

Biographical Studies of Suicide, 1993, Volume 4**CASTLEREAGH****David Lester**

Robert Stewart was born June 18, 1769, in Dublin, to an Irishman (of Scottish origins), Robert Stewart, and his English wife, Lady Sarah Seymour Conway. Their first child died at the age of year, and Robert was born soon after this death. His mother died a year later while pregnant.

Robert was given to his Irish grandparents to rear, though his father visited at intervals. When Robert was six, his father remarried, again to an English woman, the Honourable Frances Pratt, the eldest daughter of Lord Camden, a former Chief Justice and Lord Chancellor of England. Frances was somewhat odd and, after arriving home one day naked, she was kept in retirement as much as possible. However, she was kind to Robert and bore his father eleven more children.

Robert was considered to be frail, and so he was kept in Ireland rather than being sent to private schools in England. He was sent at the age of eight to the Royal School of Armagh where a tutor judged him to be sickly and enfeebled, with a wasted left arm from an earlier illness. Robert's grandfather died in 1781, and his father inherited a large estate near Newtownards, on the shores of Lough Strangford. Robert left school and was tutored at home.

Robert left for St. John's College, Cambridge, in 1786, where he lived a quiet studious life in spite of all the temptations the university town offered. His step-grandfather, Lord Camden, had taken a great liking to the boy, and so Robert visited the family in London often. However, he quit after his second year, and both his father and Lord Camden directed him to a public career.

In 1879, Robert's father had been made a peer, Baron of Londonderry, and, since he had to stand down from the Irish Parliament, persuaded Robert to run for office. Robert ran as an Independent, backed by the Whigs and Dissenters. The campaign cost sixty thousand pounds, and Robert's father had to mortgage the family home to pay for the campaign. Robert won and entered the Irish House of Commons at the age of twenty-one.

Castlereagh's Irish Career

Protestant and Anglo-Scottish, Robert supported Mr. Pitt in England, but he favored Catholic emancipation. (Catholics could not vote in Ireland, nor run for Parliament.) He rarely stayed in Dublin, drinking with the other politicians, but returned home to his quiet life. He had an affair with a maidservant, Nelly Stoyal, who bore him a son, the only child he is presumed to have fathered.

In Parliament, he voted with the opposition, for he opposed the way in which England governed Ireland. Hearing rumors from France of the turmoil there, he traveled to Paris in 1791 to see the situation first-hand. After his return, he saw the discontent growing in Ireland and feared that the French example (and possible French interference in Irish affairs) might lose Ireland for England. The Irish were given the vote in 1793 but still were unable to run for office.

When France declared war on Holland in 1793, England declared war on France, and thus began the conflict that would lead to Robert becoming one of the most powerful statesmen in Europe. The war first led Robert to decide that he must support Pitt and save England and Ireland from France. Fearing an invasion, Pitt's government authorized a militia for Ireland. Robert supported the bill and was one of the first to apply for a commission. He was made a Lieutenant-Colonel of the Londonderry Militia.

He met Lady Amelia (Emily) Hobart, the niece of his commanding officer and the daughter of the Earl of Buckinghamshire. He proposed and was married on June 9, 1794. Robert and Emily seemed to have a happy marriage, though they had no children. Emily occupied herself with social entertainments, grew rather stout in her middle age, and was seen as a somewhat ridiculous figure by some of her contemporaries. Nevertheless, she accompanied Robert on his travels whenever he permitted her to do so and seems to have been a relaxing companion for him.

In 1794 Robert was persuaded to run for the English Parliament from a borough in Cornwall, and he won, a step which alienated some of his friends in Ireland. His health caused him problems in these years, and he devised a regime which helped him -- a reversal of the usual meal order. He had a large dinner in the morning and a light breakfast in the evening -- a practice which improved his health.

Robert's uncle, the new Lord Camden, only thirty-five years old, was sent to Ireland as Lord-Lieutenant, and he relied on Robert for advice. Robert traveled a great deal back and forth between Ireland and England. In 1796, Robert's father was created the Earl of Londonderry, and Robert became Viscount Castlereagh.

At the end of 1796, the French fleet was sighted off Ireland, and Castlereagh and his men were dispatched to repel the invasion. Luckily, the French never landed. Meanwhile, the French armies in Europe were defeating all they encountered, and Napoleon was the idol of Paris. By 1797, England stood alone. Rumors grew of another invasion of England and Ireland by France, and the Irish Catholics were secretly drilling, ready to fight with French.

Castlereagh was given his first appointment in July 1797, the Keeper of the King's Signet, a minor post which required him to resign his seat in the English Parliament. As the rebellion grew in momentum in Ireland, Castlereagh was one of the authorities responsible for putting it down. As a member of the harsh regime, Castlereagh became

hated in Ireland. Orders were given to disarm all persons and disperse all assemblies by any means. Rebels were tried, imprisoned and executed, and Castlereagh sat on the Grand Jury. He was soon made a Lord of the Treasury and a member of the Privy Council.

A plot to assassinate the ministers and give Ireland to the French was discovered, and most of the rebels arrested. Castlereagh was appointed Acting Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant, and he now worked in Dublin Castle in Viceregal splendor. He was now the Government's head organizer, the leader in the House of Commons, and the dispenser of patronage -- in short the second most powerful person in Ireland.

The Irish rebellion broke out on May 23, 1798, with massacres and retaliations. Castlereagh was in charge of suppressing the revolt. He tried to prevent excesses but was blamed nonetheless for the atrocities. The rebels burned a hundred Protestants in a barn in Wexford, and the Protestants behaved with equal ferocity. Finally, Cornwallis was sent to Ireland to command the forces. He stopped the indiscriminate slaughter, offered amnesty to all rebels who surrendered, and soon quenched the remaining disturbance.

Five weeks after the rebellion was put down, French troops landed at Killala Bay and were routed. A few minor invasions were also quickly mopped up. Napoleon abandoned the idea of taking on England and sailed for Egypt instead, giving England a respite. In November, 1798, Castlereagh was made Chief Secretary, the first Irishman to hold the position.

Pitt now thought it important to join Ireland with England in a union, and Castlereagh was the person chosen to bring this about. Castlereagh traveled to England where he was sworn in as a member of the English Privy Council, and he returned to Ireland to introduce the Union in the Irish Parliament in January 1799. In order to pass this, the English government gave the Irish Catholics the impression that they would be emancipated after the Union, though the Government reneged on this later. The measure was passed by the Irish House of Lords in August, 1800, and the crowd around the building shouted "Bloody Castlereagh."

Castlereagh In England

Pitt resigned in 1801, letting Addington take over the Government, and Castlereagh resigned from office too. However, he was still in charge of Irish affairs and still a member of the English Parliament from County Down. At the first meeting of the British Parliament, he sat with Pitt on the back benches. But soon, completely worn out, Castlereagh collapsed. For weeks he was bed-ridden with a fever. He eventually improved, though remaining for a while quite depressed. He recovered over the summer, and in August, 1801, he joined his regiment in Ireland.

However, problems with Napoleon, now master of France and much of Europe, led Addington to make Castlereagh President of the Board of Control (whose chief duties

were handling Indian affairs) in July 1802, and a member of the Cabinet. England was forced once more to declare war on France in May 1803, and Pitt was back as Prime Minister by May 1804 to guide England through the war. In his first Cabinet, nine of the eleven members were from the House of Lords, and so Castlereagh was Pitt's only colleague in the House of Commons. The problems of the Government were made worse by the frequent episodes of insanity shown by the King (George III). By 1805, Castlereagh was Secretary of State for War and the Colonies, and now he had the power - he was Napoleon's great opponent.

Nelson was victorious at Trafalgar, saving England from invasion. But Pitt died early in 1806. The King asked Lord Grenville to lead a government, and Castlereagh, now free from responsibility, was in the opposition. However, a new government under the Duke of Portland brought Castlereagh back in 1807. The burden of the war fell on Castlereagh and Canning, the Foreign Minister. Arthur Wellesley captured Copenhagen and the Danish fleet was confiscated. Just as matters seemed to be improving in Europe for Britain, a war broke out with America. Wellesley was sent off to Portugal to begin a campaign there, one which eventually hastened the downfall Napoleon. However, frictions began to grow between Castlereagh and Canning over the best policy for Britain to follow. As a result, Canning began to agitate to have Castlereagh removed from the Cabinet, probably because he was jealous of Castlereagh's successes. He persuaded Lord Portland to remove Castlereagh, just as a force sent by Castlereagh to Belgium failed under the incompetent command of its general.

