalysis is to reduce the hold of the superego over the person. But psychoanalysis did not help Hobart in his opinion, probably because his moral values were too deeply ingrained.

Despite Hobart's neat listing of the sources of his pathology, I think that he

missed an important fact. It is clear that Hobart learned to be mentally ill and depressed. Let me document this.

After his father died, both Hobart and his mother were both upset. But his mother's depression began immediately. In fact, she abandoned Hobart in town to live as a boarder and went to live with her daughter. How can a child in Hobart's position get his mother back? One way is to be more upset than she is. If he can show his mother that he is really disturbed, then she may pull herself together and take care of him. In fact, this tactic worked. Hobart's mother came back to town to live with him. His use of mental illness was rewarded.

In a telling passage, he relates his anxiety over performing at a school concert and how he used this anxiety to avoid going to school for the rest of the semester! He tells us that he managed to finish high school with the tolerance and trust of his classmates. Let us be realistic. High school is not especially traumatic. The vast majority of kids complete it without ever needing the tolerance and trust of classmates. It would appear that Hobart played the role of a fragile person, whose mental stability was in doubt.

In his marriage, Hobart continued to play the role of being mentally ill. This must have forced his wife to take care of him. It would be interesting to be able to document when Hobart fell ill. It would not be surprising if his episodes occurred when his wife was withdrawing emotionally or physically from him. Hobart was away a lot from her in the early years of their marriage, and he had lovers. We have no idea whether Molly had lovers and was disengaging from Hobart.

Hobart's major way of relating to others, even professional colleagues, was through his mental illness. He had to tell everyone. Fellow psychologists and groups to whom he talked. Even undergraduates! It should be noted that his first autobiographical essay was supposed to be part of an introductory text in psychology. It was most inappropriate for that purpose.

Hobart seems to have decided to live a "depressed" life. To be sure, he may have been aided in this by a genetic predisposition. But it seems to be his choice of life style, his preferred way of relating to others. I am Hobart Mowrer, the psychologist who is courageous enough to talk about his mental illness. Yes, my depressions still continue. Even when I am happy, I live in anticipation of the next depression. And what a sinner I have been! Let me tell you.

Perhaps what is surprising is that Hobart lived so long. Despite his severe depressions (whether caused by genes, nutrition, parental loss, suppressed anger or life choice), he managed to lead a professionally productive life, to build a family that he tells us was happy, and to live to fine old age. Seventy-five years. We can be impressed by the ability to survive even in those who seem ill-fitted for survival.

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BRUCE CLARK

David Lester

On June 7, 1971, at 9 am in the morning, Bruce Clark was found shot in the head next to the pitcher's mound on the athletic field of the University of Southern California. Next to him were two plaques, one naming him as the All-American Baseball Player Of The Year for 1960 and the other with his BS degree from the University. His suicide note was taped to a board and resembled a plaque also. The Smith & Wesson revolver that killed him was in his left hand.

This psychological analysis of Bruce Clark's suicide is based upon information provided by Berkow and Olderman (1985).

Childhood And Teenage Years

Bruce's parents married in 1937, and Bruce was born on October 30th., 1938. Bruce's father died on March 3rd., 1941, when Bruce was only two and a half. Nothing noteworthy seemed to happen in his childhood after that loss. Bruce led a typically active life for a kid, and by the age of ten was playing baseball and dreaming of someday playing in the major leagues. He played the piano well and was academically outstanding. He was elected President of his class at junior high school.

Two features stand out in the extracts that Berkow and Olderman quote from Bruce's journals and scrapbooks. The first is a poem written when he was nine about his father, which idealizes the father he must barely remember. (In his twenties, Bruce posed for a picture of himself that duplicated a photograph of his father.) Second, Bruce was aware of the sacrifices his mother made for him, working as a secretary and depriving herself so that Bruce could have baseball gloves, piano lessons, and braces for his teeth, among other things.

These extracts hint of the role that his mother played. A child would note these things only if a mother continually harps on them, both how wonderful his father was and what sacrifices she is making for him. But there is little mention made of his mother by Berkow and Olderman.

When Bruce was ten, his mother's father came to live with them. This grandfather was an orthodox Jew, born in Russia, devoutly religious. Soon tension appeared in the home. The grandfather would accuse Bruce of stealing and other misdeeds. A friend of Bruce's hints of the poverty and frugality of the home by noting that the telephone had a lock on it to prevent unnecessary calls.

Bruce appeared to seek father figures outside of the home, most of whom were baseball coaches. His pitching became more noteworthy in high school, and he led his team to the Los Angeles city finals. Major-league scouts came to his games. Meanwhile, he was academically strong, finishing 76th. in his class of 403 students, and he continued

to play the piano and to sing. He was described by acquaintances at this time as a loner.

Both the Dodgers and the Pirates tried to sign him, but his mother and coach persuaded him to go to the University of Southern California. The coach at USC was Rod Dedeaux, who in turn became Bruce's model and father figure.

After his freshman year, in 1957, Bruce flew to Chicago for a tryout with the White Sox. They offered him a bonus of $66,500. He wanted to sign, but his mother, following the advice of Dedeaux, the USC baseball coach, refused to let him sign. Bruce was very upset.

Although several of his USC teammates signed contracts and left, Bruce stayed and seemed happy. In 1960, he led USC to the college World Series, which they lost. In his notebooks, Bruce wrote of his unhappiness that he was not playing in the major leagues and of his discontent with his performance.

During his senior year, his grandfather died, leaving everything to Bruce's mother. The rest of the family resented this and ostracized Bruce and his mother.

In 1960 he signed with the Dodgers for a $12,000 bonus and was assigned to their triple-A team in Montreal. In his notebooks, Bruce noted the waste of his final three years of college and how his arm was giving him problems. In the minor leagues, Bruce was an oddity. There were few college-educated players, and there were a lot of older guys. Bruce was interested in health foods, practiced yoga and went to chiropractors. One acquaintance noted that Bruce was rumored to be homosexual, but this friend noted that Bruce had affairs and loved women. (Ten years later, some high school kids that Bruce was coaching also thought be was homosexual.)

There followed a spell with a class-C team in Reno and then military service where he injured his arm. Next, in 1962, when Bruce was 23, Bruce was assigned to another triple-A team, this time in Spokane. His mother was unhappy living with an aunt and begged to go to Spokane with him. Bruce took her.

They found a dilapidated hotel where they rented a room. It was August 1962, and Bruce wrote:

> .....(it was) around this time Marilyn Monroe committed suicide. And this idea for the first time entered and cemented itself in my mind.

In Spokane, his record was 1-5, and he argued a lot with his mother, dragging up old hurts, including her refusal to let him sign after his freshman year in college.

By the time he was 26, his baseball career was finished. He was released in September, 1964. He remembered Marilyn Monroe and went out to buy a Smith & Wesson revolver. But he got distracted from killing himself, so he told a friend.

He still had fights with his mother, but he built up a career selling real estate and mutual funds, received awards for success and had several romances, none of which developed into long-term permanent relationships.

In 1970, a market slump caused his mutual funds career to slump, and several friends and relatives lost money, which made him feel guilty. He trained as a bank manager but was let go after four months. He got a job as a physical education teacher in a predominantly black high school. He was very depressed.

> In the last two weeks of 1970, I became very despondent and thought of ending my life, which hasn't been a rare thought for me for over a decade now. (p 56)

Before he killed himself, on June 7th. 1971, Bruce spent a weekend cleaning and tidying his apartment. On Sunday, he did his laundry. Around midnight, Bruce typed his suicide note and will (he left everything to a friend except for $1 which he left to his mother), drank some Scotch, washed the glass, shaved, dressed neatly in slacks and a jacket, made his bed, and drove to the USC athletic field, where he laid down and shot himself.

> His suicide note expresses anger at the USC baseball coach. It was Rod Dedeaux who was to blame for Bruce's failure as a baseball player, because he persuaded Bruce's mother to keep him in college. Bruce noted that he saw no value in his college education. When he died, he wrote:

.....(I had) no pride of accomplishment, no money, no home, no sense of fulfilment, no leverage, no attraction. A bitter past, blocking any accomplishment of a future except age. I brought it to a halt tonight at thirty-two. (p 66)

Discussion

Bruce Gardner's suicide is of special interest because he mentions being stimulated to thoughts of suicide by the suicide of Marilyn Monroe. Interestingly, he did not kill himself until nine years after her death. Phillips in his research has noted an increase in the suicide rate in the week following a famous suicide. Later suicides are not statistically detectable. However, suggestion can clearly play a role in suicides committed years later.

Bruce's suicide note focuses on his baseball coach at USC. There is consistency here, in that his suicide note expresses anger outwardly, as does the method and venue of his suicidal action, and he seems always to have believed in an external locus of control. The lack of anger toward his mother in the suicide note is noteworthy. Yet Bruce's anger toward is clear in the token bequest he left to her. Although they fought a lot in Bruce's final years, it is likely that Bruce's anger toward her was blocked as a child. To express anger toward her may have been threatening to Bruce, for it might have meant that he would lose his mother in addition to the father he had already lost. Furthermore, her sacrifices for him, which she seems to have emphasized, would have made him feel

guilty for being angry at her. It is possible that, if Bruce could have expressed his anger more openly toward her when he was a child, he would have been less suicidal as an adult. But this is speculation.

At the time of his suicide, Bruce felt as if he was a failure. He has failed as a baseball player, as a businessman, and as a man/lover. He is alone. Suicide as a response to perceived or actual failure is typical in men in our success-oriented society.

Finally, the venue for his suicide shows the importance of baseball. Baseball was his dream and his life, and in death it was still the focus of his attention.

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ALAN TURING

David Lester

Alan Turing's father was born in 1873, went to Oxford University, and entered the Indian Civil Service. He was posted to Madras in 1896. Alan's mother was born in India in 1881, the daughter of an Anglo-Irish Major in the Indian Army. They met on board ship from India to England in 1907, and they were married in Dublin in October, 1907.

Their first child John was born in September, 1908, in India, and their second child Alan in England on June 23, 1912. Their father returned to India, but their mother stayed until September, 1913. She then left for India leaving the two children with a retired Army couple (the Wards) near Hastings in England, by the English Channel. The Wards had four daughters of their own and one other boarder and soon took in three cousins of John and Alan. Alan's parents returned to England as often as they could. Mrs. Turing next returned in the Spring of 1915, and she rented rooms for the summer, returning to India in the Fall. However, in August 1916, she decided to stay in England for three years while her husband continued to serve in India.

Childhood

Alan was a precocious child, with a high-pitched voice, naughty and wilful, prone to throw temper tantrums when he could not get his own way. Late, untidy and cheeky from an early age, he also displayed initiative and creativity early on, planting his toy soldiers in the ground hoping they would grow larger, for example.

In 1918, Alan was sent to a private day school where he began to experience problems. Latin was difficult for him to learn, and he had trouble writing though he had taught himself to read at an early age. His brain seemed uncoordinated with his hand. But he was bright cheerful boy, and he developed many interests. He loved maps, collected recipes and formulae, and read books on science and nature.

Mr. Turing returned in February 1919, and both parents departed for India again in that December. John was off at boarding school, and Alan stagnated. When his mother returned in 1921, Alan had not learned even to do long-division. His mother noted that he had changed from being extremely vivacious, mercurial and sociable to being unsociable, dreamy, wistful and withdrawn. In early 1922 Alan was sent off to board at the small private school (Hazelhurst) where his brother was already enrolled. At Easter his brother transferred to Marlborough School, and in the Fall when his parents returned Alan to Hazelhurst his mother remembers him running after their departing taxi with his arms flung wide.

School, first at Hazelhurst and later at Sherbourne, was a trial for Alan (and his teachers). Alan was obviously very bright. However, the things he liked to do, for example paper folding and studying maps as a child, mathematics problems and science experiments later, were never what his teachers wanted him to do. When forced to

participate in the authorized activities he was untidy, unmotivated, and performed poorly. As a result, these early days at school were quite unpleasant for him, and he coped by withdrawing.

Alan was nicknamed *dirty* because of his dark, greasy complexion; his pens leaked, and he was always covered with ink stains; his hair refused to lie down, and his shirt never tucked in his trousers; his voice was high-pitched, and he was shy and hesitant. However, by the time he entered the Sixth Form (roughly corresponding to eleventh grade), Alan was recognized as a *maths brain* at the school. In the Sixth Form, he also finally made a close friend, Christopher Morcom, who shared his interest in science. His biographer (Hodges) suggests that Alan was aware of his attraction to other boys by the age of fifteen, and he described Christopher as Alan's first love. However, Hodges does not claim that there was any sexual intimacy between the two boys.

In 1929, Alan (aged seventeen) and Christopher (a year older) tried for scholarships at Trinity College at Cambridge University. Christopher succeeded, but Alan was turned down. However, Christopher died, unexpectedly for Alan, in February, 1930, as a consequence of contracting tuberculosis from drinking milk many years earlier. Alan was hit hard by this loss, and Christopher remained an important figure in his life for many years. He became close to Christopher's parents, almost a surrogate son to them, and he never failed to remember Christopher's birthday and death-day.

Back at Sherbourne, Alan found another close friend, Victor Beuttell, three years younger. Alan found that he could run quite well, and so he finally found a place in the athletics activities. This time around at the scholarship examinations for Cambridge University, although he was again rejected at Trinity College, he was awarded a scholarship by his second choice, King's College, and he decided to read mathematics there.

College Days

It is interesting that Alan, on the path to becoming a homosexual, should have arrived almost by chance at the Cambridge College with the reputation of being the college for homosexuals (based on the fair number of distinguished homosexuals who had been students and fellows there). It is all the more surprising that Alan remained distant from the homosexual society at King's.

Alan, still shy at the age of nineteen, only slowly developed friendships at King's. He made friends with one other mathematics scholar (David Champernowne) and fell in love with a science scholar (Kenneth Harrison) who rejected his love but remained a good friend. In 1933, Alan obtained a *Second* in Part One of his degree. Alan began to find King's College, with only sixty new students admitted each year, suitable for his style. He joined an anti-war group, though he never became seriously involved in politics. He rowed with the boat club and played bridge. He found a lover at last, a fellow mathematics scholar James Atkins. In the Spring of 1934 Alan passed Part Two of his degree with distinction. A year later he was elected a fellow at the college, a three year

position which could be extended to six year, with no explicit duties. He published his first paper, on group theory, in the *Journal of the London Mathematical Society*.

Alan had been interested for a long time in the idea of an electrical brain, a computing machine that would carry out logical operations. In a now classic paper, "On Computable Numbers" published in the *Proceedings of the London Mathematical Society*, he set up a hypothetical model, a new framework for thinking about computing, which later became known as a *Turing machine*.

Princeton University in the USA had replaced Gottingen in Germany as the center of mathematical study, and Alan applied for a fellowship to study there. Although rejected, he decided that his King's fellowship would cover his expenses and he left for the Institute for Advanced Studies at Princeton University in September 1936. In America, Alan found as much stigma against homosexuality as in England, and his few advances to friends were rebuffed. Although Princeton was not as exciting intellectually as he had imagined, he managed to work well. He was turned down for a teaching position at Cambridge University, but they did give him a larger fellowship, and so he stayed at Princeton University for another year, obtaining his American Ph.D. degree in 1938.

John von Neuman offered him a position at Princeton University, but Alan decided to return to his fellowship at King's College which had been renewed. Once back in England, Alan's reputation as a mathematician and his interest in codes and ciphers, together with a connection between King's College and the Government Code and Cipher School, led to Alan joining the British Government's efforts to break the German communication codes during the War. He started in September 1939, at Bletchley Park in Buckinghamshire. His unusual interest in the mechanics of engineering, unusual for a mathematician, put Alan in a strong position, not only to help breaking the German codes, but also to help design machines to speed up the work involved.

His personal life remained unsatisfactory. His homosexual advances were rejected, but, surprisingly, he grew close in 1941 to a women who worked for him, Joan Clarke. Although he told her of his homosexual tendencies, she was not discouraged. However, after a year together, Alan decided to end their engagement even though he loved her.

By 1942, Alan, whose managerial and organizational skills were minimal, had less and less to do at Bletchley, for others took over building the machines to decipher the German codes and implement the process. A brief visit to the USA led him him to Bell Laboratories where he became interested in speech encipherment. So on his return to England in 1943, he managed to transfer to the Radio Security Service at Hanslope Park near Bletchley where he worked, mostly on his own, building a prototype machine. Having been central to the intelligence service at the beginning of the war (he received an OBE for his work), he was now playing a trivial role.

After The War

After the War, Alan resumed his fellowship at King's College, but he had become interested again in building what would be later known as a computer. Turing machines, followed by the de-coding machines, along with his side interests such as building a chess-playing machine, led him to conceive of a computer. Although others were thinking along the same lines, Alan had the habit of rarely keeping in touch with what others were thinking. (This led him often to 'discover' mathematical proofs that others had already published.) Alan's biographer notes that "thinking in his spare time, an English homosexual atheist mathematician had conceived of the *computer*. (Hodges, 1983, p. 295)."

However, Alan did not play a central role in the development though he was on the scene. He left King's College in 1945 to join the National Physical Laboratory to work on building a computer, but the lack of enthusiasm there for his ideas led him in 1948 to join the staff at Manchester University whose staff were also constructing a computer. (Alan had no skills in dealing with the people who might fund, organize and build the kind of machine he envisaged.) However, although he helped the development of the computers there and used them to solve his own problems, he began to lose interest in computer development. His interests switched to embryology, and he published an innovative paper on this in 1952 in the *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society*. He was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1951, one of the youngest to be elected.

He developed some good friends at this time who knew of his homosexuality, but who were not rejecting of it. While staying at King's College before accepting the position at Manchester University he found a student lover there, Neville Johnson, only Alan's second long-term relationship.

In 1950, he finally bought himself a house, ending his days of suitcases and landladies. He got on well with his neighbors, the Webbs, who seemed unperturbed by Alan's eccentricities. He had a woman shop and clean for him, though he did make an effort to develop some domestic skills.

The End

It became increasingly difficult for Alan to get together with his lover, and so he began to find pick-ups on the homosexual street in Manchester. One of these was Arnold Murray, an unemployed nineteen year-old with a criminal record for theft. Arnold visited Alan several times, borrowing money from Alan. On January 23rd, 1952 Alan found that his house had been burgled, and Alan reported it to the police. He suspected Arnold, but when confronted Arnold admitted that it had probably been a friend of his. Alan gave the police information about the thief but tried to hide his source of information. When detectives came to interview him, he blurted out that fact of his affair with Arnold.

Of course, the police now changed their opinion of the 'crime' and eventually

charged Alan with homosexual offenses. Alan informed his relatives and friends so that they would not be shocked, and his brother persuaded him to plead guilty so as to minimize the publicity. Alan's close friends knew of his homosexuality; Manchester University colleagues viewed the matter as one more Turing eccentricity; his family accepted the matter calmly; and he let his fellowship at King's College expire. Alan was placed on probation on the condition he receive treatment, injections with estrogen. Alan accepted the effects on his body (impotence and the development of bodily changes, such as breasts) so that he could remain free to pursue his intellectual work.[5] However, Alan did enter into long-term psychotherapy with a Jungian analyst, and achieved some insights though this. Alan now travelled in order to find homosexual partners, taking holidays in Norway, France and Corfu.

On May 15th, 1953, Alan was made a Reader at the University, and a year later on June 7th, 1954, he killed himself.

Alan's Style

What was Alan like? Alan's mother (eventually) thought of her son as brilliant but devoid of common sense. She bought him clothes, reminded him of relatives' birthdays, and got his hair cut.

During the War, while working at Bletchley, he suffered from hay fever. So he would cycle to work wearing a gas mask. His trousers were held up by string or a tie, often a pyjama jacket on under his sports coat, which itself had holes. His hair stuck out at the back. He hated shaving (he passed out at the sight of blood, even his own), so he had a permanent five o'clock shadow. His teeth were yellow though he did not smoke. His hands were usually dirty with scabs from where he picked at them. He tended not to greet people, finding saying hello all the time 'redundant.' His manner was nervous, and his voice would often stall in mid-sentence with a tense, high-pitched 'ah-ah-ah-ah' while he sought for a word. He had a machine-like laugh. 'Schoolboyish' described him, though his nickname was 'Prof.'

After the War he found he was good at running and took the sport seriously. He would turn official visits to laboratories into training runs, even running the eighteen miles to visit his mother.

At Manchester University, he had few friends and little social life, but he was close with two families, including Max Newman (who headed the Mathematics Department) and his wife. Indeed, Lyn Newman became one of his confidantes. As before at King's College, he dissociated himself from the small homosexual set centered on the University, satisfying himself with visits to his lover (Neville) at Cambridge every few weeks.

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[5] Actually Alan of all people could probably have survived prison better than most. One result of his conviction was that he was now barred from visiting the USA.

Why?

Interestingly, Alan's biographer confesses to his inability to explain Alan's suicide. It came as shock to his friends. There was no warning and no note of explanation. His trial was two years in the past, the hormone treatment was ended. He was as active as ever in his research, perhaps in an inter-regnum between topics, but he had weathered such periods before.

Alan was found on the morning of Tuesday June 8th by his housekeeper. He was lying neatly in bed, with froth around his mouth, and the post-mortem identified cyanide as the cause of his death. By the side of his bed was a half-eaten apple which was never analyzed. Alan's mother believed that it was an accident, that some of the nasty chemicals that Alan was always experimenting with had somehow been ingested. But the coroner's verdict was suicide.

His papers were in an untidy mess at the University. He had booked to use the computer for his usual Tuesday evening (he regularly worked through the night on it). He had tickets for the theater, and an unposted letter was found on his desk accepting an invitation to a function at the Royal Society on June 24th. Friends who had seen him recently reported no changes in his style or mood. He had made a new will on February 11, 1954. Perhaps he had planned for the possibility of suicide, but acted impulsively.

Alan's biographer mentions Alan's moods from time to time. After getting his undergraduate degree in 1934 his depression lifted; while at Princeton he wrote to a friend that he had been depressed and thinking of suicide, even to the point of planning the method; during the war work, he had occasional black moods; and at the National Physical Laboratory, he was described by one colleague as "likeable, almost lovable...but some days depressed." But there is no indication that this depression was unusually intense or prolonged.

Of course, in the 1950s in America there was an intense fear of communists (and homosexuals too) in government service betraying the government. In England, the concern extended to all people, and there were several prominent trials of homosexuals. Perhaps the general tenor of the times added to Alan's feelings of isolation and alienation for, despite his friends, Alan did not fit in, even in those societies most willing to accept eccentric personalities?

But there was no apparent increase in the stress that Alan was facing at the time of his death, and his suicide must have been motivated by intrapsychic forces unseen by those closest to him.

Reference

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BRIAN EPSTEIN: SUICIDE OR ACCIDENT?

David Lester

Queenie Hyman and Harry Epstein met while they were on holiday. They fell in love and were married in September, 1933. She was eighteen, he was twenty-nine. Both came from Jewish families which ran successful businesses: Queenie's father made furniture, and Harry's father sold furniture. The couple moved to a newly built house in the suburbs of Liverpool after the wedding, and Harry worked in his father's store. Queenie kept a kosher home, and they observed the religious festivals and ceremonies.

Their first son, Brian, was born on September 19, 1934, and their second son, Clive, twenty-two months later. The parents hired a live-in nanny when Brian was six months old. She remembered him as a determined child, spotless in hygiene, and rarely crying. Brian had a squint corrected when he was five, but it reappeared when he was under stress.

The Second World War led to several evacuations from Liverpool with brief returns. These moves, combined with problems with finding a school into which Brian fitted, led to him to eight schools by the age of thirteen. He ended up at Wrekin College in 1948, an academically weak student, with a dislike of sports, but a love of drama and music.

He decided that he wanted to become a dress designer, but his father disapproved, and so Brian quit school at the age of sixteen to work in the furniture store. He was a good salesman, and he began to show an aptitude for running a successful store. By the age of eighteen he was an affluent and debonair bachelor.

His career was interrupted by compulsive military service in 1952. He was rejected by the Royal Air Force and failed the tests for officer candidacy. However, he managed to get an office job and a transfer to London. After ten months he was charged with impersonating an officer (it was a case of mistaken identity) and discharged. He gratefully returned to Liverpool in January, 1954.

His father decided to expand his store to include records, and he put Brian in charge. The store became a profitable success within a year.

At this time, Brian was on the surface a fine young man - generous, well-dressed, with an interest in horse racing and tennis, he took suitably nice holidays and was seen with female companions. He was, however, a shy man and uneasy in social gatherings. He had many acquaintances, but few close friends. He was also homosexual.

His biographer, Ray Coleman (1989) does not document the evolution of Brian's recognition of his sexual preference. But Brian was sure enough at this time of it to tell his parents. His mother, in particular, was understanding, and he could always talk to her about it and about the other conflicts he was facing.

He soon became bored with his work, and he developed an interest in the theater. He went to the local theater to see the productions and managed to become friendly with the leading actors, Helen Lindsay and Brian Bedford. Brian decided to try to get into the Royal Academy of Dramatic Art, and Helen coached him on his audition. Much to the surprise of the actors, who privately did not think that Brian had much talent, he was accepted.

People who remembered him there in 1956 described him as shy, introverted, not obviously gay, polite and remote. Already, friends noted that he drank too much. He also acquired a girl friend. She recalled a scene he performed from *The Seagull* in which he played a young man spurned by his lover, who tries to commit suicide but fails. When his mother tries to console him, he flies into a rage. It was the only time he was good, and she concluded that it was because he was not acting.

After one year there, he decided to give up hopes of an acting career, and he returned to a career as a store-owner. He attended cultural events, and he continued to date. He even proposed one night, while drunk, to his steady girl friend, Sonia. Yet he made trips to Paris and Amsterdam for homosexual relationships, and finally confessed to Sonia that he was homosexual. In Liverpool, Brian occasionally visited the gay bars, but homosexuality was not legal between consenting adults until 1967, and Brian was never an activist or a joiner of causes. Although he lived at home with his parents, he rented a small apartment in town for his private use. He had one or two steady relationships with men, and he apparently liked to pick up rougher men for brief encounters.

The Beatles

As a result of running successful record stores, Brian decided to get closer to the world of pop music. He attended concerts, met the artists and their promoters, and broadened his awareness of the music scene in Liverpool. At this time there were several hundred groups in the area performing at the local clubs. Eventually, he noticed the Beatles. Their German records sold well in his stores, and he read about them in the local popular music paper. Finally, he had a chance to see them at Cavern, one of the clubs, and he thought they were incredible. There and then he decided to be their manager.

The history of Brian Epstein soon became inextricably bound up in the fortunes of the Beatles. They agreed to let him manage them and signed with him on February 1, 1962, for a five-year period. Brian's biographer makes it quite clear that Brian loved the Beatles. They became his obsession, his alter ego, and his triumph. For despite the fact that they were, of course, incredibly talented, it was Brian who shaped their image, fought for the first record contracts, and truly advanced their career.

What were the themes of the next five and a half years, up to the date of Brian's death?

Drugs

Brian had always drank heavily, enough so that friends and acquaintances commented on it. He soon began to smoke marihuana heavily (though he never learned to roll his own joints), took LSD, experimented with heroin, and became hooked on uppers and downers (amphetamines and barbiturates). (The psychiatrist who treated him in the months before his death did not consider him addicted! Brian had special inside pockets sown in his clothes to keep his supply of amphetamines.) The effect on his moods was tremendous. Staff and friends observed tremendous mood swings, profound depressions, and outbursts of anger. At times, he could barely function for periods of days, and his staff would have to cancel appointments and cover for him.

He lived in fear of being busted for drugs since many of his friends and acquaintances (including the Rolling Stones) had been arrested. Eventually he did join a public movement to have marihuana legalized, and he did admit in interviews to using drugs.

His death, on August 27, 1967, was due to an overdose of the medication his psychiatrist had prescribed for him, Carbitral, which contains pentobarbitone and bromide. He was supposed to be taking two Carbitral tablets a night on his psychiatrist's order, as well as Tryptizol and Librium. The coroner ruled the death an accidental poisoning caused by an incautious overdose. His biographer believes that too that the death was accidental, perhaps a case of drug automatism in which the person forgets how many pills he has taken and overdoses by mistake.

The Beatles

Although the Beatles were the major focus of his life, he had to endure much stress from them. They mocked his style and his mannerisms, insulted his religion and his sexual orientation. John Lennon, in particular, was especially cruel to him, as indeed he was to many of his friends. He sang "Baby, you're a rich fag Jew" to Brian and, when Ringo damaged a chair at Brian's house and Brian tried to prevent it, John said that Ringo had paid for it so he could destroy it. Yet Brian seems never to have retaliated. He endured it and walked away, believing they were geniuses and that it was the price one had to pay to be with them.

n time, they began to grow independent. George questioned his business dealings, and they began to talk of setting up their own companies. After their American tour in 1966, they decided never to tour again, a resolve that Brian dreaded and which would have drastically reduced his role in their lives.

It is noteworthy that his contract with the Beatles was due to be renegotiated in September, 1967, one month after his death. But the Beatles also respected and genuinely liked Brian, and they were aware that their success was due in large part to him.

His Homosexuality

Brian's homosexuality caused him problems. His dating of women, even to the point of sexual intimacy and a serious proposal of marriage, suggests that he made efforts to confront and challenge his sexual desires. He regretted that he was not married with a family.

Interestingly, Brian was not attracted to homosexuals. He liked masculine heterosexual types, and as a result his overtures to the men he liked best were usually rejected. He had one or two brief relationships with gay men which might have become more permanent, for example, with a young actor (Peter Bourne) in 1964, but he typically broke these relationships off after a month or two.

To satisfy his homosexual desires, he took trips by himself abroad, to Amsterdam, Paris and the south of France. But he was often lonely on these trips. He occasionally sought pick-ups from the rougher homosexual trade in England and America, often encountering danger. For example, he was blackmailed by one of his American pick-ups in 1965 and 1966, and in England he had a knife pulled on him on at least one occasion.

He worried a lot that public disclosure of his homosexuality might endanger the career of the Beatles. And we must remember that homosexuality was not yet legal in England at that time. There was great stigma attached to being gay and criminal danger, both from blackmail and from the criminal justice system. Some of his artists and his friends believed he was petrified of being revealed publicly as a homosexual. After he had moved into his London house, he had the word *queer* gouged on his car and painted on his garage door.

Business Matters

His success with the Beatles led him to extend his management empire. He took on many artists, but he did not really have the time to work for them effectively. Yet he also delayed delegating responsibility to his staff, so that their careers suffered. After the success with the Beatles, his first group, Brian was not used to failure.

The business also grew beyond his abilities to manage it well, especially with his drug abuse problems. By the year of his death, Brian was managing forty musicians, had eighty staff, and was directly involved in sixty-five registered companies! He was working seven days a week, day and night, often sleeping only two hours a night.

In 1965 he bought a theater, the Saville, and though it produced reasonably good plays and concerts, it was not a commercial success, eventually costing him three thousand pounds a week. Its failure to be a profitable enterprise disappointed him greatly.

In January 1967, after several efforts to find a business partner had failed, he merged with the Robert Stigwood Organization. The merger added to his stress. Brian

and Robert did not get along well, and the two staffs thoroughly disliked each other.

