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JERZY KOSINSKI

David Lester

Jerzy Kosinski was born as Jerzy Nikoderm Lewinkopf in Lodz, Poland, on June 14, 1933. The family name was Lewinkopf; his father was Mojzesz (Moses) Lewinkopf was born in Zamosc which in 1891, though in Poland, was under Russian control; he probably left for Lodz because of the Bolshevik revolution, and he worked in textiles, perhaps as a shareholder and manager. He married Elzbieta Weinreich. Elzbieta was supposedly quite good at the piano, and the family myth was that she could have been a concert pianist had she chosen.

Little is known of Jerzy's first six years; perhaps they were uneventful. However, Hitler's moves in Europe in the 1930s made Moses Lewinkopf uneasy, and he made preparations to escape. For this, he needed to lose his Jewish identity, become "Polish" and flee to the eastern part of Poland where German and Russian influence coincided. He collected papers showing his family to be Kosinskis, amassed some American dollars, and in the Fall of 1939 headed for Sandomierz, on the Vistula, only 100 kilometers from Zamosc and 120 kilometers from the Soviet border. The Jewish ghetto in Lodz was formed in February 1940!

At first the family used the name Lewinkopf but presented themselves as gentiles and Catholics. Jerzy already claimed to be Jurek (the diminutive of Jerzy) Kosinski. As the months progressed, they moved several times, escaping the Sandomierz ghetto. In the Fall of 1942, emerging as the Kosinskis, the family moved across the Vistula to Dabrowa Rzeczycka, with an adopted toddler, Henryk, and an elderly Polish caretaker. A priest helped them find an apartment owned by a Polish Catholic farmer. They survived the war there, partly because, although many of the villagers guessed that the family was Jewish, once they had remained quiet for a some time, they probably feared being blamed (and killed) for harboring Jews if they informed the Germans about the Kosinskis. The family had Catholic images in the house, dusty as they should be, attended church regularly, and had Jerzy confirmed. However, Jerzy had to be warned and watched by his parents not to betray his Jewish identity, in particular, never to let anyone see his circumcised penis (for example, by urinating in public). As a result he avoided playing with the other children, for which they ridiculed him as a Mommy's boy. Moses worked in the community for the government which placed him in the public eye, yet also gave him access to information which was crucial to him and provided some extra perks during hard times. Moses and his family survived, as did one relative who emigrated to Israel before the war. All of the other sixty or so Polish Lewinkopfs and Weinreichs perished.

As the war wound down and activists began fighting the Germans, Moses allied himself with the left. When the Russians liberated the region on July 28, 1944, Moses

and his family greeted the liberators (while other Poles from the town fled). Moses was soon co-opted into the new government, while Jerzy was befriended by two of the Soviet soldiers. However, in the initial unrest after the war, Moses was targeted by right-wing assassins, and the family fled back to Lodz. Moses, an honored apparatchik, was given a house in Jelenia Gora and a local company to manage. Jerzy, now twelve, was at first privately tutored and then enrolled in the local gymnasium. Jerzy had survived the war, having been rather unruly as a child (difficult to control and with a mean streak) and with nightmares after liberation, but alive and healthy.

Adolescence

Moses retired in May. 1947, supported by his pension and Elzbieta's job as clerk in the prosecutor's office. The family lived in part of villa to Lodz, with a live-in servant. Jerzy had an uneventful high-school education with only a couple of incidents. In June, 1949, Jerzy was expelled from the Party youth organization for having the wrong attitudes which made his later admission to university difficult. Jerzy also began his lifelong pursuit of women, becoming an extraordinary seducer of women, a trait which lasted all of his life. He also found a book which helped shaped his life, a novel by Tadeusz Dolega-Mostowicz called *The Career of Nikoderm Dyzma*, about a hero who builds a great career through luck, charm, and trickery. Jerzy assured his friends that he would follow the same path and, in many ways, he did so. Jerzy's later book, *Being There*, was not so much plagiarized from this earlier book as much as it was also based on Jerzy's life.

Jerzy met Jerzy Neugebauer, a young photographer, and they began to work together. Their work was so good that they won medals from worldwide competitions, eventually being offered membership in the Royal Photographic Society of Great Britain. Jerzy also used this hobby to seduce women. The two had a show in Warsaw, and Jerzy was hired by the gallery to act as a translator since Jerzy could speak Russian. This, plus his family's good standing with the government, allowed him to make two trips to Russia. Although Jerzy was at first turned down for membership in the Union of Polish Art Photographers, Jerzy framed his rejection into a political act, appealed to the Central Committee of the Communist Party, and forced the Union to admit him. Both Jerzys were accepted to the American School of Photographers in Santa Barbara, but decided not to go.

Although blacklisted at the local university because of his expulsion from the youth organization, Kosinski, then seventeen, made friends with the leading faculty, in particular Professor Jozef Chalasinski, and won acceptance in social science. He studied there for the next six years, befriended by Chalasinski, who promulgated a subtle dissent to orthodox Marxism, proposing a more humane Marxism.

Jerzy was soon expelled from the university party organization for refusing to speak on the Korean War unless he could present both sides. Although never re-admitted, Jerzy was permitted to use the party's facilities (such as the dining room), and he was

awarded his Master of Social Science in June, 1953. He then began study for a Master of History. For this, Jerzy wrote two monographs, published in the *Review of Historical and Social Sciences*, and as booklets. The first examined the views of political prisoners in the 19th Century, the second the views of a Ukrainian reformer in the early 19th Century, both metaphorical critiques of the current regime, and he received his second Masters in June, 1955. He then enrolled as a doctoral student in the Institute of Culture of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw. He continued to photograph, and on student vacations he learned to like skiing. He also had to serve (as a clerk) in the Polish Armed Reserve. Friends noted that he continued his sexual and seductive ways, marvelling that he could produce instant erections on demand and sustain them indefinitely; he could also read books or answer the telephone while making love! He also liked to experiment, with different permutations of the partners, including homosexuality too.

Over the years, Jerzy worked hard to build up an English vocabulary. His experiences visiting Russia made it clear that Russian society was not for him, and in 1957 there was a thaw in Poland, providing a window of opportunity to get out. The Ford Foundation provided grants for exchanges with Poland, but Jerzy did not apply. When the first students left for America, Jerzy sought Chalasinki's help to join them. An uncle in America promised support, Chalasinski negotiated for a graduate student position at the University of Alabama, and Jerzy was permitted to come to the United States. A friend's father (Alfons Krauze) lent him a thousand dollars, and on December 20, 1957, he flew from Warsaw to Idlewild in New York.

Early Days In America

By the time he arrived in America he had been accepted at Columbia University, and so he applied to switch his visa for study there. He stayed in the YMCA in New York City and then the International House for Students. The Ford Foundation belatedly awarded him a grant beginning in the July of 1958. He was soon giving talks interpreting Marxist society to Americans, and he earned some money at jobs such as parking cars and cleaning apartments. However, in his early years, he was frequently short of money and admitted to shoplifting food.

He developed contacts quickly, beginning at first with the Polish community. For example, he met the Polish delegate to the United Nations through his wife and became a member of their circle. From the first, he began to tell stories about his life that deviated from the truth. It was as if he was trying out the themes for a semi-autobiographical novel to see how people responded. However, his listeners took the stories to be true. For example, his stories of his life during the war in Poland involved his being alone, rather than with his family. Some of the stories eventually appeared in his first novel, The Painted Bird, but again those who knew Jerzy took that book to be autobiographical rather than a novel, and Jerzy did nothing to discourage this.

At Columbia University, Jerzy took courses and performed quite well. Meanwhile, after eight months in America he got a book contract from Doubleday to

write a book about Russia, which came to be called *The Future Is Ours, Comrade*, written under a pen name, Joseph Novak.[1] America was interested in promoting awareness of the true state of affairs in Communist Europe. The CIA supported the publication of books such as Jerzy's and had contacts with Radio Free Europe and the Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in New York City. Jerzy had ties with these organizations[2], and it is possible that these contacts helped Jerzy get the contract. He wrote the book with the aid of a translator (whose name did not appear on the book), the daughter of the Institute's president. The book was condensed for *Reader's Digest* and excerpted in *The Saturday Evening Post*, received fine reviews, and was indeed a remarkable piece of journalism.

He also worked on a translation of seminal articles in American sociology for publication in Poland, *American Sociology 1950-1960*, a book which appeared in 1962, with Jerzy listed as editor and translator. He managed to get his Ford Foundation grant extended several times, terminating finally in May, 1960. He then worked to get permanent resident status by means of a private bill in Congress and to get a job for the Untied States Information Agency. To earn some money, he took a job cataloguing the library of Mary Weir who had married the CEO of the National Steel Company and was widowed in 1956. Jerzy was a witty intellectual and liked to have fun, and Mary soon fell in love with him. Mary was eighteen years older than Jerzy, but the two got along well together. Her money provided for their fun, while Jerzy saw to the gratuities in order to preserve his pride. Despite their relationship, Jerzy continued to see other women, a practice he continued throughout his life. He sent his parents packages of cloths and goods and tried to pay off his debt (albeit reluctantly) to Alfons Krauze.

He was rejected by the USIA because he failed the security clearance from the FBI, possibly because of his association with a couple of controversial individuals. He signed with Doubleday to write another book on Russia, *No Third Pa*th, still under his pen name which again cannibalized his potential thesis at Columbia University.

In September 1961, Jerzy moved to a new apartment on East 79th Street, paid for by Mary, and they were married by a justice of the peace in January, 1962. His father died two weeks later in Lodz.

In America, Jerzy presented himself as a Polish Catholic; indeed hardly anyone in America realized that he was Jewish. His biographer suggests that Jerzy may have suffered from alexithymia, common in Holocaust victims, that is, a denial of emotions with a diminished capacity for love and other feelings, living as if they were acting rather than participating in life.

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[1] Jerzy used a pen name probably to hide his book from the faculty at Columbia University who might have thought that he was publishing his dissertation work.

[2] Jerzy made several broadcasts in Polish for Radio Free Europe and was on close terms with the Institute's president.

When the Krauzes visited America, Jerzy avoided them. But when his mother visited, Jerzy had to escort her. How would she respond to the stories he had invented about his past life? Not surprisingly, she publicly agreed with his version of life. After all, had they not survived the war by presenting a false life-history to others? Why should survival in America be any different?

As the publication date for *No Third Path* drew near, Jerzy was still making drastic changes to the text, a practice that was common in his later work. The work again needed a translator, and again Jerzy hid this fact from others. The book appeared in February 1962 and bombed; it was too similar to the earlier book. However, the fact that Joseph Novak was Jerzy began to leak out, and so Jerzy acknowledged the work.

In April 1962 he and Mary made the first of their world tours, this time to Europe. His translation of American sociological works appeared in Poland later that year. Meanwhile, he continued to make acquaintances among the intellectuals of New York and among the rich and powerful, both through his wife Mary and through the salon of Lilla van Saher. His progress at Columbia was threatened by his failure to finish his doctoral qualifying exam in February, 1963, for which he procured a physician's excuse. On their next world tour, Mary's illness created problems. Jerzy told friends that she had brain cancer, but in reality she was an alcoholic.

The Rise To Fame

Jerzy was working hard on the book which came to be called *The Painted Bird*, an account of the war experiences of a Polish child, based on the stories with which he had been entertaining friends and which they thought were his true life experiences. Much of it was written by the Spring of 1964, but Jerzy again needed the help of several translators, one of whom later claimed to have written the book himself (despite the fact that Jerzy wrote the stories and employed several editors and translators). Before this new book was finished, Dutton came out with a paperback version of *The Future Is Ours, Comrade*. Houghton-Mifflin agreed to publish *The Painted Bird*, but they thought it was an autobiography, while Jerzy kept stressing that it was a novel. Columbia University finally passed him on his qualifying exams, though Jerzy never submitted a thesis for his doctorate. His petition for naturalization wound its way through the bureaucracy until he was accepted as a citizen of the USA in February, 1965. The Painted Bird appeared in October, 1965, and the reviews were enthusiastic, though a reviewer for a Polish-American newspaper panned the book and became Jerzy's nemesis as he tried to ferret out the truth about Jerzy's real wartime experiences.

Jerzy's relationship with Mary was strained by her alcoholism, and her physician considered putting her in an institution. After four years of marriage, Jerzy sought to divorce Mary, and, rumors to the contrary, Jerzy asked for no settlement. Mary obtained the divorce in Mexico in January, 1966. Meanwhile, Jerzy had been introduced to Katherina von Fraunhofer (Kiki), a female account executive at J. Walter Thompson, raised in England but from an aristocratic Bavarian family. They got on well and began a

relationship that lasted for the rest of his life, friends and lovers, finally marrying in 1987. Jerzy continued to have affairs, visit the sex clubs in Manhattan and cruise the streets for prostitutes, but Kiki seemed to tolerate this.

The Painted Bird won the French award for the best foreign book of the year, and only the Polish press panned the book, seeing it as an attack on the Polish people who are presented in an unfavorable light in the book. Pocket Books contracted for the paperback version, and Jerzy made many changes for this edition. Still money was scarce, and Jerzy applied for a Guggenheim in the Fall of 1966, which he was awarded. Still, the possibility of being found out in the lies about his life, that he used translators, and the attacks in Poland made him somewhat paranoid and depressed. As he began working on a new book, this stress, plus his continuing difficulties with English, caused him to lose confidence in himself to the point of occasionally threatening suicide.

An incident happened at this time which illustrates Jerzy's style. Lilla, though sixty, declared to friends that she was carrying Jerzy's child. She purchased baby clothes and equipment, and announced eventually that the baby had arrived, though, of course, no-one ever saw it. Not only did Jerzy use this incident in his later novels, but he also claimed that he did indeed have a child which was being raised in Long Island. The story was plausible, but not verifiable, and merges a literary text with the real world.

As Jerzy worked on his new book, *Steps*, Lilla died in July, 1968, of stomach cancer, and Mary continued to disintegrate, often threatening suicide. Jerzy kept in touch with her and warned her friends. After several half-hearted suicide attempts, she was found dead on the morning of August 2, 1968, having taken barbiturates and alcohol.

Meanwhile, Jerzy continued his social rise, becoming friendly with William Styron (who invited him to Martha's Vineyard), the Aga Khan, and Jacob and Marian Javitz, through whom he met the Arthur Gelbs, the Punch Sulzbergers and the Abe Rosenthals, the *New York Times* crowd. That year, he celebrated Yom Kippur beginning his acknowledgment of his Jewishness. He also accepted his first teaching position, at Wesleyan's Center for Advanced Studies.

Steps received favorable reviews, and it won the National Book Award in 1969. Jerzy was in Europe later that year and was schedule to return to America such that he might have been visiting Roman Polanski's home in Los Angeles the night that Charles Manson's followers murdered Sharon Tate and the other visitors in the house. Jerzy was not there because the airline off-loaded all of his luggage in New York, and so he and Kiki disembarked there instead of continuing to Los Angeles. In 1984, Polanski wrote in his autobiography that Kosinski would never have been invited by Sharon Tate and that Kosinski had seized upon the event to promote himself. Jerzy's biographer supports Jerzy's account (there were other Polish émigrés at the house that night), but Polanski's claim fed into the attacks on Jerzy in the 1980s.