Again, Castlereagh sunk into a depression. However, rather than remove Castlereagh, Lord Portland resigned as Prime Minister. Canning plotted for the position, but the King refused to send for him. When Castlereagh found out about Canning's plotting, he resigned and challenged Canning to a duel. The first shots missed. Canning's second shot missed. Castlereagh's second shot hit Canning's leg. Canning was not asked to join the government for twelve years.

Castlereagh gained many admirers over the shabby treatment to which he had been subjected. The inquiry into the failed Belgium expedition was laid to the general in charge. An Irish journalist who accused Castlereagh of having sanctioned torture in Ireland was sued for libel by Castlereagh, and the journalist was imprisoned after an eighteen-month trial.

Castlereagh was forty-one, and he found a small farm in Kent into which he and his wife moved in 1810, and he began to raise sheep, very successfully. The distance from the government seemed to improve Castlereagh's health and disposition. But, of course, the government called upon him. The new Prime Minister asked him to rejoin the government, but Castlereagh refused, several times in fact. But his sense of duty won over in the end, and he consented to become Foreign Minister in March 1812. Two months later the Prime Minister was murdered in the House of Commons, and Lord Liverpool took over, remaining in office for fifteen years. Castlereagh took over as

Leader of the House of Commons. For the next ten years, Castlereagh bore the burden of the Government in the house and conducted British foreign policy.

The mood in Britain was bad. There was hunger, unemployment and high prices. Strikes, riots and assassination attempts were frequent. The war with Napoleon improved after Napoleon turned on Russia. This gave Wellesley a better chance in Portugal and Spain against French forces. Meanwhile, Castlereagh worked to put together a coalition of allies -- Russia, Prussia, Austria and Britain. In June 1813, Wellesley routed the French army in Spain, and in October at Leipzig the allies defeated Napoleon. Eight months later, Britain and America signed a peace accord. Napoleon continued to fight for a few months, but finally surrendered

Long months of negotiations followed between the allies and France before a peace accord could be arranged. In all of these negotiations, it was Castlereagh who was the most important figure, trying to secure a fair and sound agreement. The Treaty of Chatillon was signed on March 1, 1814, under which the allies agreed to protect one another against attack from France. It led to the Quadruple Alliance which secured peace in Europe until 1848. The allies entered Paris on March 31, 1814. Napoleon surrendered and was given the Island of Elba to rule.

Castlereagh arrived home and entered Parliament on June 6, 1814 to a hero's welcome. The Prince Regent (The King's madness had made a Regency necessary) awarded him the Order of the Garter.

The peace negotiations resumed in Vienna later in 1814, with Castlereagh in attendance. Back in England in early 1815, Castlereagh was again cheered by the Parliament, but the opposition and journalists began to attack him for some of the terms being negotiated. Then in March, Napoleon returned for one last battle, which he lost to Wellesley at Waterloo. Napoleon surrendered to the British Navy and was sent off to St. Helena.

Castlereagh and his wife returned to Paris where he was again the star. But he was exhausted and seemed burdened by worries. He spent hours each day at the baths, but that did not seem to help. One day he asked the Surgeon General to the Forces where the carotid artery was. While walking in Paris he was knocked down by a horse, and this brought on an attack of gout.

On November 20, 1815, both the peace treaty and the Quadruple Alliance were signed. Castlereagh returned to England and spent some time on his farm. Conditions in England remained bad, with poverty and unemployment widespread and discontent strong. Reports of conspiracies and preparations for armed risings were common, and Castlereagh was held responsible by the people for all of the Government's measures to protect the country, even though he was neither the Prime Minister nor the Home Secretary.

The Prince Regent had taken a new mistress, a woman whom Castlereagh's wife did not like and whom she slighted. This led to friction between the Prince and Castlereagh. The hostility of the public toward the Government, including Castlereagh, grew, and Castlereagh carried loaded pistols with him at all times. He was continually threatened by the general public whenever he left Parliament or his house.

The End

There were still foreign affairs to deal with -- Austria's attack on Naples and Russian-Turkish friction. The King died and the Prince-Regent was installed in his place. Castlereagh's father died, and Castlereagh became the Marquess of Londonderry. He delayed his entrance into the House of Lords so that he could continue to run the House of Commons, which he did until his death. In December 1821, the wife of the Russian ambassador, who had become a confidante of Castlereagh's, returned from the continent, and found him to be in distress. He was very worried about the quarrel between his wife and the King's mistress, and he began to talk to her of treachery against him from colleagues such as Wellington and even from her. Still agitated, he stopped by his step-brother's home and said that he had been humiliated by the King's attitude toward him and that he could no longer remain a servant of the Crown and keep his self-respect.

Parliament ended on August 6, 1822, and Castlereagh's state of mind worsened. His delusions increased, and he believed that he was about to be arrested for homosexual conduct. He was due to leave for a Congress in Europe but feared to do so. He wanted to take a break, and he told his secretary that his mind was "as it were, gone." In an interview with the King, he talked about his delusions and said that he was mad. After dismissing him, the King asked Wellington to send a doctor to Castlereagh. Wellington found Castlereagh at home where he claimed that he had been followed to and from the Palace. Wellington told him that he was not in his right mind, whereupon Castlereagh cried.

His doctor found him at home, confused in his mind and very weak. Castlereagh went to his farm in Kent, but the rest seemed not to help. He had spoken of suicide, and so his family and servants were taking precautions. He asked for the key to his pistol case, but his wife refused to give it to him. On August 12, he asked his wife for razors so that he could shave, but she locked them away. He asked for breakfast but then found fault with it. He told the maid that there was a conspiracy against him, and he seemed to imply that his wife was involved in it. Castlereagh went into his dressing room and cut his throat just as his doctor entered the room. "Oh, Bankhead, it is all over," he said as he collapsed and died in his doctor's arms.

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THE SEXUAL POLITICS OF DOUBLE SUICIDES

David Lester

Couple suicide pacts are not very common. For example, according to a survey conducted in Dade County, Florida (Fishbain and Aldrich, 1985) suicide pacts constituted only 0.007 percent of the suicides. The most common pacts involved married couples, with young lovers next most common. Based on a survey of the USA from 1980 to 1987, Wickett (1990) documented 97 couples involving the suicide of one or both partners. Two-thirds of these cases involved mercy killings followed by suicide, while one-third were double suicides. In the typical case, the wife or both partners were ill, and the husband initiated the plan. The couple often left evidence indicating that they felt exhausted and hopeless, and that they feared parting or being institutionalized. In the mercy killing cases, the husband could not bear his wife's suffering or life without her.

Rosenbaum (1983) studied cases of double suicide in which one partner survived. The instigator, usually a male with a history of attempted suicide, did not survive the suicidal action. The surviving partner was typically a female who did not appear to be emotionally disturbed or to have a history of nonfatal suicidal behavior. The instigators had characteristics similar to those of murderers and murder-suicides.

For double suicides (rather than mercy killings), these studies suggest the role of a domineering and dominating husband who decides that both partners must commit suicide. Insight into double suicide may be obtained from the biographies of famous double suicides. Two famous incidences involve Stefan Zweig and his wife Lotte (Allday, 1972; Prater, 1972) and Arthur Koestler and his wife Cynthia (Leven, 1984). These two cases will be reviewed here to illustrate the sexual politics of double suicide in which husbands were able to persuade their wives to terminate their own lives prematurely.

Charlotte Altman And Stefan Zweig

Stefan Zweig's family was upper middle class, Jewish and Viennese. Successful industrialists, bankers, and professional men were among his relatives (Allday, 1972; Prater, 1972). Stefan's father had established a large successful weaving mill in Czechoslovakia. His mother was from Italy and also Jewish.

Stefan was born the second and last child on November 28, 1881. As a child, he wanted for nothing. He was spoiled by his family, relatives and servants, but also severely disciplined. He was less obedient than his older brother, given to temper tantrums and often in conflict with his mother.