Brian's Life Style

As the Beatles moved upward, Brian's wealth increased. At the time of his death, he was worth perhaps seven million pounds. He moved from Liverpool to London, where he eventually bought a grand house (for forty thousand pounds). Later he acquired a country home in Sussex. He had three cars, including a Rolls-Royce and a Bentley. He ordered clothes in quantity, had a personal valet, and in 1964 was named one of the ten best dressed men in Britain. He was a gourmet and, when he travelled, stayed only at the best hotels.

Boredom had continually plagued Brian. The furniture business bored him; then the record business; and soon the management business did too. He turned to gambling for entertainment (in addition to drugs). He never gambled excessively given his wealth, winning or losing several thousands pounds a night. His biographer notes that Brian was a solitary man, moving from the seedy pubs in London's Dockland, hoping for a pick-up, to the ritzy gambling clubs in Mayfair.

His Psychological State

During his last five years, Brian's psychological state became increasingly worse. Although he succeeded with Beatles beyond his wildest dreams, he failed with many of his other artists and business ventures. When the Beatles were awarded MBEs in 1965, Brian was not, and he fell into a depression. He had been depressed before many times in his life. He had seen three psychiatrists in the two years prior to his death, but he had persisted with the treatment plans. In an interview he confessed to having contemplated suicide, and he once threatened to kill himself to one of assistants who took the threat seriously. The depressions were probably made worse by the drug abuse.

Brian had always had a bad temper, but under the influence of drugs his outbursts grew worse. He threw things at his staff and once trashed the furniture in his London apartment.

The Final Months

1966 and 1967 were bad times for Brian. His business ventures were beginning to become unmanageable and occasionally fail. The Beatles were disengaging from him, and his only female singer, Cilla Black, was threatening to change agents.

The 1966 Beatles tour had more problems than usual. Someone was impersonating Brian in America, making it necessary for Brian to issue denials of what he supposedly had said. John Lennon said that the Beatles were more popular than Jesus, leading to an uproar in America that almost led to the cancellation of the tour. In the Philippines, the Beatles inadvertently snubbed Imelda Marcos (the President's wife), leading to physical attacks on them (and Brian) at the airport. The Beatles decided to never tour again, and their contract with Brian ended in September 1967.

Brian began to fall ill. He contracted yellow jaundice in 1965 and glandular fever (mononucleosis) in 1966. In May 1967 he was hospitalized by a psychiatrist for three weeks for a "complete rest". He was reported to have been suffering from insomnia, anxiety and depression. Immediately on his release, he threw a huge LSD party at his country home!

In late 1966, one of his close friends (Alma Cogan) died of cancer, and his father had a heart attack. His father died on July 17, 1967, just six weeks before Brian's death. He visited his mother on weekends and was planning to buy an apartment for her in London so that she would be close by. She stayed with him in August for ten days.

On the weekend of his death, he had planned to go to his country home with two friends, and he had invited others to join them. On Friday evening, he was bored by his two friends and disappointed that no one else had arrived, so he left his friends and drove back to London. On Saturday, his servants served him an evening meal at five. After that he locked his door. On Sunday afternoon he was still not responding, so his servants called his secretary who went over, called a doctor, and found him dead when they broke down his bedroom door.

Discussion

Was it suicide? Coleman says NO! He points to the inquest verdict of accidental death, argues that Brian would never have hurt his mother, notes that he died intestate, and lists several of Brian's plans for the future.

But we can list as many features to support suicide. Brian had been depressed for many years and, in particular, just prior to his death. He had contemplated and threatened suicide. He abused drugs and alcohol, factors which increase the likelihood of suicide. He had lost his father and might soon lose the Beatles.

What is noteworthy is that most of those close to Brian expected a tragedy. His mother thought something was amiss when he was unavailable to come to the telephone during that weekend. (Remember that his secretary had been covering for him for years because of his drug abuse.) One of his artists, Gerry Marsden, was brought the news that he had dreaded, indicating that he had anticipated it.

So we have a man in a downward spiral, to use Coleman's own words, in the months prior to his death, spiralling down from an already precarious position. A man who died six weeks after his father's death and four weeks before he might have lost the Beatles, his love and obsession of the past five years.

We also have a man who seems to be existentially lost. Brian was bored with life. He changed careers as he grew bored with the last one. His drug abuse and his gambling seem to be flights from boredom, as does the large number of apparently superficial friends.

Superficial. One friend commented on Brian's superficiality. He was asked what would happiness be for him, and he replied that it would be to have the number one hit record every week for a year. His friends were appalled. Perhaps one can only run for so long, run until one loses hope that there is anywhere else to run? What could Brian do next? What would sustain him, hold his interest, and satisfy his desires, even his superficial desires? It is hard to guess. His life seemed at a plateau, if not in a trough.

Reference

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PAUL CELAN[6]

David Lester

Paul Celan was the pseudonym of Paul Antschel. He was born on November 23, 1920 in Czernowitz in Romania and drowned himself in the Seine in Paris on May 1, 1970 at the age of forty-nine.

During the First World War, the family fled the Russians, and Paul's father was wounded fighting for the Austrians. Paul's father had a son born shortly after the end of the war, an only child, and gave him an Orthodox Jewish upbringing and imparted strong Zionist convictions.

At school in Romania Paul learned Romanian, and he studied German and French at home and attended the local Hebrew school. Although half of the students were Jewish, Romania's Iron Guard, with its fascist anti-semitism, rose to power during his childhood, and Paul experienced a great deal of anti-semitism. As a teenager, Paul flirted with anarchism, socialism and communism. In 1935, he belonged to an illegal anti-fascist group with a mainly Jewish membership. In 1936 he collected funds for the Spanish Republicans.

He graduated from school in 1938 and went to Paris to study medicine. The next summer, with war imminent, Paul returned to Romania. The Red Army entered Czernowizt in June 1940 but retreated from the Nazis who took the city in July 1941. The Nazis burned the synagogue and killed, tortured and deported the population. His parents were deported in June 1942 and, in the only letter he received from his parents, he learned that his father had been shot. That winter, he heard from a cousin who had escaped that his mother had been killed by the SS.

By that time Paul was also in a forced labor camp, but later in 1943 he managed to escape and he served as a medical orderly for the Red Army in Kiev. The Russians retook Czernowitz by 1944, and Paul was now in forced labor for the Russians. As soon as he could he fled to Bucharest. He earned a living by translating Russian works into Romanian using various pseudonyms because his name, Antschel, sounded too German and Jewish.

In 1947 he published his first poem under the name Paul Celan, though he had been writing poetry for many years. (Celan was an anagram on the Romanian spelling of his family name, Ancel.) Paul's father had always wanted Paul to speak pure German, and so his poems were written in German. This first published poem, however, appeared in a Romanian translation.

In 1947, the Romanian king abdicated and the communists took over the government. Paul fled across Hungary to Vienna where his poetry was well received. In

[6] This essay is based on Felstiner (1985).

1948, Paul moved to Paris with fellow exiles and refugees. There he Paul worked at first at a factory job, later teaching languages at the Ecole Normal Superieure, and he continued to translate Romanian, French and English works into German.

In 1952, Paul married Gisele de Lestrange, a gifted graphic artist, French and Catholic, and they had a son in 1955. His books of poems began to attract criticsm. German reviewers objected to his living in Paris. Others criticized him for using his wartime experiences as themes for his poetry. Despite this he was awarded the Bremen Prize in 1958 and the Buchner Prize in 1960.

However, there was a recrudescence of anti-semitism in Germany in 1960 which upset him, and Yvan Goll's widow accused him of plagiarizing her husband's poems (which Paul had translated from the French). He felt that this accusation was "an attempt to destroy me and my poems" and connected to the new anti-semitism. At this time in his life, he felt acutely isolated. He wrote in German and felt kinship with Germany, yet the Germans had murdered his parents. France never welcomed or recognized him, and he was never invited to read his work there. He began to try writing in Romanian, perhaps in an effort to return to his roots. In 1969 he visited Israel where he met relatives and friends who had survived the holocaust and Hebrew poets whose mother tongue was also German. But he returned to Paris after only two weeks. He committed suicide the following year.

John Felstiner felt that scars from Paul's experiences during the war never healed. Those experiences motivated his poetry, and the fears and anxieties from those days pursued him until he sought escape in death.

Reference

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ELLEN WEST

David Lester

Ellen West was the name given by Ludwig Binswanger (1958) to a patient he saw in the early 1900s. Today, Ellen would be seen as a case of anorexia, but eighty years ago she baffled her therapists.

Ellen was non-Swiss, the only daughter of a Jewish father to whom she was very attached. She had a younger brother who also experienced psychiatric problems during his life and an older brother. Ellen's father was described as mildly psychologically disturbed, with night-time depressions and anxiety attacks. A sister of Ellen's father had a psychiatric breakdown, and two of his brothers committed suicide. Ellen's mother was severely depressed during her engagement, but the rest of her family seemed free from mental illness.

It is clear that Ellen may have inherited a predisposition to have a psychiatric illness from her father.

Early Years

Ellen's birth was normal, but at nine months she refused milk and never could tolerate it again. She liked meat and sweet desserts, but not vegetables. She could be very stubborn and rebellious. She remembers feeling depressed as a child, times when everything seemed empty to her. At ten, she moved with her parents from their homeland (which Binswanger leaves unknown) to Europe. She attended a school for girls where she did well. She was boyish (and, incidentally, a thumb-sucker), with a markedly variable mood. At sixteen she became infatuated with a young man, and she also became an atheist. When she was eighteen she went to Paris with her parents and the next year across the ocean with them. After returning she took up horse riding and, like everything she did, she worked hard at it to become skilled. That year, she returned to her homeland to nurse her older brother who had become sick. While there she became engaged, but her father forced her to break off the engagement.

Anorexia

Stopping by Sicily on her return, Ellen overate and became fat. Her girl friends teased her about it, and Ellen fasted and took long walks. By the time she returned to her parents she looked very sick. Ellen was twenty-one and her eating disorder had begun. She began to hunger after food and to dread gaining weight.

She got involved in a project to set up children's reading rooms and then decided to study for the entrance examination to university. She got up at five, rode for three hours, had private lessons, and worked all afternoon and evening. However, a year later she gave this up and qualified to audit courses at the university. (While studying there, she had her governess with her.) In her twenty-fourth year, after an unpleasant affair with a riding teacher, Ellen fell in love with a student and became engaged. Again her parents

demanded a separation. She left the university and her lover and went to a seaside resort where she was severely depressed. She took long walks and consumed over forty thyroid tablets a day to keep thin. She begged to return home and arrived completely emaciated.

In her twenty-fifth year, she travelled abroad again and, during a rest cure, gained weight. On returning home she weighed 165 pounds. She stayed for a while in a sanatorium, and eventually got her weight down by means of scanty eating and physical activity. She hiked, did gymnastics, was active in a children's home, but longed for a real occupation. She got close to a cousin and eventually was engaged to him, but she vacillated for two years between him and her student lover before marrying him in her twenty eighth year. She miscarried soon after the marriage and felt torn between trying again for a baby and the dread of gaining weight. Her menstrual periods ceased.

She worked in social welfare programs, went to the theater a lot and read. She struggled to keep thin and began to use laxatives to achieve this. She became a vegetarian. She was often too weak to hike with her husband and began to sleep twelve hours a day. She increased the number of laxatives to over sixty tablets of a vegetable laxative a day. She vomited at night and had diarrhea by day. Her weight got down to 92 pounds.

This went on until she was thirty-two when she began her first psychoanalysis which she soon decided was useless. She went for a consultation, and an internist recommended a clinic treatment. She began therapy with a second psychoanalyst who advised her husband to leave her. He did so and, two days later, Ellen overdosed with a medication most of which she vomited up. Her husband returned a month later, and she made a second suicide attempt with medication the next day. In the next few days she tried to jump in front of cars and out of windows, and she decided to enter the internist's clinic accompanied by her husband. (It was common for family members to stay with patients in private institutions.)

While in the clinic, Ellen's mood improved and her weight increased to 114 pounds. She attended lectures at the university and continued her psychoanalysis, but the improvement did not last. A psychiatrist diagnosed melancholia, but her psychoanalyst disagreed. The doctors fought over the best treatment, and this conflict upset her still more.

Finally her internist forbade any more psychoanalysis and advised her to stay at the Bellevue Sanatorium in Kreuzlingen. She entered there in January again accompanied by her husband. She improved immediately, but soon her condition worsened. She needed sedatives to sleep.[7] After two months her suicidal preoccupation grew more intense. She told her husband (who seems to have had almost hypnotic power over her) that she has wanted to die throughout her life. She has often tried to catch diseases to hasten her death.

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[7] . The doctors noted the absence of menstruation for four and a half years (a common occurrence in anorectics), no sexual intercourse for three years, and her infantile genital organs.

Another psychiatrist diagnosed schizophrenia. Ellen was so suicidal that it was thought necessary to move her to a locked ward. However, the psychiatrists admitted that she would not recover there, and they discussed with her husband the possibility of releasing her (as she demanded) knowing that she would probably kill herself if they did so.

After releasing her, Ellen and her husband went to stay with relatives. On the third day there she seemed quite calm and ate a normal breakfast and lunch. Suddenly all of the tension and fears that surround eating were gone. She took a walk with her husband, read some poems, wrote a letter to a patient back at the sanatorium and in the evening took from a lethal dose of poison. She died the following morning.

Discussion

Ellen's life and death was used by Binswanger to illustrate his theory of existential analysis, and he concluded that Ellen was right in killing herself for in doing so she became truly alive. Rogers (1961) criticized Binswanger for treating Ellen like an object, showing more concern with the correct diagnosis to give her than with relating to her as a fellow human being. Lester (1971) in contrast characterized the case as one of psychic homicide, in which someone murders another by getting her to kill herself. Lester argued that both Ellen's husband and her doctors wanted to be rid of Ellen, and so they released her knowing she would commit suicide.

Ellen's paternal family was psychologically disturbed, and so her own disturbance may have been inherited or learned from those relatives. Although the suicide of her two uncles could have been simply a consequence of an inherited psychiatric disorder, as her own suicide might also have been, there is also the possibility that Ellen learned from them that suicide was a solution to life's problems.

What is also noteworthy in the description of the events of Ellen's life is the dominance of her parents over her life decisions. Two engagements are broken because her parents object. It would be of interest to know how much her failure to go to university was a result of their actions. On marriage, she seems to have switched the dominance of her parents for that of her husband (who was described as having hypnotic power over her). Since anorexia is sometimes viewed these days as the result of a struggle with powerful parents who deny that they are domineering (Minuchin, 1974), Ellen seems to be a women who never matured enough to leave her parents and to develop a life of her own or to find less pathological ways of continuing the struggle for power with them.

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DORA CARRINGTON[8]

David Lester

Samuel Carrington was born in 1832, trained as an engineer and sailed for India in 1857. After spending thirty years there, he retired and returned to England, physically active though slightly deaf from overdoses of quinine, taken to cure tropical diseases. In 1888, at the age of fifty-five he married Charlotte Houghton a distant in-law. Charlotte has been a governess for her brother's children and was twenty years younger than Samuel. Her family was also of a lower social class than Samuel's. She later told people that she married Samuel out of pity and because he needed looking after.

In the next six years, Samuel and Charlotte produced five children: Lottie, Sam, Teddy, Dora and Noel. Dora was born when her father was sixty-one on March 29, 1893. Dora saw her father as a gentle man with a history of wondrous adventures, but she disliked her mother and had a poor relationship with her. Though Dora was close to her brother Noel, she idolized Teddy.

In her early years, the family moved frequently, but usually stayed close to London. Around the age of five, Dora suffered from incontinence. She was too shy to ask to leave the room, and she repeatedly soiled her clothes and was punished. Her feet turned inwards despite efforts to correct this. She was overweight and clumsy as a child. She seemed to be shy, rebellious, insecure and had a poor body image. When she began to menstruate she was filled with horror, and she hated the "fiend" as she called it ever after. Her mother's repressive upbringing fostered the development in Dora of a repugnance for sexual behavior.

At school Dora worked well but was not outstanding. Her spelling was poor and remained so, suggesting possible dyslexia. Because of her mother's interest in painting, Dora was introduced to art at an early age. The house always had reproductions of famous paintings on the walls, and visits to art museums were frequent. Dora showed herself to have artistic skills, and her mother was very proud.

When Dora was fifteen, her beloved father was paralyzed by a stroke, but apart from that her adolescence continued uneventfully. Her artistry began to find reward. She won prizes for drawing from her school and from competitions in London. Her art teacher encouraged her to apply to the Slade School of Art in London and, when she was accepted, her family was pleased to send her there. Though she remained financially dependent upon her family for many more years, her move to London began her liberation.

London Years

Dora arrived at the Slade in 1910 when she was seventeen. College life gave her freedom from her family and freedom from society's rules. Though Dora remained

[8] Based on Gerzina (1989).

politically uninvolved, her life changed dramatically. At the college men and women students were on equal terms. By 1911 she was signing her name Carrington, and this is how her friends called her. She also cut off her hair, as did her friends, whereas in her home town of Bedford no woman had short hair. She often wore trousers and developed an androgynous look. This increased the conflict between Dora and her mother when she went home for the vacations.

At the Slade, her artistic talent developed, and she was awarded a scholarship for her second year and won several of the school prizes. By 1911, she was involved in her first love triangle, with two students, Mark Gertler and Chips Nevinson. Both men sought to win Dora, and their relationships were full of conflict and tension. Gertler won, but his victory was limited. Dora had a fear or and a loathing of sexual intercourse, so that she always refused to become Gertler's lover despite her continual persistence. Mark first proposed marriage in June 1912, but he was refused.

Dora left the Slade in 1914 and at first went home. She continued to paint, and she worked for pay, painting signs, making woodcuts for the Hogarth Press (run by Leonard and Virginia Woolf) and undertaking various other artistic tasks. Through her association with the Bloomsbury circle she met Lytton Strachey, a homosexual in his mid-thirties and a writer who was working on his book *Eminent Victorians*. Lytton had a habit of falling in love with younger men who soon dropped him. One weekend, Lytton tried to kiss Dora and, in anger so the story goes, she crept into his room at night to cut off his beard. He opened his eyes and from that moment they were in love. Dora was twenty-two, Lytton thirty-five.

Life With Lytton

In 1916 Dora and Lytton went on a brief holiday together. They became lovers, though not apparently with enormous success and they seemed to have refrained from further attempts during their life together. Dora was now sharing an apartment with friends in London, but she and Lytton decided to find a house together. She now became Gertler's lover, but their relationship was doomed though it limped along into 1917. She and Lytton found a house in the country and moved there in November 1917. Their life together lasted until she killed herself just one month after his death in 1932.

Their life had several threads. First, it was usually full. They continually visited and stayed with friends, both together and separately. They also had visitors to their house much of the time. They took trips abroad, together and by themselves, often with friends. They had lovers, and Dora eventually married. But she and Lytton remained intimately close all of this time. When they were apart, they wrote almost every day to each other, and their letters were full of love and affection.

Work went well. Lytton wrote and published, becoming a popular writer and earning a good income. Dora painted, and often decorated panels and objects for others. She occasionally would earn money by making paintings on glass or by painting tiles. But despite Lytton's encouragement and praise and pride in her work, she lost confidence

in her artistic ability. She generally refused to exhibit her work, and she sold hardly any paintings during her life.

There were some losses. Although her father had a stroke in 1908, he survived until 1918. Her brother Teddy was killed during the war in 1916. But Lytton clearly took the place of her father, and his delicate health and poor digestion allowed Dora to shower attention on him as she took care of his needs.

Lytton continued his homosexual affairs, and Dora had men fall in love with her. Three of Dora's relationships are worthy of note. First, a friend of her brother's, Ralph Partidge, visited and they became attached to each other. Ralph and Lytton became friends, and soon they became a threesome. In 1921, Dora and Ralph married, and Ralph moved in with Dora and Lytton. After several affairs, during which Ralph forbad Dora to see other men (to which edicts she surprisingly submitted), Ralph eventually fell in love with Francis Marshall, and their relationship too was incorporated into the ménage, though not without much tension. This freed Dora to have affairs too. Eventually, Ralph and Francis had their own apartment in London, but visited Dora and Lytton on weekends. Soon Lytton rented an apartment in the same London house, and the ménage á quatre survived.

In 1923, Dora fell in love with an American woman, Henrietta Bingham, and had her first lesbian affair. Henrietta ended it late in 1924. Meanwhile, Dora was also having an affair with Gerald Brenan, a friend of her husband's. By 1926, Dora was drinking a lot, spending weekdays alone at the country house, with her nights long and unbearable, often filled with the nightmares that had plagued her all through her life. Over the next couple of years, her fears of loneliness and aging grew stronger. Her negative feelings about her painting ability were as strong as ever. But in 1928, she met a young man, Beakus Penrose, ten years her junior, who reminded her of her brother Teddy, and they became lovers. She became pregnant by him in 1929. Ralph and Lytton knew that she would kill herself if she could not have an abortion, and so Ralph arranged one for her.

In November 1931, Lytton became seriously ill. They did not know what the problem was at the time (it was stomach cancer), and he soon died on January 22, 1932. Dora tried to kill herself using car exhaust the day before his death. Her friends knew that she planned to kill herself, and so they did everything they could to prevent her from doing so. But eventually they had to trust her alone, and she shot herself wearing Lytton's robe on March 11, 1932. She survived for a few hours and told Ralph that it was an accident, which was the coroner's verdict.

Discussion

Dora had not been seriously depressed in her life, and she seemed to have weathered the interpersonal crises quite well. In her late thirties, though, old age and the prospect of a loveless life filled her with dread. Although her social life could have been full, she preferred to spend weekdays alone and lonely in the country. However, she and Lytton felt especially close during his last year, and their feelings for each other were

stronger than ever. A few days before his death he called for her and said

> Darling Carrington. I love her. I always wanted to marry Carrington and never did. (Gerzina, 1989, p. 293)

She had never threatened suicide before (except when pregnant), nor attempted it. Yet her friends knew that she would kill herself after Lytton's death. Lytton appears to have been the single part of her existence that made life worthwhile. Without him, there was nothing for her.

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THOMAS CHATTERTON

David Lester

Thomas Chatterton was born November 20 1752 in Bristol, England. His father (Thomas Chatterton senior) had been a schoolmaster in town and had married Sara Young in 1748 when he was thirty-five and she seventeen. He died when Sara was six months pregnant with Thomas. Thomas would have been the third child, but the second child (and first born son) died after a couple of months.

After Thomas's birth, the school let her stay in the school house accommodations with her two children and mother-in-law until she could find other rooms. Soon she found a place to stay, and she opened a sewing school for children, took in needlework and designed needlework patterns.

Early Days

Thomas's development for the first few years was not remarkable. At five, he was sent to school and sent back by the master as too dull-witted. Soon after this Thomas saw some brightly illuminated letters on an old manuscript and was immediately drawn to them. He learned the alphabet quickly and thence to read, though he disliked small books and would read only books larger than quarto size. He particularly liked a large black-letter Bible with medieval characters. He stopped playing with friends and read all day in an attic at the top of the house, neglecting even his meals.

Already he showed signs of emotional disturbance, sometimes growing morose and silent, sometimes sitting for long periods as though oblivious of everything, and having outbursts of crying.

In August 1760 when he was almost eight, Thomas was sent to Colston's school where his father had been educated. The school had long hours, nine hours of schooling each day in the summer and seven in the winter, and Sunday was reserved for religious activities all day. A half-day on Saturday was free. The school taught only the bare essentials of knowledge (reading writing and arithmetic), and boys after leaving were apprenticed for seven years to learn a useful trade. Going to Colston's meant that the study of the classics and a university education were closed to him.

Thomas told his mother that he had learned more when he was at home, and he found that the school did not even have a library. The forced religion led only to a mistrust of its tenets and a contempt for its practitioners. However, he began to write, and his first verse attempt, *On The Last Epiphany*, was published in the local *Felix Farley's Journal* on January 8 1763, seven weeks after his tenth birthday. He soon broadened his approach and wrote satirical essays and stories.

When he was ten, he used the little pocket money he had to join a library and began to read at every opportunity, withdrawing from sports and recreation with the other

boys. Between the ages of eleven and twelve he listed over seventy books read, mostly on divinity and history. An assistant-master at the school, Thomas Phillips, tried to encourage the boys in writing. Some biographers have suggested that a romantic attachment developed between the master and the boy, but there is little evidence for this. Phillips died in November 1969, a year before Thomas's suicide, and Thomas wrote an elegy for him.

Apprenticeship

Thomas left Colston's on July 1 1767 and began a seven years apprenticeship for John Lambert, an attorney, twenty-eight years old, independently wealthy, who lived with his mother. During this time, the apprentice received no salary, but was given room, board and clothes. Office hours were eight to eight, bed at ten, but at least Sundays were now free. Thomas slept with the footboy and ate with the servants. Lambert found Thomas to be gloomy and sullen.

Lambert was not a hard worker and was often absent from the office. Thomas could copy the material quickly and so found himself alone and with time to write. He made friends with other apprentices nearby, and he visited his mother most evenings. He continued to read, particularly about the Middle Ages, and he wrote prolifically.

Thomas's father had been sexton of a local church and had brought home parchments which had been found in the church. Thomas studied these with delight. They appear to have given him the idea of writing as if he were Thomas Rowley, a 15th Century poet. He practiced the script, learned the antique words and produced a series of documents supposedly written by the poet and others from that era.

His first publication was a description of the opening of a local bridge six centuries before which was published in *Felix Farley's Journal* in 1768 as authentic. When confronted with accusations of forgery, Thomas claimed that he had copied it from parchments his father had found. Several prominent Bristol citizens became friendly with and supporters of Thomas because of his supposed access to these parchments. William Barrett, an anatomist, later published a history of Bristol using some of Thomas's documents and was ridiculed for it. For another of his supporters, Thomas invented a complete genealogy back to Norman times.

Although they gave Thomas small sums of money for some of the documents, Thomas began to long for public recognition for his writing and sufficient income to be independent. Yet to some extent he was thwarted by the fact that his creative writing was presented as that of someone else. Thomas himself was never praised for his own creativity. His biographer, Nevill (1970), notes that during this time Thomas had recurrent episodes of deep depression, cynicism and distrust of the world.

In 1768, Thomas tried to find a publisher for his medieval poems. He wrote to Dodsley in London, presenting himself as the discoverer of ancient works, but the publisher did not appear interested. He then sought to gain the famous writer, Horace

Walpole, as a patron, seemingly a good choice since Walpole too had published a novel, *The Castle of Otranto*, pretending it dated from the early 1500s before acknowledging it as his own creation. Walpole was first delighted in the poems but, when he realized that Thomas was a poor apprentice, lost interest in him. Despite his great disappointments, Thomas continued to publish in magazines. He had one Rowley poem published in *The Town and County Magazine* for which he had written several essays.

Around this time, several losses occurred. A friend, Peter Smith, committed suicide in late 1769 at the age of twenty-one, and his former schoolmaster, Thomas Phillips, died in the November. Thomas was also alienated from some of his older supporters because of his satirical pieces about them which he published.

Freedom And Death

The early part of 1770 was productive for Thomas. He had pieces published in several magazines, including London ones. But Thomas was finding it hard to continue working as an apprentice. He was almost penniless, and he was frustrated by the limits on his actions. He talked of running away and even of committing suicide, a possibility which worried his employer's mother. He wrote a suicide note to a friend which his employer found and read. A few days later he wrote a last will and testament which was also found. Lambert threw Thomas out, thereby freeing him from the bondage of apprenticeship.

Thomas had already written to booksellers and publishers in London and, as soon as he could, he left by coach for London. His older patrons collected five guineas for him, and he arrived in London on April 25 1770. He went to stay first with a distant relative of his mother in Shoreditch.

He wrote, visited publishers, and was paid small amounts for occasional pieces. Meanwhile, he wrote letters home exaggerating the extent of his success. However, several things conspired against an immediate rise to fame and fortune. Summer soon arrived, and the editorial offices were operating on a leisurely schedule. In addition, several of the magazine publishers had been arrested for printing seditious pieces. Editors who had accepted his pieces, and had sufficient in hand for a year or two, now began to reject what he wrote. Finding living with a relative too constraining, he moved out in July to his own room in Holborn.

But by now, he was in desperate financial straits, so far that he was almost starving. Yet his pride led him to refuse meals from those who offered them to him. His housemates described him with hollow sunken cheeks, a feverish brightness in his eyes, and nervous twitching of his facial muscles. He wrote to his old patron in Bristol exploring the possibility of getting a job as a surgeon's mate on a ship.

There seemed only one alternative - to accept failure and return to Bristol, walking back home begging for bread on the way. But Thomas could not face that humiliation.

On August 24 1770, he drank arsenic mixed with water and died in agony in his room in Holborn, just three months short of his eighteenth birthday.

Discussion

Nevill ends his biography of Thomas Chatterton by wondering his family had a history of psychiatric disorder. Thomas's sister had a breakdown later in her life, and Thomas's behavior shows signs of emotional instability. However, to dismiss Thomas's suicide simply as the product of psychiatric disorder misses most of the interesting features of the case.

What is most noteworthy is Thomas's style in seeking fame as a writer. Thomas never wrote under his own name. In his political essays and satirical pieces he used a pen name, and his major works were presented as being written by a 15th Century poet. Indeed, his forgeries were so successful at the time that few realized what a great poet he was (and how great he might have become). This strategy has a major drawback because Thomas himself never received recognition for his work and yet fame was what he sought.

His impatience is also striking. Thomas had to have success now. And by now, he meant this year. He was not prepared to spend a few years practicing his craft and building a reputation. He could not endure any setbacks, and he killed himself four months after arriving in London, despite having achieved considerable notice and success.

Thomas appears to have been incredibly stubborn. While in London, the idea of getting a job to support himself seems not to have occurred to him. He had to survive by writing or he would starve. And starve he did. He considered at the last moment becoming a surgeon's assistant. But there must have been many jobs for the taking in London had he looked.

Thomas had set himself up for humiliation. By boasting in his letters home and to friends in Bristol how well he was doing and what a success he was, he made it very difficult for himself to go home as a failure. Had he been honest, a return to Bristol would have been a more feasible alternative.

The picture is of a rather immature youth, with psychopathic traits, complicated by a tendency to depression. Had he not shown the potential to be a great writer, his life might have passed unnoticed. Just another petty villain. But his talent and his suicide served to bring him a fame of a magnitude that he had longed for while just a youth.

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VLADIMIR KOVALEVSKII

David Lester

There is no biography of Vladimir Kovalevskii yet in the English language. However, there is one of his wife (Koblitz, 1983), and this essay is based on the passing references to Vladimir in that biography.

Early Days

Vladimir was the second son of a Russianized Polish landowner in Vitebsk (now in Latvia) and his Russian wife born August 14 1842. He was educated at an exclusive boarding school where he learnt English, French and German fluently. His father then sent him to a St. Petersburg institute from where he graduated in jurisprudence so as to be ready for government service. However, he became involved with the nihilists there and chose to deviate from his father's plan for him. He travelled abroad in 1861, meeting Russian political emigrés, lived with Alexsander Herzen in London and tutored his daughter, took part in the Polish rebellion in 1863, returned to Russia clandestinely, and joined the nihilist revolutionary circles there where his legal training helped him draft charters for the new institutions which would make them seem innocent to the Tsar's police. He set up a publishing company and edited, translated and published scientific and political works.