In 1969, Jerzy accepted a position at Princeton's Council for the Humanities where he enlarged his circle of friends, including Svetlana Alliluyeva, Stalin's daughter. He also met Jean Kilbourne in New York City, a teacher in Cambridge, Massachusetts, with whom he began an intense affair which lasted several years.[3] In 1970, Jerzy taught in the Department of Drama Criticism at Yale University where he was considered a brilliant teacher, and he finished his novel *Being There*, a novel about a simple-minded gardener who impresses the powers in Washington and becomes a candidate for Vice-President, a theme with similarities to Jerzy's life and to the book of *Nikoderm Dyzma*. The book was published in April, 1971, to positive reviews; Jerzy appeared on the Tonight Show because of its success and made several more appearances with Johnny Carson.

For his next novel, he stole Jean Kilbourne's diary and his letters to her to use as the basis for his novel. He still needed editors and collaborators in order to craft his novels, and he acquired new editors for each novel, forbidding them to remove any pages from his apartment when they left. He still continued to mix fact and fiction; in one incident, he claimed to be going blind so that Yale University released him from his teaching contract[4], whereupon he went skiing in Europe and visited Egypt.[5] In 1970, he began steps to renounce his Polish citizenship, claiming that he feared being captured by Poles if he should ever visit Eastern Europe. He began to become more noticeably Jewish. Jerzy's mother died in Poland in January, 1972, and his new book, based on Jean's journals, *The Devil Tree*, was published in February, 1973. The reviews were bad, and Jerzy was devastated.

PEN (the International Association of Poets, Playwrights, Editors, Essayists and Novelists) elected Jerzy as President (and re-elected him for a second term), and Jerzy worked effectively for the organization. For example, he obtained medical coverage from Blue Cross for writers and spoke out against the persecution of writers by the Soviets.

He purchased an apartment in Crans, Switzerland, which became a favorite retreat from Jerzy and Kiki. His next novel, Cockpit, was published in June, 1975, and Jerzy now found himself the subject of dissertations, essays, and in demand for interviews. This, though pleasing, was dangerous, since detailed inspection of his life might uncover the truth about his childhood and his use of translators and editors for his writing. In 1975, Barbara Tepa finished a dissertation on Jerzy at St John's University; Tepa spoke Polish, and she documented the influence of *Nikoderm Dyzma* in Jerzy's writing. *Cockpit* rose to tenth on the *New York Times* best-seller list, despite its unfavorable reviews, and Jerzy saw that he was "reviewer-proof."

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[3] Jerzy often took his lovers with him to visit the S&M sex clubs in Manhattan, though most declined to participate.

[4] He practiced typing in the dark and walking with a cane like a blind man.

[5] Jerzy typically ate very little in restaurants, but compensated by eating before he went out, thus presenting himself as abstemious to his fellow diners.

A friend, Jacques Monod, the Nobel prize-winner, died that year in Cannes, and he asked Jerzy to document his death with photographs. The death had a profound impact on Jerzy. (The article and photographs were eventually published in *Esquire*.) By 1997, as he awaited the publication of *Blind Date*, Jerzy was becoming recognized as a Jewish writer, and he began to participate in events such as a Holocaust Memorial and a National Conference on Soviet Jewry.

By 1978, with *Blind Date* on the best-seller list, plans were made to make a film of *Being There*, starring Peter Sellers. Jerzy helped write the script, and the film premiered in February, 1980, to critical acclaim. Passed over for an Oscar as screenwriter, Jerzy won an award from the Writers Guild of America and the British equivalent of an Oscar. Meanwhile, his new book, *Passion Play*, was selling well, and he was invited by Warren Beatty to act in Beatty's film *Reds*, where Jerzy played Lenin's henchman, Zinoviev.

The Fall

By this time, writers, researchers and critics were beginning to explore Jerzy's life. Jerome Klinkowitz who had interviewed Jerzy in 1971 visited Poland in 1979 to check upon the details of Jerzy's stories. He had trouble finding a publisher for the article, but others were more successful. Furthermore, the influential intellectuals in America were moving to the left, and Jerzy was seen as a right-wing figure, with ties to the *New York Times* and rumors of affiliation with the CIA. He continued to plug away at his novels, still using editors, but a favorable portrait in the *New York Times Magazine* on February, 1982, angered some his detractors. *The Nation* had considered doing an exposé on Jerzy[6], and Geoffrey Stokes and Eliot Fremont-Smith eventually collaborated on the article which appeared in the *Village Voice* on June 22, 1982, as "Jerzy Kosinski's Tainted Words." Defenses appeared, but the article had serious consequences -- Jerzy fled to California for a while and his German editors cancelled a publicity tour. However, in November, the *New York Times* published a a defense of Jerzy ("A case history: 17 years of ideological attack on a cultural target") which described the Polish attacks on Jerzy, the motivations of his detractors, and the rebuttals of Jerzy's editors who denied having written his works. This article was a mistake for, rather than the intellectual storm simply dying away, it gave the accusations new life as the left-wing magazines attacked the *Times* article. Jerzy decided to hide again, in California and in Switzerland.

In 1983, Jerzy went to London to give the Scott Dawson Memorial Lecture and to Stockholm to receive a Freedom Award, and there were rumors that the *Village Voice* was preparing another article on Jerzy. But in late 1983, he returned to New York where life resumed rather normally. He wrote on floating in water for *Life* in 1984 and about polo for Polo in 1985 (and he returned to visiting Casa de Campo in the Dominican Republic where he had been going every winter since 1977). His friends from politics, business and Hollywood remained supportive, the writers and intellectuals less so.

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[6] Earlier, Chuck Ross had typed up parts of Steps and circulated it to publishers who uniformly rejected it, and the editors of The Nation knew about this.

Writing was coming less easily now. *The Hermit of 69th Street* occupied Jerzy from 1983 to 1988, and his income was not as great as hitherto. The closing of the sex clubs in Manhattan in 1986 (as a result of the growing awareness of AIDS) limited his quest for novel sexual experiences. In February, 1987, he suggested to Kiki that they marry, to which she responded, "Is something wrong?" But they married on Valentine's Day that year. Jerzy became increasingly worried that he was being spied upon and that his apartment was broken into when he was away.

Jerzy was made president of the American Foundation for Polish-Jewish Studies, visited Israel in late 1987, and in early 1988 visited Poland. His homecoming was a triumph. He was viewed as a hero, and fans mobbed his public appearances.

Back in America, his new novel was reviewed unfavorably and sold poorly. His new lover, Urszula (Ula) Dudziak, was threatening his marriage, and he and Kiki began to discuss divorce. The foundation disliked Jerzy's goals, and so he created an organization of his own, the Polish-American Resource Corporation, with plans of building housing and factories in Poland, and opening a bank. The bank was eventually opened, but after his suicide, with Kiki in attendance.

In Switzerland in 1990, Jerzy had a number of physical ailments: cardiac arrhythmia, loss of sensation in his fingertips and perhaps panic attacks. The new love triangle had its frustrations, and a feeling of ennui and fatigue seemed to engulf Jerzy. His heart medication made him groggy, and he began to fear developing Alzheimer's disease. By April, 1991, friends were concerned about his physical health and his apparent depression. The Ameribank was scheduled to open in Poland on May 17, 1991, but Jerzy seemed unsure of whether he would be there.

Jerzy spent the evening of May 2 with Ula and went home to Kiki who was already asleep. He wrote a suicide note, in which he talked of becoming a burden because of his decrepitude, took some sleeping pills, got into the bathtub and put a plastic shopping bag over his head as recommended by the Hemlock Society. Kiki found him the next morning.

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JAMES DALLAS EGBERT III

David Lester

On August 15, 1979, Dallas, a sixteen year-old sophomore at Michigan State University, disappeared.[7] Dear is a private investigator who was called in to find him, and his book is an account of his investigation which throws only a little light on the life circumstances of Dallas.

Dallas was estimated to have an I.Q. of above 170. He graduated from high school in Dayton, Ohio, at thirteen and entered college at fourteen. He was described as a quiet, passive boy, with a gift at mathematics and computers. He was five foot five and weighed 130 pounds. He liked science fiction, attending conventions oriented around that theme, and he liked playing Dungeons and Dragons.

His mother pushed him. She wanted him to be perfect, so that, if he obtained less than A, she harassed him. His father seemed less demanding. He placed second in an Ohio mathematics competition and received a commendation in the National Merit Scholarship competition. Dallas felt that his parents did not want him around and had pushed him off to college. He went first to Northwestern but transferred to Michigan State. Dallas had a younger brother, aged thirteen at the time he disappeared.

As Dear investigated, he found out that Dallas was homosexual and a gay activist[8], and this posed a problem for his college associates and his male lovers since he was only sixteen and, therefore, under-age.[9] He was also into drugs and tried marijuana, cocaine, quaaludes and some he cooked up himself. One of his pastimes was to hang from a trestle bridge near campus that trains used, perhaps even lying on the tracks at times as the trains passed over him. Dallas had had epileptic seizures on at least two occasions while at the university.

Dallas felt isolated at Michigan State. The other students considered him too young, and the university did little to help him handle his gifted talents alongside his developmental immaturity. Some of the groups who played Dungeons and Dragons, particularly in the tunnels under the campus, and eventually refused to allow him to play, about one month before Dallas's disappearance. The members of the science fiction and Tolkien societies said that Dallas was always high on drugs, and they felt alienated from him. The few undergraduate friends he had told Dear that Dallas was often depressed. On the day he disappeared, Dallas seemed very depressed.

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[7] Dallas disappeared supposedly just before final exams, which suggests that he was taking summer school courses.

[8] Dallas had joined the Gay Council on campus.

[9] Dear found out later that Dallas had been asked to leave the cub scouts because of homosexual problems that had arisen.

Dallas called Dear on September 13th and eventually told Dear where to go to collect him -- Morgan City, Louisiana. He told Dear that he had decided that he had three options: kill himself, disappear and start a new life, never telling his parents where he was in order to get revenge on his mother, and to simply hide out for a while and think about things. He first went into the tunnels and hid in a room he had found there. While there, he decided that his mother would never change and that he would never be able to talk about the things that concerned him, such as the pressure on him for perfection and his homosexuality. He tried to kill himself with quaaludes but woke up a day later very sick. He crawled out of the tunnel and to a friend's house, a man in the town's gay community, who let him hide out for week. He stayed high on drugs and had sex voluntarily with the man. The man eventually got nervous and moved him to another house. The people helping him hide eventually became too anxious to keep him. They stopped supplying him with drugs, gave him money and put him on a bus to Chicago, and told him to take a train to New Orleans. In New Orleans, he tried to make some cyanide to commit suicide, but again he failed to die. He met a roustabout in New Orleans who took him to Morgan City where he worked in the oil fields for four days. Then his friends in East Lansing and the new friend in Morgan City persuaded him to call Dear to pick him up.

Dallas stayed with his uncle, a doctor, in Texas for a month while recovering from his ordeal and then returned to his parents in Dayton. He enrolled at Wright State University, majoring in computer sciences. By December, the friction between Dallas and his mother was growing, and Dallas quit the university in April, 1980. He wanted to work in a computer store or where he could use computers, but he ended up working in his father's optometric shops part time, grinding lenses. In July, Dallas moved into his own apartment with a friend, but on August 11, 1980 he shot himself in the head with a .25 automatic pistol. He died six days later, on August 16th.

Reference

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BRUNO BETTELHEIM

David Lester

Jakob Bettelheim, Bettelheim's grandfather, came to Vienna, Austria, from Pest in Hungary in 1825, though Bettelheim felt that the family could be traced to Pressburg (now Bratislava, Slovakia). Jakob became the estate manager for the Rothschilds, though again Bettelheim embellished the story, making it seem that Jakob was put in charge of the Rothschilds' bank. Jakob married a woman from Pest, Eleonor Frankl, in 1859, and Bettelheim's father Anton was born in 1869.

After an older brother was killed in a duel while at university, Jakob forbad his sons to attend the university, and Anton went into the lumber trade. Anton grew wealthy and wed Pauline Seidler, who had just turned twenty, in an arranged marriage in 1898. Pauline's father had sold sewing machines, jewelry and silverware. The couple first had a daughter, Margarethe, and then Bruno was born on August 28, 1903 at a time when anti-semitism was growing in intensity in Austria. Bettelheim's parents showed little interest in the Jewish religion but, although they were to a large extent assimilated, they were clearly Jewish. Thus, Bruno, like other Jewish children, was subjected to insults and attacks as a child.

Bruno was handed over to a wet-nurse, a German peasant girl, who was succeeded by a nanny and then maids. When Bruno fell ill, however, his mother would take over his care. Family life was happy at first amidst the gentle and understanding parents and relatives. (Bruno had fourteen aunts and uncles!) Bruno had dysentery when he was four, and his father caught syphilis at this time, probably from a prostitute, an illness which slowly killed him but which the family never acknowledged openly as he slowly deteriorated over the next eight years. He and his wife abstained from intimate contact for the rest of their life together. In 1916, he suffered a stroke which further incapacitated him.

The household was described by witnesses as depressed. Bruno's mother had a sick husband, who had caught a venereal disease from another woman and who would die soon leaving her with two children. The household was concerned all the time with the fear of contagion from the syphilitic father. Margarethe was a spoiled child, subject to mood swings, and there was much conflict between the two children. Bruno's best friends were two cousins, Kitty and Edith. Bruno was considered rather ugly as a child (and adult), and his mother is supposed to have remarked on this when she first saw him. Bettelheim's physical ugliness affected him for all of life, especially since his first wife shared this opinion of his looks. Bruno was short and puny, sensitive and a daydreamer, and was easily roughed up by the other boys. Nearsighted and astigmatic, he had to wear glasses and was not good at sports. Bruno had many illnesses -- scarlet fever, diphtheria, measles, mumps, influenza and tonsillitis. His first depression occurred in 1916 after his father's stroke, an episode which lasted almost two years. Bettelheim found solace in

books, and he read voraciously. He wanted to study architecture, but his poor eyesight forced him to give up that plan.

He entered high school in 1914 and, though he made good friends, hated the authoritarian, German-style education. Bruno was one of the best students, and he joined the Jung Wandervogel, a youth group which hiked and picnicked on weekends. As a result of the First World War and the collapse of the Austrian war loans, Anton (and his father-in-law) lost great fortunes and property abroad, and after the war there was a famine in Austria. As unassimilated Jews flocked into Austria from the lost provinces, Austrian anti-semitism grew in intensity.

Anton set up a new lumber business, Bettelheim survived another depression (when he was seventeen) and by 1921 was studying for his final high school examinations. He entered the university, but he also entered the international trade school to learn business -- he knew that he had to take over his father's business soon. In August 1922 he also started working at an insurance company as part of the requirements for his business training. Anton died in April 1926, and Bettelheim took over the company in June, dropping out of the university.