His older brother was expected to go into the father's business and agreed to do so. This left Stefan free to pursue his own interests, and Stefan chose an academic life for him. After eight grim years in a Gymnasium (a rigorous version of an extended American

high school), he attended the University of Vienna and very quickly found that his interests lay in the theater and literature. He had poems published when he was sixteen, and he was soon writing for some of the best periodicals in Vienna. Almost everything he wrote was published, his first book when he was nineteen.

Despite his success, Stefan did not think highly of his writing. Thus, he decided to translate famous foreign authors rather than concentrate on his original composition. One of the first poets that Stefan translated was the Belgian Emile Verhaeren, and this early translation work prepared Stefan for the role he played in European literature, the interpreter and introducer of foreign writers and their work to German audiences.

In 1912, Friderike von Winternitz, who had been tremendously moved by Stefan's early poems, initiated a romantic relationship with Stefan. At the time Friderike was married with a daughter. Jewish by birth, she had converted to her husband's Catholic religion. Her family was upper middle class, and her father-in-law had connections at the Austrian Court and in the Foreign Service. She wrote too (and continued to do so while married to Stefan). However, she abandoned her aspirations in order to raise her two daughters and smooth the way for Stefan's writing.

Their romance was slowed by Stefan's reluctance, his continual travel, and Friderike's marital bonds. Stefan felt that the relationship would worsen his depression, and he warned Friderike about his moods, his unstable life and his lack of plans for the future. Friderike managed to leave her husband and set up a home for Stefan and herself in 1914. Stefan finally gave up an affair with a French woman and decided to live with Friderike, though he seems to have felt no grand passion for her.

After the First World War Stefan and Friderike, now married, lived in their house in Salzburg, visited by the many friends and admirers.

The 1930s saw two changes in Stefan's life. First, he separated from Friderike and took up with his assistant, Charlotte Altman. Second, the growing anti-semitism in Germany and Austria affected him profoundly. Unlike many Jews in those nations, Stefan accurately forecast the outcome. He knew that he had to escape, and so he began to spend longer amounts of time outside of Austria and eventually moved to England in 1938 after the Germany occupation of Austria.

Charlotte Altman became his secretary in 1933. As with Friderike, he seemed hardly to notice Lotte's devotion to him. He slipped into an involvement with her as unwittingly as he had with Friderike. The struggle between the two women for Stefan's love lasted three years. At times it seemed as if he might stay with Friderike, but Stefan identified the stress he was under with Friderike. Lotte promised a more peaceful life. Friderike remained friends with Stefan and continued to worry about his state of mind and to try to get him through difficult periods. Stefan helped Friderike escape from France to the USA, and Friderike sent him letters and books to Brazil which were important since he felt isolated and alone there.

Lotte was physically frail and suffered from asthma. Stefan's biographers suggest that his sexual relationship with her was probably unsatisfactory. Friends of Stefan remarked that one hardly noticed Lotte. She seemed non-existent. Certainly Stefan's biographers have little to say of her. Yet her passionate devotion to Stefan is clear in her decision to commit suicide with him.

Stefan and Lotte bought a house in Bath, England, where Stefan managed to continue his productivity. After his divorce from Friderike, they married in September 1939, three days after Chamberlain's declaration of war with Germany. Stefan was fifty-seven, Lotte thirty-one.

Stefan was convinced that England would fall to Hitler. By June of 1940, Denmark and Norway had fallen, followed by Belgium, the Netherlands and France. Stefan received invitations to lecture in the United States and South America, and he took this opportunity to escape from what he saw as the certain defeat of England. Stefan and Lotte went first to the USA and then to Brazil.

He and Lotte leased a house outside of Rio in Petropolis where he completed his autobiography and wrote his last works of fiction. His reception in Brazil was cool, in contrast to the adulation on his tours there in the 1930s and, once they were installed in their home, few friends visited. Stefan had spent most of life entertaining friends and visiting acquaintances all over Europe. Though he had complained of never having time to himself for his work, he now had all the time he needed but felt acutely isolated. The solace he had sought oppressed him.

He went to Rio for the Carnival, but on Shrove Tuesday (February 17) the news arrived of the fall of Singapore to the Japanese. Stefan immediately left with Lotte for Petropolis. The decision was made. Stefan spent the rest of the week writing letters and making final arrangements. He called friends, and on Saturday evening invited a neighboring couple to dinner. On Sunday afternoon, he and Lotte both took massive doses of veronal and died.

Analysis

Stefan's life was relatively easy compared to others living through the same era. He knew this, and it caused him guilt. His writing came easy, he was always wealthy, and he escaped from the terrible persecution and extermination of the Jews who stayed in Nazi controlled Europe.

According to his biographers, Stefan was incapable of forming close relationships. Stefan seemed closer to Friderike the farther he was away from her. Perhaps Stefan feared the demands that would be made on him by close relationships? His life-style of frequently going off by himself to visit friends abroad served to preserve

his relationship with her. Indeed, the same might be said of all of his friendships, which seemed to flourish better by letter than face-to-face.

The young Stefan is often described as a melancholy introvert. He had periods of deep depression from an early age (which he referred to as his black liver). His depressions may have been made worse by the experience of persecution of his people by the Nazis and the banning and destruction of his works. He feared that the Nazis would eventually catch up with him and exterminate him no matter where he fled. In letter to a friend, he confided that the Nazis would never find him alive.

In the 1930s, now in his fifties, Stefan began to show a fear of growing old. In a letter in 1931, he wrote that he feared being ill, growing old or growing bitter. For Stefan, sixty was the end of life. The difficulty he had in writing in the 1940s also terrified him.

Stefan had never attempted suicide prior to his death, but he had twice talked to Friderike of joining him in death. She had always talked him out of it, and he had dealt with his depressions by traveling. Suicide was a prominent theme in his writing. Rather than allow his characters to endure humiliation from external forces in the society or from mental and physical deterioration, he had them escape, often by suicide.

His suicide note spoke only of his lack of desire to begin completely afresh in his sixtieth year. He spoke of being exhausted by long years of homeless wandering and his desire to avoid any future humiliation from loss of freedom and an inability to continue his intellectual work.

It remains a puzzle why Lotte died with him. He most certainly urged her to do so. But we learn so little about her from his biographers that we do not know why she submitted to such a suggestion. Clearly, Friderike did not and would not have died with him. Friderike was a writer too, had two children by her first husband and had learnt to live apart from Stefan since he traveled so extensively during their marriage. After the war, Friderike became an academic, one of the scholarly experts on Stefan Zweig.

Lotte died with Stefan; Friderike built a career on him.

Cynthia Jeffries And Arthur Koestler

Arthur Koestler was born on September 5, 1905, in Budapest, the only child of Henrik and Adela Koestler. The first trauma for Arthur was an unexpected and unexplained tonsillectomy without anesthesia in 1910. Because of his father's poor business sense and his mother's dislike of Hungary, the family moved to Vienna in 1914 amidst much conflict between his parents.

Shy and insecure, Koestler studied science and engineering, but he became involved in a Zionist dueling fraternity at a polytechnic college in Vienna. The three years he spent in this group were very happy and began his involvement in politics. He

became a follower of Vladimir Jabotinsky, burned his matriculation papers and left for Palestine in 1926. After a hard period of adjustment there, he obtained a job as Middle East correspondent for a German publishing company.

In 1929, disillusioned with Palestine, he returned to Europe where he continued to work as a newspaper correspondent. He joined the German Communist Party in 1931 and lost his job as a result. He traveled to Russia to report on events there and returned to Paris to write, though the Communist Party disapproved of many of his articles and books and greatly restricted his freedom. He married Dorothy Asher but separated a few months later. (They were divorced in 1950.)

He made three trips to Spain during the Civil War and was arrested and imprisoned for three months by Franco's Nationalists as a spy. He was sentenced to death but freed after British protests. Disillusioned now with Communism, he resigned from the Communist Party. He was detained and imprisoned in both England and France but, after the publication of *Darkness at Noon*, was released and worked for the Ministry of Information in England during the war.

After the war, the cause of Zionism again captured his attention, and he traveled there and both reported on events and wrote novels around his experiences. In 1950 he married Mamaine Paget, but she separated from him in 1951 and died in 1954 soon after their divorce. His third and final marriage was to Cynthia Jeffries in 1965, his secretary since 1950.

He settled in England in 1952 and became a British citizen, and he continued to work for and write about political issues. His writings, including both novels, essays, and biographies, always explored the important social issues of the times, and his work has been compared to that of George Orwell's in its impact on the times.