In 1864 Vladimir became engaged to marry a woman from the revolutionary ranks, but they decided on the morning of their wedding day against marrying. A year later, when a number of politically suspect people were rounded up by the Tsar's police, Herzen incorrectly included Vladimir's name among those arrested. When Vladimir was seen to be free, people began to think that he had been a spy. When Vladimir and his friends tried to scotch the rumors that he was a spy, people pointed to the break up of his romance as evidence. His fiancé must have found out that he was a spy, the accusers said.

The nihilists were the revolutionaries of the younger generation. They were opposed to the autocracy in Russia and felt that education of the people was one strategy to change Russia. Since women were excluded from institutions of higher learning, the nihilists fought for the higher education of women. One way of helping women in this was to arrange a 'fictitious' marriage, a marriage in name only, so that the woman could leave her parents and obtain an education (still with great difficulty) abroad.

Vladimir was introduced to the Korvin-Krukovskaia sisters, the youngest of whom, Sofia, was a young woman fascinated by mathematics and science and determined to gain a university education. It was suggested that he marry the older sister (Aniuta), but Vladimir decided to marry Sofia. Many of Vladimir's Russian biographers assert that he fell in love with Sofia almost at once, while a few maintain that he was motivated by his intellect rather than his heart. However, he seems to have wanted more than a fictitious marriage with Sofia, while she seems to have been content with a platonic relationship and wanted him out of her life after he had taken her abroad.

Sofia's father wanted the couple to wait a year before marrying, but Sofia threatened to compromise herself publicly if her father did not consent. Her father capitulated. In the months before the wedding, Sofia continued her studies and inspired Vladimir, who had always been interested in the sciences, to study to. Hitherto, Vladimir had been unambitious and content to run his small publishing business. Sofia taught him mathematics, and they studied physics together. Vladimir was in awe of his fiancé and saw her as a stimulus to his own career. Finally, in late September 1868 Vladimir and Sofia married, she eighteen and he twenty six.

The Fictitious Marriage

Initially, Vladimir and Sofia went to St. Petersburg where they worked hard at science and socialized with other revolutionaries. Their relationship seemed good, though platonic. They were tender and affectionate in public (Sofia called Vladimir 'brother') but had separate rooms. True to the nihilist doctrine, Vladimir deferred to Sofia since women had been oppressed for so long. They decided to travel abroad for Sofia wanted to study, while Vladimir not only wanted to study, but escape from the financial debts his publishing company had incurred.

In April 1869, Sofia and Vladimir, along with Aniuta, left for Vienna and then Heidelberg. Vladimir's brother, Aleksander, was already famous for his work on embryology, and so Vladimir was admitted to the university. Sofia had to approach each professor to obtain individual permission to attend lectures.

Vladimir and Sofia travelled extensively on Vladimir's geology and paleontology field trips. They met scientists in England (where Vladimir knew Charles Darwin and Thomas Huxley from his publishing business), France, Italy and Germany. In Heidelberg, Sofia set up a commune for women who wanted to come and study, and many of them disliked Vladimir, leading to friction in his relationship with Sofia. They felt Vladimir was too close to Sofia, and she became distant from him. However, she had also become dependent upon him so that, when he became less affectionate as she became rude and cold toward him, she began to complain of his neglect. She also was jealous of the time he spent with his books and on field trips. Sofia demanded that Vladimir buy her clothes since was too busy and that he accompany her on local excursions instead of going on field trips. The tension was made worse by Vladimir's financial worries over his book business. He borrowed money from his father-in-law so that his creditors would not seize the small estate he and his brother owned.

Part of the problem was resolved when the commune broke up in 1870. Sofia and her friend Iulia went to Berlin to study while Vladimir worked on a dissertation at Jena University. Because of the lack of money and the coolness between them, Vladimir did not visit Sofia much, and so she and Iulia were quite lonely in Berlin.

In March 1871 when the National Guard in Paris refused to surrender to the Prussians after the defeat of the French government, Vladimir and Sofia decided to visit

Aniuta there. Sofia helped in the hospitals, while Vladimir explored the paleontological museums, consulted with experts, and decided to specialize in fossil mammals. He and Sofia left after six weeks, but returned in June. Aniuta's fiance was arrested, and Valdimir had plans for everyone to emigrate to New Caledonia in the South Pacific to be near him in the penal colony there. However, the young man managed to escape, making these fanciful plans unnecessary.

Sofia went back to Berlin, but now Vladimir considered divorce. Sofia, he said, was too difficult to live with, and he wanted more than a fictitious wife. He and Sofia began to squabble, and Vladimir hinted at divorce. Sofia ignored the hints. Vladimir received his doctorate in March 1872 with a dissertation on paleontology that was widely acclaimed. However, when he went to Odessa to be examined in the Russian system, he was rejected. He was unprepared and had publicly insulted the work of one of the examiners. (The Russians also resented German influence in science and looked unfavorably on German-trained Russians.)

Sofia decided to join her sister, now in Zurich, in the Spring of 1873 and was annoyed that Vladimir was not there. She agreed to divorce Vladimir but, when she heard about his humiliation in Odessa, changed her mind. They met in Berlin and resumed their affectionate relationship. Vladimir resumed his work on the fossil collections, while Sofia worked hard on a dissertation. She wrote three excellent papers, and eventually the University of Gottingen granted her a doctorate in August 1874 without an oral examination. She was the first woman in the world, outside of Renaissance Italy, to receive a doctorate in mathematics and one of the few in the world to have a doctorate in any field.

The Return To Russia

Vladimir and Sofia returned to St. Petersburg hoping to find academic positions and considering the consummation of their marriage. Sofia soon found out that all positions were closed to her since she was a woman, while Vladimir could not overcome his German education and examination failure. Even though he finally passed his examination in March 1875, he was offered no position.

Since Sofia and Vladimir had little money, they decided to abandon their academic careers and make a fortune. They began an active social life and speculated in real estate, planning to build and rent out apartments. Sofia'a father died in September 1875 leaving them some money. (He had already given a sum to Vladimir to pay off the debts of his publishing company.) Vladimir got involved in a newspaper venture which started off quite successfully, with Vladimir working as manager, night editor, and writer. However, within a year the editors changed the orientation of the paper, making it more radical, and driving away authors and readers. Vladimir and Sofia quit the newspaper in 1877, losing their investment. They continued to speculate in real estate, tried to revive Vladimir's publishing business and entertained an ever widening circle of friends.

Their daughter was born in October 1878, after a difficult pregnancy which left

Sofia with a weakened heart. Both Sofia and Vladimir adored Fufa, as they called her. Soon thereafter, the real estate venture came crashing down in bankruptcy. Then in February, a revolutionary newspaper resurrected the rumors about Vladimir being a spy and spread other false rumors.

The combination of reversals left Vladimir distraught. He withdrew, became incoherent at times and quarrelled with Sofia. Sofia handled the crisis calmly and planned a return to her academic career. The sale of their possessions at public auction seemed to push Vladimir over the edge. He became increasingly withdrawn and unable to concentrate, and alternated between depression and euphoria. They moved to Moscow, and Sofia tried to interest Vladimir in paleontology again. Vladimir's brother tried to get him a position at Moscow University, but Vladimir got involved in a company with two oil entrepreneurs against the advice of Sofia and his brother because he wanted to make up for his recent financial failure. His withdrawal made him taciturn, and Sofia failed to understand his mental state and felt insulted. Their marriage deteriorated.

In late 1880 Vladimir bought shares in the oil company in which he was working, even though he had no money. He finally received his appointment to the University (where he served as an associate professor until his death), but his behavior became more erratic. He made no payment on his loans, delayed his return from a trip for the company, and failed to tell the University that he would not arrive at the time when he was expected. Sofia decided to leave for Berlin in March 1881.

Sofia expected occasionally financial support from Vladimir, but none came. He fell ill, and this mitigated her anger at him, but she was hurt that he had not sent for her. She thought of returning to him and would have if he had asked and promised not to hinder her mathematics. In a letter she invited him to join her abroad on her travels, but he refused. Vladimir was now confused and disoriented. He answered letters only after week's delay and then would write ambiguously. Sofia kept sending him chatty and cheerful letters in 1881 and 1882 even though she received few replies.

Vladimir's life deteriorated further. He took hours to prepare lecture notes, and his classes were mediocre. He missed classes to work on the oil business. He finally began to doubt the honesty of the company's main shareholders and tried to take over the board of overseers. He failed and was removed as director, but he could not leave the company because he was too much in debt to the owners.

His letters to Sofia alternated from tender affection to formal coldness. He fantasized about returning her inheritance which he had squandered as a symbolic gesture of the end of their relationship, and Sofia was hurt and insulted when she heard about this. In his letters to his brother and to friends he began to blame himself for his inadequacies, and to tell others how their love had been wasted on him.

By the end of 1882, he seemed to have decided on suicide. He tried to tidy up his affairs, and he wrote his brother a farewell letter on February 1 1883, though he did not mail it. For two months he waited, hoping his concentration would return so that he could

resume his scientific work and hoping that there would not be trial of the directors of the oil company. The final blow was that a thesis he had submitted for his Russian doctorate was rejected.

On the night of April 27 1883, Vladimir killed himself by drinking a bottle of chloroform. His suicide notes apologized to Sofia for spoiling her life, expressed his love for his daughter, and asked a jurist friend to clear his name in connection with the oil company affairs.

Though his scientific career had been brief, he was mourned in Europe and America. He is considered one of the founders of evolutionary paleontology, and his work on fossil horses was the point of departure for future research.

Discussion

It is not easy to analyze Vladimir's life since he is mentioned only peripherally in the biography of his wife. We learn little nothing about his early years, but his adult life seems a mix of accomplishments hindered by his personal attitudes. He let his political ideology lead him into a disastrous marriage. His doctoral thesis was exceptionally good but he failed to build an academic career out of it.

The last year of his life was marked by a series of streessful life events, including the loss of his wife, failure at his academic position, and threats of a trial over the management of the company he was working for. This stress seems to have precipitated an affective disorder, perhaps bipolar, but we have no way of discovering whether the manic-depression was evident before the final crises.

Ironically for a man who espoused the nihilist cause and, to some extent, made sacrifices to forward his wife's career, Sofia did rise to fame in the field of mathematics. She obtained a Professorship at Stockholm University and became editor of *Acta Mathematica* before dying at the age of forty-one.

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MARK GERTLER

David Lester

Louis and Golda Gertler came from Przemysl, Galicia, a border country on a tributary of the Vistula between Russia, Austria and Poland about sixty miles west of Lvov. They emigrated to London in 1890, but poverty forced them to return after a few months. During their brief stay in London, a son Max was born, the youngest of the five children by seven years.

Back in Przemysl, his relatives bought Louis an inn to run, but through bad luck or bad management, the inn did not prosper. After its failure, Louis tried to sell boots and then buttons but failed again. In despair he left to go to America, promising to send for his family later. They lived in poverty supported by meager wages from the oldest son, Harry, and food brought home by Golda from the Jewish restaurant where she worked. The children stole food for the family, and they suffered persecution both from being Jewish and from being poor.

After five years, Louis asked his family to meet him in London, and so in 1896 Golda Gertler emigrated for the second time. The family stayed temporarily in one room in the apartment of a friend in Shoreditch. Max, later called Mark, recalled waking up that first night and experiencing his first real fit of depression.

Early Days

This time Louis got work, at first only smoothing walking-sticks, but gradually the family established itself, staying for three years in one room, but eventually moving to better and better rooms and earning a little more money. Mark was sent to the local Jewish school, but eventually the local authorities forced his parents to send him to the public school. Mark acquired his name on the first day of school when the registration official could not understand Golda's pronunciation of Max and wrote down the name as Mark.

Mark described himself as a nervous, high strung and emotional boy, somewhat undersized, thin and pale, always tired since he never got to bed until the family retired at midnight or later. At school, he was quiet, conscientious and well liked. He liked drawing, and Golda encouraged him in this. He would become so engrossed in his drawing that he ignored meals and drew for hours, oblivious to his surroundings. The family was religious, and Mark had his *barmitzvah* in 1904.

When Mark left school in January 1906 he knew he wanted to be a painter. This perplexed his parents who did not view it as an appropriate career, but they decided to give him a chance. A family friend took him along to the Regent Street Polytechnic and persuaded them to let him enrol. Mark worked hard for two years there. In the summer of 1907 he did well in the examinations, except for failing design. However, his family found the fees too high, and so Mark took a job at a neighboring firm of glass painters,

working days and going to classes at nights. In the summer of 1908, he again did well in the examinations, except for failing design. In the National Art Competition, with fifteen thousand competitors, he won a bronze medal.

At this point the Jewish Educational Aid Society agreed to pay his tuition, and they referred him to the painter William Rothstein. Rothstein liked what he saw and helped Mark gain admission to the Slade School of Art. He began there on October 13 1908.

Apprenticeship

Mark's life was centered on art. He remained diffident toward women and only slowly adjusted to being around gentiles. However, during his second term, he became friendly with C. R. W. Nevinson who brought him into closer contact with the other students. At the end of the first year at the Slade, Mark was awarded one of the two scholarships.

Friendship with Nevinson opened doors for Mark. Nevinson's parents liked him and introduced him to their friends and to the ways of the middle-classes. He joined a small exhibiting group, the Friday Club, had his work reviewed in the newspapers, and met intellectuals.

In September 1911, one his friends, Maxwell Lightfoot, a student at the Slade and five years older than Mark, fell in love with an artist's model of whom his parents disapproved. Lightfoot decided to go ahead and marry her anyway but before the wedding found out that she was notoriously promiscuous. He cut his throat on the day before the wedding.

Mark remained close to his family. He painted at home, and his mother was one of his favorite subjects. Mark remained close to his brothers, and they helped him financially later in life. His first love affair was with May Berlinski who lived just two doors away, but his first sexual experience was with a prostitute paid for by his brothers.

In 1911 Mark's painting of his mother hung in the New English Art Club and was bought by a discerning collector, he was awarded a British Institute scholarship, and he was elected to membership in two prestigious art societies. Such success for a young artist was almost unheard of in England.

In April 1912 Mark moved in with his brother Harry and his wife. They gave him the top floor and, though he liked his studio, the noise of the children and the family bothered him. In 1912 also he became friendly with Dora Carrington, a fellow student at the Slade, and was soon in love with her. The affair with Dora brought Mark great pain. Since Nevinson was also attracted to her, Mark's love for Dora destroyed his friendship with Nevinson. But more than that, Dora was a sexually inhibited and emotionally unstable woman. Her relationship with Mark lasted until 1917 when she fell in love with and moved in with Lytton Strachey.

Mark and Dora had many good times together, and there was a sympathy and understanding between them. They explored London together, helped each other's painting, and wrote to each other almost daily. But Mark's desire to sleep with Dora and to marry her led to continual squabbling between them. Dora did not agree to be Mark's lover until she had already met and fallen in love with Lytton Strachey (and become his lover, albeit for only a brief period), and Mark always knew that she did not enjoy sex with him. All too often, Mark blamed himself for the difficulties with Dora, viewing himself as vulgar and disagreeable.

Life As A Painter

Early in his career, Mark began to have occasional problems finding inspiration for his painting. In 1919 he wrote to friends that he was finding art absolutely beyond him. It was unfortunate for Mark, along with other British painters, that the Parisian artists with post-Impressionism, Fauvism, and Cubism were taking the art world by storm. Mark was aware he had mastered techniques which suddenly looked out of date. Mark was confronted by a dilemma. Should he continue to develop his style, yet run the risk of not being seen as good as the Parisians, or should he modify his style toward the Parisian styles? Mark chose the former path, and today we have all heard of Picasso while few have heard of Gertler.

Yet his art was the major focus of his life. Outside of his art, there was nothing, he felt, to hope for. During these early years, he began to suffer from the headaches that plagued him throughout his life, and he continued to experience depressions. To a large extent, his mother's love and her need for him kept him from suicide during these severe depressions.

By 1912, Mark had made another close friend, a fellow painter, John Currie. They exhibited their work together and received equally favorable reviews in the papers. Currie introduced Mark to Edward Marsh, a member of the upper classes who was secretary to Neville Chamberlain and later Winston Churchill. Marsh bought Mark's paintings and later contributed a regular stipend to support him.

Mark's entries first into the middle classes and then to the upper classes were extraordinary experiences for him. Before visiting friends of Marsh for a weekend, Golda had to rush and buy Mark the first pair of pyjamas he had ever owned. Yet Mark was able quickly to fit into these new social strata, and he remained unashamed about his roots. He was happy to take his new friends to Yiddish plays, the Jewish sections of London, and to his own home for tea.

By 1913, Mark was finding it hard to survive. He found it hard to paint portraits for the conventional market, and his work was not of the kind that bought success in the leading London art circles. His brothers contributed a little and Marsh bought some paintings. He moved from depression to elation, and his paintings of 1913 were not received well. In desperation, Mark applied for a part-time position teaching art at the

Boys Foundation School in Whitechapel but was rejected. One of his friends, the writer Gilbert Cannan, introduced Mark to Lady Ottoline Morrell, and she liked his work and decided to get Mark's career launched. She showed his work at one of her evening salons, and introduced him to many of the leading painters. Although Mark did become more well known as a result of her efforts, the war in 1914 seriously inhibited the sales of art.

In 1914, John Currie murdered his lover and killed himself. Thereafter, no new friendships with fellow artists developed, and Mark faced the problems in his work alone. Mark decided around this time to find his own place in London, and he rented a small apartment in Hampstead. For the first year, the stipend from Marsh paid his living expenses. 1914 ended on a positive note. He had an affair with a former Slade student, Iris Tree, his reputation was on the rise again, he was invited to join one of the groups which had rejected him earlier, and doctors assured him that he was physically healthy.

Independence

Although Mark no longer had an artist as an intimate friend, he had many friends, including D. H. Lawrence, Katherine Mansfield, and a good friend S. S. Koteliansky (Kot). The war brought fears of deportation for his parents, and service in the military for Mark.[9] His parents were spared when they found a way to be declared Polish. Mark's opposition to the war also brought a crisis of conscience over his friendship with Marsh, and in late 1915 he gave up the stipend from Marsh.

He struggled through 1916, with little income and endless heartache from his relationship with Dora Carrington. His headaches continued to be severe. But once more Mark was saved by a patron, Monty Shearman. In 1916 also Mark tried writing poetry and plays, and he tried sculpture. But by the end of the year, he had given up these avenues.

In February 1917, Mark's father died at the age of sixty. His relationship with Carrington continued to cause him suffering, and hardly anyone would buy his paintings. The spells of depression grew worse. His friend Gilbert Cannan, a writer, became insane and was hospitalized. Mark struggled on, but there were signs of an imminent breakdown. In 1918, Mark ran into Carrington and Strachey in London and physically attacked Strachey. Mark and Kot also vandalized Monty Shearman's apartment. When Carrington married in 1921, Mark went out to buy a gun with which to kill himself, but all the shops were closed. Mark sought release in drink, parties and sex. Mark's close friendships with Lady Ottoline, Monty Shearman and Kot helped him through this period.

After the war, at the same time as Mark's paintings began to attract more positive attention, his physical health worsened. He was offered his first one-man show in London for March 1921, and he worked hard. But in November 1920 he collapsed with tuberculosis and was sent to a sanitarium in Scotland.

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[9] Interestingly, many years before, Mark's father had used self-inflicted wounds to get out of military service.

The Routine

Mark was released from the sanitarium in May 1921, and he drastically changed his life. From now on he set up a routine which he followed almost rigidly. He restricted his social activities to a few evenings a week. Callers were barred except on Thursday evenings. He worked diligently for the same hours each day - 10.30 am to 12.30 pm and 2 pm to 4.30 pm. He walked each morning on Hampstead Heath. His landlady provided him with meals. Despite this care, he still suffered from severe migraine headaches and had several relapses which sent him back to the sanitarium (in 1925, 1929, and 1936). Though tuberculosis killed Katherine Mansfield and D. H. Lawrence, Mark's seemed to been cured, and his breakdowns were mainly nervous in origin. He often went to his brothers for the Friday sabbath, he visited Lady Ottoline's country estate, and he had several affairs, many of them with models. He travelled a little, usually with a rich friend, Walter Taylor. His work sold well enough to provide a reasonable income. One gallery gave him an advance of three hundred pounds a year against sales, and from 1921 to 1932 he had no pressing financial worries. Indeed, for much of the 1920s, Mark was almost happy.

He continued to agonize about his art, however. He would be filled with doubts about his value as an artist. He saw himself as inferior to Matisse or Picasso, and sometimes the torment would drive him to consider suicide. In November 1929 he again went out to buy a revolver, but did not do so.

In the mid 1920s, Mark met Majorie Hodgkinson, another ex-Slade student, about ten years his junior. They become good friends and, when Mark went to a sanitarium in 1929, she accompanied him and stayed nearby. In April 1930, while they were visiting Paris, they were married by the British Consul. Majorie was not Jewish, but his mother soon accepted the marriage.

In 1930, Mark's brothers went into bankruptcy, and he realized that he could no longer rely on them to help him financially. Golda died in February 1932 from pneumonia. Lytton Strachey died the same month, and Carrington shot herself in March. Majorie thus became much more important to Mark. Majorie was ill a lot, and often both she and Mark would be sick, and they would have to get a nurse. They had a son in August 1932 but, the next time Majorie became pregnant, they arranged an abortion.

Mark's life now was in constant flux. The owner of the gallery which bought his works died. He and Marjorie moved several times. And there was a baby in his life, disturbing his peace. The child needed several operations, and the cost of these led to financial strain. In 1936, Mark's headaches and depression grew so severe that he went into a sanitarium again. Marjorie went with him, but they decided to separate for at least three months. Mark slashed his wrists while there, but called the nurse in time to be saved.

Mark left the saniaorium in October 1936, and he and Marjorie moved into a new

house, bought with a mortgage raised by her father. Mark found a new gallery to take his paintings. In 1937, their nurse left, and they decided to cope with their son alone. Mark took up teaching to ease the overdraft at the bank, but his migraine headaches became more frequent, and his depressions continued.

Mark decided that he painting was the most important aspect of his life, more important to him than his family. Marjorie who had withdrawn from him sexually and who already had been attracted to other men seemed to concur. Marjorie left for Paris in January 1939, leaving their son at a school in Switzerland.

Mark remained preoccupied with his falling weight, his depression and his headaches. His last show opened in May 1939 to bad reviews. He visited Marjorie in Paris in May, and she told him that she did not plan to return. They decided to sell the house.

Having been solitary for much of his working life in the 1920s, Mark now felt lonely. Many of his friends were gone. Lady Ottoline had died in 1938, his friends had drifted away, and only Kot continued to visit. Mark gave up trying to paint. The events in Europe boded ill for Jews. Early in June, Mark attempted suicide with medication and gas, but changed his mind and survived.

He tried to visit his brothers on June 23, but they were busy. They agreed to meet the following week. Mark arranged to meet a women friend that evening instead. On the morning of the 23rd, an agent came to value the house. After the agent left, Mark went into his studio, locked the door, and lay on a mattress next to the gas ring and gas stove. He was found dead in the evening.

Discussion

Mark's life was characterized by constant depressions and migraine headaches. Although he did have tuberculosis, the post-mortem showed that it had healed. Thus, his problems seemed to have been mainly psychological.

Although he had many close friends throughout his life, he failed to find an intimate partner with whom to share life. He fell in love with Dora Carrington and would have married her, but she was not in love with him. And even had she loved Mark, her own psychological stability was in doubt. (At one point, Mark considered marrying a Jewish woman, but broke off the engagement.) As a consequence, Mark ended up at the age of forty alone in the world. As his friends began to die or move away, Mark was left alone. His parents were dead, and his brothers not sufficient to provide a reason for living.

Mark had always struggled with his painting. The periods of neglect more than outweighed the periods of acclaim, and he was never really a successful artist during his lifetime. The developments on the continent overwhelmed the art world and left almost all of the British painters out of the mainstream. Mark himself was continually plagued

by doubts about his merit as a painter and, since painting was so central to Mark's identity and existence, failure or even mediocrity was difficult to accept.

At the time of his suicide, then, Mark was facing the dissolution of his marriage, doubts about his artistic ability, and a further succession of severe depressions and his other symptoms. And he no longer had his beloved mother to provide him a reason for living. He appears to have lacked the resources for coping with the situation he was facing, and death seemed to have provided a resolution.

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DIANE ARBUS

David Lester

Diane's Jewish maternal grandfather emigrated to the USA from Poland and eventually became a bookie in New York City. He got into the fur trade as something to do in the winter when the racetracks were closed. He opened a fur store on 14th Street in Manhattan. One of his daughters, Gertrude, fell in love with a boy who had started at the store as a window dresser and, against her parents' wishes, married him. In time David rose to become the head of the company.

Three months after the wedding, a son Howard was born, later to become a well-known poet. Diane was born March 14 1923. (A third child, Renee, was born in October 1928.) The family was well off, with maids and a chauffeur and a nanny for each child. The nannies were totally in charge of the children, and the parents remained very distant. Their father was preoccupied with the store and showed little interest or warmth toward them, and this indifference lasted all his life. Their mother rose late, shopped a lot, and played cards with friends. Relationships between the parents and children were based on approval rather than love. As a young girl, visitors thought that Diane flirted with her father, and she admitted to having incest fantasies with him later in her life. Diane was well aware of his father's philandering in the 1930s, and her mother had a severe depression in 1938, perhaps exacerbated by her husband's infidelities.

Howard and Diane became inseparable. They were both very gifted. They read a lot and created rich fantasies together which they shared with no one else. Though they remained very close all their lives, they never discussed their work with each other and rarely mentioned each other to friends.

When Renee, the third and final child was born, Diane showered her with affection and attention, perhaps affection which she had craved from her mother but never received.

When Diane was seven, she was sent to the Ethical Culture School on Central Park West, a private school based on the principles of Ethical Culture, a religious humanistic philosophy established by Felix Adler, a rabbi, in 1867. Diane was perceived as gifted there, but she later recalled that she felt quite dumb, a theme which characterised Diane all of her life. She was shy and had many childhood fears of monsters and kidnappers. One of her techniques for dealing with these fears was to stay in a dark room and wait for the monsters to come. The only external trauma was that she and Howard were robbed one day outside of their apartment building.

The family survived the Depression in reasonably good shape, and Diane was brought up like a well-bred eighteenth-century lady, acquiring the accomplishments of painting, piano, languages, manners and an appreciation of art. At school, her artistic creativity developed. She became a leader, taking her friends on treks through Central Park. She was popular and could float from one clique to another, remaining friends with

all of them. However, she also liked to be by herself, reading poetry or looking at the art in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Her father was proud of her artistic interests, and would sometimes take her along on weekend expeditions to museums and galleries. In 1935, he arranged for Diane to have sketching lessons after school from the illustrator for his stores.

Diana attended the Fieldston School from seventh through twelfth grade, a school which was a continuation of the Ethical Culture schools. The organization ran a settlement house in the slums which the students sometimes visited, and Diane was fascinated by the derelicts there. Diane and a friend would sometimes ride all over the city on the subways just to see the strange people who both frightened and pleased her.

At fourteen, Diane was seen as shy and withdrawn, giving an impression of fragility. She spoke in rapid convulsive bursts with a soft voice, punctuated with giggles.

Allan Arbus was nineteen year-old going to City College at night and working in the store's art department by day. His uncle was president of the company. Diane and he fell in love almost as soon as they met, and Diane, then fourteen, told her parents that she wanted to marry him. Her parents did everything they could to prevent this, but Diane and Allan continued to meet despite all of the obstacles.

By age fifteen, Diane was not wearing a bra or panty girdles. She disliked wearing elaborate dresses, did not shave her legs or wear make-up, and loved her menstrual flow. She masturbated a great deal, often in the bathroom window knowing that men in other apartments were watching her.

In July 1938, partly to break up Diane and Allan's romance, Diane's father sent her to the Cummington School of the Arts in Northampton, Massachusetts, for the summer. Diane spent most of the time there with Alex Eliot, the grandson of a Harvard University President, who fell in love with her. Allan visited, and the three became friends, a friendship which continued back in New York. Alex wanted to be a painter, Allan an actor. Alex noted that Allan treated Diane tenderly but dominatingly. For example, he used to upbraid her for not finishing her sentences.

Realising that Diane was attached to Allan, Alex met Ann Dicke, thirty years old, who had just broken off her engagement to the poet Robert Lowell. They married in 1940, and Diane and Anne became close friends too.

Diane's depressions were pronounced in her senior year, so much so that her teachers mentioned them to Howard, her brother, when he visited. When she graduated from high school, Diane gave no thought to going to college. She planned to marry Allan. Her parents finally gave in, and Diane and Allan were married in a rabbi's chambers on April 19, 1941, one month after her eighteenth birthday. Her mother gave Diana a five year's supply of clothes from the family store and the services of a maid for a year. Diane and Allan could not afford a honeymoon, so they went to Boston and stayed with Alex and Anne. Alex and Anne moved soon afterwards to an apartment in Diane and Allan's

building in New York City.

Fashion Photography

At first, Diane played the role of the good housewife, but the war interrupted things. Allan joined the signal corps, and was sent to New Jersey and then to Queens to learn photography. Diane moved with him, and Allan would teach her in the evenings what he had learned during the days. Allan was sent to Burma in late 1944, and Diane discovered she was pregnant after he left. Their daughter, Doon, was born April 3, 1945.

Diane was living with her parents during this period and had fights with her mother about Doon. Her mother hired a nurse and wanted Doon bottle-fed. Diane wanted to breast-feed her. The compromise was that Diane would breast-feed Doon, after which she would be weighed to make sure she had gained enough.

When Allan came back from the war, he and Diane decided to be fashion photographers, a profession they had dabbled in back in 1941. After promising to buy all of their necessary photographic equipment and supplies, Diane's father reneged on his promise and gave them only a fraction of what they needed. However, he did give them their first job, photographing the store's fashions for newspaper ads. Observers of the scene noted that Diane and Allan worked very closely without any friction, unusual among collaborating couples in the city then. They were a shy retiring couple, who did not join in the merrymaking in the evenings after fashion sessions and who seemed almost symbiotically close. People mistook them for brother and sister. Diane was slow-moving and dreamy, whereas Allan was brisk and organized, and they complemented each other. They both had spells of depression, Diane sitting dazedly in the apartment for hours, Allan playing his clarinet compulsively for hours. They continued to be inseparable from Alex and Anne Eliot.

However, by 1948 tensions were growing in the Eliot marriage. During a summer together at Martha's Vineyard, Alex who was now working for *Time*, read a chapter of possible novel to them all whereupon Anne exclaimed it was disgusting and horrible and left the island. Diane and Alex then became lovers. Anne was hospitalized, diagnosed with manic-depressive disorder, and she never forgave Diane and Allan. By 1950, Diane stopped sleeping with Alex, but they remained good friends. Alex then met and married Jane Winslow, and these two couples became close, though never as close as when Alex and Anne were married.

Diane and Allan were successful and were soon photographing for *Glamour* and other magazines, but they still found it hard to meet expenses. Diane's parents seemed proud of their success but never offered to help them financially. Diane sometimes asked directly for small cash sums from her father, which he would give to her. Diane's father continually criticized her appearance when Diane and Allan visited for the Sabbath supper. An uncle who had no children planned to leave his estate of four million dollars to Diane and her siblings, but Diane's father talked him out of it.