Life In Vienna

Bettelheim feel in love with Gina Alstadt when he was nineteen -- she was two-and-a-half years older. She was pretty, had class, and was neurotic and a tease. Gina had lost her father when she was fourteen. By 1926, she and Bettelheim were lovers but, not only did she find Bettelheim ugly, their sexual relationship was quite poor. Gina began undergoing psychoanalysis and toyed with the idea of going to America with her brother. But she found out that her brother was homosexual and that he did not want her to come with him. Perhaps this second loss changed her mind about Bettelheim who at least loved her, and so she married him in March, 1930. The marriage was not happy although, as Bettelheim's business thrived, they lived very well -- in the upper-middle-classes of Vienna. Gina wanted children, but Bettelheim refused -- he said she would leave him if they had a baby, but perhaps he also feared that he had caught syphilis from his father.

Gina set up a Montessori kindergarten with friends, financed by Bettelheim. She also set up a summer camp for disturbed children. In 1932, in the course of these projects, an American, Agnes Piel, brought her daughter, Patsy, to Gina who admitted Patsy as a boarder to the school and soon moved her into the Bettelheim home. Patsy became a surrogate daughter for Gina. Eventually Agnes went home, leaving Patsy with the Bettelheims, although Gina and Patsy visited Agnes in America in 1936. The school closed after a few years, and Gina began seeing patients at home.

Gertrude (Trude) Weinfeld began teaching at the kindergarten in 1933, at the age of twenty-four. Her father was an accountant in Vienna. She and Bettelheim gradually came to know one another, and Trude eventually fell in love with Bettelheim. Bettelheim left the business to his co-owner and re-entered the university, and Trude encouraged him

to study for his PhD. As their affair began in earnest, with a much better sex life too, Gina found the love of her life, Peter Weinmann, a married dentist in Vienna.

Bettelheim decided to undergo psychoanalysis, and he entered into treatment with Richard Sterba, in late 1936 or early 1937. The analysis was not completed, lasting possibly a year only, with five or six sessions a week.[10] Later Bettelheim remarked that his analysis helped uncover the roots of his depression but not how to overcome it.

In his studies, Bettelheim concentrated on philosophy and psychology. His doctoral dissertation was supervised by Professor Reininger, a philosopher, and was titled *The problem of the beautiful in nature and modern esthetics*, registered in May, 1937. He took oral examinations in July 1937 and January 1938; he was granted the degree in February 1938, one of the last Jews to be granted a diploma, a diploma which helped get him out of Austria to America a year later. During this period, Bettelheim also helped run his business, underwent psychoanalysis, acted as husband to Gina and continued his affair with Trude.

On March 12, 1938, the Germans annexed Austria. Immediately, several in Bettelheim's circle made arrangements to escape from Austria. Gina got a tourist visa for America the same day, in order to take Patsy back to her mother. Bettelheim had his car confiscated that day too. Bettelheim delayed because his mother refused to go. Bettelheim soon lost his business in the Aryanization program[11], but he claimed to have smuggled $10,000 out of the country by mortgaging his life insurance policy (though this has not been confirmed). Bettelheim was arrested on May 28, 1938, and left for Dachau on June 2, 1938.

Bettelheim's visa for America had been held up by red tape, despite efforts by Agnes Piel to get the process speeded up. It appears that many of the US Embassy staff in Vienna were anti-semitic -- Bettelheim's papers were "mislaid" in April.

Dachau's concentration camp had opened in 1933 mainly for communists, Social Democrats, the handicapped, priests, homosexuals and criminals. Bettelheim was among the first Jews shipped there. He was labeled as Jewish and as a political prisoner. On the train from Vienna, he had been beaten about the head and stabbed with a bayonet. Dachau was not an extermination camp, but death was ever present -- from disease, exhaustion or the whim of the SS guards. On September 23, 1938, Bettelheim and the other Jews were sent to Buchenwald in Prussia. Bettelheim luckily was assigned to a sock-darning workshop under a political *Kapo*, which made life a little easier, though Buchenwald had the reputation of being the toughest concentration camp at the time. He and his family made efforts continuously to secure his visa and, when he finally was released on April 14, 1939, his weight had dropped from 150 pounds to 86 pounds, and

[10] It must have ended by the spring of 1938 when Germany annexed Austria.

[11] It became the business of Nikolaus Lackner, a Croatian Nazi, on July 7th, and he ran the company until December, 1955!

he had lost all of his hair. His teeth were in terrible shape, and he had an ulcer.[12] His release was helped by the pressures brought by Agnes Piel and by his cousin, Edith Buxbaum, both in America. He was back in Vienna on April 17th, obtained his immigration visa on April 18th, and left from the Netherlands on April 29th. He arrived in New York on May 11th. His mother left Europe on September 29th. Trude escaped into Switzerland soon after Bettelheim's arrest and went to Australia. Most of Bettelheim's relatives who stayed perished.

The time in the camps was an important experience for Bettelheim's development. He met Ernst Federn, the son of Paul Federn, and they had long discussions together. Bettelheim pursued his observations of himself and others, which enabled him to write about the experience of the camps after he had arrived in America, articles which first thrust him into prominence. He later said that this time in his life was the only time when he did not consider suicide.

Life In Chicago

Gina had found work as a social worker with the Jewish Social Services in New York City. Patsy went back to her mother, and Peter Weinmann came to New York for a semester, although his wife was refusing to divorce him. As soon as Bettelheim arrived, Gina told him that she wanted a divorce. Bettelheim went to his aunt's house and got medical and dental treatment. Eventually he was offered a job, without pay, on a project at the University of Chicago to reform American high schools. After a month on the job, in November 1939, he was given a salary, after devising a test to measure the improvement in children's understanding of art.

Trude heard about Bettelheim's release and left Australia for America. They met in Chicago, and Trude soon had a job conducting play therapy with children for the Jewish Social Services.[13] Bettelheim and Trude married in May 1941, nine days after his divorce from Gina.[14] That Fall, Bettelheim began teaching as an adjunct at Rockford College where he was so well received by the students that the college asked him to teach more. He taught art, philosophy, psychology and German, and stayed there from Mondays to Fridays. In January 1942, the University of Chicago recruited him to teach for the Department of Art in addition to his Rockford teaching. He also found time to write an article about his concentration camp experiences which was published in the *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology* in 1943. In 1944, Rockford College decided that it could not pay him enough to persuade him to leave the University of Chicago, but he was offered the job of directing the Orthogenic School run by the University of Chicago. He accepted and began October 1, 1944. He became an American citizen six weeks later.

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[12] His passport was issued on January 26th and his mother purchased his ticket for America on February 6th.

[13] She later studied for a social work degree at Northwestern University so as to acquire proper credentials. Trude gave birth to Ruth in 1940, Naomi in 1945 and Eric in 1952.

[14] Gina went to Chicago too and married Peter Weinmann in 1941, and the two couples became good friends.

It is from this period that some of the attacks made about Bettelheim after his death derive evidence. After Bettelheim began working with the disturbed children at the Orthogenic School and writing about them, it became "known" that he had worked with Patsy back in Vienna whereas, in reality, it was Gina -- though Gina never corrected this assumption while Bettelheim was alive. There seems to have confusion over Bettelheim's degree -- it was assumed that it was in psychology. Had he been fully psychoanalyzed and was he a legitimate psychoanalyst?[15] Had Eleanor Roosevelt helped obtain his release from the Nazis? Did Bettelheim start and encourage these distortions? Over the years too, Bettelheim's tales of his ancestry and experiences seem to have deviated somewhat from the truth, and Sutton (1996), his biographer, had to make great efforts to try to uncover the truth.

At the Orthogenic School, Bettelheim set up a remarkable institution centered around milieu therapy. He recruited, trained and counseled the counselors and teachers.[16] He worked with the children and seemed to possess remarkable clinical skills. He transferred the mentally retarded children already at the school, replacing them with children with psychological problems -- primarily delinquents, runaways, and hyperactive or suicidal children. For the first few years there were thirty-two boarders and a few day pupils. Bettelheim's first book on his work, *Love is not enough*, was published in 1950 and established his fame across America. He was tenured in the Department of Education at the university in 1952.[17]

In 1956 the Ford Foundation gave Bettelheim a grant to work with psychotic children and, though this led to more prestige and publications (*The empty fortress*), it led to problems, for these children were much more difficult to work with, and his claims of success were later found to be exaggerated. Furthermore, although he declined to discuss punishment, he may have used corporal punishment more in these later years at the school, leading to accusations of brutality after his death, especially since his books presented the "ideal" of what the school should be rather than the reality it was.[18] Bettelheim also acquired more funds for the school, enabling it to expand, and he also began to make it more luxurious.

Bettelheim organized informal meetings for parents to answer questions about child-rearing, and from these discussions he wrote a book, *Dialogues with mothers*, and wrote a monthly column for the *Ladies Home Journal* from 1965 to 1975. He also wrote on prejudice

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[15] In America, it was all right for non-physicians to be lay analysts for children according to the orthodox psychoanalysts, but lay analysts still needed adequate training and a full psychoanalysis. The Chicago Psychoanalytic Society admitted Bettelheim as a non-clinical member in 1946, but he was never admitted to the Chicago Psychoanalytic Institute.

[16] With some of the counselors, mostly females, Bettelheim set up what amounts to a therapist-client relationship which, given his lack of official certification, may have been inadvisable. Bettelheim called these sessions "dynamic supervision."

[17] Bettelheim's mother died in 1953.

[18] Bettelheim once said that the child were id, the counselors ego, and he was the superego of the institution.

Bettelheim left everything about the running of the house to Trude, interesting himself only in the decoration and furnishings. To help out, they hired a black woman from the south, Lillian, who became an indispensable member of the household, staying with the family until the 1960s. Bettelheim was home every evening for supper, returning to the school later in the evening. The family vacationed for a month each year.

In 1954 Bettelheim visited Germany to teach for three months, and he went to Austria to obtain restitution for his losses. Although given a deportee's pension and some compensation, he never received reparation for the loss of his company.

In his later writings on the camps at this time, his accounts and interpretations were challenged by those who had survived the extermination camps, and thus his work was criticized much more. The staff at the Orthogenic School were discouraged about the progress made with their autistic charges, and Bettelheim himself seemed to become depressed. At this time, in 1964, Bettelheim decided to go to Israel to study the kibbutz system. He found himself disappointed by the system, however, for it resembled the closed world and conformity of the European shtetl, and his book (*The children of the dream*) was quite negative, disappointing those who had been his hosts there. The book was widely criticized at the time, and only twenty-five years later did people acknowledge the validity of many of his criticisms.

By the end of the 1960s, Bettelheim was tired of running the school. He had always been a hypochondriac, but now he began to have physical problems: circulatory difficulties in his legs and cataract surgery in 1966. (He told many colleagues that, if he became blind, he would kill himself.) Despite this, he was in demand for interviews and articles about contemporary problems of all kinds (for example, he wrote in support of the Vietnam war). A former child at the school, Bert Cohler took over the school in July 1970, and Bettelheim went off to the Center for the Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences at Stanford University. By December, the University was unhappy with Cohler, and he resigned. Bettelheim was persuaded to return for another year, and he chose Jacquelyn Sanders who had worked at the school since 1952, as director. Sanders began as deputy director in September 1972, and Bettelheim left her to run the school. He and Trude retired to California the next year.

Bettelheim and Trude had trouble feeling at home in Portola Valley, near Stanford University, but gradually they settled down. Bettelheim still traveled extensively to give talks and seminars, and he continued to write and publish.[19] Bettelheim had more physical problems -- a mild heart attack in Paris, leg surgery, cataract operation, troubles with a hip joint and neck, dental problems, heart problems and an intestinal infection. After publishing *The uses of enchantment*, Bettelheim was accused of plagiarism, and he had used similar wording in places (about half a dozen sentences) to an earlier book on children's stories by Julius Heuscher, but Heuscher seemed to be less upset by the

[19] In 1982, Sanders requested that he stop visiting the Orthogenic School. However, in 1986, she organized a celebratory conference for Bettelheim at the university.

copying than critics who disliked Bettelheim. The Bettelheims visited Europe every year and Japan in 1977, a cultural shock Bettelheim found "shattering."

Trude was diagnosed with breast cancer in June 1979. She had an operation and radiation therapy and recovered. Ruth had obtained a Ph.D. in childhood education and become a child therapist. She had married a Mennonite city planner. Naomi also studied city planning and, after a quick first marriage, married a Jew and moved to Europe. Eric obtained law degrees from Oxford University and the University of Chicago and joined a law firm in San Francisco.

Bethlehem continued to have chronic health problems (allergic reactions, a lung infection, a broken leg, and bronchitis), but Trude fell ill again in October 1981 with bone cancer. She had radiation therapy and chemotherapy and survived in pain for over two more years. Bethlehem had a detached retina, and the anesthetic during the operation caused a blockage of his prostate. At this time, Bettelheim joined the Hemlock Society.

After receiving the Goethe Medal for literature (as Freud had) in 1982, Bettelheim and Trude visited Switzerland in 1983, where Trude had a heart attack. They got her back to California, but she died on October 29, 1983. On the day of Trude's funeral, Bettelheim found out that his sister was depressed, and two months later she attempted suicide in New York City and died a week later.

The End

Trude's death left Bettelheim with less ability to bounce back from his depressions and anxiety attacks. However, he continued to teach and give lectures. His daughter Ruth invited him to live in a house on her property but, after he agreed, Ruth and her husband divorced, and he and Ruth ended up living together in a new house in Santa Monica, beginning in September 1986. Bettelheim lived with Ruth for a year and a half with a great deal of friction, until Ruth could stand it no longer and asked him to move out. Bettelheim moved out in May 1988; Ruth moved nearby but refused to see him. He asked Eric that, if he got too sick to continue, would Eric take him to the Netherlands for an assisted-suicide. Eric refused, but a friend of Bettelheim agreed. After an operation on his esophagus, he caught pneumonia and was extremely weak. Naomi persuaded him to come to Washington, DC, where she now was, and she found him a nursing home.

At Thanksgiving in 1989, Naomi ordered her father to stop talking about suicide in front of her children, and she admonished him for disinheriting Ruth. (Bettelheim re-wrote his will to include Ruth.) He spent Christmas in Los Angeles with Eric, but then moved to the nursing home in Silver Spring, Maryland, on February 2, 1990. He was very lonely in the home, and complained about everything; the residents and staff soon disliked him. Bettelheim was able to stand it for just over one month. He was found dead in his room at the home on March 13. He had taken alcohol and barbiturates and placed a plastic bag over his head -- fifty years to the day after the Nazis marched into Vienna.

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JO ROMAN

David Lester

Jo Roman spent part of her life considering whether rational suicide existed and, after she decided that it was, thinking of how society might assist those who wished to commit suicide to do so in a dignified manner. When she was sixty-one, in March 1978, Jo was diagnosed with advanced breast cancer, and so she killed herself in line with the principles that she had worked out.

Early Life

Jo was born on February 3, 1917, at her parents' home in Cambridge, Massachusetts. She was named in honor of the doctor who delivered her -- Mary. Her parents had already lost a girl in infancy. Jo had a brother four years older and, later, a younger brother.