Cynthia Jeffries was twenty-two when she started working for Koestler. She was from South Africa and had gone to Paris with the aim of working for a writer. There had been stress in her life - her father committed suicide when she was thirteen and there was a brief, unsuccessful marriage. From the time that she joined him, her life was rarely distinct from his.

One of the causes for which Koestler worked was euthanasia. As he grew older, he developed Parkinson's disease and then leukemia. When the effects of these illnesses worsened, he decided to commit suicide, and Cynthia decided that she could not live without him.

Interestingly, all of his wives remained in some way attached and, for some, devoted to and dependent on him. Dorothy Asher helped free Koestler from prison in Spain. Mamaine Paget, who suffered from his drunken rages, wrote that she would do anything, even leave him, if it were necessary to help him fulfill his destiny.

Cynthia went further. On March 3, 1983, she committed suicide with him in their London home.

Comment

There was some outcry after the double suicide of the Koestlers. Mikes (1984) noted that Arthur Koestler treated Cynthia 'abominably'. She had to be on duty to serve Arthur twenty-four hours a day, and she had to be perfect in everything she did. She was secretary, lover, wife, nurse, housekeeper, cook, mother, daughter and inseparable companion. Mikes gives an example of Arthur criticizing Cynthia's cooking early in their relationship and sending her to cooking school to improve. In the 1970s, Arthur became more dependent on Cynthia, first after he lost his driving license for drunk driving and then as he developed Parkinson's disease and leukemia. He became Cynthia's prisoner, and she seemed more relaxed to Mikes and teased Arthur more.

Blue (1983) argued that Cynthia should not have killed herself. She was in good health, energetic and able. She had a home, many friends and financial security. But Cynthia had come to live entirely for Arthur and through him. As she added to Arthur's suicide note, "I cannot face life without Arthur."

It is common for those physically abused by others to feel that they deserve the abuse and for them to become dependent upon and attached to their abusers. Cynthia was not physically abused, but the psychological abuse may have created a similarly strong dependency upon Arthur. As Arthur sickened, Cynthia's attachment to him became less pathological but no less intense. His sickness, by making him more dependent upon her, gave her a little more power. But he obviously made no effort to prepare her for his death by encouraging her to have interests outside of his life or by encouraging her independence.

Comment

Canetto (1992-1993) has described the myth in our society that women die for love while men die for glory. This myth, acting as a culturally shared assumption, may influence the suicidal choices of women, and it is evident that such a culturally shaped attitude may have played a role in the decisions of Lotte Zweig and Cynthia Koestler to commit suicide with their husbands.

In fact, though the deaths of Charlotte Zweig and Cynthia Koestler were technically suicides, their deaths have the quality of murder, murder by self-centered, power-seeking husbands who gave little or no thought for the quality of life for their wives.

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GÉRARD DE NERVAL

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Gérard Labrunie was born in Paris on May 22, 1808. His father, Etienne Labrunie, served in the army and, after being wounded, went to Paris to study medicine. He then became a physician for the Grande Armée at the age of 32. He married Marie Antionette Laurent, a linen draper's daughter, in 1807, who was 22. After his birth, Nerval was immediately sent to a wet nurse, a peasant living in a small village. Labrunie was called up in December, and Marie decided to go with him. After a year and a half of following her husband, Marie died from a fever, in November, 1810. Labrunie was captured and no news of him was heard until 1813.

When Nerval was two, his great uncle, who ran an inn in Mortefontaine, took him from the wet nurse to raise him. The land nearby was called "clos de Nerval" which is the source of Nerval's pen name (which he used after 1835). During his stay with his great-uncle, Nerval had many friends and met many of the local families, and several young girls and women made a great impression on him. It far from clear the extent of his friendship or involvement with these women because it is difficult to decipher how autobiographical the stories he produced are. However, some of these women served to create the image of the ideal woman for him, an image that he sought in later life, but which no one could ever match.

When Nerval was seven, Labrunie appeared unannounced, freed at last and discharged. Labrunie took his son back to Paris, and Nerval switched from a carefree country existence to a strict régime in the city. He was expected to rise early, exercise with his father's batman, and study hard, both academic subjects and dancing, music and drawing.

He entered grammar school when he was twelve, where he met Théophile Gautier, who became his life-long friend. He was always near the top of his class. He began writing verse when he was thirteen, and, before he left college, he had his verse published many times and was a contributor to the *Mercure de France au XIXe Siècle*. In 1827, his translation of the first part of Goethe's *Faust* was published to great acclaim -- even Goethe praised it highly. After this, his prose and verse was sought after by editors, and he moved in literary circles. Labrunie, however, strongly disapproved of his son's literary inclinations.

His great-uncle died in 1820, his aunt in 1826 and his grandmother in 1828, extinguishing his mother's line. After leaving school, Nerval was apprenticed to a printer, worked as a clerk in a notary's office, and enrolled in medical school, where he did well but dropped out in 1834. Meanwhile he continued to contribute to literary journals, and he published more translations of German authors. He also decided to try writing for the theater, but his efforts here were met with continual failure, despite rare successes, yet he

pursued this endeavor for the rest of his life. His first play, an adaptation of Victor Hugo's *Han d'Islande*, was judged to be too elaborate and expensive to produce.

Nerval was part of a literary and artistic group, the *Petit Cénacle*, which met regularly in du Seigneur's studio to drink and debate. Despite his shyness, Nerval was a brilliant and charming talker. He displayed polished manners and reserved language. He had a pallid complexion, a slender aquiline nose, firm chin and well-shaped mouth. Though quiet, he often joined in the riotous evenings in taverns, to the extent of being arrested with them on occasion, and he loved to wander the streets of Paris, alone or with friends, throughout the night. His plays continued to meet with rejection, but his writing for journals continued successfully, though he produced nothing of note and seemed to be only a hack writer.

In 1834, Nerval was still living with his father, and he was devoted to his father despite the friction over his literary aspirations. After his grandfather died in 1834, Nerval inherited thirty thousand francs, and so he moved out to live in an apartment. Labrunie was angry and, though he and Nerval met regularly for the rest of Nerval's life, Labrunie gave him no financial assistance, even withholding the allowance Nerval was due from his mother's estate. The inheritance allowed Nerval to travel, and he visited Italy in 1834. Nerval, however, squandered his inheritance. He bought expensive furniture, started a literary magazine which folded after two months, leaving him with no money and financial problems for the rest of his life.

One evening at the theater, Nerval became entranced by an actress, Jenny Colon, and he "fell in love" with her, though it is not clear whether he ever delivered the letters he wrote to her, declared his love to her or became her lover. In his writings, she came to embody the ideal woman whose image he had developed in his youth. She married a musician in 1838, ending Nerval's dreams of a romance with her.

The money he earned from his writings enabled Nerval to travel again, to Belgium in 1836 (where he came down with a fever which was treated with leeches) and to Germany in 1838 where he again showed his recklessness with money. He had twelve hundred francs for his travels, but he immediately spent most of it on antiques which he had to store in the shop, leaving him with only one hundred and eighty francs! Thus, his travel in Germany was hampered by his lack of money for food, lodging and transportation. Back home, destitute again, he became depressed, but he was given a government commission to study copyright practices in Germany and Austria, enabling him to travel once more. This, time, as with his "love life," Nerval began to find that the places he visited were not as wonderful as he had imagined. Though he continued to travel for the rest of his life, he was often disappointed. However, he enjoyed Vienna and stayed there for three months, socializing with the artists and writing for a theater journal. When he decided to return to France, he had no money and made the journey to Strasbourg on foot, depressed and hungry.

Finances continued to plague him. He subsisted mainly on his writing for Paris magazines. He continually asked his father for money, but his father, who had previously given him four hundred francs a year, refused to help out. His love life continued to be barren. It is possible that he admired women only from afar or courted them with words. Some biographers, however, have suggested that he was partially or intermittently impotent. However, Sowerby (1973) mentions no woman with whom Nerval is known for sure to have had a sexual relationship.