In 1951, Allan decided to take Diane and Doon to Europe for a year to have a break from the pressure of the work. After their return Diane became pregnant again and gave birth to Amy on April 16 1954. Their career flourished, with work for *Glamour*, *Seventeen*, and *Vogue*, as well as for the leading advertising agencies. Yet Allan and Diane often complained about the "business," disliking the life involved in the profession. Contemporaries considered their fashion work excellent, but in the mold of the time. It was not creative or influential. At this time, Diane continued to photograph, but she was too shy to photograph strangers, so she photographed friends.

Diane's depressions seemed to be growing in frequency. They seemed unrelated to any specific incidents. Diane's biographer (Bosworth, 1984) noted that both parents and all three children had recurrent depressions, suggesting a physiological and genetic cause, but Diane's depressions seemed longer and more severe. By 1956, Diane was telling her friends that she could not stand the fashion world much longer, and she began crying in public when their fashion work came up for discussion.

In 1957, Diane and Allan decided to stop working together. Allan would continue to do fashion work, but take lessons in mime. Diane would take up photography as an art form. Diane took lessons from Lisette Model at the New School. She was immediately drawn to the perverse, the alienated and the extreme. It took Diane a while to overcome her shyness in asking people to let her photograph them, but she soon she was photographing circus freaks, deformed people, nudists, retarded individuals, people during sex orgies and in bondage houses, and so on. She prowled the city at all hours looking for outcasts and strange people to photograph.

Meanwhile, Allan fell in love with a fellow actress, and finally in 1960 he and Diane separated. Allan pursued his acting career, but still did fashion photography work to support himself. He also continued to give money to Diane, keeping a joint account with her, and balancing their check-book. Diane raised her two daughters, now aged six and fifteen, tried to obtain photography assignments, and worked on her projects.

At first, magazines rejected her portfolios, but in 1959 Diane found a mentor, Marvin Israel, a painter who had worked as an art director for magazines and who had contacts in the business. For the next eleven years, he advised and promoted Diane. Soon assignments arrived from *Esquire, Harper's Bazaar, Show, The New York Times*, *New York* magazine, and the British *Sunday Times*. She was awarded a Guggenheim fellowship in 1963 (on her third try) and a few years later in 1967 a second one, and soon Diane could usually sell most of the photographs she took. In 1965, three of her photographs were shown in the Museum of Modern Art. (One of the workers used to come in early to wipe the visitors' spit off Diane's photos. Two of the pictures were of nudists, and one of female impersonators.) In 1965, Diane taught a class at the Parson's School of Design. In 1967, the Museum of Modern art opened a large exhibition of Diane's work, perhaps the high point of her career. Although thrilled, she was also depressed by being on display. She began to worry about being imitated and changed the type of camera she used from time to time to prevent this. Yet she also continually denied her ability, doubting her skill. Her fame also made it seem harder to get magazine

assignments and grants.

Last Years

Diane began to sleep with almost anyone, male or female, with a compulsive quality to it. Most of the sex was casual, but she also had a few longer relationships. She talked quite openly about her sexual encounters with friends, shocking them with the technicalities. However, her friends felt that she did not want or could not sustain a lasting love relationship.

Diane continued to have severe depressions. She had a therapist who prescribed antidepressants for her, "uppers." (She was not much of a drug user. She occasionally smoked marihuana, but she tried LSD only once.) In 1968, on her forty-fifth birthday, Diane began to express worries and fears about getting old. She began to wear make-up to hide her wrinkles.

Diane was ill with hepatitis briefly in 1966, and in 1968 the illness worsened. She was hospitalized and the hepatitis was diagnosed as the result of her use of antidepressants and birth control pills. She soon recovered. However, without the antidepressants, her emotions were closer to the surface and more open. She was irritated easily and cried often.

Diane's father died in 1963 of lung cancer and, by the end of the 1960s, her daughters were busy and often away. After the second bout of hepatitis, Diane was weak, talking to her friends on the telephone more (sometimes taping the calls and playing them back) and seeing them less. In 1968, Allan and Diane divorced, and Allan married Mariclaire Costello, a young actress, and moved to Hollywood. Diane was frightened at now truly being separated from Allan.

As her depressions worsened, doctors prescribed tranquilizers, but she was afraid to take them after the antidepressant-induced hepatitis. In the spring of 1969, she began to see a psychotherapist (a woman who followed Karen Horney's style of therapy). In 1970, Diane moved into Westbeth, a new artist's community near the Hudson River docks, and she seemed happier and less lonely. She was awarded the Robert Levitt Award from the American Society of Magazine Photographers, but she was still short of money, and to buy a $1000 camera she wanted she offered a private master class in photography. A friend tried to persuade her to consider a one-person show at the Minneapolis Institute of Art. She was asked to teach a course at Yale University and to have her photographs in the Venice Biennale in 1972, but these offers provoked crying spells. She felt she did not deserve these honors. She denied that her work had any value.

Suicide was common among Diane's acquaintances. The off-Broadway direct, Jess Kimmel, who lived in their building in 1958 killed himself, a friend Patti Greenfield fell to her death in 1967. In 1963, Diane discussed suicide intellectually with a friend. She was fascinated by the details of suicide, such as the hesitation cuts made by wrist-slashers, and she said that she would like to have photographed the suicides on the faces

of Marilyn Monroe and Ernest Hemingway. In 1971, two people jumped from the roof of the Westbeth building Diane lived in. In the summer of 1971, Diane helped Marvin Israel on a small sculpture of a person who had slashed his wrists.

The summer of 1971 was typically hot and humid, and many of Diane's friends had left the city for the summer, as she and Allan used to do. She made increasingly frequent allusions to suicide and how she could not go on much longer. She killed herself in her apartment on July 26. She was found two days later, lying in an empty bathtub with her wrists slit, but the medical examiner found that the death was caused by acute barbiturate poisoning.

Discussion

Diane's life has several noteworthy aspects. The family history of depression suggests, of course, a genetically transmitted affective disorder. But Diane's depressions seemed worse than those of the other family members.

Diane seems to have mastered her depressions early in life by falling in love and marrying early. The break-up of her marriage produced several changes in her life, a move into creative photography with its attendant anxieties over financial survival and artistic worth. Diane seems never to have felt secure about her talent, and her successes did little to allay this insecurity.

The loss of Allan also led to a frenetic search for companionship, including compulsive casual sex and a hectic round of friendship. But this excessive activity indicates that the one good relationship (with Allan) had been what held her together and kept her functioning. After the break-up, she never found a replacement. Marvin Israel might have made a good replacement, but he was contentedly married.

Diane entered her mid-life crisis then with artistic insecurity and loneliness. Despite reaching the pinnacle of success, she had nothing to look forward to except loneliness, old age and disease, a waning of her talents, and continuing intense depressions. For Diane, suicide seemed to be the only alternative.

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ELIZABETH CADY STANTON

David Lester

Elizabeth Cady Stanton was one of the leaders in the Nineteenth Century movement for women's rights. According to her biographer (Banner, 1980), family tradition is that she took her own life in old age by having her physician (a fellow female feminist) to give her an overdose of drugs. Despite this family belief, Banner herself does not believe that her death was suicide.

This is interesting. For many suicides, there are often survivors who deny that the death was suicide. Judy Garland's biographer and children hold that her death was an accidental overdose. There are those who believe that Marilyn Monroe was murdered. Yet here we have a death which the family believes was suicide, while the biographer doubts it. What and who should we believe?

Childhood And Early Years

Elizabeth's mother's family was one of the oldest and wealthiest in New York State. She was a Livingston and related to the Beekmans, the Schuylers and the Van Rensselaers. Her father, Daniel Cady, was a prominent lawyer of humble origins, the son of a farmer. Daniel married Margaret Livingston in 1801 when she was sixteen and he twenty-eight, and he rose to become a justice of the New York State Supreme Court.

The family was conservative, Presbyterian and financially successful. They had a fine house, servants and a stable of horses. They had ten children, of whom six survived into adolescence. Of the first three sons, only one survived, and the family was distraught over this. (The oldest surviving son, Eleazer, died two months after graduating from college in 1826.) By the time she reached menopause, Margaret had only five surviving daughters. Elizabeth was the fifth child, born on November 12, 1815.

The first tragedy in Elizabeth's life was the death of her older brother was she was eleven, after which her mother had a breakdown and let her oldest daughter and son-in-law run the household. Elizabeth felt rejected by her mother and formed bonds with a black servant who was often assigned to look after them and the family pastor. She visited the jail and courthouse with the servant and acquired an interest in prison reform. Seeing the treatment that their servant received predisposed her toward abolitionism. From the pastor she sought education, and he taught her classical Greek and lent her magazines to read. In fact, since he father was away on business so much, the pastor became a surrogate father for her.

Elizabeth was close to two of her sisters, Harriet and Margaret, confederates in rebellion. Elizabeth was also close to her father, and he seemed to favor her. When her mother sent Elizabeth to him for punishment, he tended to let her listen in to conversations with his clients and read his law books. She was upset by cases in which women were mistreated by the law and tried to cut the offending passages out of the law

books until her father explained that such an action would not change the practices. He encouraged her to study the law and took her along sometimes when he went on the circuit as a legal assistant.

Strangely, her father never approved of her career as a reformer and even cut her out of his will at one point, eventually revoking that clause. However, her mother was proud of Elizabeth's efforts and supported her. In her autobiography though, Elizabeth credits her father and rarely acknowledges her mother's influence.

After her brother's death, Elizabeth decided to take his place and equal his achievements. Though she studied at the local academy, women were not allowed to go to college in those days, and so she went in 1830 to Troy Female Seminary. She later viewed her experience there quite negatively and came out in later life strongly in favor of coeducation, but she seemed to have enjoyed the place at the time. (There is a hint that she may have had homosexual liaisons there.) While there, she experienced a second crisis, this time over religion. She went to a Calvin revival meeting and fell into a deep depression so intense that she thought she would go insane. Her family took her on a vacation during which she appears to have recovered, aided by a new enthusiasm over the liberal theology espoused by the phrenologists of the time.

Elizabeth graduated from the seminary in 1833 and spent the next few years at home, horse riding, reading, visiting and doing household chores. Her two older sisters were married, and the brother-in-law now running the Cady household tried to persuade her to elope with him. To escape from this situation, she went to stay with relatives nearby where she met politically active people, including Henry Brewster Stanton, an executive of the American Anti-Slavery Society, a renowned speaker. He proposed to Elizabeth a month after they met and, after much opposition from her family, they were married in May 1840. For their honeymoon, they visited England.

The Beginning Of Her Activism

For the first few years of her marriage, Elizabeth was busy in a traditional role. At first, they lived with her parents while Henry trained as a lawyer. In 1842, they moved to Boston where Henry started a legal practice. They soon had three sons. She became interested in child rearing practices. She opposed swaddling, opened the windows, threw away the opiate medicines, and nursed the baby on a regular schedule by day (instead of at night). She also spoke on behalf of temperance, women's property rights, slavery, and other issues.

In 1847, the Stantons moved to Seneca Falls where Elizabeth was quite unhappy. She missed the intellectual ferment of Boston. Henry travelled a great deal, eventually becoming a reporter in Washington for the New York Tribune. Elizabeth resented his absences and his freedom to do what he wished. But soon a group of women activists visited her, and they decided to hold a women's rights convention. It met on July 19th and 20th in Seneca Falls with an audience of three hundred including forty men. Elizabeth drafted a fine agenda based on the Declaration of Independence and made a speech

advocating women's suffrage. The news of the meeting was reported across America, and the press was hostile.

Elizabeth began to use Seneca Falls as a miniature reform arena. She set up a gymnasium for young girls' exercise, organized evening discussion groups, counselled troubled women, dispensed herbal medicines and even assisted at births. She tried a less rigid discipline with her children, treating them as rational beings, and she soon had seven of them. She kept as active in the women's movement as she could, writing articles, speaking in churches and lyceums, and circulating petitions.

In 1851 she met Susan Anthony, who was then living in Rochester, and they quickly became firm friends and colleagues, their relationship surviving their disagreements and conflicts. Susan was amazed by Elizabeth's oratorical skills, her writing and her radicalism. Susan, on the other hand, was more adept at organizing and as an administrator. Elizabeth would create speeches and resolutions, and Susan would come over laden with books to fill in the details. Susan, who never married, often took over the housework and the children.

At first, Elizabeth and Susan tried to work through the temperance movement, but the men refused to welcome the women's participation, and the conservative women rejected the feminists. They then started a women's rights organization for New York State in 1854.

Elizabeth's final pregnancy in 1859 when she was forty- four led to a severe post-partum depression, exacerbated by the insanity of a dear cousin and the death of her father. (Her mother died later in 1871.) She resolved this crisis by action, as she had the earlier ones (the death of her brother in 1826, the religious crisis in 1831, her engagement in 1840 and the move to Seneca Falls in 1847).

In 1861 she embarked on the first major lecture tour of her career. She was now ready for a career. From now on stress resulted in anger and action rather than depression.

Elizabeth As Activist

The rest of Elizabeth's life is really part of the history of the feminist movement, with its successes and its failures, and its internal divisions and conflicts. Interesting though that history is, it has little psychological import for understanding Elizabeth's life.

Elizabeth and her family moved to New York City in 1862, Tenafly, New Jersey, in 1868, and then back to New York City to live with her daughter after the death of her husband in 1887.

There is one noteworthy aspect of Elizabeth's activism. While other feminists selected single issues and worked energetically on those issues, Elizabeth was always interested in the diverse range of problems confronting, not only women, but also the

world at large. Elizabeth moved more and more toward being a utopian thinker and activist, though always from a feminist perspective. In the last years of her life, the anti-women orientation of the Bible and of official religion concerned her, and she worked hard to counter this.

As she withdrew from active involvement in the women's rights organizations, she turned to the lecture circuit. From 1869 to 1880, she travelled all over the country for eight months a year (from October to June) lecturing to various groups on an exhausting schedule. The fees helped support her family after Henry's retirement, but she went on these tours because she loved them.

In time, her fame and stature grew, and journalists compared her to Martha Washington and Queen Victoria, other revered women of the time. In 1895, Susan Anthony rented the New York City Metropolitan Opera House for the celebration of Elizabeth's eightieth birthday, a glorious occasion.

Death

Elizabeth seemed content during her last few years. She enjoyed parties, and her grandchildren adored her. In the 1890s, her health was quite poor. She had difficulties travelling and rarely ventured outside of New York City. By 1900 her eyesight was poor, and by the time of her death she was totally blind.

She had decided that she would die when her health was too poor to make a continued meaningful life possible. She died on October 26, 1902. She asked her daughters to dress her that day and to prepare her hair. She stood at a table for several minutes as if making a speech but saying nothing. Then she sat down and fell asleep. Two hours later she was dead.

Elizabeth had been depressed at times during her life, but apparently rarely so in the latter half. She was happy in her old age, and only her failing health appears to have been a problem. There is nothing in the biography to suggest psychiatric disturbance toward the end of her life. Indeed, she published an article detailing her liberal views on divorce in the *New York American* just one week before her death. Her suicide appears to have been a rational choice made solely because of her failing health.

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MICHAEL WECHSLER

David Lester

Michael Wechsler killed himself after a long period of psychiatric illness at the age of twenty-six. His story has been told by his father, James Wechsler, (Wechsler, 1972), a well-known journalist, but the story seems far from a complete biography and is colored by the grief, anger and puzzlement felt by the father.

Early Life

Wechsler skips over Michael's first seventeen years quickly, and his account gives us no clues at to the genesis of Michael's disorder. From everything that his father tells us, Michael was a happy and healthy boy until the breakdown. Yet Michael clearly felt sometimes that his condition was a product of his parents' treatment of him.

Michael was born in 1942, the first-born. He seemed fine as baby, a little precocious perhaps. His sister, Holly, was born four years later. Michael objected to her crib being in his room, and so Holly slept in the living room with her parents. When he was four, he used to walk in his sleep and fuss about going to sleep.

He was active, sociable and friendly, and mature. When his mother, a lawyer, was ill with mononucleosis when he was seven, Michael made breakfast for the family in the morning. He had firm ideas about what he wanted, and he showed great persistence. He usually had a hobby that absorbed him - painting, the piano, chemistry and radio sets, photography, music, model rockets. He did not date much in high school. In fact, his sister had more adjustment problems than Michael, had some therapy from a psychiatrist who was a long-time friend of the family, and had to miss a good deal of school. Wechsler does not tell us the kinds of problems Holly had.

Michael was sent to a private school in fourth grade, and by high school (he went as a day student to The Fieldston School) his work was excellent, though he and his friends withdrew from the social mainstream of the class. He was admitted to Harvard University in 1960.

The only signs of trouble (in retrospect) were a tendency to want to be perfect at a task, and a distance from his father. Michael did not seem interested in journalism and sports like his father was, and Wechsler thinks that Michael's interests seemed closer to his grandfather's than his father's. Wechsler comments many times that he did not know what to say to Michael or how to relate to him well. Conversations were muted and limited though, rather than hostile. Wechsler notes that the home was hectic and turbulent, with public tensions (Wechsler was called before the McCarthy investigating committee when Michael was eleven) and conflicts within the marriage.

The Beginning Of Trouble

In his senior year of high school, in the Spring, Michael called his father and asked him to pay for a psychiatrist. Michael had already located one, and Wechsler agreed. Wechsler says that this request came out of the blue and that he had no warning of any impending problems. He also notes that he was so consumed by his career as a journalist that he had little time for his family, so his unawareness does not mean that there were no warning signs.

Immediately, Wechsler also began a pattern of hostility and rivalry with Michael's psychiatrists. He called up the psychiatrist to meet with him, but the psychiatrist refused. Wechsler, an apparently otherwise educated person, appears to have been shocked by this, and subsequent, decisions by the psychiatrists who treated Michael. One can only guess why. It may be that Wechsler and his family had virtually no contact either with the psychotherapeutic profession or with college courses which cover such issues. It might also be, however, that this demand to intrude from a father who admits his absence from his family for much of the time, was characteristic of his style as a father. If the latter is true, it might account for Michael's hostility to his father for it would be easier to accept intrusion from a father who was close to his children and had a less imperious style.

One problem with this first psychiatrist is that Wechsler claims the psychiatrist told him that Michael had rectal bleeding. A medical examination revealed none, and the psychiatrist denied ever saying this.

This first psychiatrist eventually consented to see Wechsler and his wife and told them that Michael's problem might require seven years of treatment, possibly for the rest of his life. All he said of the disorder was that Michael had obsessive thoughts, particularly associated with feces.

Michael saw the psychiatrist regularly until he went off to Harvard and was generally anxious and uncommunicative during that time. The psychiatrist thought that Michael would survive at Harvard without treatment up there and that it was sufficient for Michael and he to have meetings only during holiday trips to New York.

At Harvard, Michael was much more withdrawn and lonely than at high school. He drove home most weekends. By Christmas, Michael seemed anxious about not seeing his psychiatrist more often, and it was decided that Michael should see a therapist in Cambridge, and the family friend found him one. However, Michael and the new therapist did not get on well, and the contact soon ended. For his sophomore year, his New York psychiatrist found him a therapist in Cambridge. Michael and he got on better, but Michael's father was unhappy because this new therapist wanted little to do with the parents.

Before returning the Harvard for his sophomore year, Michael's therapist persuaded his parents to buy him a car. They did so reluctantly since he had overturned their car two years earlier. While driving home from Harvard on a Friday evening several months later, Michael fell asleep at the wheel and crashed. After his sophomore year, Michael stayed in Cambridge to work in the Psychological Laboratory and persuaded his

parents to buy him a motorbike. In October Michael was seriously injured in a crash with a bus, a crash for which the bus driver admitted responsibility. He remained in the hospital over three months. He returned the Harvard in February 1963 on crutches.

To catch up on the missed semester, Michael decided to attend summer school. His junior year seemed better. His therapist ended regular visits because he thought that Michael was improved. Michael spoke of his friends at the university and seemed more at home there than before. Then out of the blue, Michael told his parents that he had flunked one examination in the Spring semester of 1964 and obtained permission to avoid two other exams. He began to see his therapist again.

At the therapist's insistence, Michael took his mother up to Cambridge to visit the therapist who told her that Michael had attempted suicide with tranquilizers, after which he had gone to the university infirmary to have his stomach pumped. The therapist revealed also that Michael had used drugs, and he suggested that Michael take a year off from college.

Michael at this time was tense all the time, often angry at his father, but not at all psychotic. However, after visiting his therapist in Cambridge at the end of June, his therapist decided to hospitalize Michael for a couple of months. Michael was miserable there and made several suicidal gestures (such as putting his hand through a window in his room and trying to hang himself). Eventually he decided to escape and, after staying with friends for a few days, went home to his parents.

Hospitals And Death

Although he wanted to return to Harvard, it became clear that he was too anxious to do so. He looked for an apartment of his own and a job but failed to find either. He stayed home and shunned all of his friends. A therapist was found for him, his fourth, this time a woman. Michael's father persuaded a friend who ran a store to find him a job. Michael had no confidence in his ability to perform well but agreed to start as a credit clerk. He begun to visit his friends, one of whom found him an apartment.

He soon became preoccupied with playing his flute and to show some of the irrational compulsions he had experienced before. He also began to take drugs, including LSD. Although he did well at work initially, getting a raise and the offer of a promotion, he eventually began to be unreliable and erratic in his work habits and was fired. After working for a month in a car rental agency, Michael decided to quit work to devote himself to the flute. He had occasional grandiose schemes, such as building a harpsichord and starting a coffee house, but all came to nought.

In late May of 1965, Michael was picked up by the police on LSD, and his parents found a psychiatrist who placed him in an expensive private psychiatric hospital. From there Michael was persuaded to go to a state hospital with a reputation for having a good program, and he remained there from July 1965 to August 1966, although he ran away eight times. His depression grew in time, and his failure both to improve his life

and to return to Harvard weighed heavily on him. He decided to leave the hospital for good when he realized that his therapist there was due to leave at the end of the summer.

For the Fall and Winter, Michael returned to his first therapist and stayed around his parent's apartment playing the flute or listening to music. In January 1967, Michael's sister got him together with Betty a teacher who had some emotional difficulties herself. This was his first intense relationship, though he had been to bed with a few women in Cambridge and lived with a young woman for a couple of months when he lived alone in New York City.

Soon tensions arose between Betty and Michael. His therapist was not happy with the relationship and discouraged Michael from pursuing it. Michael wanted to sleep with Betty, but she refused until she could be assured that they might have a lasting relationship. Michael was also considering returning to college, but Columbia University rejected him. The crisis came to a head on Memorial Day weekend, when Michael seemed to fall apart, playing his flute at all hours around the neighborhood.

Michael's therapist decided to hospitalize him again, and Betty came by to tell his parents that they had finally slept together just a few days before the breakdown. Michael was showing signs of paranoia. He was convinced that the FBI was watching him and that his mother was an FBI agent. A new therapist took over the case and, for the first time, called Michael *schizophrenic*. He arranged for Miochael to go to a hospital which combined family therapy with insulin therapy. Betty visited Michael there, but eventually stopped because of Michael's verbal abuse of her if ever she ventured an opinion about anything and because he hurt her by talking of liaisons with other women in the hospital.

Michael did not like the group family therapy sessions for they made him feel that the therapist was his parents' doctor rather than his. Some material did come out - that Michael had considered journalism but felt that his father would have resented it. And his attraction to his mother had come up in earlier treatments. Michael finally agreed to have insulin therapy. He eventually participated in the program at the hospital, helping with the more difficult patients and writing for the patients' newspaper, but he was frequently aloof and combative when his parents visited.

After three months, Michael's depression worsened, and he demanded to leave. Betty had broken with him completely at this time, and one of Michael's friends at the hospital had jumped to his death from his mother's home while out on a pass. In late February, home a visit, Michael insisted that he did not want to return and tried to throw himself out of the window in front of his father. His father restrained him.

This suicide attempt necessitated a sixty-day commitment, after which it was decided to move Michael to a halfway house. Michael was given electric convulsive therapy, and his depression seemed to lessen. He also worked in the occupational therapy program. After release, Michael came home to a bleak life. He worked at the hospital every day but found it hard to establish a social life. He had dates with fellow workers and ex-patients and went to advertized "singles parties", but remained lonely.

Michael met Vicky that Spring, another ex-patient with whom he fell in love, but by the Fall that relationship was deteriorating. He had obtained a job with a market research firm, but business fell off and they reduced his hours.

Then in September 1968, his therapist decided to move to another state. Michael switched to a psychoanalyst whose treatment style was, therefore, very different from the family therapy style of the previous therapist.

In April of 1969, a co-worker of Michael's called Michael's father to tell him that Michael had been trying to buy a gun. Michael's father managed to get that information to Michael's therapist, he thought confidentially, but the therapist told Michael. Michael was angry when he got home, and he denied it.

By May, Michael was becoming more withdrawn, nervous and hostile. He seemed to be anxious about slipping once more into psychosis. Michael thought of contacting his previous therapist, but his father lied and told Michael that he did not know his new telephone number. On the night of May 15, Michael killed himself in his bedroom in his parents' apartment with an overdose of medication. His parents found him the next morning. His suicide note said:

> Sorry, but one can't keep every promise. Don't blame yourselves, or anyone, Please don't let it hurt you. You must be together, and go on with each other. Mike.

Discussion

Michael was treated by eight different therapists over a period of nine years, as well as by interns during the twenty-six months of hospitalization in five institutions.

Although Michael eventually received the diagnosis of schizophrenia, and he did show symptoms of paranoia toward the end of his life, his symptoms were more complex than that simple term implies. He suffered from obsessive fears and images, apprehension and shyness with women and premature ejaculation. (He also had a fear of being thought homosexual by the hospital staff.) Since the book was written by Michael's father who had limited contact with Michael's therapists, we are given no detailed exploration of the symptoms.

It is easy, therefore, to attribute Michael's suicide to the psychosis, and in particular to Michael's fear of continually slipping back into psychosis. He seems to have been very discouraged by his failure to overcome his problems, and his inability to finish his undergraduate career profoundly depressed him.

His interpersonal life also caused him distress. Problems with Betty seemed to have precipitated a breakdown, and his suicide followed a period of conflict with Vicky.

However, what is missing in the story of his life is an analysis of what transpired between Michael and his parents. Michael was often angry at them and attributed his disturbance at least in part to them. His sexual attraction to his mother was discussed in a family session, and his problems with women may have been related to this.

His anger was usually directed at his father, and his father wrote the story of his son's life with little insight into the role that he may have played. He admits the home was turbulent, but does not tell us how. He admits he was often away and preoccupied with his career. He admits his interactions with Michael were often trite and superficial. And he makes it clear that he wanted to be involved with every therapist that Michael had. He seemed most content with the therapists who let him participate in the sessions and extraordinarily angry with the therapists who excluded him. Of course, he was concerned about his son, quite rightly. But his anger at the therapists seems excessive, even if understandable.

The book is presented to the reader as a tribute to his son and as increasing our awareness of mental illness. James Wechsler says, however, that the main message is for relatives of disturbed people "to resist being intimidated by professional counsel and place some faith in their own instincts (p. 14)." Perhaps Wechsler's need to lay the blame on the therapists for his son's suicide obscures the true reasons for his son's psychosis and death?

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VIGNETTES

David Lester

There are many suicides for whom no detailed biography is available. In this section, I will describe briefly the lives of some famous suicides.

Charlotte Stieglitz

Charlotte Sophie Willhoft was born in Hamburg in July 1906 (van Lieburg, 1988). Her father died when she was young, and she was raised in her older sister's family. She developed into an introverted person, interested in the arts. She was influenced by an early religious teacher, and she began to think about suicide because life was an obstacle to joining God.

She became romantically involved with the poet Heinrich Stieglitz (1801-1849). As marriage became a real possibility, it precipitated a suicidal crisis. However, they did marry, but Heinrich's travelling kept them apart a good deal of the time, apparently to Charlotte's satisfaction.

Heinrich himself suffered from deep depressions, often sitting quietly, staring into space. These symptoms alarmed Charlotte who feared that her husband would become insane. Charlotte tried to help him out of his depressions, unsuccessfully.

Charlotte finally turned to suicide as a solution, hoping that her heroic deed would lift her husband from the depths of his depression. Heinrich himself suggested suicide to her when he told Charlotte of a dream he had in which she drowning in a river. He told he that he felt much calmer after the dream. Charlotte thought that the deep pain of her death would bring Heinrich peace of mind and allow him to become a great poet. On December 29, 1934, when Heinrich went off to a Beethoven concert, Charlotte stayed home and killed herself by driving a dagger into her heart.

Getulio Vargas

Getulio Vargas was born in Brazil on April 19 1883 into a politically active family in the state of Rio Grande do Sul (Anon, 1986b). He planned a military career and joined the army when he was sixteen, but soon switched to the study of law. In 1908, shortly after graduating from law school, he entered politics. In 1922, he was elected to the National Congress, and in 1926 he became minister of finance under President Washington Luis. In 1928 he was elected Governor of Rio Grande do Sul from where he campaigned for the presidency in 1930. He lost but led a revolution that overthrew the republic. For the next fifteen years he ran Brazil. Although he was elected by the constituent assembly in 1934, he overthrew the constitution in 1937 and established a totalitarian New State.

As President, Vargas reduced the power of the autonomous states and the power

of rural landholders. He revised the tax structure to make the state and local administrations dependent upon the central government. He extended the right to vote, reformed the educational system,, introduced a minimum wage and a social security system, and stimulated a rapid industrialization.

In 1945, Vargas was overthrown by a coup in a wave of democratic sentiment sweeping the nation. He was elected senator from Rio Grande do Sul, and in 1949 he ran for President as the Labor Party candidate. He won the election, but this time he found more opposition to his plans. He was not able to satisfy his labor supporters, and the middle classes opposed him. By mid-1954, criticism of his presidency was widespread, and there were calls for his resignation. Rather than accept a forced retirement, Vargas killed himself with a gun on August 24 1954.

Percy Bridgman

Percy Bridgman was the only son of a newspaper correspondent and author of books on public affairs (Kemble, et al., 1970). He was born on April 21 1882 in Cambridge (Massachusetts), but the family soon moved to Newton where Percy attended public schools. He went to Harvard in 1900, graduating with a PhD in 1908 in physics. He stayed at Harvard as a research fellow and then instructor, ending up as a university professor in 1950. He married Olive Ware in 1912, and they eventually had two children.

He was a determined individualist and refused to be diverted from his career by faculty business, the demands of society or personal weakness. He was fond of music and liked chess, handball, gardening, mountain climbing and photography, but physics remained the central focus of his life. He wrote 260 papers and thirteen books and received many awards, culminating in the Nobel Prize in 1946 for his work on the physics of high pressures. Phenomena at pressures above 3,000 atmospheres were unusual, and Percy eventually created pressures of up to 400,000 atmospheres. He liked to work in the shop on his equipment, and he disliked collaborating and supervising graduate students. The record shows only fourteen dissertations on high pressure physics under his direction. His teaching made him dissatisfied with the logical structure of physics, and as a result he studied the philosophy of science and published several important works in that field.

In old age, he was afflicted with cancer (Paget's disease). It caused him severe pain, and there seemed to be no relief possible. He tried to find a doctor to end his life but failed. His limbs were rapidly losing mobility, and so he decided to end his own life. He killed himself on August 20, 1961. His suicide note read:

> It isn't decent for Society to make a man do this thing himself. Probably this is the last day I will be able to do it myself. P.W.B.