Jo's father, Charles Clodfelter, called Claude by her mother, was 42 and a minister in the Swedenborgian Church. Her mother, Adeline, was 27. Claude was born on a farm in Missouri but had left to become a minister. A few months after Jo's birth, the family moved to Fall River, Massachusetts, to start a mission there among the Catholics. Although her parents treated Fred normally, they were extremely overprotective of Jo. They did not let her play with or talk to other children except when supervised by her parents and, until the age eleven, Jo was never out of the sight of her parents, brother, or parent-approved adult. Her mother's discipline was harsh and her rules rigid. There were daily spankings, and Jo's mouth was washed out with soap if she said the wrong thing. Her father did sometimes take Jo with him on visits to parishioners, and by the age of ten Jo had decided that God was a figment of man's imagination.

The family moved to a new parish in 1928, in Lancaster, Pennsylvania. By now, Jo knew how to handle her parents by appearing to be the obedient girl they desired. They permitted her to play with other children at her home (but not at their homes), but Jo developed a double life, slipping secretly into the homes of her friends and developing her own self. She decided that she did not like the name Mary and chose Mary Jo Anne. She registered at school as Mary Joanne, and graduated as Mary Joan, which confused her parents. She persuaded them to call her Mary Jo, and later to drop the Mary.

Jo went to college at Millersville State Teacher's College where she developed a good friend, Mary Butts, and fell in love with a boy who hadn't finished high school and who worked in a wholesale hardware firm. Jo's parents wanted them to postpone a marriage, so Jo and Bill married secretly in March 1937 and continued to live apart. Jo graduated and worked as a grade school teacher, while Bill graduated from the Wharton School the University of Pennsylvania in 1939. They now had an official wedding ceremony and moved in together. A son Tom was born in 1940 and a daughter Timmy in 1942.

In March 1943, on the sixth anniversary of their marriage, Bill had to have a hernia operation, but he died of a heart attack during the surgery. After a period of grieving, Jo took the children off to Alaska where she worked as an interior designer. She quickly met the Governor's wife there, who introduced Jo into social life of the Governor. Jo's life blossomed, and she fell in love with the Governor's aide, Warren Caro. However, Jo was often exhausted, plagued by insomnia, and found herself wishing to be dead whenever she wasn't preoccupied with her work. She felt that she was a poor mother to her children, and she decided to send the children to live with her college friend, Mary, who was now married to a minister and who was unable to have children. Eventually, Mary adopted the children, but Jo appears to have kept in contact with her children and to have established good relationships with them.

Jo left Alaska early in 1946 and visited her parents and her children in Pennsylvania. She moved on to New York City to develop her relationship with Warren and, after meeting Robert Laidlaw, a psychiatrist interested in marriage counseling, got involved in the newly-formed American Association of Marriage Counselors. There she met Ernest Groves who arranged for Jo to be admitted to Duke University as a graduate student in the department he was starting there. Groves died in August, before the semester had started, and Jo spent a year in the psychology department, which had a curriculum she hated but which, with the aide of two fellow students, Sam and Bob, she survived for one year. She was quite ill during the year, with heavy menstrual flows, a hysterectomy, and an infection of the ears and sinuses. Jo became Bob's lover, despite remaining involved with Warren who was in New York, but by the end of the year decided that she wanted to end her existence. She overdosed on Seconal, but survived. Jo wrote that she never again felt suicidal.

Despite passing her exams, she quit the psychology department at Duke University and moved back to New York. She worked for a while at the Margaret Sanger Research Bureau, which was conducting pioneering work on birth control and family planning, and she married Warren in November 1947,

Jo went into an orthodox psychoanalysis and, although her analyst died after two and a half years, she continued her analysis with another analyst, completing five years. She earned a master's degree in psychiatric social work. However, after five years of marriage, she decided that she and Warren were not compatible, and so they divorced.

Two years later, in 1952, in the course of her work, she met Mel Roman, a psychologist. Mel was married with a three year old, but unhappy. After Mel separated and divorced his wife, he and Jo got involved. Jo was concerned that Mel was ten years younger then she was and that she had been alone for only two years, but they married and remained happy together.

Jo worked for Hillside Hospital, the psychiatric clinic of New York City's Domestic Relations Court (where she met Mel), and then the University Settlement

House. After Mel had a heart attack, he cut back his hours of work, and they established an apartment with an office nearby and started a private practice. They ventured into art, starting with "interaction paintings" (on which both of them worked). They vacationed on Cape Cod, renting a house for the summers. In 1963, they went down to Mississippi to work for the Medical Committee of Human Rights.

They eventually renovated a row of brownstones in the West Side which they turned into a co-op and in which they had an apartment and studio. Jo developed the idea of "touch boxes," whose interiors could not be seen but which had to be explored by hand. Mel got involved with Paolo Soleri and the plans for building ecologically sound communities in Arizona.

A neighbor in the brownstones, Jochen Seidel, an artist, then decided that he had completed his life as an artist and had no wish to live any more. He made several suicide attempts, and Jo "saved" him on two occasions. Finally, in 1971, he hung himself successfully, and this made Jo think more about rational suicide.

In 1975, at the age of fifty-eight, Jo began to think about how long she would live and how she might like to die. She considered that a life span of 75 years was sufficient, for after that she might well become ill, feeble and decrepit. She planned to commit suicide in 1992, starting a folder about the "project" and adding notes to irregularly. She began to raise the topic of rational suicide with friends and to plan how society might accommodate those who wished to commit suicide. She called her project Exit House.

When she discussed her ideas with Mel, he was disturbed. He was distressed by the thought of losing Jo when she was 75 and he was only 65, and the discussions created a good deal of conflict. Mel's mother died of cancer in early 1976, and he saw how the doctors and family conspired to keep the information from her that she had cancer, and he saw how she suffered as the cancer killed her. Finally, Mel asked the doctor to let his mother die. However, it still seemed to him that Jo was abandoning him.

In 1997, Jo and Mel decided to spend two months of the summer of 1978 apart, to pursue their own projects. However, in late 1977, Jo's daughter Timmy developed breast cancer. Jo helped her through the treatment, and then in March 1978 Jo was diagnosed with advanced breast cancer, and she advanced the planned date of her suicide.

Jo kept the information from Mel and others, and she even tried chemotherapy without telling anyone. But eventually the nausea became too severe, and she told Mel in June, 1978. Finally, Jo decided on one year of life of good quality without chemotherapy rather than two years of hell with chemotherapy. In retrospect, Jo considered the ten months she spent trying chemotherapy and suffering the resulting debilitation a waste of time.

Jo killed herself on June 10, 1979, with an overdose of Seconal.

Guidelines For Rational Suicide

In the preparations for her suicide, Jo, with the assistance of her husband, Mel, reached out to her family and friends. She discussed it in depth with everyone, she wrote her obituary, and she began to write a book, *Exit House*, which would be her legacy to others and which was published after her death. As the final section of this book, Jo brought together her interest in rational suicide, her experiences as a social worker and her interior design skills to design an Exit House for the future, complete with a description of the legal basis, services provided and even floor plans for the suites which the suicides would occupy. Alfred Nobel would have been very pleased!

Jo brought up the topic of her suicide with doctors and eventually found one who advised her so that she could decide on a lethal dose of Seconal accompanied by a champagne toast. One doctor offered to give her a lethal injection and two nurses offered to help with the suicide, but Jo declined their assistance. Other doctors offered to sign her death certificate with a cause other than suicide, offers she also declined. She accumulated the Seconal as a sleeping pill over several years, and friends added to her supply. However, Jo felt strongly that a safe and effective "exit pill" should be devised and made available in drug stores for those who wish to kill themselves. The availability of such a pill might prevent many impulsive suicides since these individuals would know that the option for suicide was readily available, and it might also prevent "violent" and bloody suicides.

Jo wished that rational suicides had the opportunity to have a medical assistant to help with the death itself, a practical assistant to help the suicide think through and manage the practical issues of ending a life (such as wills and insurance), a protective assistant to prevent people stumbling across you as you lay dying and "saving" you, and personal assistants to be with you on your journey.

The last of these is possible. Jo developed her own circle and urged rational suicides to start this early on in the process. Discuss your plans with friends and family and see which of those would assist you. Jo's circle grew to one hundred, and she left a letter for three hundred people. Jo's hope was that such circles could arise which were not centered around only one individual, but whose goal could be to be there for anyone in the circle.

In the week before her suicide, Jo and Mel talked -- "marathon sessions" is how Mel described them -- and they met with family members and close friends. The times were full of tears and laughter. For the final weekend, they made a film in which Jo, Mel and their intimate friends discussed the issues and Jo's impending suicide. Jo also wrote a letter which was mailed to some three hundred friends and family members on the day that she killed herself.

Mel notes that the loss of his wife was painful, but the discussions and anticipatory grieving helped him recover from the loss. He felt enriched by the experience, as did many of Jo's friends.

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PAUL CELAN

David Lester

(Note: A brief essay on Paul Celan appeared in Volume 2 of the *Biographical Studies* based on an essay by Felstiner. Felstiner has now written a book on Celan, but the book focuses mainly on Celan's poetry and Felstiner's efforts to translate it rather than the details of Celan's life. In addition, Chafen (1991) has written a biography on Celan's early life. These books have been used to update and enlarge the previous essay.)

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.

Paul was born in Czernowitz, which was in the region of Bukovina, in the eastern part of the old Austro-Hungarian Empire, which passed into Romanian hands just before Paul was born. The region was occupied by the Soviet Union, then by the Germans during the Second World War, and then passed back into Soviet hands. About half of the town's inhabitants were Jews. Paul's parents were German-speaking Jews. In 1920, the year of Celan's birth, the Romanians finally signed the peace treaty negotiated after the fall of the Austro-Hungarian Empire during the First World War. Although the various minorities in Bukovina demanded rights, the Romanian government did not take these rights seriously. Jews were removed from prominent positions, but they were allowed to have Yiddish and Hebrew as elective courses in their schools which had German as the language of instruction. Up until the Second World War, Jewish life thrived in Czernowitz, despite anti-semitic attacks, and the Jews remained loyal to their German mother-tongue. There were some 50,000 Jews in the town of 110,000.

Paul's parents were Leo Antschel-Teitler (born in 1890) and Friederike Schrager (born in 1895), married in early 1920. They lived with Leo's father (Leo's mother was dead) and Leo's two younger sisters, and Paul was born in that house. Another of Leo's sisters (Bertha) came from Vienna to help out after the birth. Paul was delivered by a midwife. Leo worked as timber broker, a job he took up after his return from the Austrian army because he could not find work as an engineer, a job for which he was trained.

Paul's mother, Fritzi Schrager, had fled with her parents west to Bohemia, spoke German, and liked to read German literature. Paul's paternal grandparents had also fled from the Russians. The family was religious -- his mother's grandfather had made a pilgrimage to Safed in Palestine, and his grandfather was a Biblical scribe. Paul's mother was born in Sadagora, an Hasidic center, near Czernowitz. During the First World War, the family fled the Russians, and Paul's father was wounded fighting for the Austrians. Within the family, Leo was rather insecure and indecisive, and Fritzi made most of the important decisions for the family. After the death of Leo's father in 1924, the family became somewhat more liberal, but they respected the dietary laws and observed the religious ceremonies. Leo was a Zionist, and he hoped that his son, Paul, would

eventually emigrate to Palestine, especially after Leo's sister emigrated there in 1933, an aunt with whom Paul kept in touch.

Paul was born shortly after the end of the war, an only child, and given an Orthodox Jewish upbringing with strong Zionist convictions at the insistence of his father. Judaism, however, was to provide a moral structure rather than a religious faith. On his birth certificate he was called Paul, but he was also given the Hebrew name of Pessach (to pass over), a name to be used on religious occasions and passed on orally. Paul's father was very strict and demanding, and beat Paul for even minor offenses. An only child, Paul spent his early years almost exclusively in the company of other adults. He seemed to be a "sad child," with his spontaneity and cheerfulness suppressed.

When he was five, Paul was sent to an exclusive and expensive kindergarten, to which the middle-class Jews sent their children. The language of instruction was German, which indicates that Paul's parents wanted an intellectual career for their son. In 1926, he entered the affiliated elementary school, but then he switched to a Hebrew school for three years which was less expensive but which Paul disliked. He learnt Hebrew and Romanian, the state language, at the school. Paul made no friends at the school, and he was not allowed to invite school friends home, nor visit their homes. Later, after Paul went to the state school, he had to take Hebrew with a tutor at home.

His mother introduced him to poetry and prose early -- Paul remembered learning poems by Schiller at the age of six. While Paul's father stressed Judaic education, Paul's mother considered the German language more important, and German became Paul's "mother tongue." She insisted that the family speak high German rather than the local dialect. Holidays were celebrated in both German and Hebrew. His parents bought Paul a violin and paid for music lessons, but Paul did not like playing, and the music lessons were abandoned. Paul grew much closer to his mother and distant from his disciplinarian father.

In 1930, at the age of ten, Paul entered the Gymnasium, a Romanian state school, which was considered to be the best. Paul did well and, after two years, became a monitor (a supervisory student), which made his schoolmates avoid and dislike him.

In the summer of 1931, during the family's summer vacation in the countryside, Paul found his first friend, a cousin once removed, Paul Schafler, and the summer holidays continued until 1937, just before the Germans annexed Austria and the Schaflers fled to England.

In 1933, Paul's cousins moved out of the house, and an aunt moved to Palestine. The Antschels now had the apartment to themselves, and Paul had his own room. Paul finally managed to persuade his father to cancel the private Hebrew lessons, but he did consent to his bar mitzvah. However, he never again participated in another formal religious service.

In 1933, the family began to hear of the persecution of Jews by the Germans. Leo's brother fled Germany to Romania and added his personal stories. Paul was now no longer a monitor, nor the best student in the class, and he began to develop friendships with other students. He visited their homes and brought them home to his. In 1934, Paul changed schools mainly because of the anti-semitism at his gymnasium, entering another state school in which the teachers were mainly Ukrainian, with a few Jews and some democratic Romanians. Most of the Jewish students attended this gymnasium. In 1935, the family fortunes improved, and they managed to purchase their own house. Paul's attachment to his mother became even closer (and hers to him), and Fritzi often sat with Paul and his friends, enjoying and contributing to their discussions.

At school, Paul took up sketching and continued to be outstanding academically. He joined the literary-humanistic track, and his study of German authors was far in advance of the school work. Paul became more politically left-wing. In 1935, he dropped out of the Zionist group and joined an illegal Jewish group of anti-fascists. They produced a mimeographed magazine and translated Marxist writings from German into Romanian. Paul flirted with anarchism, socialism and communism. In 1936 he collected funds for the Spanish Republicans. Although he gave up his communist allegiance, he remained sympathetic to anarchism and socialism. As a teenager, he maintained his love of German literature and began translating foreign writers (such as Shakespeare, Yeats and Esenin) into German.

He was described as "rather reserved, with an almond-shaped face...His voice melodious and soft...His humor was sharp, biting, and often condescending (Felstiner, 1995, p. 10). Some of the women students found him "girlish," effeminate and melancholic, but Paul managed to develop good relationships with many of the women students, and they formed discussion groups for reading and discussing poetry. During these years (1935-1938), Paul devoted himself first to one and then to another of these women, but no romantic relationship seemed to develop. He tried acting and for a while joined a Jewish-national fraternity (Davidia).