After a trip to Belgium, in January 1841, Nerval had his first psychiatric breakdown. He was nervously excited, had strange ideas, and, after taking off his clothes and expecting his soul to be taken up to heaven, he was arrested and taken to a private asylum. He was released after a month, but his friends thought he was still odd. He had delusions of grandeur and was often impossible to understand. In March he was institutionalized again. He could no longer distinguish dreams and visions from reality, and he had hallucinations. This episode lasted eight months, and he was released in November. For the next year, he withdrew from society and was often sad and depressed. However, after a period of being unable to write, he began to write much more creatively, writing those works on which his reputation rests.

Toward the end of 1842, Nerval was able to travel to the Middle East and Turkey, this time with a companion and adequate planning. Nerval appears to have had some depression during this expedition, and he had a fever and perhaps a psychiatric relapse in Lebanon, but he recovered sufficiently so that he could continue his travels. He was conscious of growing older -- his vision was deteriorating, his hair thinning and his weight increasing. His joints were stiff, and he had bouts of fever. He returned to France in early 1844.

He returned to writing for a living, and also invented and patented a printing machine (a project which earned him no money). For the next few years, he was unable to travel, but he remained free from psychiatric problems until 1849 after which he was institutionalized on several occasions (April 1849, May, 1850, September 1851, February 1853, August 1853, and August 1854). In January 1852, he had a fever which was diagnosed as erysipelas, a fever which had occurred often in his life beginning with an episode of puerperal fever in his childhood years.

Nerval was often profoundly depressed, anxious that he might have another psychiatric breakdown, continually haunted by the need to write in order to obtain money, and fearful of creative impotence. He began to be afflicted by feelings of unworthiness and guilt, and he contemplated suicide. He suffered from insomnia and would wander the streets at night, and he continued to show bizarre behavior which necessitated his institutionalization. For example, in August, 1853, he was in an excitable state, threw coins into the air, got into a fight with a stranger and hallucinated that he was surrounded by an army. Eventually he had to be restrained with a strait-jacket. When he was free from the madness, however, he was usually depressed. Although he continued to earn some money from his journalism, his efforts at play-writing continued to fail --

either the plays were not produced or they closed after a few performances. He published books about his travels, translations of foreign writers, and occasional poetry and stories.

In March 1854, Nerval left for his last voyage, supported by funds from the government. Rather than go to the orient as planned, he went to Germany, but his mental state worsened. On his return to Paris in July, he was in a state of uncontrolled delirium. After his release in October, he stayed with an aunt or at a hotel, but most nights he wandered the streets of Paris. His resources were minimal, and he was unable to write coherently any more. His body was found hanging from a grille in a dirty street near the Seine in Paris, after a night of bitter cold, on the morning on January 26, 1855.

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LEWIS PULLER

David Lester

Puller's father, "Chesty" Puller, was one of the most famous marines of this century. He had been born just before the turn of the century, served in five wars, and after heroic service in Korea was promoted to the rank of Brigadier General. Chesty had three children, first a daughter, Virginia, and then twins, Lewis and Martha. Lewis, born on August 18, 1945, had a typical service child's life, moving from base to base, changing schools, but, owing to his father's high rank, always accompanied by a number of Marines acting as "servants" for the family.

In 1954, Lewis's father suffered a mild stroke and the next year was retired from the Marines at the age of fifty-seven. He moved his family to Saluda, Virginia, where they remained for the rest of his life.

Lewis was always very close to his twin sister, but throughout their schools years Martha was more athletic than Lewis. They were educated at first in Catholic schools, although they were Episcopalians, but after the move to Virginia attended the public schools for a while. For eighth grade, Lewis switched to an Episcopal school, thirteen years old, thin at ninety pounds, with braces and glasses.

After high school, Lewis went to the College of William and Mary where he led an easy life, drinking beer and chasing girls. Yet, when he graduated in 1967, with the Vietnam War developing, Lewis chose to join the Marines, following in his father's steps. During the time he was waiting his call for Officer Candidate School, as he struggled to get fit so that he would do well in training, his sister arrived home with a friend, Toddy (Linda Todd), who later became his wife. Training went well, and Lewis graduated in 1968 and moved on to Basic School for a shortened nine week course. Lewis was determined to be a combat platoon leader, as his father had been, and refused to consider safer and easier roles in the Marines. During this course, Toddy became pregnant, and Lewis and she married the next week. A few weeks later, Lewis was in Vietnam.

Lewis served only three months in Vietnam. According to his autobiography, he never visited a prostitute, never used drugs, and never killed an enemy soldier. But, in the midst of an engagement with the Viet Cong, he set off a booby trap which destroyed both legs and severely damaged both hands. (He lost most of his left hand, leaving only the thumb and half of a forefinger, and he lost the thumb and little finger of the right hand.)

Lewis was back in the states in the Fall of 1968, and the next few years were taken up with a series of operations and physical and occupational therapy. Although, he learned to stand and move a little using artificial legs, Lewis realized that he would never walk again properly, and so he resigned himself to a wheelchair. Toddy and his son moved up to Philadelphia, and eventually they were able to live together in an apartment provided by the military. In 1970, Lewis's father had a severe stroke, an on August 31,

1970, Lewis was officially retired with a maximum disability pension. At the same time, Toddy was pregnant with their second child.

Lewis decided to go to law school, and he chose the College of William and Mary where he had been an undergraduate. He took a few course in early 1971 to prepare himself for the Fall of 1971. Law school went well, but Lewis, who had started drinking heavily during his recuperation, now began to have half a dozen drinks between the cocktail hour and bedtime.

The political situation and the way in which the returning veterans were greeted had a big impact on Lewis. He began to despise the government and the Marine Corps, feeling that they had used and then discarded him, that he had been the victim of an obscene fraud. On the other hand, he also hated those who had not fought in Vietnam and those who protested the war.

Lewis's daughter was born on March 11, 1971, and in the third week on April that year a thousand veterans went to Washington to protest American involvement in the war. Lewis's father died in October that year. For the next couple of years, Lewis tried to forget the war and to concentrate on studying. He was asked to run for offices at law school and, though he always refused, the possibility of running for office in later years was planted in his mind.

In 1973, Lewis realized that he was depressed. In the summer, he worked as an intern in Veterans Administration in Washington, DC, and after he returned to law school for his final year he saw a psychiatrist for six months. This helped to "keep the demons at bay," but Lewis did not really make much progress toward resolving the conflicts he felt. He passed the Virginia bar examination, and the general counsel's office at the VA offered him a job.

Within weeks of starting his job in 1974, President Ford instituted a clemency program for deserters and draft evaders. Lewis managed to transfer to a job there and eventually was appointed to one of the Presidential Clemency Boards. After the boards finished their work in the summer of 1975, Lewis returned to his job at the VA. In 1976, he moved to be national service director for the Paralyzed Veterans of America.

In 1978, he ran for Congress from Virginia, challenging the incumbent Republican congressman. The campaign was stressful for Lewis and his family, and he lost, by a two-to-one margin. He was stunned by his defeat and became seriously depressed. He withdrew and drank heavily. In the summer of 1979 he joined the Office of the General Counsel at the Department of Defense, but his descent into alcoholism began in earnest. After six months on the job, he decided that he was a failure as a lawyer, husband and father. He drank a large quantity of vodka and went down to the garage to kill himself with car exhaust. However, he could not carry through with the act and passed out from the alcohol. His wife found him in that state, and he was sent to the psychiatric unit at Bethesda Naval Hospital. He continued in outpatient treatment and

saw a therapist for six months. But then he began drinking again, drinking himself into oblivion every night and misbehaving at social gatherings.

In the Fall of 1981, he re-entered the psychiatric unit at Bethesda Naval Hospital, where he was diagnosed as a mid- to late-stage alcoholic and transferred to a 28-day civilian alcohol rehabilitation unit which was based on the 12-step program of Alcoholics Anonymous. He completed this program successfully, attended ninety more meetings in his first ninety days out of the program, and joined an Alcoholics Anonymous group at the Department of Defense where he worked.

The building of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial helped Lewis cope with some of his conflicts and feelings from the war. He realized that the war was a tragic mistake, but that his role in it was honorable.

In his autobiography, published in 1991, Lewis says little about his life after 1982, except that he met some Russian veterans from the Afghanistan War in 1989. In the year his book was published, his children were undergraduates at James Madison University, and Toddy was running for the Virginia state legislature.