Ettore Majorana

Ettore was the fourth of five children born on August 5 1906 in Catania (Sicily) to

an engineer working for the Italian Ministry of Communications (Amaldi, 1970). He showed promise from an early age, and in 1923 he went to study engineering at the University of Rome. He was encouraged to switch to physics and finished his doctorate in 1929 under Enrico Fermi.

He then studied abroad, first in Leipzig and then in Copenhagen. While in Leipzig, Heisenberg persuaded him to publish his paper on nuclear forces. He returned to Rome in 1933 in poor health, suffering from gastritis and nervous exhaustion. He stopped attending the Istituto di Fisica despite the encouragement of his friends. He viewed many of his papers as inferior and not worthy of publication and had to be urged to publish them by his more famous associates.

He was appointed professor of theoretical physics at the University of Naples in 1937, but his teaching was too advanced for the students there. He became discouraged and on March 25 1938 wrote to a friend from Palermo (in Sicily) that he found life in general and his life in particular useless and that he intended to kill himself. A few hours later he sent a telegram to the same friend asking him to disregard the letter. He boarded a steamer bound from Palermo to Naples that evening. He was seen at daybreak as the boat entered the Bay of Naples, but no trace was ever found of him again. It was assumed that he jumped overboard to his death on March 26 1938.

George Eastman

George Eastman was born on July 12 1854 in Waterville, New York (Ackerman, 1930; Anon, 1986a). He had two older sisters. The family moved to Rochester in 1860 where his father ran a commercial college, but his father died soon after the move, in April 1862. As a result the family was quite poor. His mother took in boarders, and George went to work, first for an insurance agent and then as bookkeeper for a bank.

He developed an interest in photography, and set up his first company in 1880. His company was successful, partly because of his ingenuity as an inventor. In 1889 he introduced transparent film and reorganized his company as the Eastman Kodak Company. Eight years later he introduced the Brownie camera. By 1927, Eastman Kodak had a virtual monopoly of the photographic industry.

In 1924, George gave away half of his fortune (amounting to 75 million dollars) to various institutions, including the University of Rochester and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

George never married, and lived with his mother until her death in the 1920s. He killed himself on March 14 1932.

Tony Lucadello

Winegardner (1990) has written a strange book about Tony Lucadello. Tony was a scout for the Philadelphia Phillies, and Winegardner followed the seventy-five year old

Tony around on his scouting in 1987 and 1988. The following year, Tony shot himself. Since Winegardner ends his book with a brief account of Tony's suicide, one would think that he might have been interested in looking back for the warning signs or for the contributing causes for it. But no. The book remains one about baseball.

We learn very little of Tony's early life. Tony's parents were first generation Italian immigrants. Tony was born in July 1913 in Texas, and the family then moved to Chicago so that Tony's father could work in the nearby coal mines. Tony's first job was delivering sealed cases of what he thought was olive oil during Prohibition. Tony himself never drank, smoked or swore.

Tony became interested in and good at baseball. He was only five foot five, but he played shortstop on the class D minor league baseball team of the St. Louis Cardinals organization in Fostoria, Ohio. After two years, a shoulder injury ended his brief baseball career in 1942, but his younger brother signed with the St. Louis Browns and played six years in the major leagues.

Tony remained in Fostoria and, despite the Depression, got a job with the Fostoria Screw Company. He married a home town girl, the daughter of a black-lunged coal miner, had at least one daughter, Toni, now an elementary school teacher in Fostoria, and a granddaughter. He had seen his wife when she was nineteen in a local play. She worked at the local drug store. Their first date was at the local swimming pool, for which Tony was fined by his manager. They were engaged the following winter and married two years later.

Tony was signed as a scout for the Cubs toward the end of the War by the owner of the Chicago Cubs after he had recommended two good pitchers to the club, and he has been perhaps the most successful scout in baseball. He had signed 49 major league players first for the Cubs and then for the Phillies over his career, far more than any other scout.

As he followed Tony around, Winegardner notes lots of Tony's traits. But what comes across is how much people loved Tony. The families of the kids he signed, and those he didn't, all appreciate what he did for their families. He visited all of his prospects regularly, wrote to them after they went to the minor leagues, coached them, and acted like a father to some. Tony signed Mike Schmidt and was invited to the celebration of Schmidt's 500th home run. Motel owners and restaurant waiters all greeted Tony with affection.

His habits included getting to ball parks far ahead of the game, looking for coins under the bleacher seats (which he gave to churches once a year), and eating exactly the same (healthy) food every day. He had devised a way of getting young ball players to practice, and finally the National Baseball League made a video of his techniques. During his travels with Winegardner, Tony was inducted into the Ohio Baseball Hall of Fame, the only scout so honored.

In June 1988 the Phillies fired their general manager and ordered everyone to cut down costs. Tony had to fire some of the part-time scouts who had worked for him for a few thousand dollars a year. September 1988 marked the beginning of Tony's forty-seventh year as a scout. Tony had talked about retirement for years and, though the Phillies said he had a job for life, the loss of his part-timers hurt him. During that final year, he kept planning a letter of resignation, but he never sent one. The club offered him a thousand dollar raise (to twenty-seven thousand dollars) but, when they refused to raise his part-timer in Cincinnati from fifteen hundred to two thousand five hundred, Tony split his raise with the man.

On May 8 1989 Tony finished his draft-list. Tony and his wife watched quiz shows on the television in the morning. When she went to the beauty shop, Tony got the .32 caliber revolver he had given her for safety, went and mailed the draft list, bought some ammunition from the clerk at the local gun shop (who had once dated Tony's daughter), and drove to the local baseball park. He locked his glasses and keys inside the car, stood near the third-base line, put the gun in his mouth, and shot himself. He was found by a local high school ball player soon afterwards and rushed to hospital by helicopter. He died in the hospital.

Wilhelm Stekel

Wilhelm Stekel was born on March 18 1868 in Bojan, Bukovina, then in Romania, with a brother six years older and a sister three years older (Packer, 1964). His father had been an orthodox Jew, but on his second marriage became a free thinker. Wilhelm's father was illiterate and a spendthrift, and his wife bullied him, but they were devoted to each other.

Wilhelm's mother made sure her children were well educated, and Wilhelm played both the piano and the violin and wrote poetry. After the age of fourteen he began to excel at school. He went to the University of Vienna, supporting himself by giving piano lessons. He accepted a military scholarship to study medicine, and as a result had to serve six years in the army. He hated this service and persuaded the army to throw him out by refusing to take an examination that was required, though he had to pay back his scholarship.

Wilhelm had had romantic attachments from his teenage years, wary of lasting attachments. However, as a student he fell in love and married against his mother's wishes. Before his brief military service, he had studied at the Kraft-Ebing's clinic (a neurologist famous for his studies of aberrant sexual behavior), and he also studied with a hydrotherapist. He set up a private practice in Vienna and focussed on neurotic problems and sexology. He heard of the work of Freud in the city and went to visit him. Freud psychoanalyzed him in just a few sessions, and he and Wilhelm became close associates. It was Wilhelm who suggested the Wednesday sessions at Freud's home where psychoanalytic issues were discussed.

Wilhelm soon had disagreements with Freud. For example, Wilhelm preferred

brief psychoanlytic therapy. He was also hurt when Freud chose Jung to preside over the new Psychoanalytic Society. He decided to join Alfred Adler in publishing an independent journal and to break with Freud.

Wilhelm had a poor relationship with his wife who bullied him just as his mother had bullied his father, and he was impotent for much of their life together. She disapproved of his change of career, from physician to psychoanalyst. At the beginning of the First World War, he fell in love with a patient, a forty-four year old mother of four. They both planned to get divorces, but she eventually decided to remain with her husband. In a desperate search for a replacement, he found Hilda, unhappily married with two children. After a lecture tour of America in the 1920s to earn some money, he divorced his first wife and married Hilda. He settled down near Vienna, trained Hilda as a psychoanalyst, and continued his writing.

By the time he was sixty, his reputation had grown. He was invited to congresses, his books sold well, and he was invited to start a new journal (Psychoanalytic Practice). There were failures too - a clinic to cure jealousy was not only a failure, the press ridiculed it.

At the Nazi's rose to power, Wilhelm was placed on their black list and, at the urging of John Gunther, he fled with his family to Switzerland where he celebrated his seventieth birthday. Now penniless, he accepted an invitation from the Tavistock Clinic in London, and the Clinic persuaded the British Government to permit Wilhelm and his family to reside there permanently. He lectured, saw patients and, for a time, was in good spirits.

However, he was suffering from diabetes (which eventually led to gangrene of the foot) and prostate problems. His son was drafted into a work battalion in France, and Wilhelm feared that he would be killed. Hilda was convalescing in the country outside of London after a serious operation, and it seemed possible that the Germans would invade and capture England. Living in a hotel alone in London he injected himself with insulin and fell into a hypoglycemic coma, but Hilda found him when she visited him for the day. He continued to be worried about his son and to have insomnia. Hilda thought of moving into the hotel with him, but Wilhelm persuaded her to remain in the country.

Four days after her last visit, on June 21, 1940, he took an overdose of aspirin and died. In his suicide note, he said that his physical illnesses were behind his decision. He urged Hilda to continue her psychoanalytic work, and he asked his friends, pupils and patients to forgive him.

Robert Young

Robert Ralph Young was born on February 14, 1897 (Packer, 1964). His father was a cowboy who later founded the first bank in the town of Canadian in Texas. As a child, Robert was skinny, with yellow hair and a fair skin that burned easily in the sun. He was nicknamed pumpkin head and RR (because of his initials). He was shy with

strangers but the leader of his gang. They played in the deserted shacks of Desperado City nearby and hunted animals on the plains.

His mother died when he was ten and, though he remained unruly, he became sadder and more solemn. He began to write poetry. His father and the local Baptist school found him difficult to handle, so he was sent to Culver Military Academy in Indiana. Physically inferior to the others, he excelled in wit and imagination. He was first in his class but declined to be valedictorian because he did not want to make a public speech.

At the University of Virginia, he studied less and played more. He quit before the second year was finished and married Anita O'Keeffe, defying both sets of parents. He went to work at an unskilled worker for the du Pont gunpowder plant at Carney's Point in New Jersey in 1915 and three years later was a clerk in the treasurer's office.

He inherited some money from a grandmother, quit his job and bought a food dehydrating company. It failed, and he lost the rest on Mexican stocks. At twenty-four he was broke, with a wife and daughter to support. He went to work for Allied Chemical, switched to General Motors, and by 1928 was assistant treasurer. He had also studied the stock market in depth.

His boss at GM quit to form an investment house, and Robert went with him. They soon fell into disagreements, and Robert started his own investment counseling firm. His pessimism led him to sell, and so he emerged from the Crash quite wealthy. He joined with Frank Kolbe and bought a seat on the New York Stock Exchange, and they salvaged broken companies. Robert's major purchase, after a very difficult fight, was the Allegheny Corporation in 1936, a company built around the Chesapeake & Ohio Railroad. It took him until 1942 to win control of the board of the railroad, litigating opponents in court, and surviving a deep depression and physical collapse in 1937. His walks by the ocean and his pride in his daughter (now nineteen) and his wife restored his will to win. But by 1942 when he finally sat down as head of the railroad at the age of forty-five, his daughter (who had married and divorced a naval officer in 1940) had been killed in a private plane crash in 1941, and he looked sixty years old. His hair was completely white.

Robert owned palatial houses in Newport, Rhode Island, and in Palm Beach. He had everything, but it meant nothing to him now. His solution was to throw himself into his business enterprises. He wrote articles on revitalizing the railroads, advocating such things as free tickets for children, movies on the train, replacing equipment every seven years, and speeding up dining car service. Eventually he set his sights on controlling the New York Central Railroad. The fight was long and exhausting but, by 1955, Robert had control. He had loaned two friends the money to buy up shares and then vote him onto the board. Once there, he even persuaded the shareholders to pay the cost of his proxy fight.

But it was the 1950s, and the automobile was becoming the dominant mode of travel. New York Central's stock rose from 23 to 49 in 1954 but was down to 13 by 1958.

Robert, heavily in debt, had to sell his shares, depressing the stock still further. His friends who had invested in the company lost money, as did his hand-picked board of directors.

At the January meeting of the board in 1958, the outlook was gloomy, and Robert was clearly depressed. Robert killed himself with his shotgun at his Palm Beach house on January 26 1958 in the billiard room after breakfast. The house was large, and no one heard the shots. His servants found him at noon when they searched for him.

Packer suggests that the financial failure was not the only contributing cause of his suicide, though the failure was compounded by his adversarial style, almost a persecution complex had against the bankers and business opponents in his fights. He had a picture of Napoleon over the mantelpiece in his Newport house. Perhaps he refused to die in exile as did Napoleon.

He had lost his mother, then his daughter, and now faced the loss of his railroad empire. The fates had conspired against him, and he was not prepared to live on in futility.

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CROWN PRINCE RUDOLPH

David Lester

Rudolph was born on August 21, 1858, the first Crown Prince of Austria since 1793 (Salvendy, 1988). His father, Franz Joseph, Emperor of Austria, was twenty-eight, and his mother Elizabeth, a Bavarian Princess, was twenty. Rudolph had an older sister, Gisela (another older sister had died as an infant) and eventually a younger sister, Valerie.

Childhood And Adolescence

Elizabeth was at odds with the Viennese court and had all of her children taken away to be raised by her mother-in-law. Thus, Rudolph's grandmother, Sophie, was a significant influence on him for the first six years of his life. His nanny was Baroness Carolina von Welden, a widow of forty-five with no children. She was a good caretaker, and Rudolph and Gisela always spoke of her with affection.

Rudolph's wet nurse and regular nurse were Hungarians, perhaps as the result of some influence from Elizabeth who favored the Hungarians and, at her insistence, Rudolph learned to speak Hungarian as well as German.

Rudolph's childhood was marked by the fight between his mother and grandmother and by the marital rift between his parents when Franz Joseph failed to support his wife. In addition, Elizabeth did not like babies and saw herself as a failure with her first two children. For most of Rudolph's childhood, Elizabeth was away from the court for long periods of time. Her visits to Rudolph must have been rare and unpredictable. His father was busy, as well as being shy and introverted. He tried to be close to Rudolph, but he failed in this. He began to write regular letters to Rudolph when he reached the age of four, indicating the difficulties of remaining close to a son when you are the Emperor.

Rudolph and Gisela (two years his senior) were close and remained so throughout his life. When he was six, court protocol required his nanny to leave and his education to be taken over by men. In addition, his personal butler died that year. Rudolph was very upset. The first tutor was an old army officer whose tactic was to toughen the little boy, for example, by firing guns in his bedroom at night and by locking him in the game park. Rudolph's tendencies to illness and anxiety grew worse. Rudolph was pale, delicate, a fussy eater, and enuretic, with little resistance to illness. His physical growth was stunted. On the other hand, he remained precocious, lively, sensitive and curious.

After a year, his mother finally decided to intervene and managed to get the tutor replaced. She took Rudolph off on a holiday for two months to Hungary and, when they returned, his education was taken over by Count Joseph Latour who was caring and loving and who provided continuity and security for Rudolph for the rest of his childhood.

The Prussian defeat of the Austrian army in 1866 added to Rudolph's anxiety. His father and mother continued to be too busy and preoccupied to spend much time with him at all. His younger sister, Valerie, was born when he was ten, and she quickly became his mother's favorite, leaving Rudolph feeling even more excluded. He developed a strong dislike of Valerie, and his behavior toward her was seen as menacing.

Rudolph's parents placed strong demands on their son. For the Emperor, Rudolph was to be an embodiment of himself, a conservative Hapsburg monarch. Elizabeth wanted a more liberal ruler and mocked his father's values. They agreed, however, that he must be well-educated, and over fifty professors were hired to turn him into a well-informed adult. In thirteen years, they covered the school curriculum and much of the university material too. As a child he had thirteen hours of scheduled activity each day as he learned eight languages, military theory, history, economics, law, riding, fencing, shooting and dancing.

Having achieved all this, he was then destined to fill the undemanding and routine life of a crown prince with no power or authority. His mother was successful in making him liberal and pro-Hungarian, but this made him a deviant in the pro-Catholic anti-Hungarian and arch-conservative Austrian Court.

Nonetheless, Rudolph tried to get his parents' approval and affection throughout his life by studying hard (his father sat in on his exams) and by trying to fulfil their desires. Since their desires conflicted, his task was impossible. The emperor liked hunting and encouraged Rudolph to pursue it. Rudolph did, eventually becoming skilled at and enthusiastic about it, and this gave the father and son something to do together. At first, though, Rudolph hated hunting, preferring to study birds and animals in their natural habitat, and he developed a serious interest in zoology and ornithology. His studies ended on July 24, 1977.

Salvendy reviewed the records carefully and could find no signs of any serious mental illness in Rudolph at this stage. He was often depressed, but no other symptoms were noted.

Coming Of Age

Almost nineteen, Rudolph now was established in his own household. His father appointed a conservative Lord Chamberlain, Count Charles Bombelles, and Rudolph missed Latour. He mourned the loss and cried for several days. However, he was now given a good deal of freedom, and he had a number of affairs. The following year, in 1878, Rudolph was assigned to the thirty-sixth Infantry Regiment in Prague and there became infatuated with a young poor Jewish girl. Her parents banished her to the country where she suffered a nervous breakdown and died. Rudolph spent several nights weeping at her graveside.

He began his military duties on August 1, 1878, and initially found the experience enjoyable. He liked the company of his fellow officers, and from then on he identified strongly with the military. The matter-of-fact acceptance of suicide among the officers may have had an important influence on him.

He tried to influence decisions about the conditions of the military, but his efforts were thwarted by his father's staff. He took to courting the press and publishing anonymous pamphlets and articles about the injustices he saw. After five years he was so unpopular among the aristocracy in Prague that his father had to transfer him to Vienna. In Vienna, his father's staff prevented him from assuming command of the troops there. They objected to the reforms Rudolph wanted (better pay, less drill, competent leadership) and resented his encroachment on their sphere of influence. His father compounded matters by excluding Rudolph from important military discussions and by appointing him to a time-consuming but uninfluential post, Inspector General of the Austro-Hungarian Infantry. Rudolph found the job physically and mentally draining but meaningless.

Rudolph was expected to fulfil countless duties as the Crown Prince which he did for many years quite conscientiously. However, at odds with these functions were his own attitudes on the political issues of the day and his personal interests. Making matters worse, his father did not delegate to Rudolph any meaningful tasks and in fact distrusted him so much that he excluded Rudolph from any significant knowledge of the important issues. Not only were the young considered to be untrustworthy in general, but Rudolph in particular aroused distrust.

Rudolph had a great interest in ornithology and contributed papers anonymously to scientific journals. However, his father forbade his association with the famous German zoologist, Alfred Brehm (who was Protestant, a commoner and a liberal). Rudolph was a prolific writer and wrote unpublished accounts of his travels abroad on official visits and took on the role of chief editor for a twenty-four volume enthnographic of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. He worked hard on this project, but his father had no idea of the extent of his efforts.

Politically, Rudolph was concerned with constitutional reform. He was concerned about the Hungarians and Slavic groups in the empire and wanted a more equitable distribution of power among the various groups. He thought seriously about foreign policies that Austria should follow. His father, of course, continued to exclude Rudolph from the decision making committees and refused for three years to even have him briefed on affairs of state. Finally, he permitted the minister of foreign affairs to brief Rudolph, and this arrangement worked quite well, expect that the minister learned of Rudolph's radical views and made sure that Rudolph continued to have no influence on Austrian policy. The government agents ostensibly assigned to protect Rudolph also kept surveillance on him, even censoring his letters.

As a consequence Rudolph courted the press who printed his views and ideas anonymously, ideas which included letting the religious and national minorities have the

vote, fairer pay, land reform, and reducing the religious influence in the schools. (He started a secular training institute for nurses which still bears his name.) As time went on, Rudolph felt more frustrated at the failure of his efforts, and at the same time he felt a failure as the son of his father, the Emperor. He could neither follow in his father's footsteps and thereby win his approval, but neither could he change Austrian policy. In time, Rudolph showed frustration, irritability and resentment. These emotional states served only to further convince his father's staff that Rudolph was unreliable.

Marriage

The choice of a bride for Rudolph was an important task. Rudolph was sent on a trip to view the possible princesses, but there were few. The choice narrowed down to the daughters of the royal family of Belgium, and Rudolph liked the second daughter, Stephanie, aged fifteen. She was given one year to prepare for her new role, and they were married just a few days before her seventeenth birthday on May 10, 1881.

Stephanie was no match for the intrigues of the Viennese court. Her mother-in-law disliked her from the first, and her father-in-law was too busy to be of any support. Rudolph and Stephanie looked dejected at the wedding. The court ridiculed her flat chest, awkward height (she ended up taller than Rudolph), and her gauche manners. Relatively uneducated, she reacted to Rudolph's intellect by being aggressive, rigid and stubborn. The humiliations at the court made her petulant, inflexible, undiplomatic and jealous.

The marriage went through three clear periods. For the first four years they were happy despite all that has been said. They spent their first year in Prague away from the Viennese intrigues. They came to love each other and to enjoy each other's company. Stephanie was soon pregnant and gave birth to a daughter, Erzsi, in 1883.

The second phase of the marriage from 1885 to 1887 witnessed its deterioration. Stephanie had grown up and acquired some self-confidence. She less willing to be so dependent upon Rudolph and more insistent on being treated as the First Lady of the Empire. She expected to influence him now, and she became so enamored of her position that she neglected his personal needs. She ignored his literary interests and political aspirations.

So he withdrew from her and began to have extramarital affairs which she viewed as intolerable insults. In early 1886, Rudolph caught a venereal disease, probably gonorrhea, which he passed on to Stephanie. Both were quite sick. Rudolph had inflammation of the joints and a recurrent inflammation of the eyelids. Stephanie became sterile. Rudolph was in despair when he realized that he would never have an heir. Salvendy also suggests that the distinction between the different venereal diseases was not clear in those days, and Rudolph may have feared suffering from the after effects of syphilis. No medical cure was known for venereal disease, and venereal diseases were thought to be potentially fatal. People often committed suicide once the disease was contracted.

Stephanie locked him out of the bedroom, and Rudolph became close with an upper class call girl, Mizzi Caspar, with whom he maintained a relationship until his suicide. Thereafter, Rudolph and Stephanie began to go their separate ways. Rudolph began to drink heavily, staying up most nights till past midnight. He was also taking morphine for the symptoms of his gonorrhea.

At first Rudolph tried to win Stephanie back, but in 1887 she fell in love with a Polish count. This affair decreased her motivation to heal the rift with Rudolph. However, even in March 1888, Rudolph was still writing to Stephanie on occasion with affection and suggesting that they sleep together.

Suicide

Rudolph appeared to be seriously upset during his final months. Gisela who remained close to him noted that his anger was evident, reducing her and his parents to tears during meals. He became increasingly tactless, depressed and irritable. His mistress, Mizzi, noticed his increasingly suicidal mood. He had proposed to her that they commit suicide together, but she laughed at the idea, though she did report his suicidal intentions to the authorities who decided not to warn the Emperor.

In the last few months of his life, Rudolph became increasingly alienated from his friends. His only companions were Mizzi, his valet and his coachman who often accompanied him on his visits to taverns. There is also evidence to suggest that he became increasingly impotent which added to his depression. He continued to drink heavily, and he injected himself several times a day with morphine.

Rudolph became obsessed with suicide. He read novels on suicide and official reports of actual suicides. He discussed double suicide on several occasions. He had talked since 1883 of shooting himself, and several months before his death he read the reports of a suicide who had held a mirror in his left hand to shoot himself in the temple with his right hand. In the last years of his life, Rudolph always slept with two loaded revolvers under his pillow.

In November, 1888, Rudolph fell off his horse, a result perhaps of being drunk or of self-destructive desires. He had severe headaches after this which he treated with morphine.

In January 1889, Rudolph's conditioned worsened. Stephanie reported that he had aged visibly, lost weight, was seldom sober and was in a heightened state of nervousness. He carried his revolver with him and "expressed terribly threatening thoughts" (Salvendy, 1988, p. 171).

Rudolph attended the final meeting for his ethnography of the monarchy in January. He approached his personal secretary about committing suicide with him. He met his father on January 26th to discuss obtaining a divorce from Stephanie, and they had a row, with the Emperor of course refusing him permission. On January 28 he told

Mizzi that he was going to shoot himself at his country lodge at Mayerling the following day. Rudolph avoided a family dinner on January 29, 1889, during which Valerie's engagement was to be announced.

For his suicide, Rudolph finally found a willing partner. He had met and had an affair with the seventeen year-old Baroness Mary Vetsera in August 1888. Her mother was Greek and her father Hungarian, and she was infatuated with the heir to the Hapsburg throne. She was overwhelmed by Rudolph's attention to her, and a double suicide may have seemed to her to be an acceptable solution to a hopeless situation. She certainly talked to her tutor about a double suicide which had recently taken place, and she knew of the trick of holding a mirror in one's left hand to ensure that the shot would not miss.

In the early hours of the morning of January 30, 1889, Rudolph shot Mary in his bedroom at the lodge. He then drank cognac and wrote to his mother. Four to six hours later he shot himself fatally in the right temple. Perhaps the murder of Mary first made it certain that he had to kill himself according to the officers' code of ethics.

Rudolph's suicide expressed his anger at both his father and Stephanie. When Rudolph had been hunting with his father in January, 1888, Rudolph aimed carelessly at the game and missed his father by only a couple of inches. Rudolph left no suicide note for the Emperor, and he knew that his suicide would leave an everlasting blot on the Hapsburg dynasty. Rudolph's anger toward his wife is also clear. By committing suicide with a seventeen year old mistress, he humiliated her. His will placed their daughter in the care of the Emperor, and his note to Stephanie blamed her in part for his suicide

Discussion

Salvendy noted that Rudolph complained a great deal about stomach pains and probably had gastritis, if not an ulcer. From early childhood he had recurrent bronchitis, with asthma-like cough attacks. He later used morphine to ease this. As we have noted, he began to drink quite heavily. However, Salvendy could find no evidence of organic brain deterioration.

Rudolph had been depressed throughout his life, and this worsened over time. The Hapsburgs had inter-married a good deal (Rudolph's parents were first cousins), and many of the line had been psychiatrically disturbed. His mother suffered from depression, and his maternal grandmother and two of his maternal aunts had depressive episodes. On his father's side, depression, epilepsy and mental retardation were common. One expert claimed that half of Rudolph's 128 ancestors in the preceding seven generations were psychiatrically disturbed.

Salvendy concludes then Rudolph was depressed from childhood on and suggests a diagnosis of neurotic (rather than psychotic) depression (dysthymic disorder). As a child and adolescent, Rudolph also showed symptoms of an anxiety disorder.

It is clear too that Rudolph's childhood was exceedingly traumatic for him. His parents were never sources of comfort for him. His mother must have caused him great pain by her absences and indifference especially since she was often depressed when she was with him and because she clearly doted on his younger sister. He grew attached to nannies and tutors who were then dismissed from his presence. And his father treated him as a rival whose aspirations must be squashed.

His adult life seems to be a steady suicidal trajectory, with frustration in the political arena, a failing marriage, the disaster of a severe untreatable venereal disease, followed by excessive alcohol and morphine abuse. Suicide must have seemed like an ideal solution for him, but what is curious about his death is his desire for a double-suicide. Rudolph did want to die alone. He wanted someone there, to give him courage, to make his own suicide inevitable, and perhaps simply because this lonely man wanted company during his last few hours.

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VIGNETTES

David Lester

Socrates

Socrates was the son of Sophroniscus and Phaenarete from Alopeke, a town on the road from Athens to the marble quarries of Pentelicon (Anon, 1962; Guthrie, 1971; Stone, 1988). He was born in 470 B.C. or 469. He was executed in 399 at the age of seventy.

His father has been described as a stonemason or sculptor, and Socrates may have learned the craft as a youth before he became a philosopher/teacher. His mother was perhaps a midwife. As a young man, he participated in the Peloponnesian War between Sparta and Athens which was eventually won by Sparta. He took part in the siege of Potidaea at the beginning of the war, the defeat and retreat at Delium in 424, and the battle of Amphipolis in 422. In the siege of Potidaea, he saved the life of Alcibiades. He was obviously noteworthy in Athens since Aristophanes and Ameipsias both made him the subject of comedies in 423.

He next appears in the record in 406 when it was his turn to participate in the council of 500, and he argued against trying the generals at the battle of Arginusae as a group, which was in fact illegal under Athenian law.

He married late in life to Xanthippe, by whom he had three sons, one still an infant when he died. His wife has been described as a shrew, but other commentators have suggested it was far from easy being the wife of an old philosopher who earned no money and appeared rather indifferent to his family. (Socrates apparently lived on income from a small inheritance from his father.)

Socrates was apparently quite ugly, with a broad, flat, turned-up nose, prominent staring eyes, thick fleshy lips, and a paunch. He regularly went about barefoot, in an old coat, and unwashed. He was considered to have excellent self-control. He was never drunk, and he kept his appetite for food and sex under strict control.

The Trial

Socrates was put on trial in 399, found guilty and sentenced to death. The traditional death sentence in Athens was to drink hemlock, but what makes Socrates' death suicide was not simply his acquiescence to the death sentence, but the fact that he could easily have escaped a guilty verdict and the death sentence. He sought to be executed, and this is what makes his death truly suicidal.

Socrates' Views

Athens was a fully participatory democracy with freedom of speech as one its main tenets. Stone (1988) identified four words to describe freedom of speech in Athens and concludes that this freedom must have been truly a cornerstone of the society. As a result, Athens attracted thinkers from all over who came there to exchange ideas and to debate one another.

Socrates was one of the leading philosophers there, but his views were rather odd. First, Socrates was completely opposed to democracy. He favored authoritarian rule by experts. Just as shoemakers must know how to make shoes, rulers must know how to rule. Only those who have the correct knowledge should be allowed to rule. Then the ruler orders, and the ruled must obey. Clearly, Socrates and his followers were out of step with the Athenians.

Stone points out that Sparta and Crete came much closer to fitting Socrates criteria for well-run countries, but he never moved there. This was obviously because, in the kinds of government that Socrates advocated, philosophers were unwelcome. Had Socrates lived in the society he advocated, he would not have been allowed freedom of speech.

Did Socrates threaten the leaders of Athens? Stone notes that Socrates used his wisdom to make all of the leaders appear to be ignorant fools and, by his tactics, he turned some of the young men of the city against the democracy and encouraged them to disdain even the common people of Athens. However, the playwrights frequently did this in their plays, and they were not censored, so this in itself is not sufficient cause for the trial of Socrates.

Athens was based on participation by all in the government of the city, while Socrates preached withdrawal from political life. For himself, in seventy years, he hardly participated. Although he did not participate in either movement which overthrew the democracy, neither did he participate in the restoration of democracy. (In the brief dictatorship of the Thirty, he did refuse to participate in the assassination of Leon of Salamis. Instead of accompanying the official party, he went off home by himself.)

Important for understanding the reasons for his trial and conviction was the fact that two of his students overthrew the democratic government in Athens. Part of the charge against Socrates was that he led the young to despise the established constitution and made them violent. In 411 the overthrow of the government was led by Alcibiades after which followed a period of rule by the Four Hundred. (Alcibiades later defected to the Spartans.) In 404, a group of thirty overthrew the government, aided by Sparta which had defeated Athens in the Peloponnesian War. The rulers were Critias, another follower of Socrates, and Charmides. (Critias was Plato's cousin and Charmides was his uncle and Plato, along with Xenophon, provided the major accounts of Socrates ideas and life.)