In 1937, he began to read his own poems to his literary circle and give them to his female friends. It appears that he may have started writing his own poems when he was about fifteen, and typescripts of some of these poems survive, collected by himself and by his friend, Ruth Lackner.

He graduated from the Gymnasium in 1938 with his Matura (or Baccalaureate). His parents wanted Paul to become a doctor and, although he would have preferred botany, he gave in. German and Austrian universities were out of the question, and Paul and his friends chose Tours, in France. He left for Tours in November, 1938, traveling through Berlin. He arrived in Berlin the day after Krystallnacht. He left immediately, cancelled a planned trip to England, and went to France via Belgium.

Paul did well in his first year, visited England at Easter, and continued with his leftist politics, making friends with some Trotsky supporters. The next summer, with the

outbreak of war, a return to Tours was out of the question. The Romanian medical schools had limited Jewish quotas, and so Paul decided to spend his time studying romance languages and literature at Czernowitz University. After the Hitler-Stalin non-aggression pact, Romania was forced to cede northern Bukovina to the Soviets, and the Red Army entered Czernowitz in June 1940. This impeded Paul's studies (he was anti-Soviet), but his command of the Russian language improved.

Under the Soviets, Paul became an interpreter for the housing commission for a while[20], but in September the university re-opened with Russian faculty. The students were now paid a salary, but the instruction was poor. Paul and other students complained and learned that protest was not permitted under Soviet rule. Luckily, Paul received only a stern rebuke.

In 1940, Paul fell in love with Ruth Lackner, a graduate of a drama school who was acting in Czernowitz. She was separated from her husband and living with her parents. They spent time together, and Paul wrote many poems, often for her, but eventually Paul began to be jealous of Ruth's friendships with others, and he made "ill-considered and apparently not very serious attempts at suicide" (Chafen, 1991, p. 133). He tried to persuade Ruth to die with him, and he appeared one morning at her house with bleeding wrists. Chafen suggests that Paul's relationship wit Ruth was doomed because Paul had not disengaged from his own mother.

In June 1941, the Soviets began to deport "undesirables" to Siberia, but the Soviets soon had to retreat from the region. They urged everyone to flee to the Soviet Union, but most of the Jews stayed.

The Nazis and Romanians took the city in July 1941. The Romanians were savage in their assaults on the Jews. Together with the Nazis, they burned the synagogue and killed, tortured and deported the population. By the end of August, more than three thousand Jews had been executed. A ghetto was created in October for 45,000 Jews, and Paul's family lived in the ghetto for six weeks. For almost a year, the family escaped deportation because the well-disposed mayor issued them permits to stay, mainly because the city could not function without the Jewish professionals.

Paul worked initially clearing the rubble from a dynamited bridge. In the ghetto, Ruth found him apathetic and weak. Once back in the town with his family, Paul worked as a laborer. Since the work was unpaid, the family (like others) lived by selling their possessions. (The Jews were also banned from the market place until noon, by which time most of the good produce had been sold.)

In June, 1942, the region's governor began deporting more Jews. Paul's parents hid the first weekend, but then Fritzi decided not to hide anymore. Leo and Fritzi were deported on June 27, after a row with Paul who had stormed out of the house. One friend

[20] Leo worked in a planning and building office as an engineer for the first time.

thought that Paul's parents drove him out in order to save him. Other friends had grabbed their parents from the trains, while others had gone with them, some even surviving the horrors of the experience. Paul did neither. He learned eventually that his father had been shot (or possibly had died from typhus) and that his mother had been killed by the SS as unfit for work.

The deportations ended in July. Paul was placed in a forced labor camp run by the Romanian army. They shoveled rocks and built roads in harsh conditions with minimal rations (they were fed only a watery corn soup) but allowed to return home for a brief rest every few months. He worked in these camps for nineteen months, learning Yiddish from his companions, writing poems, and translating foreign works. Seventy-five poems remain from this period.

In 1944, with the German defeat imminent, the labor camps were closed. While the retreating Germans were still slaughtering Jews, the Romanians became more lenient and gave them more freedom of movement. Paul lived with his mother's father and visited Ruth and her parents daily. The Soviets returned to Czernowitz in April, 1944, but they were now hostile to the population, viewing them as German collaborators. Paul was again forced to work as a laborer, and managed to land a position as a doctor's assistant in the state asylum in order to avoid being assigned to fight.

One aunt had survived the deportation and returned to Czernowitz, and Paul managed to regain possession of his parents' home. The Soviets re-opened the University in the autumn, and Paul resumed his studies, supplementing his student salary by working as a translator from Romanian to Ukrainian for the newspaper. He also prepared the first two collections of his poems in typescript. He sent the second to a poet from Bukovina who now lived in Bucharest.

There were rumors that the Jews might soon be expelled, and so many began to plan to flee. Ruth went to Bucharest first. While waiting to leave, Paul fell in love with Rosa Leibovici, a fellow student. Paul's family managed to leave for Bucharest in April, 1945, in a Russian military truck. Paul would have liked to go to Vienna, but Romania was closer and safer.

Once in Bucharest, Paul and Ruth broke up, although they remained close friends, and Paul's affair with Rosa ended quickly too. He earned a living by translating Russian works into Romanian using various pseudonyms because his name, Antschel, sounded too German and Jewish. The time in Bucharest, from April 1945 to December 1947 was relatively good. Paul was able to go to concerts, buy books and develop friendships with other literary folk. He published his first poem under the name Paul Celan -- an anagram on the Romanian spelling of his family name, Ancel.

As the truth of the extermination of the Jews became known, Paul wrote a poem that later became a classic -- Todesfuge -- The Fugue Of Death. It first appeared in

Romanian in May, 1947, in a magazine in Bucharest, but later became a classic in German.

In 1947, the Romanian king abdicated and the communists took over the government. In December, Paul fled across Hungary to Vienna (along with some forty-thousand Jews), since legal immigration was impossible. Paul's poetry was well received. His poems appeared in magazines, a book was published, and he read his work on Austrian radio. But Vienna was not a friendly place for Jews. Minor Nazi officials were pardoned, and Paul did not feel comfortable there.

In July 1948, Paul moved to Paris with fellow exiles and refugees. He moved to the same street on which his uncle had lived in 1938, although that uncle had been killed. Israel might have beckoned, but Paul's native tongue was German, and he felt an attachment to Europe. He wanted to see his work published there. Bukovina was in Soviet hands, Romania was Communist, Austria a disappointment, and Germany out of the question. France would have to do.

Paul worked at first at a factory job, then as an interpreter, later teaching languages and studying at the École Normal Supérieure (eventually gaining an appointment as a lecturer), and he continued to translate Romanian, French and English works into German, including works by Yvan Goll who lay dying in a Paris hospital. When he arrived in Paris, he had the proofs for his collection of poems from 1943 to 1948. It appeared at last in August, 1948, and Celan was upset by the poor quality of the book and some misprints. Only twenty copies were sold in the first three years. He also contributed new poems to a new German magazine, *Die Wandlung*, although he was having difficulty writing at first in Paris. A German publisher rejected his next collection of poems in 1949, leaving him rather downcast. He acquired French citizenship in the early 1950s.

Celan visited Germany for the first time in May 1952 to meet a group promoting "new poetry." German radio wanted to broadcast him reading his poems, and a German publisher signed him up. In 1952, Paul married Gisèle de Lestrange (1927-1991), a gifted graphic artist, French and Catholic, whom he had met in 1950, and they had a son (Eric) in June 1955, after a first son died in 1953 within days of his birth. Eventually they kept an apartment in Paris and a farmhouse in Normandy. Gisèle's family did not accept Celan, and her widowed mother entered a convent in 1955.

His next collection appeared in Germany in December, 1952, and another in 1955 of his poems written in Paris. His work now began to attract attention and criticism. German reviewers objected to his living in Paris. Others criticized him for using his wartime experiences as themes for his poetry. They felt that it was inappropriate, for example, for a Jew to write poetry after Auschwitz. Despite this he was awarded many German prizes, including one in 1956 from the Federal Association for German Industry, the Bremen Prize in 1958, and North Rhine-Westphalia's Art Prize in 1964.

In 1953, Yvan Goll's widow accused Celan of plagiarizing her husband's poems, and she reiterated this in a magazine article in 1960. Celan felt that this accusation was "an attempt to destroy me and my poems" and connected to the new anti-semitism. Germany's Academy of Language and Literature commissioned a defense of Celan and awarded him their Büchner Prize, and various magazines came to Celan's defense.

There was a recrudescence of anti-semitism in Germany in 1960 which upset him, and he began to fear that his son would be kidnapped in Paris by Nazis. He was also hurt by finding no one who could understand the conflict he felt in writing poetry in the language of a country which had persecuted the Jews. He tried to get some such understanding from the aging Martin Buber, but Buber was not able to understand Celan's conflict. Anti-semitism continued to upset him. For example, he resigned from the Austrian PEN club because of anti-semitic remarks made by a member.

His translations began to attract attention. Books of them were published, and he was asked to read some on German radio. Celan's collected works (some 1,500 pages long) contains translations of some forty-two poets.

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 1962, he reported to friends that he went through a "rather severe depression." In May 1965, he entered a psychiatric clinic for a few weeks, and again in December for seven months and February 1967 for about five months, receiving drug and electroshock therapy. Felstiner described Celan as "...a sick man, sometimes violent and even suicidal" (p. 243) and notes that Celan and his wife decided to separate.

Celan seemed to be affected more than most by political and social events -- Israel's 1967 war, the French student uprising in May, 1968, and the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in August 1968. In September 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. Somewhere around April 20, 1907, Celan jumped into the River Seine. His body was found on May 1st., seven miles downstream.

Comment

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.

There were however, other dynamics. Paul, at home in many languages, was estranged from his "birth" language, German. Although some might have found an ability to speak many languages fluently and migration from country to country stimulating, it made Paul feel homeless, rootless and alienated.

Writers are usually subjected to negative criticism from "critics" who review their work. Some appear to weather this well; others are wounded by it. Paul was wounded by it. It upset him a great deal and probably contributed to his depressions.

In addition, Celan appears to have had a severe psychiatric disorder, although Felstiner does not offer a diagnosis. A bipolar affective disorder seems possible, especially given his alternate periods of prolific writing and dry spells.

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WALTER BENJAMIN

David Lester

Born: July 15, 1892, Berlin, Germany
Died: September 27, 1940, Port Bou, Spain

Benjamin was a philosopher, critic, essayist and cultural theorist. Born to an affluent Jewish family in Berlin (his father was an auctioneer and art dealer), Benjamin studied at university, receiving his doctorate in 1919 from the University of Bern (in Switzerland) for a dissertation on German romantic art criticism. However, his ideas were criticized, and he failed to obtain a teaching position at German universities, forcing him to become a free-lance writer. He became well-known for his left-wing views. After Hitler rose to power in 1933, Benjamin fled to Denmark and France, finally settling in Paris in 1939. Refusing to leave France, he was arrested in early September 1940, along with other German and Austrian exiles, as a threat to national security. His health broke down in the internment camp. After release, the threat of the German invasion led him and others to try to flee to Portugal. They were arrested by Spanish authorities after they crossed the border and were threatened with return to France, and thence the Gestapo. Benjamin committed suicide with morphine, after which the Spanish let the others through to Portugal.

I have not found a biography on Benjamin in English, but Scholem (1981) has written a memoir that deals with their friendship with some details of Benjamin's life.

Scholem first saw Benjamin in 1913 at a meeting of a Zionist youth organization in which Benjamin made a speech relegating Zionism to a secondary position. Benjamin was then 21. Benjamin had attended the Kaiser Friedrich School in Berlin, a progressive institution. His friends at the school regarded Benjamin as intellectually superior. Scholem first visited Benjamin at his parents' house in 1915, whereupon they began their life-long friendship. Benjamin's parents were upper-middle-class and had known periods of wealth.

Benjamin was a courteous person, who created distance between himself and his friends. He was reserved and secretive about his personal life. He rarely gave the names of friends in conversation. He liked solitude and disliked talking about current political events. During the war, he never mentioned the events taking place. Associating with Benjamin required patience and consideration. He read voraciously, liked to play chess and Go, and loved to read detective stories. Benjamin had a younger sister, Dora, and a brother Georg who later became a physician and active communist.

Both Benjamin and Scholem were opposed to the First World War. At the beginning of the war, Benjamin's friend, Fritz Heinle had committed suicide along with his girl friend. In 1914, Benjamin at first volunteered for service so as to remain among his friends, but was rejected. Later that year, he managed to get a medical exemption

from service by faking the symptoms of palsy. He was engaged at the time to Grete Radt, an engagement that appears to have occurred at the urging of Benjamin's father, but to which he did not feel committed. However, after receiving a one year deferment, Benjamin went to Munich where his fiancé was.

At that time, Benjamin was already writing and translating foreign works into German. His engagement soon ended, and he began to see Dora Pollak, an Austrian who was separated (and later divorced) from her husband.[21] Benjamin stayed in Munich until December 1916, when he again had to meet with the military officials. He was classified as fit for light field duty, but he fell ill with sciatica (possibly induced by means of hypnosis by Dora), and he was again deferred. Benjamin and Dora were married on April 16, 1917. They went to a sanatorium for treatment of his sciatica in Dachau and, while there, received a medical certificate that enabled them to leave for Switzerland where their son Stefan was born.

Benjamin decided to work for his doctorate at the University of Bern. Benjamin was interested in many ideas, aside from literary and art criticism, including graphology, even experimenting with hashish. He also began to collect old and rare children's books. Scholem noticed Benjamin's melancholy here in Switzerland, which became more severe over the years, though never seeming like manic-depression.[22] Scholem witnessed many arguments between Benjamin and Dora. They lived off money from Benjamin's parents (a continual source of friction) and from what Dora could earn as a translator. Still, they had a live-in maid who also cared for Stefan.

The fall in value of German currency presented problems to continued living in Switzerland, but Benjamin passed his examination *summa cum laude*, on June 27, 1919. Benjamin and Dora returned to Berlin in March, 1920. There was a break with his parents, Dora continued to work as a translator, and Benjamin earned a little as a graphologist. Relations with Benjamin's parents improved, and they moved into his parents' house in Berlin. Benjamin planned to write a *Habilitation* thesis on epistemology, but his marriage with Dora was disintegrating. In 1921, Dora fell in love with Ernst Shoen, and Benjamin with Jula Cohn, the sister of one of his school friends. Neither of these relationships developed into marriage, but from 1923 on, Benjamin and Dora lived together only as friends. Benjamin moved to Heidelberg for a while (to be with Jula) and worked on an essay on Goethe which he finished in February, 1922. There were plans for a periodical for him to edit (which fell through). He was living on resources from his parents and Dora's work as a translator as he pursued a career as a *Privatdozentur*. In the Fall of 1922, the possibility of an *Habilitation* in Heidelberg came to nought, and Benjamin tried for one at Frankfurt. After completing the thesis, his prospects for an academic career fell through in 1925, and Benjamin was forced to live from his writing thereafter.