Lewis committed suicide on May 11, 1994, at the age of 48 (*New York Times*, 1994, May 12, B 14:1, May 14 I 9:1). His autobiography had won him a Pulitzer Prize in 1992. But in the following years, he became dependent on a prescription painkiller and, while in Bethesda Naval Hospital to withdraw from the medication, he fell and broke a hip, after which he became severely depressed and began drinking again. He refused positions in the Clinton administration, and took a leave of absence from the Department of Defense to be writer-in-residence at George Mason University (he planned to write a biography of a fellow Vietnam veteran, Senator Bob Kerry of Nebraska) and to work on veterans affairs. He visited Vietnam and was involved in a project to build a school in Quang Tri, formerly in the Demilitarized Zone between south and north Vietnam, and the trip both exhilarated and depressed him. Toddy, now a member of the Virginia House of Delegates separated from him, and friends described him as being in severe physical and emotional pain.

He killed himself with a gunshot to the head at his home in Alexandria, Virginia on May 11, 1994.

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CLARE BOOTHE LUCE

David Lester

Clare Boothe Luce did not, of course, commit suicide -- she made at least three suicide attempts, yet lived to die of natural causes at the age of eighty-four.

Clare's grandfather was a minister who had four sons and seven daughters, one of whom shot herself after creating a scandal by marrying the manager of a theater company. Clare's father, William Boothe, attended Purdue University and studied the violin. He worked as a salesman, but played the violin whenever he could. While playing in an orchestra, Billy met a chorus girl, Ann Clare Snyder, whose father ran a livery stable in New Jersey. They eloped and married in 1894. They had a son, David, March 10, 1902, and a daughter Clare, March 10, 1903.

The family moved around the country depending on Billy's work, and the children were mostly educated at home. Billy worked for a time with a traveling symphony orchestra, then for a soft-drink bottling company, and then for the Chicago Grand Opera orchestra. Billy deserted the family in 1911 -- his wife told the children he had died.

Ann Boothe divorced Billy in 1913, lived with her father until he died, and then moved back to New York City. Adolescence was not a happy period for the children, and Clare was often restless and depressed. However, in 1913, Mrs. Boothe was able to send her son to military school and take Clare to Europe for a holiday. On the boat home, Mrs. Boothe met a rich Jewish businessman whom she refused to marry but who befriended the family thereafter. Mrs. Boothe worked selling jewelry and was able to continue sending her son to the military school. She hoped that Clare would become a child star and was able to get her jobs as an understudy for actresses and small roles in movies. After quitting drama academy, Clare was sent to a Catholic school on a scholarship (because her grandfather had been a clergyman). Although homesick, Clare found a good friend there, Elizabeth Cobb, whose father wrote for *The Saturday Evening Post*, and Clare was "adopted" into their family. For tenth grade, Clare transferred to Castle School in Tarrytown, New York. Clare was academically outstanding, and she graduated a year early, in 1919, at the age of sixteen.

Several days later after graduation, on a train, she sat next to a man who introduced himself to her as her father, and so Clare found out that her father was not dead. He visited the family a couple of times and then disappeared again.

Mrs. Boothe was hospitalized for appendicitis and fell in love with and married her surgeon, Albert Austin. Austin took the family to Europe in 1920, and in England, just before returning to America, Clare fell in love with Major Julian Simpson. However, when Simpson visited Clare in America, he realized that she was not very rich, and so he went back to England, breaking Clare's heart.

On board the ship, the family met the "queen" of New York society, Mrs. Alva Belmont, who was very interested in women's suffrage and wanted to form a Women's National Party. Back in New York, Clare went to work for Mrs. Belmont. Clare soon met George Brokaw, forty-three, a multimillionaire, and an eligible bachelor. George fell in love with Clare, and Mrs. Boothe pressured Clare into considering marriage. Clare married him on August 10, 1923, though she never loved him. George turned out to be a chronic drunkard, and he was often physically violent. They had a daughter, Ann, August 25, 1924¹, and nannies took care of raising Ann. Clare and George spent summers in Newport, Rhode Island, where Clare eventually won over the matrons of the community. Austin left Mrs. Boothe for a nurse, and Mrs. Boothe moved in with Clare and George for a while. After George's mother died, his drinking and violence toward Clare increased. Clare moved out, hired a good divorce lawyer and went to Nevada to get a divorce. Clare settled for a lifetime income of \$26,000 per year, plus a trust fund of almost half a million to go to Ann after Clare's death. George agreed to pay for Ann's education, and he and Clare had custody of Ann for six months each year. Clare's father died that same year.

Clare was now twenty-six and free.

Life Before Luce

Clare found was miserable and lonely after the divorce, despite her material wealth, and she began psychoanalysis but quit before her analyst felt she was finished. She socialized, she dated, and she ran into Condé Nast who published *Vogue* and *Vanity Fair*. She asked Nast for a job, and he passed her on to an assistant who seemed reluctant to hire her. So Clare simply went to the offices and began working. Eventually, the editor of *Vanity Fair* formally hired her, and Clare was soon the associate editor, reading manuscripts, helping photographers, writing articles, and translating stories. She also published a book of short stories, *Stuffed Shirts*.

Clare had an affair with Donald Freeman, the managing editor of *Vanity Fair*, but she also had relationships with many other men, often married, always busy, and typically discarded by Clare in the end. In the early 1930s, Clare met Bernard Baruch, sixty-one (almost twice Clare's age), a successful businessman and global statesman, and they fell in love. But Baruch was married, and his wife was mentally ill, so that he would not leave her. Clare and he remained lovers and then friends until his death. Baruch introduced Clare to politics, taking her to the Democratic National Convention in 1932, and for a while Clare considered forming a new national party.

In 1932, Donald Freeman crashed his car and died. Most of his friends considered it suicide as a result of the rejection by Clare. Clare then became the managing editor at *Vanity Fair*. But in 1934, Clare decided that she wanted to write plays and resigned. Her first attempt, co-written with Paul Gallico, failed to find a producer. Her second play,

¹ Clare also had four miscarriages.

Abide With Me, closed after a few performances. She negotiated for a radio show, tried writing a newspaper column and spent three months as a non-voting member of the Code Authority for the Motion Picture Industry.

Although Clare had her daughter for six months each year, she was not an attentive mother. Clare would often send Ann away to camp, and Ann was often lonely. Though she stayed busy, Clare had few friends. This period was, then, a period in which she was searching for a direction, yet failing to find one. Meeting Henry Luce resolved this dilemma.

Marriage With Luce

Henry Luce, the founder of *Time*, and Clare met for the first time at a dinner party on December 9, 1934. There was an immediate rapport between them, and soon Luce was pursuing Clare. Once she agreed to marry him, Luce told his wife that he wanted a divorce. The emotional and legal struggles for Luce were lengthy, but the divorce was final in October 1935. Luce and Clare were married on November 23, 1935. Luce was thirty-seven, Clare thirty-two. They began with a country home in Stamford, Connecticut, and an apartment in Manhattan.

Henry made a great effort to keep Clare away from *Time* and his magazines, though he sought her opinion on many issues and occasionally she wrote an article for them. They became social and political personalities. They entertained and were entertained almost every night. They bought an estate in Moncks Corner, South Carolina, close to Baruch's estate. Henry became quite close to Clare's daughter, and Clare became quite close to Henry's two sons. Initially Henry and Clare were happy, though Clare was occasionally overcome by depression. However, by 1938, they were already growing apart, and they moved to separate bedrooms. Clare traveled a lot, and Henry was often lonely. Eventually, Clare resumed her quest for lovers, none of whom, however, threatened her marriage. Eventually, Henry took lovers, two of whom seriously threatened their marriage.

Clare's first effort at an occupation was to return to play-writing. Her first play in this period, *The Women*, was a great success, produced all over the world and twice made into a movie. Soon after this, Clare's mother, who had been left by her husband, had a psychiatric breakdown and was hospitalized. Then, she and her new lover were killed in a car collision with a train in Florida, and Clare was devastated. Henry and Clare took their children for an extended stay in Hawaii, and this restored their relationship to some extent.