The rule of the Four Hundred lasted only four months and the rule of Thirty only eight months, but there were many horrors committed during those brief periods. The possibility of new horrors must have scared the Athenians so that now Socrates' ideas

were seen as very dangerous. In both coups, the aristocracy joined with the middle classes to disfranchise the lower classes, and then the aristocracy turned against the middle class. The aristocracy proved to be cruel, rapacious and bloody. The Thirty killed more than fifteen hundred Athenians in eight months, more than died in the last decade of the Peloponnesian War.

Although there was an amnesty after the coup of 404, some of the Thirty refused to be reconciled and moved to the nearby town of Eleusis. (The Thirty had earlier massacred three hundred men of the town as if to prepare for a retreat there.) The Athenians learned that the leaders of Eleusis were planning to attack Athens in 401 and attacked first and defeated them.

Thus, Athens in 399 had much to fear from the followers of Socrates.

The Verdict

The vote for Socrates' guilt was probably 280 guilty and 220 for acquittal. Socrates was surprised that so many voted for acquittal for, according to Xenophon, he did his best to antagonize the jury, particularly by being boastful and arrogant. It seems as if seventy years of life was enough for Socrates, and he was worried about becoming frail and losing his hearing and vision. "If I see my own decay and take to complaining in life.....how could I any longer take pleasure in life (Stone, 1988, p. 183)?" He acknowledges that the trial and execution is a way to commit suicide. "If I am condemned now, it will clearly be my privilege to suffer a death that is adjudged by those who have superintended this matter to be not only the easiest but also the least irksome to one's friends (Stone, 1988, p. 184)."

Next came the vote for the penalty. Athenian juries could vote only for the penalty proposed by the prosecution and that proposed by the accused. The prosecution demanded the death penalty. Socrates offered first that he should be fed free of charge for the rest of his life as a civic hero. He next offered a fine of one mina, a trivial amount, but following pressure from Plato and other followers offered thirty minas of silver. The jury voted for the death penalty by a vote of about 360 to 140.

Stone argues that a proposal of banishment from the city or a reasonable fine would have pleased the jury. Stone evens presents a speech that would have won acquittal by appealing to the Athenian commitment to free speech. But Stone notes that for Socrates to appeal to the Athenian system would have given the system a moral victory over him.

After the verdict, when Socrates was in prison, his followers arranged for his escape. Socrates refused. He said it was his duty to obey the court's verdict and die.

So Socrates drank the hemlock and died and, in doing so, fulfilled his own death wish and left a stain on the Athenian era.

Ida Rollin

The report of the suicide of Ida Rollin is not like those summarized hitherto. It is a moving account of the last few years of her mother's life by Betty Rollin (1985). There is little biographical information, but rather a moving account of a difficult decision by someone dying from cancer to end her own life assisted by her daughter and son-in-law.

Ida was born in 1908 into an Orthodox Jewish family, the first child born in the USA. She had an older sister Sarah (who died at fifty from a stroke) and an older brother Louis both born in Bialystok, Poland. She had a younger sister, Shany, by four years. They grew up in the Bronx, poor like everyone else in the neighborhood.

Ida decided to go to college and was admitted to the Maxwell Training School for Teachers in Brooklyn. She got her diploma in 1929, but teaching jobs were rare and so she went to work in the personnel department of Beth Israel Hospital in Manhattan. Then she moved to a construction company, invested her money in real estate, and made enough to set her husband up in business.

Her husband had emigrated from Russia in 1919. She met him at a party in 1930. She was 22 and he was 27. It was love at first sight, and they were a good match. She was the smart and practical one, he was the sprite. He was working at his brother's hardware store when Ida met him, but eventually she bought him his own hardware store. He died from a heart attack at the age of 72 in 1975 after 43 years of marriage.

Betty was an only child. Her mother happily took her to classes on Saturdays in dance and music. She pushed her education so that she could get into the Fieldston School. They lived in a Catholic enclave in Yonkers at first, but eventually moved to a fine house in the Jewish section. But when Betty went to Sarah Lawrence in Bronxville, the family moved to be near her.

Once Ida's husband died, she used to say she was ready to die. For two years she could not wait to join him. But then she met Alvin and said it less often. Alvin was seven years younger than Ida, but they seemed to get on fine, spoke every day on the telephone, and had a regularly planned evening out on Thursdays. Her daughter, Betty, noticed that Ida seemed happier with Alvin than she had been with her husband. She loved being in New York, and in Alvin she seemed to have found a compatible companion. She took piano lessons, joined the YWHA and took folk dancing lessons, and played bridge. She also planned her funeral and pre-paid for her burial plot.

She was first diagnosed as having ovarian cancer in the Spring of 1981. She had a complete hysterectomy, followed by eight chemotherapy treatments, once a month, in the hospital. Chemotherapy was hell for Ida. She would vomit for next day, sometimes two days, and take almost a week to recover. And of course she lost her hair. The treatments were over by January, 1982, and Ida recovered well, gaining weight and growing her hair back.

And then in June 1983, the pain started again. Surgery was ruled out, and the doctor decided on more chemotherapy. But this time, the effect of the treatments on Ida was much worse and she did not recover well after each treatment. Furthermore, the pain would not stop. It lessened only if she did not walk or eat. And she fell into a depression for the first time in her daughter's memory. She refused to see Alvin.

She needed a housekeeper at home, but then the cancer affected her bowels, and she alternated between constipation and uncontrollable diarrhea. The diarrhea upset her especially. She lost control during a rare visit from Alvin, and she lost complete control one night, having to lie filthy in her bed until Betty rushed back from Washington DC in the afternoon because of a fear that something was wrong. The doctors stopped the chemotherapy after the second treatment.

Ida now began to talk of taking a pill to end it all. A nursing home was suggested to Betty, but she rejected it. She tried to get Hospice to provide home care, but they had a waiting list. So she hired day and night housemaids to help take care of Ida.

Ida talked of ending her life more and more and finally persuaded Betty to consider it seriously. Betty and her husband decided to find out how it might be done so that at least her mother would have the information. No doctor in America would help, and books were of little use. Finally, a friend gave them the number of an American doctor in Amsterdam who told them exactly how to arrange it.

Ida's health worsened, and so she was hospitalized where the intravenous feeding and medication appeared to help her. She could eat again without vomiting. She decided that the time was right to die. She persuaded her internist to prescribe her Nembutal for insomnia. After her release she took the pills followed by some Dalmane. She opened a club soda herself, despite her weakness, to help the pills down. Betty and her husband sat with her for a while, and then left. A neighbor in the building came and sat with Ida for a few hours in case the medication did not work, and then, the night nurse having been cancelled, Ida was found by the day-time maid in the morning.

Ida was going to die and faced only weeks or months of agony and humiliation. Ida had never shown signs of psychiatric disturbance during her life, and her suicide was clearly the rational choice of a woman dying in pain, treated by a health system that cares little for the quality of life of the patients it services.

Osamu Dazai

Osamu Dazai was born on June 19 1909 in Kanagi as Shuji Tsushima (Wagatsuma and DeVos, 1978). His family was important in the region and owned much land. His father was thirty-nine and his mother thirty-seven when he was born. There were seven older children (and two more dead in infancy), and his great grandmother, grandmother, aunt and cousins all lived in the house, a total of over thirty people

including the servants. His mother was an invalid, and Osamu was reared by the servants and sometimes sent to live with others. He was weak himself and often sick.

He was never close to his mother. His father was a domineering and busy man, rarely at home, and Osamu was quite scared of him as a child. Osamu grew up mainly with women in the household. He had few friendships with other boys or with older men, and he developed a strong feminine identification. He suffered from sleeplessness and was reluctant to go to bed at night because of fears.

A servant, Take, taught him to read when he was six, and he grew close to her in his sixth and seventh years. At school, he was usually at the top of his class despite missing a lot of classes through illness.

He wanted to be a writer and, when he was sixteen, he and his classmates started a literary magazine for which he wrote short stories and essays. He wrote a short drama when he was seventeen. In high school, Osamu fell under the influence of communism, and his writings thereafter showed this influence. Three of the novels he wrote while in high school were published in 1928.

However, Osamu felt disgusted with himself. Here he was, son of a rich land-owner, pretending to be a communist. He felt unworthy of being a communist or a true revolutionary. He took an overdose of sleeping pills but did not die.

In 1929, Osamu began studying French literature at the University of Tokyo, and eventually he came to reject the communists. He felt that they were sexually promiscuous and the leaders too dictatorial. He wanted to belong, but he felt alienated.

By now he had become involved with women, and in 1930 a geisha, Hatsuyo, came to live with him. His family objected and sent her back home. Osamu felt angry at his family and rejected by Hatsuyo. He was still working for the communist movement, though he felt disqualified by his background and inept in his performance. He met a waitress and persuaded her to die with him. The woman drowned but he survived. His family responded to his suicide attempt by treating him more kindly, and in February 1931 Hatsuyo returned to Tokyo to live with him. However, Hatsuyo confessed to Osamu that she had slept with someone else during their separation, and Osamu felt, not anger toward her, but self-disgust, which somehow tapped into his self-disgust over his communist activities. So he went to the police and confessed his political activities.

He continued to write, but he turned to alcohol. He lived on money sent by his brothers and from pawning possessions. In 1935, he took an examination to join the Miyako Press and failed. He was not able to graduate from the university since he had missed so many classes. He attempted suicide again by hanging himself and again failed. Once more, his family treated him kindly.

After an appendectomy, he became addicted to morphine. In 1935 he came in second for a major literary award, but he continued to abuse drugs and alcohol. His

family had him hospitalized against his will and, surprisingly, he freed himself from his addictions to drugs, though he went back to abusing alcohol.

In 1937, a cousin confessed he had slept with Hatsuyo while Osamu was hospitalized. He attempted suicide with Hatsuyo using sleeping pills and, after they both survived, they separated.

In 1938, when he was thirty, Osamu decided to become a successful writer. He said he was motivated by the prosecution of his elder brother for election violations and the deaths of some close relatives. He could no longer depend on money from his family, and his health recovered. In 1939 he had an arranged marriage, and until the end of the war lived a normal bourgeois life, at least on the surface, though he confessed to fears that he could not maintain such a life style. However, he disapproved of the militarism of the time, and this opposition helped focus his discontent with life. (He never wrote a single line supporting the war or the ideology behind it).

The end of the war, though, ended his tenuous life-style. With nothing to oppose, he experienced strange, empty feelings, and there seemed to be no meaning to his life. The end of militarism released his inner-directed hate. He turned to attacking the new democracy, the liberals and the conventional life-style, but this was no longer an effective tactic to relieve his depression.

He had several affairs with women whom he seemed to despise but with whom he was reduced to total passivity. The second of these affairs was with Tomie Yamazaki, and it was with her that he may have planned a double suicide. In 1948 Tomie wanted him to divorce his wife, but he refused and may have suggested that he and Tomie separate.

Despite the fact that he had tried to arrange suicide pacts before, though failing in the attempts, his biographers claim that police records show that, on June 13, 1948, he took a large dose of sleeping pills (perhaps simply to go to sleep as was his habit or perhaps for suicidal purposes), after which Tomie dragged him to a river, strangled him, tied him to her, took potassium cyanide and threw both of them into the river.

Wagastuma and DeVos noted that Osamu was deprived of his mother and never got over a sense of alienation from others. He developed a passive masochistic role with women, and his final death was the fulfilment of this role.

Paul Federn

Paul Federn's grandfather was a rabbi in Prague. His father, Salomon Federn (1832-1920) was a distinguished Viennese physician. His mother, Ernestine Spitzer, came from a merchant family. Paul was born on October 13, 1871, in Vienna. He had two older brothers, two younger sisters, and a younger brother.

As a youth, he was prone to depressive moods that worried his friends. He did his military service in the Austrian cavalry. His father decided that he should be a physician, though he would have preferred biology. He graduated from the University of Vienna in 1895 and served for seven years at the General Hospital in Vienna. He opened a private practice in 1902.

He met his wife when she was twelve and he was courting her older sister. When Wilma Bauer was twenty-one and he was thirty-three they married and had a daughter and two sons. She came from a Protestant family, wrote poems and plays (which Paul refused to let her publish), and suffered from a heart ailment all her life.

Paul read Freud's work when he was thirty and was immediately impressed. He met Freud in 1902 and became an important early member of Freud's circle. After meeting Freud, Paul's depressions seemed less severe but he said then that he would end his own life if he could no longer master it. Paul was loyal to Freud and never disagreed with Freud's ideas. Even though some of his own thoughts diverged from Freud's, Paul minimized these differences, at least while Freud was alive. Though Freud saw Paul as a colleague, Paul saw himself as a disciple and had a father-transference to Freud.

During the First World War, Paul served as a doctor and strongly supported the German side. He invested all of his money in Austrian War Bonds, and after the war he never recovered his financial security. (He was casual about collecting payment from his patients which did not help matters.)

Paul took stands on social issues, set up a private nonsectarian institution with his sister, was a social democrat (pro-Germany and anti-Hapsburg and anti-Catholic), and was elected to public office as a district councilman.

In 1924, after Freud was diagnosed as having cancer, Paul, together with Anna Freud, became the leading figures in the psychoanalytic movement in Vienna. Paul often represented Freud, as when a plaque was erected for Freud in his birthplace (Freiberg), and he gave the radio address to commemorate Freud's seventieth birthday. However, Paul was often disappointed when his psychoanalytic colleagues failed to cite his work and acknowledge his ideas.

In 1938, as the Nazis took over, his son was arrested by the Gestapo, and Paul came to America. In 1946 his son was released from a concentration camp in Europe, Paul was granted a physician's licence and he was admitted as a member of the New York Psychoanalytic Society. But in November 1946, he was found to have a tumor in his bladder, and the operation failed. His wife died in December 1949 and Paul decided to commit suicide.

From January to May, 1950, Paul saw five patients a day and conducted a seminar in his home. He was scheduled for more surgery on May 4th. He got his papers in order, arranged for the transfer of his patients to other analysts, and went to the bank where he kept a gun with two bullets. On May 3rd, he saw his patients for the last time, signed his

will, and went to bed. He shot himself in the head at three in the morning in the library of his apartment. His son heard the shot and found his father.

Ludwig Boltzmann

Ludwig Boltzmann was born February 20, 1844, in Vienna into a secure middle-class family (Broda, 1983; Bush, 1970). His grandfather was a clock manufacturer and his father a tax official. Soon after his birth, the family moved to Wels and then Linz in Upper Austria. He was an eager and ambitious student, encouraged in his studies by his mother. He collected butterflies and studied plants. His father died when he was fifteen.

He went on to study physics at the University of Vienna. He finished his doctorate in 1866 and gave his maiden lecture as a Privatdozent in 1867. Two years later he was appointed Professor of Mathematical Physics at the University of Graz. He studied in Heidelberg and Berlin, was Professor of Mathematics at the University of Vienna from 1873 to 1876, returned to Graz as Professor of Experimental Physics, moved to be Professor of Theoretical Physics at the University of Munich in 1890, went back to Vienna as Professor of Theoretical Physics in 1893, moved to Leipzig in 1900 and then back to Vienna in 1902. This time, the Emperor Franz Joseph reappointed him only on condition he never left the Austrian empire again. He remained at Vienna until his suicide.

During his lifetime, Boltzmann was honored with membership in many academies, honorary degrees and medals. On his sixtieth birthday, 117 of the world's scientists contributed to a festschrift for him.

Except for six years, all of Boltzmann's appointments were in Austria. He loved Austria and felt homesick when he left it. But he also realized that the Austrian universities were not as stimulating as the German universities and that his achievements were not honored in Austria as much as they deserved. The political situation in Vienna also upset him, and his stay at Leipzig was occasioned by the nationalist troubles in Austria. However, his stays in Germany were made difficult by his informal style which upset German officials and administrators.

Broda comments that Boltzmann was an outstanding teacher and was helpful and understanding with his doctoral students. He was friendly to all and sundry. He was sociable and loved to have friends around him. He married a mathematics student, Henriette von Aigentler, in 1876 and had four children. He liked to tinker with electrical appliances and built his wife a sewing machine (at that time not commercially available). He played piano quite well (he took piano lessons from Anton Bruckner in Linz), had season tickets at the opera and the dramatic theater, travelled extensively, and skated in the winter and swam in the summer.

Broda comments that Boltzmann was hurt easily and suffered from depression most of his life. Boltzmann himself noted that he easily shifted from cheerfulness to sadness and back. In addition to his depressions, he sometimes had a fear of lecturing,

and he described himself as suffering from neurasthenia. He feared loss of creativity and worked too hard. He suffered from severe asthma attacks.

He was a classical physicist and worked on atomic theory. Toward the end of his life, this theory had many critics, and Broda felt that Boltzmann was upset by these intellectual attacks on the theory he supported. Most of those who supported his ideas were in England, while the continental physicists (such as Ernst Mach and Wilhelm Ostwald) rejected the atomic hypothesis in favor of a generalized thermodynamic theory.

He had made a previous suicide attempt during an episode of depression while at Leipzig in 1900-1902. He committed suicide on September 5, 1906, while on holiday at Duino, near Trieste, during another depressive episode. Ironically, the validity of the atomic hypothesis was established shortly after his death.

Diane Barrymore

John Barrymore met Blanche Thomas in Cartier's in Manhattan. Blanche was trading her diamond tiara for a rope of pearls. Barrymore was divorced, and Blanche was married to Leonard Thomas of Newport, had two children, and called herself Michael Strange for her poetry and plays. She often dressed like a man, with open-collar shirts, a man's fedora, and a walking stick. Three years later, in August, 1920, they were honeymooning in Venice (Packer, 1964).

Diane was born on March 3, 1921. Diane's parents led a tempestuous life because of John's drinking. Blanche sometimes threw all alcohol out of the house, furniture would be smashed, and John would beat up Blanche. But they dressed alike (often in black velvet suits) and were jealous of each other's friends. They eventually split up.

At school, Diane invented stories about visits to her father whom she never saw. After both parents had remarried, John asked to see Diane, but Blanche refused permission. Diane was twelve, and Blanche said she was too young to travel to California. Diane tried to throw herself out of the window of their apartment on the seventh floor, but Blanche restrained her. Diane tried to run away a few days later to visit her father.

When Diane was fourteen, John visited her unexpectedly at her private school. He took Diane and a friend out, bought them their first drinks, and ended the evening by necking with Diane's friend. Diane's headmistress had to sober John up with coffee at one in the morning.

Diane attended sixteen schools in sixteen years. Sometimes her mother simply transferred her. Sometimes it was because of her low grades and rebellious spirit. Her schoolmates remembered her as vain, flaunting the fact that John Barrymore was her father. At sixteen her mother allowed her to study drama at the American Academy of Dramatic Arts in New York.

Diane went on a European tour accompanied by a French chaperone, and she fell in love with a French count. Blanche forbade the romance. Back in New York, Diane became the debutant of the year in 1938, playing the madcap irrepressible daughter of John Barrymore. She tried out for *Gone With The Wind* and had several affairs. She went back to Academy of Dramatic Arts for a second term and landed a summer acting job in Maine. She was on the cover of *Life* in July 1939.

She made her Broadway debut in *Romantic Mr. Dickens* and received good reviews. She signed a contract with Hollywood which allowed her to work in theater for six months each year. Her mother allowed her to go only on condition a chaperone accompanied her and she avoided her father.

By now, John Barrymore was an alcoholic and unwelcome at most homes. He lived with a male nurse and was deeply in debt. Diane quarrelled with her chaperone and with her father. Diane leased a large mansion and invited her lover from New York to join her, Bramwell Fletcher, an actor eighteen years older than she was. Her arrogance alienated others. Among others she insulted Alfred Hitchcock, who ordered her removed from his home, and Deanna Durbin.

On the night of the preview of her first movie, *Eagle Squadron*, her father died. Soon after she married Bramwell, but the marriage was a failure. Bram wanted to stay home painting and reading, while Diane wanted excitement. Diane's movies were not successful and in 1943 after five movies her career was going downhill. They returned to New York and in 1944 appeared in a play *Rebecca* together.

During the play's run, the gay lover of Robin (her half-brother) jumped to his death off the Empire State Building, and a month later Robin died from sleeping pills, Benzedrine and whiskey. Diane's life continued with alcohol abuse, affairs, and drunken or hung-over appearances on the radio and the stage. In 1946 she almost attempted suicide, dropping the sleeping pills from her hand at the last moment (but had her stomach pumped by her doctor anyway). She divorced Bram and married a tennis player, John Howard. Their marriage lasted six months, but the divorce took another two and a half years to arrange. Diane took up with another alcoholic actor, Bob Wilcox, and they appeared together in plays. Diane continued drinking heavily.

CBS television suggested an evening show with Diane as the hostess to celebrities. Diane arrived for the first show drunk, and CBS cancelled her contract. Her mother was now dying leukemia. Diane married Bob a month before her mother died. Diane was drunk at the funeral.

She was now thirty, severely alcoholic with dt's, living off the inheritances from her family, and known to be a problem if hired for any part. She pawned her possessions and took a job in vaudeville. In 1951, a night club in Australia offered her a job, and she flew there with Bob. She had a couple of triumphs, but more often her shows were cancelled because of her drunkenness, and they left Australia in disgrace in 1952.

Back in New York, she continued to spend her inheritance, this time from her mother's estate. She was removed as hostess from a WABC radio show when she showed up drunk for the first broadcast. She picked up a new beau, Tom Farrell, and her life deteriorated further. She was using sleeping pills and amphetamines as well as alcohol, and there was a great deal of mutual violence in her relationship with Tom. One apartment owner refused to renew her lease, and another had her evicted. Back with Bob, Diane and he stole food, ate by candlelight when the electric company turned off their power, but still managed to get parts in summer stock.

In April 1955, Diane attempted suicide with phenobarbital and alcohol, but survived. She managed to get a part in a tour of *Glad Tidings* and, while she was on tour, Bob died of a heart attack. She published an autobiography which was a big success. She was interviewed on television shows, and a movie was planned of her life.

She decided to entice Tennessee Williams and seriously pursued him. She cut down on her drinking, appeared in his plays, vacationed with him in Cuba, and tried to get him to propose to her. But she failed, and she began drinking again and fighting with her lovers. She threatened suicide when her latest lover failed to call her, and she warned her friends that she would die soon. Then, on January 25, 1960, her maid found her dead from the effects of alcohol and sleeping pills at the age of thirty-eight.

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SCIENTISTS WHO HAVE COMMITTED SUICIDE

David Lester

The *Dictionary of Scientific Biography* lists in the index fifteen scientists who have committed suicide.[10] This list may not be complete since it omits Percy Bridgman whose suicide is noted in the Dictionary under his entry. The scientists are:

Ludwig Boltzmann	1844-1906
Paul Ehrenfest	1880-1933
Hans Fischer	1881-1945
Felix Hausdorf	1868-1942
William Henry	1774-1836
Otto Honigschmid	1878-1945
Aleksandr Lyapunov	1857-1918
James MacCullagh	1809-1847
Ettore Majorana	1906-1938
Benjamin Martin	1904-1782
Augustus Matthiessen	1831-1870
Victor Meyer	1848-1897
Hugh Miller	1802-1856
Johannes Muller	1801-1858
Max Pettenkofer	1818-1901

Hans Fischer

Hans Fischer was born in Hochst am Main, Germany, on July 27 1881 (Leicester, 1971). His father was a chemist for a dye works. Hans studied medicine and chemistry at Marburg, but decided to specialize in chemistry. He graduated in 1904 and then began to study medicine at Munich. He accepted the chair of medical chemistry at the University of Innsbruck in 1916. The First World War prevented any useful research, but in 1921 Hans became head of the Institute of Organic Chemistry at the Technische Hochschule in Munich where he remained for the rest of his life. In 1935 he married a woman thirty years younger than himself, and the marriage was happy.

His research focussed on porphyrin and related compounds, and he was awarded the Nobel Prize for chemistry in 1930. Hans had tuberculosis when was twenty and had a kidney removed in 1917. He liked mountaineering, skiing and travelling. During the Second World War, his laboratory was almost totally destroyed by bombing, and Hans became depressed. He was convinced his life's work had been shattered and he committed suicide on March 31 1945.

Felix Hausdorf

[10] A sixteenth is listed (Joachim Jungius), but the text does not mention suicide.

Felix Hausdorf was born November 8, 1868, in Breslau (Germany), now Wroclaw, Poland (Katetov, 1970). His father was a wealthy merchant and his family Jewish. He studied mathematics and astronomy, graduating from Leipzig in 1891. He published papers on mathematics and astronomy, and pursued interests in philosophy and literature, writing essays, poems, and a play (which was produced) under a pen name.

In 1902 he became an associate professor at Leipzig and thereafter specialized in mathematics, producing the foundation works for general topology and the general theory of metric spaces. After a variety of academic positions, he was forced to retire in 1935. Thereafter his work was published only outside Germany.

He was scheduled to be sent to an internment camp in 1941 and, when internment was imminent, he committed suicide with his wife and sister-in-law on January 26, 1942.

William Henry

William Henry was born in Manchester, England, on December 12, 1774 (Scott, 1970). He was a third son. At the age of ten he was injured by a falling beam which left him handicapped for the rest of his life. He studied medicine, receiving his MD from the University of Edinburgh in 1807. He was interested in chemistry and began to study the elemental nature of compounds such as muriatic acid. His lectures on chemistry were published in 1801, went through eleven editions, and became the classic text for over thirty years. He later worked on gases and helped contribute to the progress of the gas industry.

In 1824, surgery on his hands forced him to give up chemistry, but he pursued the idea that contagious diseases could be prevented from spreading through disinfection by heat (though the germ theory of disease was not yet known).

He suffered from chronic ill health as well as the neuralgic pains from his boyhood injury which made it hard for him to sleep. He killed himself on September 12, 1836.

Otto Honigschmid

Otto Honigschmid's father was an Austrian officer who went into financial administration (Ronge, 1970). He travelled much, and Otto (born March 13 1878 in Horovice, Bohemia, now Czechoslovakia) ended his education in Prague, finishing his graduate work at the German University there.

Otto worked in Paris, Cambridge (Massachusetts), and the Radium Institue in Vienna. In 1911, he became Professor of inorganic and analytic chemistry at the German Technical University in Prague, later moving to the University of Munich. His major work focussed on the determination of the atomic weights of the elements.

At the end of the Second World War, Otto was seriously ill. During the

occupation after the war, with his institute destroyed, he and his wife had to move twice and found the difficulties of their living conditions insurmountable. He and his wife committed suicide in Munich on October 14, 1945.

Aleksandr Lyapunov

Aleksandr was the son of an astronomer, born June 7 1857 in Yaroslavl, Russia (Grigorian, 1970). One brother was a composer and another a specialist in slavic philology. He graduated from the University of St. Petersburg in physics and mathematics in 1880 and married a student he had studied with as an adolescent in 1886. He got his doctorate from Moscow University in 1892, and in 1893 he became a professor at Kharkov University, teaching mathematics and mechanics. He later moved to St. Petersburg.

In 1917 Aleksandr and his wife went to Odessa to lecture. His wife's tuberculosis worsened, and she died on October 31, 1918. He shot himself that day and died three days later (on November 3, 1918) without regaining consciousness.

James MacCullagh

James MacCullach was the son of a poor farmer born near Strabane in Ireland in 1809 (Moyer, 1970). He inherited some money from a grandfather and went to Trinity College in Dublin in 1824. In 1833 he became a professor of mathematics at the college and in 1842 professor of natural philosophy. He worked on mathematical physics, establishing himself in the field of physical optics. He was elected a fellow of the Royal Society in 1843.

James was an Irish nationalist and a strict Catholic. He was modest and very moral. He never married. Moyer notes that he was disappointed at losing a parliamentary election, overworked, and suffering from severe dyspepsia. This led to the reoccurrence of an earlier psychiatric illness, and he killed himself at the age of thirty eight on October 24 1847 in Dublin, Ireland.

Benjamin Martin

Benjamin was born in Worplesdon, England, in February 1704 (Turner, 1970). He appears to have been self-taught in science. He married in 1729 and described himself as a merchant. He had two children, and his son joined him in the business.

Soon after his marriage, Benjamin set up and ran his own boarding school at Chichester. In 1735 he published his first work, *The Philosopher Grammar* which ran to eight editions. He then became a travelling lecturer. In 1755 he settled in London and became a great popularizer of science, launching a monthly magazine, *The General Magazine of Arts and Sciences,* and opening a shop for scientific instruction and instruments. He was primarily a retailer rather than manufacturer, but he did invent several scientific instruments himself, including a microscope with two lenses. He supplied Harvard University with many new instruments after their fire in 1764.

He was declared bankrupt in January 1782 and died a few weeks after a suicide attempt on February 9, 1782.

Augustus Matthiessen

Augustus was born in London, England, on January 2, 1831 (Jones, 1970). He had a seizure when young which left him with a permanent twitching of his right hand. Considered unfit for most careers, he was sent to learn farming. He became interested in agricultural chemistry and went to the University of Giessen where he obtained his Ph.D. in 1853.

From 1853 to 1857 he worked in Bunsen's laboratory at the University of Heidelberg preparing and studying the properties of rare metals such as lithium and strontium. Back in England he set up his own laboratory where he worked on opium alkaloids. He was elected a fellow of the Royal Society in 1861 and then became a lecturer at schools of the University of London. He committed suicide on October 6, 1870.

Victor Meyer

Victor was born on September 8th, 1848, in Berlin, Germany (Costa, 1970). He was the second son of a prosperous Jewish merchant in calico printing and dyeing. His father wanted his sons to become chemists, but Victor wanted to become an actor. His father forced him to attend some courses at Heidelberg and Berlin and, at Heidelberg, he was converted to chemistry by Bunsen's lectures. He was awarded his Ph.D. at the age of eighteen.

His first professorship was at the Stuttgart Polytechnic in 1871 at the age of twenty three. He married in 1873 and had five daughters. He finally ended up as professor at the University of Heidelberg.

His health declined in the 1880s, with several breakdowns, and he needed drugs in order to sleep. By 1897 he had severe neuralgic pain, and his suffering was affecting his thinking. He committed suicide with prussic acid on August 8, 1897.

Hugh Miller

Hugh was the elder son of Hugh Miller by his second wife (Rudwick, 1970). He was born on October 10, 1802, in Cromarty, Scotland. His father, the master of a fishing sloop, drowned when Hugh was five. Rather than seek a formal education, he apprenticed himself to a stonemason when he was seventeen and, through that, became interested in geology.

After twelve years as a journeyman mason, he became an accountant in a bank and, in 1837, married an author of children's books. In 1840 he became editor of a newspaper in Edinburgh and, among other issues, he advocated the right of people to

choose their own church ministers and the need for undenominational education. He wrote a number of books and did much to popularize science.

In the 1840s, his health broke down because of overwork and silicosis contracted as a stonemason. He eventually developed symptoms of psychiatric disorder and killed himself at his home in Edinburgh on December 24, 1856.

Johannes Muller

Johannes Muller came from a family of winegrowers in the Moselle Valley, but his father moved to Coblenz as a shoemaker (Steudel, 1970). Johannes was born July 14, 1801, in Coblenz, Germany. From an early age, Johannes showed an interest in learning and a driving ambition. He attended the new University of Bonn in 1818, but his father's death during his second year left him in financial difficulties. However, he continued his studies and received his medical degree in 1822.