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[21] Benjamin's favorite aunt, Friderike Josephy, committed suicide in the Spring of 1916.

[22] Dora told Scholem that Benjamin had an obsessive-compulsive neurosis. He suffered from a "noise psychosis," an aversion to noise. He also had a passion for gambling.

In 1924, his father fell ill and had a leg amputated, relations with Dora caused him to move out temporarily, and he spent six months in Italy. His work began to be published, articles in magazines and a book of translations. He met a Russian revolutionary from Riga, Asja Lacis, with whom he fell in love, and he began to move toward left-wing ideas (visiting Russia in 1927), although he never did join the German Communist Party.

For the rest of his life, he moved a lot and wandered a lot from country to country. His father died in 1926, and eventually Paris became his favorite place in which to live and write, although his work required frequent stays in Berlin.

In 1927, his friend, Scholem tried to find a position for him in Palestine and to persuade Benjamin to emigrate, but these efforts failed because Benjamin did not really want to go there. He was European and wanted to stay in Europe. For two years, there were plans for Benjamin to study Hebrew in preparation for a move to Palestine, but Benjamin kept putting actions off, until by 1929 the project was abandoned.[23]

In early 1929, Benjamin had moved back with Dora, but was asking her for a divorce so that he could marry Asja Lacis so that she could get German citizenship. They did divorce, and Benjamin came out somewhat the worse financially by the time the divorce was granted on March 27, 1930. Benjamin and Dora hardly spoke for a year (and Benjamin said that he had a "breakdown" during the fighting), but they gradually resumed a friendly relationship in the 1930s. Asja did not marry Benjamin and went back to Russia during this period, eventually being arrested by Stalin's regime.

In 1931, Benjamin began to consider committing suicide. He expressed weariness over his economic situation, and the three loves of his life (Dora, Jula and Asja) were concluded. He began a diary to be concluded on the day of his death. He spent his fortieth birthday in Ibiza (with a woman, a German-Russian, Olga Parem, who rejected his proposal of marriage) and planned to kill himself in hotel in Nice in 1932. In July, he wrote his will, but he changed his mind at the eleventh hour.

Benjamin remained in Germany under the new regime only until the middle of March, 1933. He went to Paris, then Ibiza, eventually returning to Paris which became his base. The Institute of Social Research commissioned him to write for them, and this provided some income. He continued to write for periodicals and publish books of essays and translations. He visited Brecht in Denmark from time to time and his ex-wife Dora in San Remo where she had opened a pension. He also established closer relations with his sister with whom there had been much friction. He tried to gain French citizenship, but was unsuccessful. When the possibility of emigrating to England or America was discussed, Benjamin said that he was no longer capable of adapting. In 1939, Dora tried to get him to flee to England to where she had gone from Italy, but he refused.

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[23] Asja Lacis, with whom he lived in Berlin for a while, actively campaigned against plans for him to move to Palestine.

Although the Institute continued to publish his work, it seemed possible that they could no longer support him. He wrote to Scholem that he would kill himself if his financial position deteriorated. Benjamin thought that it was unlikely he would be invited to America, but the Institute came through with enough money for him to continue living in Paris.

After the outbreak of war, he was interned. He was released eventually from the camp but, as 1940 advanced and the war developed, he talked about suicide with Hannah Arendt on several occasions. After he and his friends were arrested by the Spanish authorities as they crossed the border on their way to Portugal, Benjamin committed suicide with a morphine overdose.

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KAY JAMISON: A SUICIDE ATTEMPTER

David Lester

Kay Jamison, a leading psychological researcher on manic-depression, herself suffers from the disorder and recently wrote an autobiography.

Jamison's father was an Air Force officer, a pilot and a meteorologist. As a result, Jamison was an "Air Force brat," moving from place to place whenever her father was transferred. By fifth grade, she had attended four different elementary schools, and she had lived in California, Florida and Washington, as well as Japan and Puerto Rico.

Jamison had a brother (Dean) three years older, who later completed a Ph.D. in Economics and remained close to and protective of Jamison, and a sister (Phyllis) 13 months older with whom there was much friction, especially since the older sister resented Jamison. In her acknowledgements, she thanks two other sisters, but these are not mentioned in the book.[24]

Jamison's mother appears to have been psychologically normal, but her father was manic-depressive, eventually divorced by the mother. Both parents were supportive of their children and encouraged their interests. Jamison wrote poetry and plays for school, and was interested in science and medicine. Jamison's interest in medicine was long-lasting. When she was twelve, she had dissecting tools, a microscope and a copy of Gray's Anatomy; she volunteered as a candy striper at the hospital at Andrews Air Force Base; the doctors at the hospital gave her tools and specimens to take home, let her accompany them on rounds, observe and assist at minor surgical procedures, and even attend an autopsy. Jamison says that she had friends and boy-friends, was active in sports (swimming, riding, and softball) and generally happy -- if intense, mercurial and independent. Regarding the latter, she gives an example of refusing to curtsy to officers and their wives, until her father stepped in and ordered her to do so.

In 1961, when she was 15[25], her father retired from the Air Force, joined the Rand Corporation and moved the family to California. Her adjustment to Pacific Pallisades High School was difficult at first -- she missed her boyfriend and found the atmosphere much more competitive. Her parents were also estranged, and her mother attended graduate school while teaching. Jamison soon found a boy-friend (a student at UCLA)

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[24] Like some other authors, Jamison thanks an amazing number of people in her Acknowledgements. It includes almost every teacher she had, members of committees she has been part of, and staff members at her publishers. I find the number amazing because, although I could compile a similar list of people I have known, worked with and been friends with, I would not dream of thanking them in an Acknowledgments. Have you watched the Oscar Awards? Compare the responses of those who, sometimes with the help of a list they pull from a pocket, thank an interminable list of people for helping them with their Oscar-winning performance versus those who thank one or two people, typically including their spouse -- sincerity versus affectation.

[25] Making her birthdate approximately 1946.

and excelled at school. However, her father fell into a profound depression, sometimes flew into rages, and began drinking heavily.

Jamison's first manic episode occurred as a senior in high school, followed by a depression. However, she finished high school and entered UCLA, reluctantly because she had dreamed of going to the University of Chicago, but necessarily because her parents could not afford a private university. The choice turned out to be ideal, but Jamison struggled with episodes of manic-depression throughout her undergraduate years, without ever realizing that she was "ill."

As a freshman, she became a research assistant to a psychologist which stimulated her and provided income. Her transcript was full of incompletes and failing grades, but she stayed in school. After two years, at the age of 20, she went off to the University of St. Andrews in Scotland where she studied zoology and had a peaceful year. Back at UCLA, she began to work with a a second professor exploring the psychological and physiological effects of drugs such as LSD, later becoming his doctoral student. He too had mood swings and became Jamison's confidante.

Jamison started her doctoral studies in psychology at UCLA in 1971, first in experimental psychology, but soon switching to clinical psychology. She tells us that she got married to a talented French artist whom she met in the early 1970s. She passed her qualifying exams, completed her doctoral dissertation on heroin addiction, and was appointed an Assistant Professor in the UCLA Department of Psychiatry in July 1974, with the duties of supervising psychiatric residents and psychology interns, consulting, offering seminars and conducting research.

Three months later, Jamison was "ravingly psychotic." She separated from her husband (at first temporarily, but eventually leading to a divorce), ostensibly because he did not want to have children, and entered a manic phase. Her brother (then working at the World Bank) visited to rescue her. He paid the enormous bills she had accumulated during her manic phase (which involved spending sprees) -- loans she eventually repaid him. She had been dating a colleague who confronted Jamison with her diagnosis and the need to take lithium. Lithium had been approved only in 1970, and the dosage was relatively high in those early years. Her colleague prescribed the medication, took the blood samples and informed her family. Jamison took a leave from her job (which saved her from losing her clinical privileges). She sought treatment with a psychiatrist at UCLA who had supervised her pre-doctoral internship, and he worked with her for the rest of her stay at UCLA. He made it clear that she was manic-depressive, that she needed lithium and that she also needed psychotherapy. However, for the first few years, Jamison was unwilling to take lithium regularly. She denied that she had a bipolar depressive disorder, she hated to give up the highs of the manic phases, and the side effects were unpleasant. For example, the high doses of lithium caused nausea and vomiting, led to ataxia and other motor disorders[26], and made it hard for her to read and comprehend.

[26] Jamison had to give up horse riding, for example.

Only after ten years, when the dosage was lowered, did the side-effects become more tolerable. Jamison also thinks that she was afraid to take lithium in case it did not help, for then there would be no "cure."

Six months after beginning on lithium, Jamison stopped taking it (March through July 1975), and again in September and October. Eventually, she became very suicidal, refused psychiatric hospitalization, bought a gun but gave it up to her psychiatrist, and then overdosed on lithium. However, as she lay dying, her brother called, and she answered the telephone in her stupor. He alerted her psychiatrist, and she was saved.

After stabilization of lithium, Jamison worked on the adult inpatient service, conducted research on a variety of topics (violence and LSD among others), but eventually set up, with other colleagues, an outpatient mood clinic. Within a few years, the UCLA Affective Disorders Clinic became a large teaching and research facility. Despite her fluctuating moods, Jamison worked well and was given tenure in 1981.

In 1975, Jamison met a British Army Psychiatrist who was visiting UCLA, David Laurie, and fell in love with him. Finally, after her marriage ended eighteen months later, she dated him and then they visited back and forth between California and England. However, on the way to a posting in Hong Kong, David died from a heart attack. Jamison was 32, David was 44. Although this was traumatic for Jamison, the loss did not precipitate a profound depression. She continued with her work.

She spent a sabbatical year in England, at St. George's Hospital Medical School in London and Merton College in Oxford. She read and wrote and had a healing affair, during which with her lover's help she experimented cutting back on the dosage of her lithium. The experiment worked, and the quality of her life improved tremendously. Back at UCLA, she was rejuvenated, and co-authoring a textbook on manic-depression gave her a cerebral and scholarly perspective on her disorder.

On a visit to Washington, she met Richard Wyatt, a schizophrenia research and administrator at NIMH. They fell in love, and Jamison resigned from UCLA to marry him, despite the fact that she describes them as a complete mismatch. She applied for and was hired at Johns Hopkins Medical School, where she has been since.

Comment

After reading this autobiography, I was unable to find the point of it. Believing as she does that manic-depression is simply a neurophysiological problem, Jamison's life gives us no insights into the causes and progress of the disorder and none into attempted suicide. Although she asserts that psychotherapy has been crucial in her life, she tells us nothing about any insights she might have learned from therapy. And like many of us, her life (or at least the part she tells us about) has not been particularly interesting. While the uneducated appear on talk-shows to seek fame in self-revelations, perhaps intellectuals write memoirs and appear on *Larry King Live*?

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CHARLES WERTENBAKER[27]

David Lester

Wertenbaker learned that he had cancer on September 27, 1954, at the age of 53, from his French doctor. He had experienced pain, sometimes severe, for eighteen months, and he had been able to feel the growth, a small knot on the right side of his abdomen, with his hands; but the x-rays confirmed it.[28] Dr. Cartier urged him not to delay and scheduled a visit with a surgeon. When Wertenbaker asked him how long he could survive without surgery, Cartier replied one year, two at most. Wertenbaker's father had died of cancer at the age of 57, as well as his grandmother and uncle. There was cancer in his mother's family too.

Wertenbaker and Lael fell in love in London in wartime. He was 42, and she was 34. It was his third marriage and her second. Wertenbaker was working for Time as an editor while Lael was a reporter under him. He retired from Time after 16 years[29] in order to write novels. They moved to Ciboure in the French Basque country in 1947. They had a boy of eleven (Christian) and a girl of eight (Timberlake). They lived a tranquil life there, earning money from books and magazine articles.

A trip back to New York for surgery (with Dr. Danielson, a surgeon whom was a friend and who had operated on Chris when he was three) and convalescence would use up their emergency fund, but they decided to do so anyway. They left the children with their landlady and housekeeper, Madame Sueur.

Wertenbaker thought of suicide even then, considering drowning. He even went down to the sea, but he decided to try the surgery first. Wertenbaker and Lael discussed what to do with his body if he died. Wertenbaker came from Virginia[30], and they owned a house in Sneden's Landing in New York. Either place would do for burial, or Ciboure. They also agreed that, if the cancer had spread, they would have the surgeon simply sow him back up without an operation. They took the train to Paris, where they were met by friends, and then flew to New York.

They landed in New York on October 1st, moved into a friend's apartment and went to the hospital. They had to argue with the surgeon about their decisions, but he eventually agreed. The cancer had spread, and so Danielson did not remove the tumor. Wertenbaker had maybe three months to live. Danielson urged Lael not to tell Wertenbaker, but of course she did. Wertenbaker said,

"Dying is the last thing I'll have a chance to do well.....I hope to hell I can." (p. 65)

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[27] Based on a biography by his wife (Wertenbaker, 1957).

[28] Being on the right side meant that Wertenbaker would avoid a colostomy if he had an operation to remove the tumor.

[29] Having been fired three times and hired three times, ending up as foreign editor.

[30] His family later moved to Newcastle, Delaware.

They told few of their friends about the situation, partly because they did not think that their friends could handle the news and partly because they did not want to deal with their friends' reactions.

Wertenbaker left the hospital on October 14th, and he and Lael decided to go back to Ciboure for Wertenbaker to die. They found place on a boat sailing for Cannes on November 5th and, through a friend, got a nice outside room in cabin class[31] with a private bathroom. A friend offered to help out financially with the children after Wertenbaker died if Lael was too poor.

Danielson wrote prescriptions for morphine and dolophine, and Lael found a druggist who, when he understood the reason for the drugs, filled all the prescriptions, promising to handle the authorities if they investigated. A call to the Federal Narcotics Bureau established that it was illegal to take the drugs out of the country and illegal to take them into France, even with a doctor's authorization.[32] So, Weternbaker had to, and did, disobey the law. Wertenbaker did have time to say goodbye to his older son, Bill before he sailed.

On board, the wound developed an abscess, although Wertenbaker and Lael did not realize what was happening. Wertenbaker got a fever, and eventually the wound burst open, releasing its foul contents. Wertenbaker and Lael threw the soiled clothes and bandages overboard and, foolishly, avoided the ship's doctor. However, once the abscess burst, Wertenbaker's condition improved, and they managed to get off the boat at Cannes, although Wertenbaker discussed with Lael the possibility of jumping overboard at sea.

At Cannes, they quickly found a train for Ciboure and returned home. Their French doctor, Cartier, installed a drain for the wound, and Wertenbaker was able to cut down on his pain medication. Wertenbaker managed his own medication, and he had tried to keep it to a minimum, saving the medication for the end. If he took too much morphine, he became constipated and developed gas, which caused great pain. Cartier helped with dietary suggestions and with morphine substitutes. Wertenbaker refused Cartier's offer of a colostomy to solve the bowel problem, and Cartier fought with Lael over this.