During the growing international crisis in the late 1930s, Clare and Henry traveled in Europe, and Clare wrote another successful play about the rise of fascism in America, *Kiss The Boys Goodbye*. Clare returned to Europe in 1940 as a *Life* correspondent and, as the fighting intensified, urged Henry to join her. They were in the danger spots, often fleeing before the advancing Germans and, when they got back to America, got involved

in the political campaigns, campaigning for Wilkie. These adventures helped their marriage. Clare continued to neglect her daughter, leaving her secretary to act as a surrogate mother. The secretary handled medical problems, shopped for clothes and helped Ann with her application to Stanford University. When Ann went off to Stanford, Henry and Clare were visiting China, and Clare stayed on for three months to follow General MacArthur in his campaigns.

On her return, Clare decided to enter politics herself and ran as a congresswoman from Connecticut. She won the Republican nomination and beat the Democratic candidate by 7,000 votes out of 120,000 cast. She was the first woman from Connecticut to enter Congress. She went first to Hollywood to write a screen play for a movie about China, and from there went to Washington, where she proved to be an effective congresswoman.

In 1943, Ann was nineteen, a senior at Stanford, and due to graduate in June 1944. Ann visited Clare at Christmas, and they both took the train back to California. After five days in Los Angeles with Clare, Ann was killed in a car crash while driving back to Stanford. Clare had a psychiatric breakdown. Nonetheless, despite her depression, Clare managed to run for re-election in 1944 and won by 2,000 votes.

Meanwhile, Henry had met Jean Dalrymple and fallen in love with her. Clare was busy in Congress and visiting Europe, but she soon learned of the affair and did her best to win Henry back. She was growing tired of Congress, and she was still depressed about her daughter's death. On the second anniversary of Ann's death, Clare talked about committing suicide. This time, she came out of her depression by getting involved with religion and converting to Catholicism -- formally so on February 16, 1946. Henry once confided to a friend that Clare was a manic-depressive and that her conversion had helped her with the depressive phases.

Clare had to have a hysterectomy, and Henry came by to ask for a divorce to marry Jean. Baruch advised Clare to ask for four million dollars and 51% of *Time* stock. During this period, Clare made two suicide attempts by cutting her wrists. Eventually, Henry and Clare reconciled, and Henry refused to see Jean again.

Henry and Clare then became patrons of the arts, contributing to the New York Philharmonic and the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Clare explored running for the Senate, but she was told that she stood no chance of winning. She went to Hollywood to work on another movie script, and she and Henry worked for Dewey in his Presidential race. Dewey's loss was followed by the death at sea in a plane crash of her brother David, a possible suicide.

The campaign of Eisenhower for President in 1950 galvanized the Luces. Clare and Henry both worked for his nomination and election. After the election, Clare wanted to stay involved, and Eisenhower offered her the Ambassadorship in Italy. Clare accepted, the first American woman appointed as ambassador to a major nation, and

Henry arranged to spend six months each year in Italy with her. After some resistance from the Italians initially, Clare proved to be a competent and successful ambassador. Clare played a large role in resolving the conflict between Italy and Yugoslavia over Trieste. But she developed a viral infection that caused her to lose several teeth, and she began to lose hair. An investigation discovered arsenic poisoning which was traced to the paint in the residence, though some sceptics thought that this story was an invention to explain away Clare's aging. Clare retired at the end of Eisenhower's first term. There was some thought to having Clare replace Nixon as Vice-President for the coming election, but Republican leaders decided not to do so.

Back in America, Clare got interested in mosaics and scuba diving, even writing on the latter for *Sports Illustrated*. She decided to settle in Phoenix, and Henry commuted between Phoenix and New York City. Henry suffered a pulmonary embolism (and was on anticoagulant medication for the rest of his life), and he convalesced with Clare in Phoenix. Clare was appointed as Ambassador to Brazil, but she decided that she would not enjoy Brazil and resigned. She accepted an offer to write regularly for *McCall's*.

Henry had fallen in love again, this time with Jean Campbell, the granddaughter of Lord Beaverbrook - Henry was fifty-eight and Jean was twenty-seven. They met and stayed together whenever Henry was in New York without Clare, but in 1960 Jean demanded that he divorce Clare and marry her. When Henry asked for a divorce, at first Clare seemed agreeable but, after she found out about Jean Campbell, she dug in her heels. Clare again demanded more than Henry would give up, and she made a serious suicide attempt with pills (as well as trying to jump out of a window with others present who stopped her). Henry broke with Jean who soon afterwards married Norman Mailer.

Life quietened down for both Clare and Henry now. They remained active in politics. Clare made a seconding speech for Goldwater at the 1964 Republican Convention and expected to be named Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare if he won. They changed apartments and planned a house in Hawaii; they experimented with LSD; but little of consequence took place in their lives until Henry died from a coronary occlusion on February 28, 1967, five weeks short of his sixty-fifth birthday.

Widowhood

Though she grieved for Henry, Clare handled widowhood well. She was sixty-four and continued to receive requests for articles and political support. She encouraged President-elect Nixon to give Henry Kissinger a position. She sold the house in Phoenix and the apartment in Manhattan, and finished her house Hawaii. She painted, played bridge, and kept close to her few friends. She stopped smoking and wrote a new play, *Slam The Door Softly*. She appeared on Buckley's *Firing Line* several times, and in 1973 was appointed by Nixon to the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board.

After Nixon's resignation, she returned to Hawaii for a while, but then sold her house there and moved to an apartment in the Watergate complex in Washington. She

received many awards and honorary degrees, including the Distinguished Service Award from Congress.

Eventually Clare developed a brain tumor. After having some radiation therapy, the doctors told Clare that further treatment was pointless. She went home and died a week later on October 9, 1987, at the age of eighty-four.

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JOSEPH GOEBBELS

David Lester

The Goebbels, a Catholic family, lived in Rheydt, near Düsseldorf. The grandfather worked as a manual laborer in the factories, but Goebbel's father, Fritz, worked his way up until he became a bookkeeper and plant manager after the First World War. Fritz married a dairy maid, Katharina Odenhausen. They had Konrad, Hans, Maria (who died as an infant), Paul, Joseph, born October 29, 1897, Elizabeth and Maria. The family was close-knit, and Joseph was especially close to his mother.

Joseph had pneumonia as a child, with hallucinations brought on by the fever. He then contracted osteomyelitis, which led to intermittent paralysis of his right leg and eventually a club foot, despite an operation when Joseph was ten. To lessen the stigma of the deformity, Katharina told everyone that the deformity was the result of an accident. The deformity led to teasing by his schoolmates and a strong sense of inferiority. Eventually, he came to believe his deformity was a punishment from God. He withdrew, but his aloofness made him even more disliked by his peers. His teachers also disliked him because he was self-willed and precocious. Joseph decided to offset his physical disability by being an exceptional student.

Joseph's parents were determined to educate him well. In 1908, he was sent to the municipal gymnasium, like his brothers, where he excelled in all subjects. His parents bought him a piano in 1909, and Joseph showed theatrical ability at school. He had even written Gothic tragedies as a child, and he continued to write poetry. To help pay the tuition for the school, one of Joseph's teachers found him work as a tutor.

When the First World War began, Joseph was filled with patriotic fervor. His brothers Konrad and Hans went off to fight in 1915, and then Elizabeth died from tuberculosis. By 1917, he had his first love (and lover), Lene Krage, a girl from a neighboring town. He graduated from the gymnasium in 1917, the valedictorian.

His parents wanted Joseph to study theology, but he went off to university (the first in his family to do so) to read classical philology, history and German literature. He started first in 1917 at the University of Bonn, where he joined a Catholic students' association, *Unitas Sigfridia*, and found a good friend in Karl Kölsch. Joseph worked to strengthen unity in the fraternity and to stimulate everyone's patriotism. Drinking bouts were an important part of fraternity life, and Joseph was soon broke. After a couple of months, he was called up, and so he returned home with his bills. The military rejected him, and he wrote a couple of novellas in his spare time which were rejected by publishers. Eventually, a local association lent Joseph money for his studies, a loan which he paid back only partially and not until 1930!

Back in Bonn, Joseph fell in love with Karl's sister, Agnes. Joseph followed Karl to the University of Freiberg in 1918, where he fell in love with Anka Stalherm and jilted

Agnes. Joseph and Anka moved to the University of Würzburg, and Joseph wrote a play centered around Judas Iscariot, but the church banned its production. To the surprise of Joseph (and others), Germany lost the war, and Joseph identified the "German fate" with his own. His home town was now occupied territory. His situation, combined with Germany's, broke his faith in the Catholic church, and he resigned from the church associations he had joined. He thought had managed to get some of his poems published in a book in 1919, but he found out that he was expected to pay for the publication. In 1919, Joseph and Anka moved to the University of Munich, where Joseph wrote another novel.