In 1826 he was appointed special professor and in 1830 full professor at the University of Bonn. He married a woman from Coblenz in 1827 after a long engagement and had one daughter and a son. In 1833 he was appointed a professor at the University of Berlin. He was rector there during the revolutions of 1848 which caused him administrative problems.

He had been depressed several times during his life and appeared to be manic-depressive. He was seriously depressed in 1827 for five months, in 1840, 1848, and at the end of his life. He became anxious that he was no longer a leader in the field of physiology, that his field of research was exhausted, and that his productivity was over. He is reported to have wandered the streets driven by anxiety. He was found dead in bed on April 28, 1858 by his wife, and the cause of death was undetermined. His students, however, had no doubt that he ended his life with an overdose of morphine.

Max Pettenkofer

Max was the fifth of eight children born in Lichtenheim in Germany on December 3, 1818 (Dolman, 1970). His father farmed peat unsuccessfully. Several of the sons were sent for their education to an uncle who was the pharmacist at the court in Munich, and Max studied at the University of Munich. He deviated from his studies to become an actor but, after falling in love with a cousin who refused to marry him unless he quit, he returned to his studies. In 1843 he passed the state exams in pharmacy and medicine.

After working in research laboratories for a while, Max was appointed to Royal Mint where he became involved in the metallurgical issues of the coinage. In 1847 he was appointed extraordinary professor at the University of Munich, eventually taking a new chair of hygiene created for him.

Max is considered to be the founder of the field of experimental hygiene. He became interested in such issues air exchange in buildings and ventilation, impurities in

soil, purifying water supplies, and sanitation. In 1879 an Institute of Hygiene was opened with him as director.

In his seventies, honors and weariness descended upon him. A foundation was set up in his name, Festschrifts published, and medals and honorary doctorates awarded. He complained, however, of tiredness, loss of memory and an inability to concentrate. His wife died in 1890, and three of his five children had already died, included a gifted eldest son of tuberculosis in 1869. He feared for his reason and threatened suicide. In January 1901, a septic throat caused him much pain and insomnia and aggravated his depression. He bought a revolver and shot himself in the head on February 10, 1901.

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KONOE FUMIMARO

David Lester

Konoe Fumimaro was born on October 12, 1891, to a noble family (Oka, 1983). His mother died eight days after his birth from puerperal fever, and his father married his wife's sister the following year. Konoe grew up thinking that the second wife was his mother, and it was a shattering blow when he later learned that she was not his biological mother. He grew up with a younger stepsister and three younger stepbrothers. Konoe started school in 1897.

Konoe's father died at the age of 40 in 1904 when Konoe was twelve, and the family's fortunes changed. His family was aristocratic, one of the five elite families of the nation. Konoe himself was introduced to the Imperial household when he was two. Konoe's father became involved with politics, developed a reputation as a nationalist, and was considered a possible future prime minister. After his death, friends and acquaintances wanted his debts paid, and the family had to sell off heirlooms to pay these debts. Konoe developed a distrust of people from this experience and from the deceit about his real mother.

Konoe inherited the title of Prince from his father, and the household addressed him as Lord now. Though he was a good runner, his guardian refused to let him participate in athletics at high school since he was a prince. Classmates remembered him as aloof and full of aristocratic airs, but he recalled that his demeanor was partly the result of his distrust of others. He later described himself as a melancholy and jaundiced youth. He developed an antagonism toward the privileged class and considered giving up his title and becoming a professor of philosophy.

Konoe graduated from high school in 1912 and entered the Department of Philosophy at Tokyo Imperial University, but he switched to law at Kyoto Imperial Univeristy. In 1913 he married for love rather than through an arrangement, but he bought a geisha as his mistress soon after marrying. He was somewhat of a radical student, translating Oscar Wilde's essay *The soul of man under socialism* which resulted in the issues of journal which had published it being banned. He graduated in 1918 as the First World War was ending.

The biography of Konoe by Oka is a political biography, and we learn little about the personal life of Konoe from this point on.

Early Years

In December 1918 Konoe wrote an essay which laid out a political viewpoint which shaped his thought for the rest of his life. In it he argued that the Anglo-American peace plan served only to perpetuate the status quo which protected their interests. The established powers were seeking to suppress the powers not yet established, including

Japan. He saw the League of Nations as a tool in this struggle. He opposed economic imperialism by those powers and the discriminatory treatment of Asian peoples.

In 1919, Konoe was appointed to the Japanese delegation to the Paris peace conference, and he viewed the results of the conference as consistent with his views. After the conference, he travelled to Germany, England and the United States, and his experiences led him to view some of the traditional Japanese customs and ceremonies as irrational and meaningless. He published his views in a leading monthly women's magazine in Japan in 1920. He felt that life in Japan could be uncomfortable, but he hoped to work toward changing matters.

His title gave him an automatic seat in the House of Peers, and he had been a member since 1916. In 1921, he was elected acting president. Initially he joined a powerful faction in the house, the Kenkyukai, which had a reputation for corruption, and he was soon elected to the standing committee of this faction. Now, his father's old friends, who had turned against the family, began to return to the fold of this rising political star, thereby increasing Konoe's mistrust of them.

Konoe worked as a liaison between the Kenkyukai and the cabinet, helping ensure the passage of a universal suffrage bill, a move which attracted wide public attention. By 1927, he saw the Kenkyukai as no longer suitable for him, and he formed a club for house members of the rank of prince or marquis. In 1931 he was elected vice-president of the House of Peers.

In 1931, the first of several attempted coups by young military officers occurred. At this point, some of his political friends convinced him of the trivia of the party politics of the House of Peers. There were more serious issues. Konoe began to develop contacts with the military, especially the right-wing activists, and to learn of their views. In 1932, Japan declared Manchuria to be an independent state called Manchukuo under their rule. There followed another attempted coup and the assassination of a former minister of the government. Konoe vigorously defended Japan's advance into Manchuria and Mongolia, using the rationale of his earlier essay. This brought him support from the military and right-wing activists.

In 1933, Konoe became president of the upper house, a post his father had held thirty years earlier. In 1934, Konoe went to the United States to attend the high school graduation ceremony of his son but also to have discussions with American politicians. He picked up the American antipathy toward and distrust of the Japanese. Later in 1936, Japan refused to renew the naval disarmament treaties and walked out of negotiations, further deteriorating Japan's international relations. Konoe continued to argue that distribution of territories and resources among nations was unfair and a threat to peace, and that America and Britain showed no willingness to recognize and remedy this.

More right-wing assassinations took place in 1936, and the Imperial advisor finally felt that only Konoe could control the military and right-wing elements as prime minister. Konoe was asked to form a cabinet, but he refused on grounds of poor health.

His refusal made him even more conspicuous and raised expectations for him. In May 1937, the cabinet resigned, and this time the Emperor commanded Konoe to form a cabinet. Konoe was 45 and well liked by the public. He was noble and elegant, known to have a superior intellect, and not at all arrogant. The Japanese were coming to believe that they were superior and ordained to fulfil a sublime mission, and they looked to Konoe to guide the nation through the turbulent times. The military also welcomed his appointment because they hoped to manipulate him.

Konoe's Cabinets

The first major international issue that Konoe's cabinet had to contend with was the war in China. One month after the cabinet was formed, Chinese and Japanese troops exchanged fire in the suburbs of Peking. The Army Minister wanted to dispatch more troops to the region, but Konoe was afraid of the international repercussions. However, eventually he yielded. Konoe tried to establish direct diplomatic contact with Chiang Kai-shek, head of the Nationalist Chinese, even considering going himself. However, the diplomat he chose to go on the mission was arrested by the police before he could leave Japan.

The murder of Japanese soldiers in Shanghai led to the cabinet authorizing troops to be sent there. The escalation of the war discouraged Konoe. He was dejected and uncertain. Friends encouraged him to finish the task and to be confident in public. He considered dissolving the cabinet but decided to remain to try to restrain the military.

In these efforts, Konoe had few intimate friends whom he could trust. In political life, he remained as alone as when he had been a student. He soon showed a tendency to vacillate. He had no practical experience in administration and tended to be attracted by vague ideas.

In an effort to restrain the military, Konoe suggested an Imperial Headquarters to facilitate communication with the military, and they agreed to this. However, this failed to work as expected, and Konoe once more had to be talked out of resigning. As the war continued to take a direction independent of his wishes, his thoughts of resigning became more frequent.

In January, 1938, the Japanese government issued a declaration that it would no longer deal with the Chinese Nationalist government. Although the Japanese had captured most of the major cities, they had not defeated the Chinese, and the war was not concluded. The Chinese Nationalist government retreated to Chungking at the end of 1938 and showed no intention of negotiating.

In December 1937, Konoe's government had presented bills to nationalize electric power and begin national mobilization. In the face of military pressure, the Imperial Diet passed the bills. Konoe told the Emperor that he felt like a mannequin in these matters and wanted to resign. Since there no reasonable successor, he was urged to stay as prime minister. In 1938, Konoe reshuffled his cabinet, hoping to break the deadlock of the war,

but his lack of leadership led to indecisiveness, and he again talked of resigning. He felt that he was not of the caliber to be prime minister and that the people overestimated his abilities. He seemed near despair. Finally, the Japanese government recognized a puppet government in China led by Wang Ching-wei, and Konoe resigned in January, 1939, fully aware that his cabinet had been controlled by the military throughout its eighteen months.

Konoe took over as president of the Privy Council and minister without portfolio in the new cabinet, which lasted only a few months. A new prime minister took over in August, just as Germany overran Poland. The military decided that if they could not subdue China completely by the end of 1940, they would retreat to their earlier positions (in Manchuria, Mongolia and Shanghai). Their pessimism, however, was lifted by the German blitzkrieg in Europe in 1940. The military now felt encouraged enough to want to advance into southern Asia.

In June 1940, Konoe resigned as president of the Privy Council to lead a new party movement of national unity. However, his vacillations led to the withering of the plans. The military pushed for the dissolution of the current cabinet in July 1940, and Konoe was asked to form a new cabinet. Konoe made a public address stressing national unity to pursue the Emperor's goals of economic collaboration with Manchukuo and China and expanding into southern Asia. In September the French allowed the Japanese into French Indochina. The Japanese government then signed a tripartite pact with Germany and Italy. The Japanese government hoped that the pact would keep the USA out of the war and improve relationships with the Soviet Union. Neither aim was achieved.

Konoe made great efforts to negotiate with the United States. Contacts were made, and Konoe was eager to meet personally with President Roosevelt. However, the Americans wanted some signs that an agreement could be reached before agreeing to a meeting, and there was no indication that this could be achieved. Thus, the meeting never occurred. The German attack on the Soviet Union in 1941 appalled the Japnese, since it ended hopes of a rapprochement with the Russians.

After the Japanese moved troops to French Indochina in July, 1941, President Roosevelt ordered an embargo on oil exports to Japan and a freeze of all Japanese assets in the USA. Konoe and the military were shocked by this response. The Navy wanted to declare war on the USA immediately, but Konoe was not confident that they could win. He wanted the Navy to restrain the Army's military desires. Konoe tried to prevent a definite decision about the date when hostilities would begin. When the military decided upon October 15th, Konoe considered resigning for he did not accept the necessity of hostilities. He was talked out of resigning, and he tried to restrain the military one last time. He failed, and on October 15th he resigned.

On December 8th, after the attack on Pearl Harbor, Konoe was shocked, angry, and then despondent. Despite the initial victories and the euphoria in Japan, he remained despondent for he was convinced that Japan would eventually lose the war. For the

remainder of the war, he remained politically inactive. He was ridiculed and accused of cowardice. He considered renouncing his title and retiring from public life to live in seclusion. However, in 1944, as Japan's impending defeat became obvious, he met with other senior politicians to discuss what could be done, and they became concerned about the rise of communism in Japan and the possibility that the communists would use the chaos of defeat to seize power. Konoe tried to get the Emperor to replace Tojo, the prime minister during the war, and to surrender, but he was unsuccessful.

The War Criminal

After the surrender of Japan on August 15, 1945, Konoe was blamed by many Japanese for instigating the China War and for facilitating the Pacific War. However, Konoe met with General MacArthur to discuss the situation in Japan and stressed the dangers from left-wing elements. Konoe had at first worried that he might be designated a war criminal, but his meetings with MacArthur reassured him. Konoe got involved with devising a revision of the Japanese constitution, but on November 1 MacArthur's headquarters announced that they did not want Konoe to be involved. The *New York Times* attacked Konoe, and Japanese newspapers took up the attack. On November 9, Konoe was summoned for interrogation on a gunboat (rather than on land as others had been interviewed). He was addressed as Mr. Konoe, and he realized that the Americans saw him as responsible for initiating the China War and planning the war against the United States. Despite his anxieties, Konoe continued to work on the constitutional revision, and his committee submitted an outline to the Emperor on November 22. At that time he also requested that he be allowed to relinquish his peerage. On November 27, Konoe retired to his country villa and dictated a memoir to a newspaper reporter.

The American command issued lists of war criminals periodically. Eleven people were designated on November 19, and fifty three more on December 2, including an Imperial Prince. Konoe commented that he did not understand why the Prince had not committed suicide. The list of December 6 contained Konoe's name. Colleagues urged Konoe to defend himself and to try to vindicate the Emperor so that the Emperor would not be charged also. Konoe saw the trials as politically motivated and felt that he was powerless to effect any change in the American plans. He said that he could not bear the humiliation of standing in court as a suspected war criminal. He told a newspaper reporter, "Before the war I was ridiculed for being indecisive, during the war rebuked as an escapist peace-seeker, and after the war accused of being a war criminal (Oka, 1983, p. 190)."

On the day Konoe's arrest order was issued, his brother from whom he had been estranged arrived by ship from Germany where he had spent the war years. They met and forgot their quarrel (which had been over his brother's choice of music as a career). Konoe was to appear at Sugamo Prison on December 16. Relatives tried to delay his appearance on grounds of ill-health, but any delay was forbidden. After he heard this, Konoe was in despair.

On the evening of December 14th, after the last of his friends had departed, and

Konoe remained with his family and close associates. At 11 o'clock Konoe talked with his second son until 2 a.m. Four hours later, Konoe was found dead in his bed from potassium cyanide poisoning.

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PAUL EHRENFEST

David Lester

Paul Ehrenfest, a physicist born in 1880, committed suicide in 1933. Klein (1970) has written the first volume of his biography but has not yet prepared the second volume. Thus we are left with only a partial account of his life.

Early Life

Paul was born in Vienna on January 18, 1880. His parents moved to Vienna from Loschwitz in Moravia. His father, Sigmund Ehrenfest, had been a poor worker in a weaving mill when he married Johanna Jellinek, the daughter of a merchant. In Vienna they set up a grocery store, not in the Jewish section, but in a proletarian quarter, and in time it became a thriving business. They had four sons born from 1862 to 1872 (and a daughter lost at birth) and lived above their store with a nursemaid, two maid servants, two shop girls and four male shop assistants. Paul was the fifth and last child, born when his father was forty-two and his mother thirty-eight.

Paul was his father's favorite. Paul loved to help in the shop and seemed to find early in life a joy and enthusiasm from work. As a child Paul was sickly, thin and nervous, prone to dizzy spells and nosebleeds. Anti-semitism was growing in Austria, and a viciously anti-semitic mayor took office in 1897, and so Paul experienced a fair amount of anti-semitism as he grew up, especially as his family lived in a non-Jewish part of the city. His parents did not follow Judaism strictly, but he experienced Jewish rituals at his grandmother's home. By age twelve Paul had recognized that he could not believe in the religion.

Paul's brothers played an important role in his life. The oldest was at the Institute of Technology, and the third and fourth at academic and technical high schools. (The second brother worked in the shop.) He watched them study, and they taught him a lot about science. He soon became interested in mathematical puzzles, then calendars, followed by a variety of scientific projects.

His mother, whom he remembered as irritable and strict, died of breast cancer when he was ten. His father (who remarried her younger sister) died when he was sixteen from stomach ulcers. The oldest son, Arthur, now a mechanical engineer, became Paul's guardian. Paul fell into a depression, even contemplating suicide, and began to lose interest in his studies. But with Arthur's encouragement he worked himself out of his depression.

He graduated from the Akademisches Gymnasium in 1899 and entered the Technische Hochschule, listing his major as chemistry. European students often studied at several universities, and Paul attended lectures in Vienna and Gottingen. It was the lectures of Ludwig Boltzmann in Vienna that attracted Paul to physics, and it was in the mathematics lectures at Gottingen in 1902 that he met his wife, Tatyana Alexeyevna

Afanassjewa, a Russian mathematics student, Russian Orthodox, born in Kiev in 1876. They quickly decided on marriage,

Paul returned to Vienna in 1903 where he completed his first small paper under Boltzmann. He wrote a thesis under Boltzmann and finished it in March 1904, receiving his doctorate in June.

Austria did not permit Jews and Christians to marry, and so Paul and Tatyana had to declare themselves unchurched. They were married in December, 1904, in Vienna. (Tatyana rejected alcohol and tobacco, and Paul followed her. They also were vegetarians.) At first they stayed in Vienna studying and writing papers. They published their first joint paper in 1906. A daughter was born in October, 1905.

They left Vienna in the Spring of 1906 and ended up in Gottingen in the September where they learned that Boltzmann had committed suicide. They lived modestly on their small inheritances and pursued their own studies until they could go to Russia which they did in the fall of 1907. There was less chance that Paul, as a foreigner, a Jew and unchurched, could get an academic position in Russia than in the rest of Europe. But he passed their qualifying examination and continued to publish papers during their five years there.

A second daughter was born in July 1910, and Paul decided to look for an academic position in 1911. Paul wrote to and visited various universities (even considering the USA). The University of Leipzig required a German doctorate. Prague required Paul to declare himself in a religion, even Judaism, which Paul adamantly refused to do. Eventually an offer came from the University of Leyden in September 1912.

The Professor At Leyden

Paul knew he had the position at Leyden because Einstein had rejected it. He began his new position with no self-confidence, feeling inferior to many of the physicists he knew, and he was frequently depressed by what he viewed as his lack of accomplishments. Little slights fed into this, such as not being invited to a conference at Gottingen. But Paul and his wife settled in, and they had a house built to fit their requirements. Paul, who had met most of the major scientists of Europe during his studies and travels, now invited them to visit. His house soon became a focal point for the scientific community of the Netherlands, and he encouraged scientific debate as Professor at Leyden. He organized evening colloquia, a reading room for the students, a scientific society and much more.

The First World War was traumatic, but the Netherlands remained neutral, thus sparing the Ehrenfest's from most of its horrors. Paul had a son born in 1915, and another in 1918. Paul's first doctoral student, Jan Burgers, received his degree in September 1918, but Paul continued to worry about his own lack of productivity.

The End

Einstein (1956) noted that, although Paul was one of the finest teachers he knew, Paul's critical faculties which made him an excellent person to test one's ideas against, transcended his constructive abilities. His critical sense tore down his own creative ideas before he could develop them. Although everyone held him in high esteem, "....(h)is sense of inadequacy, objectively unjustified, plagued him incessantly, often robbing him of the peace of mind necessary for tranquil research. (Einstein, 1956, p. 238)" He distracted himself with travel and hobbies, but this was not a satisfactory solution. Einstein also suggested that he had difficulty assimilating modern developments in physics and notes that Paul and Tatyana had a "partial estrangement' which was a frightful experience for Paul.

In a brief entry in the *Dictionary of Scientific Biography* Klein (1970) comments that, though Paul continued to be a great teacher, his personal problems, the plight of Jews in Nazi Germany, and his feelings of inadequacy and inferiority led him to kill himself on September 25, 1933 in Amsterdam.

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JULIAN HARVEY

David Lester

Julian Harvey was born in New York City in 1917 (Packer, 1964). His parents divorced when he was five, and he was raised by an aunt in Great Neck, Long Island. He grew up to be somewhat vain about his looks and worked hard to develop his physique, though his right eye tended to drift when he was upset and he had a stutter. He liked sports, dressed well and drove around in a Model A convertible. He built several sailboats while at high school.

After high school he attended the University of North Carolina and Purdue for a while and worked as a model. In 1941 when he was twenty-four, he enlisted in the Air Force, became a fine pilot and commanding officer and, before he retired he had earned twelve decorations, including the Distinguished Flying Cross twice. He flew 29 missions in World War Two and 114 in Korea. He retired because of a spinal injury from a crash and became an Air Force test pilot. He once bailed out of a jet he was testing after first ejecting his passenger.

He was married four, perhaps five times. He had at least two sons by different wives. One of his wives died a year after their marriage. He had a son with his next wife, Joann, who died with her mother in 1949 when the car Julian was driving skidded off a bridge into a bayou. Julian jumped from the car before it hit the water. Two days before her death, Joann confided to a neighbor that she feared Julian was going to murder her.

Another wife met him in 1950 when he was stationed in San Antonio and was married to him for three years. (He told her only about Joann, and she thought she was his second wife.) She remembered him as considerate, handsome, and still exercising for fitness. She said that he was sociable but not a deep thinker. Julian was posted abroad and, on his return, his wife filed for divorce on grounds of incompatibility.

In October 1955, Julian hit the submerged wreckage of an old battleship in his boat, though passengers abroad the boat thought that he seemed to aim for the wreck. Julian collected fourteen thousand dollars damages. Three years later another of his boats caught fire off Cuba, and this time Julian collected forty thousand dollars.

Julian's last wife, Mary Dene, a stewardess for TWA, met him in 1960, and they were married in July, 1961. Julian had financial difficulties now, and this led to some arguments with Mary. In October he arranged with the owner of a boat to be its charter captain and to live abroad with Mary. In November, a family, the Duperraults, husband and wife and three children, chartered the boat.

A couple of days later Julian was found drifting in dinghy signaling for help. His story was that a sudden wind ripped away the ship's rigging and hurled that main mast into the boat killing several passengers and breaking a fuel line which set the boat on fire.

Julian unfastened the dinghy and got aboard, but the only person he could find was the unconscious body of the seven year-old daughter of the Duperraults whom he could not revive.

After being saved, Julian went to stay with a friend in Miami where he appeared to be very depressed. The next day, a freighter picked up one of the other children of the Duperraults who was clinging to a life raft. After Julian heard of this rescue, he left his friend's house and went to the Sandman Motel in Miami, registering as John Monroe. The following day, he slashed his left thigh, his ankles and his throat with a double-edge razor. He said in a suicide note to his friend that he was tired and nervous and could not take it any more. He asked his friend to take care of his fourteen year-old son.

An anonymous telephone call led investigators to discover that Julian had taken a twenty thousand dollar insurance policy out on his wife two months before the accident. Then, when the lone survivor recovered, she told police that she was awakened by screaming on the boat. She found her mother and brother lying in a pool of blood in their cabin. On the deck, she saw Julian jump into the dinghy telling her the boat was sinking. The investigators concluded that he had murdered the Duperraults and two of their three children as well as his wife and had hoped that the third child would die when the boat sank. When he found out that she had been saved, he committed suicide rather than face a trial for murder.

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WILLARD HERSHBERGER

David Lester

13,123 players and managers in the baseball major leagues have been identified for the period 1871 to 1987 and, of these, 6,374 have been verified to have died, with 578 more dead but unverified. Of those deceased, 64 are known to be suicides and, of these, only one is known to have committed suicide during the baseball season, Willard Hershberger (Lester and Topp, 1988).

Hershberger was the backup catcher for the Cincinnati Reds, and he killed himself at the Copley Plaza Hotel in Boston on August 3, 1940. The details of his life and death come from Barbour (1987).

The Final Season

Hershberger was small and light for a catcher - 5' 10" and 160 pounds. His ancestry was Scots, Irish and German, and he was born on May 28, 1911, in California. He had brown eyes and dark hair and was right-handed. He had never married. His hobbies were listed as ranching, hunting, and amateur radio work.

He was not the first choice catcher and usually caught only in the second game of double-headers or pinch-hit. He had travelled around the minor leagues (Binghampton, El Paso, Erie, Hollywood, Newark, Oakland and Springfield), but he was voted the International League catcher in 1937. In 1938 he batted .276 for the Reds and .345 the following year when they won the pennant.

In July 1940, the Reds' catcher sprained an ankle, and Hershberger took over. He was batting .362. The Reds began a road trip on July 23, seven games in front of the second-place team. They won the first four games, and Hershberger hit well, but he then went three for twenty in the next five games he caught. The temperature on the East Coast was in the 90s and that was thought responsible for Hershberger's decline. On July 27 the Reds lost to the Phillies in 100^0 weather, and the next day they played a double-header in 99^0 weather. Hershberger was clearly suffering from dehydration.

Next at New York, in the third game of the series, the Reds were one strike from the victory but lost. Hershberger blamed himself for the loss - he thought he had called the wrong pitches. At Boston, Hershberger went hitless in his first game and he seemed catatonic behind the plate. His manager talked to Hershberger back at the hotel, and Hershberger sobbed and talked of ending his life. He confessed that he had attempted suicide in the past but failed. He also revealed that his father had committed suicide. He felt responsible for the recent losses and for letting the team down. However, at the time of his suicide, the Reds had a six game lead in the National League and Hershberger was hitting a respectable .309.

The next day, Saturday, the Reds were playing a double-header with the Boston

Bees. Hershberger did not reported to the ballpark, and his manager was alarmed. The travelling secretary called the hotel, and Hershberger answered and said he felt ill. He promised to come down. but he still had not arrived after the first game. The manager then dispatched a friend of Hershberger's to the hotel who found Hershberger in the bathroom. He had covered the floor with towels and slashed his throat with his roommate's safety razor while leaning over the bathtub. [11]

After Hershberger's suicide, his teammates recalled that he had been depressed throughout the season. He had always suffered from insomnia, and he now frequently complained of headaches. He had bought an insurance policy before leaving for the road trip and had asked a friend to make sure his mother got his car and a bond should anything happen to him. He had referred to suicide several times during the season and twice the day before he died.

Hershberger's father killed himself November 21, 1929. He had been depressed for several weeks, with financial worries and a demotion at work. He shot himself in the chest in the bathroom of his house at 2.30 am with a shotgun, leaving a bloody mess for his family to find. Barbour noted that his son tried to be tidier.

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[11]. Years later, the friend who found Hershberger also committed suicide.

ANNE SEXTON [12]

David Lester

Anne Sexton was born in Newton, Massachusetts, November 9 1928, the daughter of a successful businessman. She killed herself with car exhaust in the garage of her house in Weston, Massachusetts, October 4 1974 at the age of forty five.

Anne was the daughter of Ralph and Mary Harvey and grew up in Wellesley, where she went to school. The family spent its summers on the Maine coast. She was a demanding, rebellious child who felt rejected by her upper-middle class parents. She remembered her father calling her "a little bitch." A reading of her poems suggests that her father was an alcoholic who was sexually possessive toward her, while her mother was unloving and obsessed with enemas and cleanliness (Vendler, 1981). She believed that her parents had not wanted her, and her sisters competed and won out over her for their affection. Anne defended herself by suppressing her feelings but they broke through during her post-partum depressions.

She attended Garland Junior College but dropped out after one year. She eloped with Alfred Sexton, a twenty year-old college student, married him in 1948 and had two daughters. Alfred became a travelling wool salesman, while Anne became a depressed housewife. Anne and her husband lived for a while in Baltimore and San Francisco while Alfred was in the Navy, before settling in Massachusetts.

Her first daughter was born in July 1953, and Anne had her first psychiatric breakdown in 1954, the year that her beloved great-aunt died. [13] Her second daughter was born in August 1955, and Anne was hospitalized for the second time in 1956 after having attempted suicide on her birthday. [14] She began to write poetry partly for therapeutic purposes at the urging of her psychiatrist. She was hospitalized twice more, in 1962 and 1973, and was under the continual care of psychiatrists. She made suicide attempts in 1956, 1966, 1970, and in the Spring of 1974 with sleeping pills, an attempt aborted by the intervention of her friend, Maxine Kumin (Kumin, 1981).

Anne was somewhat accident prone. As a child she had put her arm into the wringer of a washing machine and was almost permanently disabled. She broke her hip on her fortieth birthday.

She used her experiences of married life and her psychiatric hospitalizations to produce a confessional style of writing. Her psychiatrist who encouraged her to join a verse-writing workshop at the Boston Center for Adult Education.

Anne then attended Boston University where she studied (in the same class as

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[12]. This is no biography of Anne Sexton, and this essay is based on a variety of sources in addition to the two cited.
[13]. This great-aunt was also psychiatrically disturbed.
[14]. Her mother-in-law took care of Anne's children.

Sylvia Plath) under Robert Lowell. She worked as a model and a librarian and taught high school in Wayland (Massachusetts) from 1967 to 1968, and taught for brief periods at Boston University (1970-1971) and Colgate University (1971-1972). He first book of poems, *To Bedlam, And Part Way Back*, was published in 1960. She was awarded the Pulitzer Prize for poetry in 1967, received a Guggenheim fellowship in 1969, and was awarded many other honors.

Her ten books of verse aroused conflicting reviews. Some thought that she dwelt too much on the disgusting aspects of bodily experience such as masturbation and menstruation, some that her poems were too confessional, and some that her poems were published too soon without adequate polishing.

Her mother died of cancer in 1959, accusing her daughter of giving her cancer by attempting suicide, an absurd claim but one which caused Anne a great deal of pain. Anne's father died soon after. She remained under psychiatric care and eventually became dependent upon alcohol and sedatives. She was prescribed Thorazine which caused her to gain weight and feel tired. Anne was described as having an insatiable need for love and reassurance. Her correspondence made her audience father-confessors and intimate advisers.

In 1974, no longer on medication, the voices urging her to die grew stronger, and she was worried that her creativity was gone. She had recently divorced her husband, hoping to experience a varied love life but, after failing, filing with a computer-dating service. Her need for friends grew more frantic. She seemed to grasp at religion in order to find comfort and stability. Her suicide, about a month before her birthday, was with car exhaust, perhaps influenced by the suicide with domestic gas of her friend Sylvia Plath eleven years earlier.

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ELVIS PRESLEY

David Lester

In 1981, Albert Goldman wrote a biography of Elvis Presley concluding that his death was caused by an accidental overdose of drugs. In 1990, Goldman revised his view and claimed that Elvis's death was, in fact, a suicide. Let us first review the 1981 biography.

Elvis was born in East Tupelo in the northeast corner of Mississippi. His father's family came from Britain in the 1740s but never rose to much. Elvis's father, Vernon, was illiterate. His mother's family, the Smiths, originated in the Carolinas. In the early days, a couple of first cousins married, and their offspring had a high incidence of addiction, emotional disorders and early death. Elvis had three uncles on his mother's side. One was born deaf, and one died early (as did Elvis's mother). Two were heavy drinkers and violent when drunk. One of Elvis's cousins committed suicide with arsenic.

Gladys Smith met Vernon Presley when she was twenty and he was sixteen. They fell in love and married on June 17, 1933. Gladys was a hard worker and an ebullient extravert. Vernon was a shirker and a dullard. At first they lived with Vernon's parents in East Tupelo, but eventually lived in a two-room cabin built by Vernon on a lot owned by his father.