"I do not understand this. But I must try to understand this. For he is the bravest of men. I tell you, Madame Wertenbaker, I never in my life expected to meet a man who might face his death this way. I never expected to meet such a man *surtout dans St. Jean-de-Luz*." (p. 144)

Crises came with incredible pain, and then Wertenbaker would take more morphine. He hoped to survive until Christmas Day, and then kill himself with a morphine overdose. Friends increased the supply with packages of morphine and

[31] Better than tourist class but below first class.
[32] The federal government remains as obstinately stupid about drugs forty years later!

barbiturates from Paris and Bordeaux. As his flesh disappeared, he had to be padded with cushions just to sit. He had and threw up his last meal on December 22nd. But he continued to smoke his black cigarettes, on one occasion sixty in one night.

He was alive on Christmas Day and managed to be with his children for a while as they opened presents. He tried to overdose with morphine for the first time on December 26th. He injected 12 grains of morphine, feel asleep and survived. He tried again on December 27th with the same result. On January 5th, he tried injecting air into his veins, with no luck. On January 7th, he said "That's the last time I can make those stairs. I can't hear music any more. I can't drink even tea. The cigarettes taste bad." (p. 180)

On January 8th, he cut his wrists, and Lael injected every vial of morphine they had left into him. Finally, he expired. Lael dressed him in clean white pyjamas, placed him between clean sheets, bound his wrists with flesh-colored adhesive tape, and woke the housekeeper to get the local undertaker.

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FRANCOIS GENOUD

David Lester

On May 30, 1996, François Genoud took a few relatives and close friends to lunch at a restaurant in Pully, near Lausanne, in Switzerland. They returned to his home, where Genoud, aged 81, drank a glass of poison prepared by one of his companions. He had joined Exit, a suicide-assistance organization a year earlier to plan for his suicide. He was, he said, chronically depressed after the death of his wife Elizabeth in 1991.

Genoud was no ordinary suicide. He was the hidden Swiss treasurer of the Third Reich, and he had devoted his life to helping Hitler, promoting the Nazi cause, saving the surviving Nazis, and helping Arab terrorists. He committed suicide just as his role in the Swiss collaboration with the Nazis in hiding gold looted from the victims of the Holocaust and defeated governments was about to become public. His suicide occurred just four weeks after Jewish leaders and Swiss bankers had agreed to set up a commission to examine bank and government files in an effort to locate funds deposited by Holocaust victims in Switzerland so that they could be returned to their rightful owners.

Genoud was born in 1915 in Lausanne, Switzerland, into a bourgeois family. He was a sixteen-year-old adolescent when he first met Hitler. In a hotel in Bad Godesberg (near Bonn), where he had been sent by his parents to learn the German and German discipline, he shook Hitler's hand and told him of his interest in National Socialism. Back in Switzerland in 1934, Genoud joined the National Front which was a pro-Nazi organization. Two years later he went to Palestine where he met the pro-Nazi political leader of the Palestinian Muslims, Amin el-Husseini, who remained close to Genoud right up to his death in 1974. Genoud managed the finances of el-Husseini and worked for both Swiss and German intelligence during the war.

In 1940, he set up a nightclub (the Oasis) in Lausanne with a Lebanese associate to provide a covert operation for the Abwehr, the German counterintelligence service, working under Paul Dickopf (who later was president of Interpol from 1968 to 1972). Genoud befriended several Nazi leaders including SS General Karl Wolff who became Supreme SS and Police Leader in Italy in 1943. Genoud dealt in currency, diamonds and gold both for himself and his associates. By the end of the war, Genoud was representing the Swiss Red Cross in Brussels.

Genoud organized a network called ODESSA (later succeeded by *Die Spinner*) which funnelled millions of marks into Swiss banks for the Nazis and helped evacuate Nazi leaders into Morocco, Spain and South America. Genoud also acquired from the families of Hitler, Bormann and Goebbels the rights to their writings, and he made a fortune when he later published them.

In 1946, at the Nuremberg trials, Genoud befriended Major General Bernhard Ramcke and obtained Bormann's accounts of Hitler's conversations which he published as *Hitler's Table Talk*.

By 1955, Genoud was an adviser, researcher and banker to Arab nationalists. He helped set up Arabo-Afrika, an import-export company that served as a cover for dissemination of anti-Semitic and anti-Israeli literature and delivered weapons to the Algerian National Liberation Front. He also continued to act as banker for Nazis, such as Hjalmar Schacht (the former Nazi Reichminister of Finance).

In February 1972, Palestinians hijacked a Lufthansa Boeing 747 about to leave Bombay for Frankfurt and had it flown to Yemen. A letter from Cologne demanded $5 million, which was paid. The operation was planned by Wadi Haddad with Genoud's help. It was Genoud who drove to Cologne to post the ransom note. Genoud also worked with Carlos the Jackal.

In the 1950s, Genoud set up Swiss bank accounts on behalf of the liberation movements of Morocco, Tunisia and Algiers. In 1958 he helped set up the Arab Commercial Bank in Geneva to manage the funds for the Algerian liberation movement and, after Algeria obtained its independence in 1962, Genoud became director of the Arab People's Bank in Algiers. Two years later, Genoud was arrested in Algeria for violating exchange control regulations but was released after the intercession of Egyptian President, Gamal Abdel Nasser.

In the 1960s Genoud continued to finance Arab terrorism, selling weapons and paying legal fees. In 1969 he helped the defense of three terrorists from the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine who had blown up an El Al plane in Zurich in February. In 1987, he financed the defense of Klaus Barbie, the Gestapo Chief known as the Butcher of Lyon during the war, who was tried for the killing of 4,000 non-Jewish French citizens and for deporting 7,000 Jews to the death camps.[33] Genoud set up a fund to help Nazis in prison, even sending them chocolates.[34]

Genoud denied that he was an anti-semite. He was, he said, anti-Zionist. He opposed the Nazi system of classifying people by race, and he saw Hitler's persecution of the Jews as aiding the Zionist cause. He admitted that the Holocaust took place but minimized its extent, and he denied that there was a systematic plan to exterminate Jews.

At the time of his death, Genoud was in poor health and he was still grieving over the loss of his wife. There had been an assassination attempt on him in October 1993, when a bomb exploded outside of the door to his home. However, he was also in danger of being investigated for his past activities and for his recent anti-semitic statements

[33] Barbie was convicted in 1987 and died in prison.

[34] Genoud's daughter, Martine, had married a revolutionary who was killed in the 1980s in an internecine battle in Lebanon.

which were illegal under a new Swiss law on racial incitement. Lawyers were seeking search warrants for his home. His suicide ended the legal maneuvers.

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ELEANOR MARX

David Lester

Karl Marx had only three children, all daughters, survive into adulthood out of the six that were born.[35] Eleanor was born on January 16, 1855, in London when Marx was 37 and his wife 41.[36] She was a popular child, with the nickname Tussy.[37]

The Marx household and life was rather odd. Although the family was frequently in debt and survived mainly from support from Engels but also a few legacies and the little money Marx earned from writing articles, they lived the life of a conventional middle-class family.[38] Despite making continual use of pawnbrokers, they had a live-in servant, Helen Demuth, and housemaid, sent the girls to school and later for additional lessons, had the girls taught to draw, sing and play the piano, attended the theater, gave balls for the girls, etc. Marx was adamantly against training the two older girls for a profession or sending them out to earn a living so that they might become self-supporting.

In addition to being poor, Marx was continually ill, as was his wife, and yet Eleanor remembered them as laughing and loving parents. All the while, Marx was writing about his political ideas and, in particular during Eleanor's early life, his *Critique of Political Economy* and the first volume of Das Kapital.

Both Marx and his wife were busy, writing, organizing, entertaining fellow believers, and so Eleanor was raised by Helen. Eleanor had several childhood illnesses (whooping cough in 1858, jaundice three years later, measles and scarlet fever), but she was intelligent and a tomboy who loved to play with the neighborhood children. She recalled an unclouded childhood. Marx read aloud to her (Homer, Shakespeare and others), and Eleanor could recite whole scenes from Hamlet by the age of six.

From an early age, Eleanor showed a lively interest in politics. She supported the North in the American Civil War and the Irish in their fight against the British, became a connoisseur of wine from the gifts sent to the family by Engels, and pursued her hobbies (writing letters, chess, stamp collecting and dolls). Schooled at South Hampstead College, by age fourteen, Eleanor spoke German and English and a little French, though her spelling was poor.

Laura married Paul Lafargues, a French radical, in 1868 and moved to France with him. Eleanor visited them in 1869 for seven weeks and, on her return, went to Manchester (England) to stay with the Engels with whom she visited Ireland. She became

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[35] Jenny was born in 1844 in Paris and Laura in 1845 in Brussels.
[36] They were in London as a result of being expelled from France, Prussia and Belgium.
[37] Marx later had an illegitimate child
[38] Marx was a distinguished patron of the Maitland Park Orphan Working School, invited to the Royal Society of Arts, elected a constable of the St. Pancreas vestry, etc.

passionately involved with the Fenians and with the survivors of the short-lived Paris Commune in 1871. Eleanor and Jenny went to Bordeaux in May, 1871, to visit Laura and were arrested while crossing the French/Spanish border. After detention and interrogation by the French for almost a day, they were released and able to return to England.

Eleanor thus mixed the fun of a normal childhood with involvement in her father's causes. As she moved through her teenage years, she became increasingly involved in helping her father with his work, spending time in libraries, including the British Museum, on his behalf (as well as for others who were too lazy to look things up for themselves).

Jenny married Charles Longuet, another French radical, in 1872, while a Hungarian socialist, Leo Frankel, was drawn to Eleanor. She, however, engaged herself to Hyppolite Lissagaray, a fighter in the Paris Commune, seventeen years older than herself. Unfortunately, her parents strongly disapproved of Lissagaray and forbad Eleanor to marry him, even restricting their visits with each another. Eleanor moved to Brighton in April 1873 by herself, with her parents approval however, where she supported herself teaching in a school and taking on private pupils. Marx apparently was inclined to let his youngest daughter earn a living. Eleanor did not return home until August.

Despite the stress caused by the friction over Eleanor's attachment to Lissagaray, which occasionally resulted in both Eleanor and Marx falling ill, she and her father remained close during this time. In the Autumn of 1873, Eleanor was forbidden to see Lissagaray, and yet she and her father went off to Harrogate for three weeks where they took baths, exercised and played chess. The thought of running off with Lissagaray never seems to have entered Eleanor's head.

In 1874, Jenny's baby died Eleanor had nursed him devotedly.[39] Eleanor fell ill after his death and went to Carlsbad with her father for a rest cure. While working for socialist causes (especially to advance Lissagaray's interests, such as translating his recent book on the Paris Commune into English[40]), she now also pursued her interest in the theater, joining Furnivall's New Shakespeare Society and later forming her own Shakespeare group which attended the first nights of Henry Irving's plays.

Eleanor worked for the election of Mrs. Westlake to the London School Board (successfully) in 1876. She translated a paper from the German for an issue of *Proceedings of the New Shakespeare Society*, and worked a great deal for Dr. Furnivall at the British Museum library on his Philological, Chaucer and Shakespeare Societies. At the library, she made the acquaintance of George Bernard Shaw, and she remained intensely involved in every social issue and home and abroad.

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[39] Eleanor's relationship with Laura was, however, quite distant, possibly because of Laura's intense dislike of Lissagaray.

[40] Marx worked hard to get Lissagaray's *Histoire de la Commune* translated into German, even though he disapproved of him as a son-in-law. Eleanor's English translation was completed around 1880 but not published until 1886.

Lissagaray left England in July, 1880, but Eleanor took a while to formally break off their relationship. By 1881, Mrs. Marx was terminally ill, and Eleanor was taking acting lessons with a view to taking up the theater as a career. Eleanor appeared in two one-act plays, was proposed to be Leo Hartmann, put in hours at the British Museum, all the while her mother was seriously ill, eventually dying of cancer in December at the age of 67. Marx went with Eleanor to Ventnor (on the Isle of Wight) on December 29, but Eleanor was morose, twitching with nerves, and self-absorbed. Marx thought that part of Eleanor's problem was the result of her still being a virgin. But father and daughter did not discuss her problems, and tension grew between them.

Early in 1882, Eleanor broke off her engagement with Lissagaray, rebuffed another suitor (Carl Hirsch) and continued her acting lessons, working to pay for them. In the Summer of 1882, Eleanor's acting teacher told her that she did not have the requisite talent. Eleanor dealt with the news quite well, abandoning herself to social activity while continuing to work at the British Museum for others and taking on pupils.

Jenny was pregnant again, and she let her son Johnny (born in 1876) go back to London with Eleanor in August, 1882. Jenny died in January 1883 at the age of 39, probably from cancer of the bladder. Eleanor brought Jenny's four-year-old back to London where he died soon after his grandfather. Marx died on March 14, 1883, and the child on March 21.

At around this time, Eleanor seems to have met Edward Aveling, a married man, who was to become her lover and with whom she lived for the last fifteen years of her life. Aveling was born in November, 1849, the fifth of eight children and the son of a minister. He obtained a B.Sc. in zoology from University College (London) in 1870, worked as an assistant to a physiologist in Cambridge, and returned to London to teach physics and botany at a school. He married Isabel Frank in 1872, but the marriage lasted only two years. (Isabel may have run off with a clergyman.) Rumor was that Aveling married Isabel for her money, and he declined to divorce her.

Aveling became a lecturer at the Medical School of London Hospital and earned his D.Sc. in 1876, after which he published several books. He became an atheist and a socialist, and upon receiving an inheritance after the death of his father quit academia. He spent the rest of his life as a teacher and popularizer, also writing plays and poetry (not very well) and criticism, and editing various magazines.

After her father's death, Eleanor moved to a smaller residence and began to work on her father's papers with Engels. There were fights with Laura over the trusteeship of the papers. Eleanor also began teaching at a school in Kensington and taking on pupils.

Life After Marx

Eleanor began living with Aveling in the summer of 1884 and continued to do so until her suicide on March 31, 1898. They never married, but on most occasions they acted as if they were a married couple. For example, Eleanor presented herself in person and in print as Eleanor Marx Aveling, sometimes with a hyphen and sometimes without. The reason for this arrangement was that Aveling remained married to his first wife, and so was not able to remarry.[41] However, eventually he did marry surreptitiously another woman, while living with Eleanor, and so marriage to Eleanor obviously became a possibility, but one which was never realized.

These fourteen years were incredibly busy for Eleanor and Aveling in many fields. Rather than detail all of the activities in a chronological order, it will suffice to survey them by area.

First, until Engels died in 1895 (on August 5), leaving Eleanor (as well as Jenny's children and Laura) legacies, money needed to be earned. Eleanor worked preparing papers and manuscripts for others[42], giving lessons (on the arts and on politics), writing columns, articles and pamphlets, translating foreign works (including Ibsen's plays[43]), and editing and publishing some of the papers of her father. Money was often short, but Engels, as before, supported her with many gifts of money. Aveling developed a reputation of borrowing money from friends and acquaintances and rarely paying them back, a habit which contributed to the dislike that many felt toward him. (He may also have used funds from the organizations with which he was associated, such as the National Secular Society in 1884). For the first time, Eleanor lived without servants! After Engels died, leaving Eleanor over five thousand pounds clear, she and Aveling were able to buy a house, in Jews Walk[44], Sydenham, in 1895.

Eleanor and Aveling also pursued their interests in the arts. They attended plays, Eleanor translated novels[45] and plays (including Ibsen's) and even wrote parodies (including one with Israel Zangwill -- *A Doll's House Repaired*). Aveling wrote plays and poetry under a pen name (Alec Nelson) which were on the whole unsuccessful. They also arranged concerts for the workers, given during congresses and on other formal occasions.

Of course, they continued to lecture and write on political issues, pursuing Marxist and socialist policies. They fought for an eight-hour working day, for an annual celebration and protest by workers on May 1st, and many other causes. They participated in and helped organize international conferences for the labor movement and the socialist causes, mainly in Europe but also in the United States (on a visit in 1886). They also wrote articles and columns for many newspapers and magazines, and Eleanor's fluency in

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[41] His first wife, Isabel Campbell Frank, died September 12, 1892, aged 43.

[42] For example, she was paid five shillings by a Miss Zimmerman to write articles for which Miss Zimmerman was paid thirty shillings.

[43] She was paid five pounds for translating *An Enemy of Society*, now known as *An Enemy of the People*.

[44] "Jews" is probably a corruption of Doo, an ancient place name in Kent and not a reference to Jews.

[45] Including Flaubert's *Madame Bovary*, a translation that remained in print until 1973.

several languages and contacts with socialists all over Europe made her an especially sought-after contributor.

Increasingly, both became involved in the growing union movement, which transformed them both from intellectual bystanders to active organizers. They addressed union meetings, helped organize workers into unions, and became officers in the unions (Eleanor in the Gasworkers Union). Eleanor, in particular, helped integrate women workers into the labor movement and made an effort to bring the Jewish workers and their organizations into the mix.[46]

These brief paragraphs cannot, of course, do justice to the power struggles and political fights involved in this work. The union movement was also under attack from the authorities, so that many of the marches and meetings resulted in attacks by and fights with the police.[47] The leaders had to fight for the right for free speech and for assembly. These years marked the beginning of the modern labor movement, such as the formation of the Trade Union Congress and the Labor Party, organizations and political parties which are taken for granted in modern Britain.

Illness entered into the mix. Eleanor was reasonably healthy, although she was often laid low by influenza. Aveling was less healthy, developing a severe kidney illness which led to his death four months after Eleanor's suicide (on August 2, 1898).

Eleanor seems both to have been happy at times with Aveling and at times distraught. She wrote to a friend (Olive Schreiner) in 1885 on how unhappy she was while Aveling went off to a party without her, "...in the highest of spirits because several ladies are to be there..." However, Kapp does not mention or document any affairs that Aveling had while he was Eleanor, except for his marriage in 1897 a few months before Eleanor's suicide. So there is no evidence of Aveling's infidelity up to that point. Yet Kapp talks of Aveling's extensive lechery, dissolute habits and the lack of emotional security he provided Eleanor. According to Kapp, Eleanor loved Aveling but could not rely on or honor him.[48] On the other hand, Aveling treated Eleanor as an equal and never expected subservience. Eleanor was never his housekeeper or bedfellow. He encouraged her to become a writer, speaker and organizer in her right.

After Engels' Death

Engels' will was granted in January 1896, allowing to buy a house and cut down on her work for others. The major task in the ensuing years was to organize, edit and publish the documents and manuscripts remaining from her father's papers which Engels had left to Eleanor and Laura. They got possession of the papers after a great deal of wrangling with the couple who had been living with and taking care of Engels, Louise

[46] Eleanor took up typing in 1890 to earn money, becoming a worker herself.
[47] The most notorious of these was Bloody Sunday, November 13, 1887, when police and troops attacked workers trying to meet in Trafalgar Square.
[48] Since no-one, including his first wife, ever conceived, it is supposed that Aveling was sterile.

and Ludwig Freyberger. In her will, Eleanor left her estate (money and papers) to her living sister, Laura, her deceased sister's children and Aveling.

During this period, Eleanor and Laura grew closer after a lifetime of emotional distance. Their newly found affection was evident in their letters to each other and in their cooperation on the projects. Perhaps now that both father (Marx) and substitute father (Engels) were dead, Laura felt on an equal footing with Eleanor, and her jealousy dissipated.

Eleanor and Aveling moved into their house in December 1895, and Eleanor took some pleasure in setting up her first home. She also had time now to teach at a socialist Sunday school and sing in a local socialist choir. However, she soon fell into a state of exhaustion and suicidal depression, perhaps a result of her fights with Engels' caretakers in his last years, Engels' death followed soon by the death of one of her friends, Stepniak (Sergei Mikhailovich Kravchinsky), and the stress of house-hunting and moving, all the while continuing her socialist activities and editing her father's papers.[49]

However, the major crisis was that on June 8, 1897, Aveling under the alias of Alec Nelson married Eva Frye, aged 22, in Chelsea, despite the fact that he was quite ill with abscesses from his kidney illness. Aveling continued to live with Eleanor until they had a quarrel in August, whereupon he left. He returned in September, and their life continued as usual, at least in outward appearances. For example, Eleanor and Aveling went on a propaganda tour of Lancashire in November, after which Aveling caught pneumonia. Aveling had an operation for his abscess in February 1898 and recuperated at home.

On March 31, with Aveling off to London for the day, Eleanor sent her maid to pick up some chloroform and prussic acid, supposedly for the dog. Less than an hour later the maid found Eleanor dead from poisoning.

Kapp attributes Eleanor's suicide, not simply to Aveling's betrayal by marrying another, but also because she no longer felt needed by anyone or anything. Kapp felt that the British working-classes were moving away from the Marxism of her father toward a softer socialism. However, Kapp's biography focuses on the political struggles rather than the Eleanor as a person so that there are few cues as to the real motives for Eleanor's suicide.

Comment

Eleanor Marx was a remarkable woman. In a time when men dominated politics and the labor movement, she became one of the foremost movers. Had she lived, she might well have become the most celebrated feminist of the early 20th Century.

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[49] For example, she reported to a friend that in ten months in 1897, she had given 41 lectures and participated in ten meetings as speaker or chair, in addition to a week of lecturing in the Netherlands.

However, what is most remarkable about this story is the bourgeois life of Marx, living a life with servants, private lessons for his daughters, parties and holidays abroad, all made possible by the generosity of Engels. In addition, Marx and Eleanor resemble Freud and his daughter Anna -- a famous intellect whose daughter becomes the inheritor of his mantle and follows in his path and who is prevented from marrying by her father.

Eleanor, at least, became a common law wife after her father's death, and the close proximity of her suicide to Aveling's marriage to another, despite the fact that he continued to live with Eleanor much as before, suggests that the relationship with Aveling was the critical element in her decision to die. However, Aveling was close to death, and perhaps Eleanor was aware that she was about to lose him, either to another or to death.

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PAUL BERN

David Lester

Paul Bern was born on December 3, 1889, in Wandsbek, Germany, (a suburb of Hamburg), as Paul Levy. His parents, Julius and Henrietta, emigrated to the United States when Paul was nine, lived for a time in Newark (NJ) and then moved to New York City. The family was poor (they used packing boxes for furniture at first). Paul had some siblings, but his father also took in poor and homeless children so that, later, there were reminiscences of a brood of eighteen children. He did have a brother Henry and a sister Friederike.

Paul took a two-year course in acting at the American Academy of Dramatic Arts and Empire Theater Dramatic School. He auditioned in September 13, 1909, at the age of 19, and the tuition for his junior year was eight dollars. The school's principal noted that he was a German Jew, dramatic and expressive, but handicapped by his size and appearance. He chose Paul Bern as his stage name, and he became an American citizen under that name.

Dorothy Millette entered the Academy in April 1911, and soon she and Paul were romantically involved.[50] Dorothy left the academy before finishing her junior year and joined a company with Paul which was performing *Too Many Cooks* on Broadway. The show ran for a year and then toured. Paul then began acting, stage managing and directing pays on Broadway. Dorothy, however, found no work in New York City.

By 1920, Paul and Dorothy were living in the Algonquin Hotel in Manhattan, and Paul took a job writing for the Samuel Goldwyn Company in Manhattan, a job which paid well. Paul decided thereupon to focus on the movie industry for his career. Paul wrote a will (in 1920) which left everything to Dorothy. Paul claimed to Marx that he and Dorothy never married but, since they lived together at the Algonquin for five years, perhaps it was a common-law marriage. People at the hotel referred to Dorothy as Mrs. Bern. After Paul's death, his brother Henry denied to reporters that Dorothy was Paul's wife.

Dorothy had a psychiatric breakdown in 1921 with what would now be called schizophrenia.[51] Paul arranged for her long-term care at the Blythewood Sanatorium in Greenwich (CT), whose doctors declared her to be incurable, and Paul pledged to

[50] Dorothy was born as Dorothy Roddy in Indianapolis, an orphan. She worked as a stenographer, met and married a newspaperman and moved to the state of Washington where he edited a small-town newspaper. Dorothy went back to New York City to pursue her dreams of acting and divorced her husband after two years of marriage. She registered at the dramatic academy as Mrs. L. Melett before deciding upon her stage name of Dorothy Millette.

[51] While on tour, she began to hear voices and became a religious fanatic, believing herself to be part of the inner circle of god.

continue her support. Paul then moved to California. He visited Dorothy a few times, but her rantings made Paul physically sick, and he stopped visiting.

Paul tried freelance writing, moving from studio to studio, and slowly his career took off. In 1923, he received a solo screen credit for the story and scenario of *The Marriage Circle*. He began directing for Paramount -- five silent films in 1924 and 1925. He became known for molding actresses into sexy images, and he was linked romantically with many of them.

In 1926, Paul became a production supervisor at Pathé, and then moved to MGM under Irving Thalberg, where he found stories and helped make the films as a supervisor, a role that would today be called "producer." In 1929, Paul began building a house which was modest as compared to the huge mansions that some built, but Bern thought it perfect for him. At forty, he was unmarried, and he expected to remain so.

In 1930, while at MGM, Paul was introduced to a possible film star, known as Jean Harlow (born as Harlean Carpenter in 1911). Even though her first movies had been flops, Paul thought that Harlow had great potential as a sexy comedienne, bought her contract from Howard Hughes, and cast her in *Red-Headed Woman* which appeared in 1932. To do this, Paul had to overcome Thalberg's objections which he did by secretly filming a screen test for Harlow to show Thalberg.

Red-Headed Woman was released nationally on June 24, 1932, and was an immediate hit. Paul and Harlow married two weeks later on July 2, 1932. Paul gave Harlow the deed to his house as a wedding present.[52] Two months later, Paul committed suicide by shooting himself in the head at their home with a .32 Colt revolver on early on Monday morning, September 5, 1932, while Harlow was at her mother's for dinner (and to sleep over) leaving a suicide note that apologized for his abject humiliation.[53] The rumor was that he was upset over his small penis and his impotence.

Murder Or Suicide?

The "scenario for Paul's "suicide" was, according to Marx and Vanderveen (1990), thought up by the MGM bosses, including the story that Paul was impotent. Marx and Vanderveen claim that several of Paul's girl friends said that Paul was "one hell of a lover," including the stripper Sally Rand who admitted having an affair with Paul.[54]

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[52] What an odd wedding present!

[53] A handwriting expert confirmed that it was Paul's handwriting.

[54] Paul was described by Marx and Vanderveen as a pleasant and generous man. They gave examples such as helping staff, actors and directors with their careers, buying a wedding ring for one actress because her husband couldn't afford one, and so on. His relationship with Harlow was described by friends as loving and, apart from friction over Paul's house, there seemed to be no problems. Rumors that he beat Harlow are erroneous. Harlow was sufficiently athletic that she could have floored him had he tried, and those who saw her naked body never saw bruises or marks.

Marx and Vanderveen believe that Paul was murdered. They present a firm scenario without describing precisely on what evidence they formulated it. Much of it is based on the memories of elderly folk who gleaned some information second or third-hand from those involved in the affair. Much of it appears to be hypothetical since no witness was present during Paul's death.

After a year in the sanatorium, Dorothy's illness seemed to clear up, and she went back to the Algonquin Hotel, expecting Paul to come to her there, living on Paul's monthly checks of $350 routed to her through Paul's brother Henry. When Paul wrote that he was too busy to come, she decided to go to California and join Paul whom she hoped would make her a film star. She flew to San Francisco and stayed at the Plaza Hotel after Henry Bern had failed to persuade her to stay in New York. She arrived on May 4th, 1932. Her room at the hotel was littered with press clippings about Harlow and about Paul.

On the evening of Paul's death, before Harlow went off to her mother's house, he and Harlow had a quarrel which was engineered by Paul to get Harlow out of the house since he expected Dorothy to visit him that night. Harlow had never liked Paul's house, partly because it was in an isolated canyon. Although he had given her the deed, he refused to let her sell it or exchange it for her mother's house.[55]

Paul realized that he could not persuade Dorothy to go back to New York City and be quiet, and that her revelations would ruin Harlow's career and perhaps his own.[56] He agreed to see Dorothy that night. After Harlow left, Paul waited for Dorothy -- he swam in his pool and drank some champagne. When Dorothy arrived, she demanded to be known as his wife and to star in movies. Paul called for a limousine at 1 am to come to his house, but Dorothy refused to leave. He suggested a swim to cool down. Afterwards she stripped naked and, in shock, Paul smashed his champagne glass, cutting his hand and leaving blood on the stone floor. He went inside to clean his hand and put a robe on, and Dorothy, still naked, came up to him with a gun and shot him in the head. She threw the gun on the floor, put on her clothes and fled through the garden to the waiting limousine. She arrived back in San Francisco eight hours later. On Tuesday she checked out of the hotel, leaving her luggage there, bought a round-trip ticket on the *Delta King*, a ferry to Sacramento. She jumped from the boat as it neared Sacramento on September 7, but her body was not found until September 14 when a Japanese fisherman reported finding it.

The studio executives were at Paul's house early in the morning of his death, some six hours before the police arrived. They were worried that Harlow would be suspected of murdering Paul, and they bribed the District Attorney (Buron Fitts) to label the death a suicide. One of Mayer's staff moved Paul's body, cleaned the gun and then put

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[55] In his new will, Paul left everything else he owned to Harlow. The total value of these assets was about 24 thousand dollars.

[56] Studio staff had clauses in their contracts binding them to morally correct lives. If they transgressed, they would be fired.

it in Paul's hand. The "suicide note" was actually a note written by Paul at an earlier date in a book in which he used to write notes to Harlow. Harlow knew that the note was not a suicide note, and she knew that Paul was not impotent. She also knew that a woman had come to see Paul, although she was not fully aware of what their involvement had been. Harlow paid for Dorothy's burial and later for a grave marker which read "Dorothy Millette Bern 1886-1932."[57]

Who knows what to believe?

Reference

Marx, S., & Vanderveen, J. (1990). *Deadly illusions.* New York: Random House.

[57] Other evidence against suicide was that Paul took out an 85 thousand dollar life insurance policy four days before his death, and he would have known that his suicide would invalidate it. At the medical examination for the policy he was certified as having no medical deficiencies.