Gladys soon was pregnant, and she was convinced she had twins. On the morning of January 8, 1935, Gladys first delivered a stillborn son and then Elvis. Gladys claimed that they were identical twins, but there is no evidence for this. Gladys was told she could not bear children again, and she grieved deeply for her lost son. Gladys talked about him constantly, often taking Elvis to the cemetery. Gladys built up a myth around this twin, telling Elvis that the dead twin's personality was transferred to him. When Elvis was four or five, he began to hear this dead twin talk to him. Goldman (1981) argues that Elvis had a split personality, with two sharply opposed styles, one good and one evil, and feels that the genesis for this lies in his mother's attitude toward the stillborn twin.

Two years after Elvis's birth, Gladys's mother died (her father had already died), and Gladys, once cheerful, was now depressed. Then in 1937, Vernon Presley was arrested for forging a check and sentenced to three years in the state penitentiary. He was discharged in January 1941. He then spent the war years working in a defense plant in Memphis, coming home only on weekends.

Elvis was raised, therefore, alone with his mother from the age of three to about eleven and became a classic mama's boy. Gladys worshipped him, spoilt him, but also severely restricted him out of fear for his safety. He was reared to be a recluse. They slept in the same bed. Elvis petted and patted his mother till her death, and they had a set of affectionate terms and baby language for each other. Elvis called Gladys "Satnin." Elvis grew used to sharing all of his thoughts with Gladys and, in later life, was very dependent on her opinion.

The family belonged to the Assembly of God which forbad movies, dancing, alcohol and tobacco. Elvis first heard music on the radio, and he won a prize for singing at the annual Mississippi-Alabama Fair and Dairy Show when he was eleven.

In 1948, the family moved to Memphis to look for work. Elvis majored in shop at high school, obtained mediocre grades, and was socially invisible. Gladys did not permit Elvis to play out of her sight until he was fifteen! However, Elvis then acquired a steady girl friend who tried, unsuccessfully, to teach Elvis to dance the two-step. Elvis would often play the guitar and sing outside the house for neighbors, but his shyness made him wait until it was dark. After his second girl friend broke up with him, he never dated again in high school. He began to have nightmares at this time (he was sixteen).

In 1951, he shocked the school by appearing with a classic Duck's Ass hair style inspired by Tony Curtis's hair in a movie, and he began to wear colorful clothes. Goldman sees this as the beginning of the emergence of the bad-assed Elvis, which he developed within a few years into a tough punk image. (At the same time, he was in ROTC, trying for the football team and planning to become a state police officer or a lay priest.) Finally in his senior year, he was persuaded to sing at the school, and the kids were amazed at how well he performed. He won the competition.

Elvis discovered gospel singing through his church and was enrolled in Sunday schools with family members of the groups. He used to go to the shows, eventually selling Cokes to the audience, and he decided to become a gospel singer. After high school he got a job driving a truck and tried singing in the various clubs around Memphis. He went to a local studio just to see how he sounded and recorded two songs by the Ink Spots. The recording engineer remembered a colleague wishing he could find a white who could sing like a black, and he thought Elvis fitted. So in July 1954, Elvis went back to the studio singing in a country style jazzed up by the rhythm and blues style. This first record rose to number three on Memphis's country and western charts two weeks after release. He sang in public at the end of the month, and his musicians told him that the way he shook his leg had the audience screaming. The style was beginning to take shape.

Early Years

There quickly followed an appearance at the *Grand Ole Opry* where he flopped and then on *Louisiana Hayride* where he was a success. He was given a one-year contract, and Elvis worked every small town in the region. These shows and his records on radio developed his fame in the south. In November 1954, Elvis quit his job as a truck driver and got a personal manager, Bob Neal, who ran shows in school houses and on radio. Elvis bought his first Cadillac, pink and black, and a house for his family. Vernon retired (at the age of thirty-eight) and never worked again.

Colonel Tom Parker, though no Colonel, met Elvis in 1955. Parker managed one performer at a time and had recently managed Eddie Arnold for nine years. He was raised

on the circus and fair ground circuits and approached managing performers in the same style. He saw great potential in Elvis and had managed to sign on as his personal manager by August 1955.

Parker's influence of Elvis was great and not altogether good. He did help Elvis become the star that he was. However, on the negative side, because his own fear of investments and the government, he avoided investing Elvis's money or setting up tax shelters so that Elvis did not build up a fortune, paid enormous sums to the Internal Revenue Service and was severely short of money in his later years.

Parker was also not interested in developing Elvis's talents. Rather he wanted to exploit what Elvis could do. So Parker signed him up (at relatively low pay) to do an interminable series of poor movies. Elvis himself at first had hopes of becoming a good movie actor, but the films that Parker had him make killed those desires. After the movie career was over, he had Elvis give an endless round of stage performances (again at less than Elvis could have earned).

Parker also took an incredible percentage of Elvis's income, so that after Elvis's death Parker was sued by the Presley estate. (At the date of Goldman's book, the suits had not been settled.)

But, back in 1956, Elvis recorded his first records for RCA and soon was at the top of the charts. By the end of the year he had been acclaimed as the King of Rock and Roll. He stopped touring in 1957 to concentrate on movies. Only in the 1970s when these were no longer marketable did he resume touring.

Induction And Trauma

In December 1957, Elvis received his notice for induction into the army. He probably could have got out of this or, at least, served as an entertainer for the troops. He was at the peak of his fame and had everything to lose by joining. Goldman thinks that Parker was afraid that Elvis was becoming independent of him and wanted to cut him down to size and prevent a break. So he persuaded Elvis that it would create a wonderful image for him to serve and seriously hurt his career if he did not.

The army was a severe trauma for Elvis who had spent his life with his mother and surrounded by a close group of friends. He would now be alone. The army was a nightmare. He was lucky to find a sergeant who befriended him and helped him through the pain, but there was a lot of pain.

Gladys grieved at her son going into the army. Elvis did well in basic training, after which he was sent to Fort Hood in Texas. Family and friends moved there so that Elvis could be with them during off hours. Elvis did suffer a perforated ear drum on the firing range, and this affected his performances in the 1970s. Gladys got sick during this stay and returned to Memphis. Elvis was posted to Germany, but just before he left Gladys died. Elvis did not simply grieve over her death, he fell to pieces. He wailed and

he cried, and he kept patting his mother as she lay in her bed and coffin. He talked in his baby talk as he fondled her hands and feet. He could not be persuaded to leave the casket and, at the cemetery, tried to leap into the grave.

Gladys had been the major source of support and guidance for Elvis and, without her, he grew dependent upon those who were less wise and who had less concern for him, such as his manager, Tom Parker.

Elements Of Elvis

Talent

Goldman is convinced that Elvis had a natural talent. Though in his early work he mimicked other people's styles, he was good, and he created exciting new combinations. But his basic lack of education and musical skills led him to become dependent on others. Elvis could not write his own material, and he was not focussed enough to know what he ought to have performed. So he let his manager and the record company feed him a steady stream of songs which they thought would be successful, songs which after his spell in the army led him away from rhythm and blues towards crooning.[15]

Similarly in his movies, he was clear about his goal of becoming a good screen actor (James Dean was his idol), but he was not focussed enough to reject the shoddy scripts he was presented with. He went along with them, while recognizing that they were shoddy, completing twenty nine in all.

The result was that, though audience response still pleased him, his work depressed him. For example, in 1964, Parker decreed that Elvis would only record the movie soundtrack albums. Elvis thought that these songs were terrible and often exploded in anger and frustration in the studios. But his dejection led him to relinquish even more control over the recording sessions. Elvis always gave in to the crass commercialism of his handlers, becoming more bitter, cynical and estranged all the while.

In 1968, the fortunes of Elvis continued their decline, especially in the face of the Beatles, the British Invasion and psychedelic music. Parker signed Elvis to perform in a special on television which happened to be directed and arranged by some very talented people. Elvis, now thirty-three, looked great. In front of a live audience for the first time since he was twenty-two in the late 1950s, Elvis felt terror, but the music was good. Elvis began a new stage in his career, recording much better songs with vastly improved musicians and appearing on stage mostly in Las Vegas. But soon, the exploitation turned into a treadmill, seven years of four-week appearances every February and August at the International Hotel in Las Vegas.

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[15] Elvis's managers eventually began having singers record the songs on demonstration discs, and Elvis simply copied these.

Social Life

Early on, Gladys feared that Elvis's nightmares and sleepwalking might get him into trouble. So she encouraged him to take along friends as guardians.[16] At first, his two cousins accompanied him, but soon the entourage grew. These aides would, for very meager wages, and occasional large presents, orchestrate Elvis's life for him, from procuring girls to guarding his life from potential death threats. They were with him constantly and were his friends, though never equals. They were at his mercy, and toward the end of his life Elvis fired or was left by almost all of those who had accompanied him for the twenty or so years of his stardom. Elvis replaced them with his kid step-brothers and hired bodyguards. In many ways, Elvis was a recluse, but he was a recluse in the midst of these men. Their marriages broke up because of the demands Elvis made on them, and one (Alan Fortas) attempted suicide when his wife left him.

After his army service, Elvis lost a great deal of self-confidence. From being confident and strong, he became delicate and vulnerable. Instead of partying with his peers, he locked himself up in Graceland and other venues with his aides. Instead of courting film stars, he had anonymous groupies trooped through his bedroom. (And he gave up all remaining control over career to his manager, Tom Parker.)

Sexual Life

In Hollywood, making his first film, he dated his co-star and then Natalie Wood. Elvis did not drink, smoke or swear, and he was genuinely religious. He would take Natalie to have hot fudge sundae's, and they ate burgers and Cokes.

Soon, Elvis developed a stable sexual pattern. He liked virgins, particularly teenagers. He liked to chat for hours, wrestle, have pillow fights, tickle and sleep (literally) with them. But he did not like to have sex with them. The majority of the girls stayed virgins.

Eventually, he particularly liked to watch the girls interact. From being sexually excited by their pubic hairs peeking through their white panties of small kittenish girls, he moved to enjoying them interacting sexually. Eventually he made home videos of these scenes. (He also liked to watch his aides have sex with women.) He would masturbate while watching the women, and occasionally would be able to quickly have sexual intercourse with one of them once stimulated. (He claimed his foreskin tore during intercourse.) He abhorred married women and those who had given birth.

On the other hand, he did like to have a steady girl friend, and he managed to have a succession of such women who pandered to his needs. The first few were eventually replaced by a fourteen year-old whom he met in August 1959 when serving in the army in Germany, Priscilla, whom he promised to marry if her parents would let her

[16] During the filming of his first movie, Elvis was upset at being rejected by his female star and was caught about to sleepwalk out his bedroom window on the eleventh floor.

go to live with him (which she did in May 1962), and whom he was forced into marrying (on May 1 1967) but whom, as soon as she gave birth to a daughter in February 1968, became sexually unexciting to him. She was replaced by a new series of girl friends.

Elvis's pattern with women moved from romantic courtship, to play in which the woman was supposed to take more initiative, ending with Elvis as the baby and the woman as the adoring care-taking mother.

Spending Habits

Early in his career, Elvis developed into a spendthrift. He would rent a roller skating rink at midnight for a party and movie theaters for his own private showings of movies; or have the state police shut down a stretch of Highway 51 for motor bike racing.

By the age of forty, Elvis had earned a hundred million dollars and was broke. Spending sprees such as buying fourteen Cadillacs one night in Memphis (and giving one away to a black woman who was passing by), setting up favorites in new houses, buying four aircraft, giving away jewelry during his performances, all of which quickly ate up his money. One night in 1975, in Graceland, Elvis and his aides remembered the peanut butter and jelly sandwiches they had once in Denver. They flew down to get them, picked them up at the airport and flew back to Graceland. Sixteen thousand dollars for sandwiches. To pay for all of this, Elvis had to work. In 1974, he played 152 shows, two-thirds of which were one-night stands.

Drug Abuse And Depression

Prior to the 1960s, Elvis took amphetamine drugs, pep pills, but not to excess. After his army service he began to consume a whole range of drugs, including stimulants, narcotics and hypnotics. Elvis always had trouble sleeping, so it was natural to him to start taking downers. He (and his aides) took Dexamil, Quaaludes, Percodan, Demerol, Seconal, Tuinal, Valium, Nembutal and Placidyl. As he entered the years in which he made three depressing movies a year in Hollywood, Elvis's consumption of drugs increased. Eventually he added Dilaudid. In the last two and a half years of his life, Elvis received 19,000 doses of drugs from one physician alone, and he used many physicians.

Interestingly, Elvis never saw himself as a drug addict. For Elvis, addicts used heroin and injected it into their veins. He did not do this. (He had others skin-pop drugs into him on occasions.) Indeed, he presented himself as a friend of law enforcement, opposed to hippies and drug abusers, collecting police badges and trying to get the President and the FBI to use him to fight drug abuse.

The serious depressions began now. In the Spring of 1964, Elvis locked himself in the bedroom at Graceland and refused to speak with anyone. This first serious depression was broken by the arrival of a hairdresser (Larry Geller) who was into spiritualism and got Elvis interested in the occult. Goldman sums up the change as a switch from hillbilly faith healers to yoghurt yogis, but from 1964 to 1967 Elvis was hooked. (In 1967, Elvis's

manager managed to get Elvis married to Priscilla and rid of Larry Geller in the same stroke.)

Elvis also began to overeat when depressed, a diet of especially fattening proportions, including corn pone, mashed potatoes, and cheeseburgers. At times his weight rose to over 255 pounds.

Fears And Anger

Elvis feared growing old. Happiness was possible only in youth, he believed. He watched the mirrors constantly for signs of aging. His hair turned grey, but it was of course dyed. He had a face-lift, and he hid his 'chicken' neck with high collars.

The first threats on his life led Elvis to buy guns for himself and for his aides. After the Sharon Tate murders in 1969, Elvis bought over 250 guns, he armed his aides, and he kept a gun with him at all times. And in August 1970 there was a serious threat on Elvis's life made during a Las Vegas appearance.

Elvis was also angry and violent. He liked games where people fought and hurt each other. In his early days, he would organize mass roller derbies at skating rinks. Later he organized fights with fireworks. He often exploded and threatened people with violence but rarely released it.

The Final Trauma

Soon after the birth of her daughter, Priscilla fell in love with a karate performer, Mike Stone. They concealed their affair for over three years which was easy since Elvis no longer had any sexual involvement with Priscilla and was absent most of the time. She told Elvis in February 1972 and left him. Elvis fell into a deep depression, and his drug consumption soared. His aides tried to entice him with new women to replace Priscilla, but he called Priscilla every night and threatened to have her lover killed, threats he continued to make for the next year and a half. His anger eventually dissipated somewhat when he met Linda Thompson, Miss Tennessee of 1972, a virgin, and willing to adapt to Elvis's life style for the next four years. He was even faithful for a year, and Linda accepted his infidelities after that. He regressed back to infancy with Linda. She called him Baby Buntin while he called her Mommy. She would feed him by hand, read to him while he lay in bed in diapers, and administer his drugs. During this period he finally became a hopelessly addicted junkie and a bloated dysfunctional man. The only activities which could reverse this state were his public performances which inspired him to cut down on the drugs and lose weight.[17]

In 1973, Priscilla went to court to change the ridiculously low settlement she had

[17] During the 1970s, Elvis suffered from secondary glaucoma and disorders of the upper respiratory system. The drug abuse also led to constipation so that he had to use laxatives which often caused him to lose control, soiling the bed

obtained. Elvis began to behave even more crazily than ever. His behavior became more erratic, even during his performances. After his August shows in Las Vegas, he and a teenage fan were found comatose after an overdose of a narcotic cough syrup.

All of Elvis's intimates agree that the fatal decline which ended with his death began during the break up with Priscilla when his wife rejected him for another man. In 1976, some of his aides whom he had fired negotiated to write a book about Elvis, and Linda finally called it quits. Although Elvis found a replacement (Ginger Alden), she refused to move in with him or travel with him on his tours. The book (*Elvis- What Happened*) appeared in July 1977, detailing his reckless drug abuse.

On August 15 1977, Elvis was about to leave for a twelve-day concert tour. He awoke at four in the afternoon and drank coffee (he was fasting). He planned to watch movies at midnight, but no projectionist could be found. He went for a dental appointment at ten in the evening, and at two-thirty on the morning called his doctor's nurse for some Dilaudid. He sat up talking with Ginger, planning their wedding, and at four in the morning called up an aide to play racquetball. At six thirty he took more drugs and again at eight. Fifteen minutes later he called his doctor's nurse for more pills which were sent over.

Ginger went to sleep and woke up at two in the afternoon. She found Elvis dead in the bathroom. The autopsy identified eleven drugs in his body: Quaalude, Valium, Valmid, an antihistamine, Demerol, Hycodan, Dilaudid, three kinds of barbiturates, and Placidyl.

The New Evidence

In his 1990 article, Goldman adds that Elavil and Aventyl were identified during the autopsy, antidepressants which suggest that Elvis was depressed at the time of his death. Secondly, Elvis was thoroughly familiar with the safe dosages of medications. He had studied the *Physician's Desk Reference* thoroughly. There is evidence that, rather than taking his pills at the three separate times on the day of his death as he usually did, he may have saved them up for a single lethal dose. It appears that no one witnessed him taking the pills at any time that morning.

Goldman comments on the timing of Elvis's death. It was just before he was to begin a tour in which he had to face the public after the revelations of his drug abuse and sexual habits. There was a good chance that the audience and press would be quite negative. He was also close to bankruptcy.

Finally, Goldman was told of many instances of suicidal communications in the days prior to Elvis's death. After watching an old television show of his, Elvis said, "I may not look good now, but I'll look good in my coffin." After seeing Priscilla, a step-brother told Elvis, "You'll see her again," but Elvis replied, "We'll see." Elvis was observed praying, "God, help me! I can't go on." When his step-brother left two days before Elvis died, Elvis told him that that they would never meet again. Finally, there is

evidence that Elvis attempted suicide with barbiturates in 1967 after an argument with Priscilla, seriously enough to lose consciousness.

Discussion

There are many interesting features of Elvis's life, but what seems most important is Elvis's arrested development. His early dependence on his mother, made stronger by the death of his twin and the absences of his father, created an immaturity that Elvis never overcame. His wealth and power enabled him to perpetuate this dependency on a woman, so that he could recreate a infantile dependency in his relations with young women.

Toward the end of his life he became less able to do this. Priscilla left him, followed four years later by Linda. Ginger refused to play the role of mother, and so Elvis faced what was to him isolation. His aides could not fulfil his dependency needs.

There were other stresses too. A chronic life of dissatisfaction with his career being forced to star in shoddy movies, sing bad songs, and tour unendingly because he lacked the assertiveness and goal-directedness (and perhaps talent) to give his artistic career the direction it needed. His impulsive overspending was leading him toward bankruptcy, and his hostility toward his aides led to their revelations of his drug and sexual habits. He would no longer be able to maintain the public image he once had enjoyed.

Finally, we have his depressions which the chronic drug abuse, spending sprees and adulation of teenage fans had served to mask. The depressions were worsening as women and aides deserted him (or were dismissed), as was the drug abuse.

Goldman presents Elvis as a man who never liked himself. He had little self-confidence, and his performance in life did little to change his low self-esteem. His mother's and lovers' admiration and attention bolstered his esteem, but with the loss of these he was left with his own opinion of himself. All the trends converged in 1977 to make his suicide most likely.

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SERGEI ESENIN

David Lester

Sergei Esenin was born on October 3, 1895, the son of a peasant in Konstantinovo in the province of Ryazan in Central Russia (McVay, 1980). He was raised by his maternal grandparents since his parents lived apart for most of his childhood. His father lived in Moscow, and his mother gave birth to another child which his father refused to acknowledge. Sergei felt as if he were an orphan.

He attended the local primary school from the ages of nine to fourteen and then moved to a church boarding school. He was able, mischievous and a fighter. Sergei did not enjoy school and declined to go to the Moscow Teacher's Institute. Instead, arriving in Moscow in July 1812, he worked in a butcher's shop, at a bookshop, and in a printing works, and sometimes attended lectures in the evening. In the big city, he gave up his vegetarianism and began to smoke and drink.

He had begun to write poems while at school, and he continued to do so in Moscow. He joined a literary society where he recited his poems and soon his poems were published. He joined up with other peasant poets, and they dressed in peasant costumes and gave recitations at fashionable salons. Although there were critics of his work, his popularity grew, and he became arrogant and ambitious.

He was called into military service in 1916 but seemed to have avoided onerus duties. He may even have recited his verse to the Empress. After the revolution in 1917, Sergei's poems were criticized by the Marxist critics. Sergei, who had been living near St. Petersburg since 1915, moved back to Moscow in 1918 and joined up with fellow poets to form a group called the Imaginists. The Imaginists rejected the idea that poems should have content, and they liked eccentric and coarse imagery. They set up a publishing firm and bookshops and read their poems in bohemian restaurants, including a cafe they ran themselves.

The group gained notoriety and success. Sergei gave up his peasant costumes and now dressed as a dandy. He cultivated the image of a hooligan, behaving irresponsibly for publicity, such as writing obscene verses on a convent wall. He lived with his friends when he was not travelling around Russia, and this period was remarkably productive and reasonably happy for Sergei. However, there were already premonitions of boredom and depression. In particular, he hated the encroachment of modern changes on the countryside. He began to drink excessively and, when he was drunk, was bitter, arrogant, intolerant, self-pitying and hypersensitive.

Sergei had first fallen in love with a village girl when he was fifteen. In Moscow, he fell in love with a woman, Anna, with whom he lived, and they had son in 1915. Nevertheless, he abandoned them to go to St. Petersburg later that year. In 1917, he married a secretary, Zinaida, but they parted within two years and divorced in 1921. Zinaida had two children, but Sergei believed that the second was not his. Most of

Sergei's friends believed that Sergei loved Zinaida more than any other woman in his life. Many of Sergei's male friends were infatuated with him, and some biographers have speculated that Sergei was a latent homosexual.

Isadora Duncan

The American dancer, Isadora Duncan, decided to visit Russia in 1921. She was forty-four and Sergei was almost twenty-six when they met, and they seemed to be attracted to each other immediately. Sergei moved into Isadora's apartment in Moscow. Isadora was instantly captivated by Sergei and saw him as the lover for her autumn years. Isadora's two children had drowned earlier, and Sergei may have reminded Isadora of her son. Sergei was captivated by Isadora's fame and the life she could promise him. He was tyrannical toward Isadora from the first, beating her and insulting her.

Isadora's life was one of excess too. Although Sergei had drank a lot before meeting Isadora, the wild parties night after night at Isadora's apartment soon increased Sergei's intake until he was truly alcoholic. In 1920 and 1921, Sergei mainatined his life with the poets and his life with Isadora, but he grew increasingly ill and depressed. He described himself as tired, wretched and corrupt. In time Isadora won out over the poets. Once Sergei's divorce from Zinaida was granted in 1921, Isadora and he planned a trip abroad where she would dance and he would recite his poetry. Sergei and Isadora were married on May 2 1922 and they left by plane for Germany on May 10.

Their travels took them to first to Germany where there was a large Russian emigré group, then Belgium, France, Italy, America, and back to France. Isadora danced, and Sergei recited and arranged for the translation and publication of his poems. But Isadora received more attention, especially since Sergei could speak only Russian. (In fact, Isadora spoke hardly any Russian and had great difficulty communicating with Sergei.) The course of their travels involved expensive hotels, excessive drinking, and incessant quarrels. They did very little sight-seeing, and Sergei hated every place they visited.

As the trip progressed, Sergei's behavior grew increasingly uncontrolled, and he began to break apart the furniture in the hotels they stayed in until many hotels refused to let them stay. Sergei, depressed, bored and now homesick, continued to drink heavily, and people who met him recognized him as an alcoholic. He first threatened suicide in Berlin and continued to talk of it from time to time. He also ran away from Isadora for days at a time. Sergei tried on several occasions to give up drinking because of his poor health, but he found life without alcohol unbearable.

Back in France in February 1923, Sergei's feelings of inferiority as a Russian peasant in the civilized world and as being viewed simply as Isadora's lover, combined with his drunkenness, led to more fights with Isadora and great destruction in the hotels. Within a week, Sergei had fled to Berlin leaving Isadora in France.

Isadora travelled to Berlin in March to see Sergei and, despite more fights and

expulsions from hotels, they returned to Paris together in April. Sergei's behavior led to his arrest, but Isadora managed to get him transferred to a private clinic. Finally, in July they left for Moscow. Soon after their arrival in Moscow Isadora left for a dance tour in the Caucasus. Sergei immediately moved out of Isadora's apartment and went to live with a former poet colleague. He soon became attached to a nurse, Galina Benislavskaya, and in September moved in with her. Sergei telegraphed Isadora that he was in love with another and had married her!

The Final Two Years

When Isadora returned to Moscow, Sergei hid from her. They eventually did meet on a couple of occasions, but the relationship was never resumed. Isadora eventually left Russia without him in September 1924. Meanwhile, Sergei fell in love with an actress, but their relationship soon petered out. He became estranged from his Imaginist poet friends. He had spells in hosptials, a possible suicide attempt, and eventually left for the Caucasus in Septebmer 1924 for a six-month rest. He returned to Moscow in March 1925 where he fell in love with Sofia Tolstaya, a grandaughter of Tolstoy. He continued to wander restlessly about Russia, but in June he decided to marry Sofia, and he left Galina to live with Sofia. They married in September even though he had never obtained a divorce from Isadora. He still wrote prolifically, often on the theme of death. In December, he entered a psychiatric clinic where his alcoholic hallucinations and delirium tremens were noted. He left after a month against the doctor's advice. He spent he next few days in Moscow, drinking, gathering his belongings and saying goodbye to friends. He left Moscow for Leningrad, arriving there on December 24. He spent the next two days quietly, visiting a friend on December 25th. In the early hours of December 27th, he wrote a brief poem in his blood. He was found hanging from a pipe in his room on the morning of December 28th, 1925.

Discussion

Sergei's life was beginning to show signs of self-destructive decline before he met Isadora Duncan. But his involvement with her hastened the end. With her, his drinking and uncontrollable behavior increased, and his self-esteem suffered especially on the trip abroad where he was clearly not held in as great esteem as his middle-aged wife. However, back in Russia, though he continued to write, he failed to find satisfying relationships, and he continued to drink. His depression and despair grew and, after his last attempt to give up drinking, he decided to kill himself. What is surprising is the speed of his decline - fame by the age of twenty and alcoholism and death by the age of thirty. Perhaps he would have been dead by then even without Isadora?

Reference

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CLOVER ADAMS

David Lester

In the 1880s, a group of five people used to meet almost daily at the house of Henry and Clover Adams in Washington, DC. Henry Adams was grandson and great-grandson of American Presidents and a historian. His wife Clover was a gifted photographer. John Hays began his career as a secretary to President Lincoln and ended as Secretary of State. His wife Clara was the daughter of a successful industrialist. Clarence King founded the USA Geological Survey and invested in mining concessions. They were friendly with many of their notable contemporaries, and they eventually decided to call themselves the Five of Hearts. But one of them, Clover Adams, killed herself in 1885 at the age of forty two. O'Toole (1990) has written a group biography of this group, and her account throws some light on the suicide of Clover Adams.

Clover's Life

After graduating from Harvard University, Henry Adams went to Washington as a secretary to his father, a member of Congress. Lincoln sent his father to England to persuade the English to stay neutral in the civil war, and Henry accompanied his father. He wrote articles for American newspapers while he was there and continued to write for the press when he returned to America. The President of Harvard University invited him in 1870 to teach history there, and Henry accepted.

In 1872, Henry resumed his friendship with the Hooper family. The Hooper's had three children, the youngest of whom was Marian, or Clover to her friends. (Clover had a brother four years older and a sister five year older.) Born September 13, 1843, she was five foot two, not especially pretty, but artistic and witty. Henry fell in love with her, and they were married on June 27, 1872. Henry's older brother disapproved of the match, and Henry's parents were also unenthusiastic.

There were some indications of instability in Clover's maternal relatives which concerned even Henry. An aunt had killed herself with arsenic at the age of twenty-eight while pregnant. Another aunt was eccentric, if not psychologically disturbed, and Clover's mother died of tuberculosis in her thirties when Clover was five.

Clover had not gone to college - it was unusual for women to receive a college education in those days - but she had received a progressive education at a school run by the wife of a distinguished Harvard University naturalist, Louis Agassiz, who often taught the students. The Hoopers were a relaxed family who thought that a good goal in life was to enjoy the fortune accumulated by their ancestors, whereas the Adams stressed self-improvement.

After ten days on Cape Cod, Henry and Clover set sail for Europe and Egypt. Clover missed her father, with whom she was very close, and was quite homesick. Her first meeting with Henry's parents did not go well either. Egypt was quite traumatic for

Clover, and some biographers have thought that she suffered a nervous breakdown there. O'Toole finds no evidence for this. Back in Europe, Clover's letters home seemed cheerful, and she bought art works in great quantity for their American home.

They arrived back in America in August, 1873, and set up house in Boston near to Clover's father. Henry decided to write a history of the USA during the Presidencies of Jefferson and Madison. In 1877, Henry gave up his position at Harvard University and his editorship of the *North American Review* and moved to Washington. After a year in Europe to explore the diplomatic archives, he and Clover returned to Washington.

Their days in Washington usually began with horse riding in Rock Creek Park, breakfast at noon with guests, Henry's writing in the afternoon, and evenings with guests. In summer they went north to Boston's North Shore with Clover's family. Soon, Henry's friends, John Hay and his wife and Clarence King visited daily for tea, and the Five of Hearts came into being. They welcomed guests, but only if they were amusing.

Clover was often restless and bored, especially when the others moved away on their various tasks. She read a lot but often complained about so much reading. In the summer of 1881, she took care of two of her brother Ned's five daughters after their mother had died, a task which may have aroused anxieties in her, since at thirty-eight she was childless. The reasons for the Adams childlessness are not known.

Barred from work, Clover sought self-expression in her artistic collections, designing her gardens, and eventually photography. As she took up these interests, she became less interested in, and even discontented with, social activities, especially with the Five of Hearts scattered.

In 1883, Clover visited a friend in New York alone and, though she had a great time, Henry forbad such trips again without him. In a similar repressive fashion, Henry refused to allow Clover's photographs to be published, robbing Clover of a chance for public acclaim. Eventually, both of them came to feel ennui and a spiritual yearning.

In 1883, Clara Hay's father shot himself. Henry Adams bought a piece of land in Washington and persuaded the Hays's to join them in building two adjoining houses on the land. Then, just after the inauguration of Gover Cleveland as President in 1885, news came that Clover's father had suffered a serious attack of angina pectoris. Clover went to Boston to help nurse him. He died on April 9.

Although at first, Clover seemed to deal with her father's death quite calmly and seemed not to mourn his loss, during the summer she sank into a deep depression. She had feelings of unreality and, when they returned to Washington in November to supervise the construction of their house, the depression persisted. Henry tried all he could to alleviate her mood but had little impact.

On Sunday morning, December 6, 1885, they had a late breakfast as usual, and Henry went off to see his dentist. As he left the house, a caller arrived, and Henry went in

to ask Clover if she wanted company. She was already dead from an overdose of potassium cyanide.

Clover had long seen suicide as an acceptable action. When an artist friend killed himself in 1879, she noted that his death had spared him years of insanity. O'Toole suggests that today Clover would have received a diagnosis of manic-depressive disorder, and Clover's fear of insanity, made worse by the history of insanity in her family, may have precipitated her own suicide. In addition, the early loss of her mother, perhaps incompletely mourned, compounded by the recent loss of her father, also incompletely mourned, may have further contributed to her suicide.

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