Financial problems continued to plague Joseph, especially since Anka was wealthier. For Christmas, 1919, Anka went off to the mountains with her wealthy friends, while Joseph stayed in Munich alone, even having to pawn his suits and wristwatch. In January, 1920, Joseph and Anka quarreled, and Joseph returned to Rheydt, sick in body and spirit.

During the political struggles in Germany at that time, Joseph was drawn to the Communists' position and to the problems of the workers, and he wrote a play to argue for socialist positions. He and Anka continued to have problems, and she did not accompany Joseph to the University of Heidelberg. Anka began to date others but, even though Joseph threatened suicide, eventually broke off her relationship with him. Joseph had a nervous breakdown, and his family took care of him. He buried his grief in alcohol and in reading. Finally, in 1921, he determined to finish his studies, writing a dissertation on Wilhelm Schütz, a romantic dramatist in the early 1800s. His oral examination was on November 18, 1921, and he passed, receiving a Ph.D.

Finding Hitler

In 1922, Joseph had a new girl friend, Else Janke, a local school teacher, and had some newspaper articles accepted in which he talked of the German soul and the importance of solidarity, a common theme among the many small political groups, including the National Socialist German Workers' Party (NSDAP) in Munich led by Hitler. In January 1923, Else helped find Joseph a job in bank in Cologne, but the work and the city depressed him, and he again threatened suicide. He took a sick leave from the bank, but then the bank fired him. Joseph had never been particularly anti-semitic, but during his brief time at the bank he began to think about the "racial question," though his reading of Spengler's works in the past had begun to raise the issue in his mind. Joseph now began to view Jews as the embodiment of materialism and as a source of Germany's problems.

At first, Joseph had laughed at the Nazis, but Hitler's passionate defense at the trial after his abortive putsch of 1923 stirred Joseph, as it did many Germans. He began to attend local NSDAP meetings, attended a national meeting at Weimar, where he met many of the leaders of the movement, and went back to Rheydt to organize local chapters of the party. In time, Joseph became a reasonably good speaker.

Hitler was released from prison early, in December 1924, and the ban on the Nazi party was lifted. In February, 1925, Joseph was appointed business manager of the Rhineland North Gau's central office, and he continued to give speeches to arouse enthusiasm for the party. To organize the workers, he began to work on propaganda, producing leaflets and newsletters. Interesting, in the debate over whether socialism or nationalism should be the central theme of the party, Joseph favored socialism. This proved to be a continual source of problems for Joseph since Hitler was very nationalistic and hardly socialist. Unlike Hitler, Joseph was supportive of Russian bolshevism (as long as the Jewish elements were purged). Although Hitler later dashed Joseph's socialist goals again and again, Joseph managed each time to convince himself that Hitler was the only leader who could move Germany back its rightful position in the world and that Hitler's decisions were the politically correct ones. Sometimes Joseph was able to blame Hitler's other advisors for leading Hitler astray.

Joseph probably met Hitler for the first time on July 12, 1925, and Hitler's *persona* quickly captured Joseph's personal support. Later that year, Joseph became editor (with a reasonable salary at last) of the *National Socialist Letters*, an official organ for the Nazi party. When Joseph next met Hitler, Hitler recognized that Joseph was outstanding at propaganda, and he saw that Joseph viewed Hitler as an instrument of divine will. Hitler began to flatter and nurture Joseph, thereby beginning their friendship. Whenever Joseph seemed to be upset by Hitler's positions or jealous of the power of other advisors, Hitler quickly used his close relationship with Joseph to calm him and to keep his idolatry.

In October, 1926, Joseph was appointed by Hitler to be Gauleiter of Greater Berlin. Joseph ended his relationship with Else (whose mother was Jewish) and left behind his associates in the Rhineland who viewed Joseph as having betrayed their socialist ideals.

In Berlin, Joseph worked hard, speaking writing for his newspaper (*Der Angriff* - The Attack), organizing the party and trying to get more votes at the elections. He scheduled marches, provoked confrontations with the rival political groups, and used incidents to inflame the populace so that they would join the Nazi party, incidents such as the murder of Nazi party members by the local Communists. He built up the strength of the SA and encouraged battles with the other parties since this produced newspaper coverage and gained the Nazi's new members. Joseph also began to focus more and more of his attacks on the Jews.

Progress was slow, however. In 1928, the NSDAP received only 2.6 percent of the national vote, and only 1.5 percent in Berlin. Nonetheless, this small showing allowed the Nazis to have a few deputies in the Reichstag, and Joseph was one of these. In 1930, Hitler made it clear that Joseph was to be the Minister of Propaganda for the Reich. As the economic conditions continued to worsen in Germany, with the number of unemployed rising dramatically, the people, began to turn to the new parties in large

numbers. In the 1930 elections, the Nazis won 107 Reichstag seats, up from 12 two years earlier.

In his personal life, Joseph's father died in December, 1929. In November, 1930, he hired Magda Quandt to organize his private archives, a divorced woman who, after struggles with her former in-laws and her own parents who disapproved of the Nazis, married Joseph in December, 1931. (Magda was already pregnant with their first child.) Hitler liked Magda tremendously, and he took to visiting and staying with the Goebbels whenever he was in Berlin.

Hitler's Government

Although Hitler lost the Reich Presidential election to Hindenburg in 1932, Hindenburg received only 53 percent of the vote. In the Reichstag elections later that year, the Nazis were the strongest party, now with 230 seats and later that year with 196 seats. On January 30, 1933, Hindenburg asked Hitler to become Chancellor.

Once in power, Joseph wanted to move faster against the Nazis' enemies than did Hitler who wanted to preserve the appearance of legality. Joseph wanted to attack the Communists immediately, but Hitler had a formal ban on Communist party demonstrations passed and had searches made of party offices where "illegal" literature was seized. Incidents, such as the burning down of the Reichstag on February 27, 1933,, were used to justify the laws that were passed. Hindenburg suspended constitutional rights, extended the death penalty and authorized numerous powers. The Third Reich was now in a permanent state of emergency, and Communists and Social Democrats could now be formally arrested legally, while the SA settled their old scores brutally in private. In the elections that year, the Nazis now got 44 percent of the vote, still not a majority. Nonetheless, Joseph was sworn in as Minister for popular enlightenment and propaganda by President Hindenburg on March 14, 1933, the youngest member of the cabinet at thirty-five.

From 1933 until his death in 1945, Joseph's life had several main themes. At the personal level, he and Magda had six children (Helga, Hilde, Helmut, Holde, Hedda and Heide), but the marriage went through a period in which Magda came close to leaving Joseph because of his affair with Lida Baarova, an actress. It was Hitler who prevented Magda from leaving by ordering Joseph to end the affair in 1938 and to restore his relationship with his alienated wife. Joseph had sexual relations with many women², but this particular affair so captivated him that he was prepared to leave his wife and children. Even after he sent Baarova away, Magda was unwilling to resume a marriage with Joseph, and indeed had a lover of her own. But by the summer of 1939, after entreaties from Joseph and threats to take the children from her, Magda agreed to stay in the marriage.

² Magda had occasional affairs also.

Joseph began to accumulate possessions and wealth. He had larger and more luxurious homes and estates sold to him, and he expanded and furnished these in extravagant style. He purchased a motor yacht, a log cabin in the woods (a gift from the city of Berlin), and a grand official residence on Herman-Goering Strasse. Hitler always found Joseph's homes pleasant to visit and stay in (a task to which Magda devoted herself), and he continued to be a close friend of the Goebbels. After acquiring a summer house on the island of Schwanenwerder, Joseph had a cottage built especially for Hitler to use.

At the bureaucratic level, Joseph continually expanded the role of his ministry, eventually taking over the newspapers, the radio stations and the film industry in Germany³, as well as those media outlets in the countries occupied by Germany. However, he continually had to fend off others who tried to encroach on what he thought were his territories, such as Alfred Rosenberg who wanted to supervise all intellectual and ideological training within the party, and later Otto Dietrich and Joachim von Ribbentrop. Hitler, however, seemed to recognize Joseph's abilities and managed to protect Joseph's authority. Magda supported the Nazi party fully and participated fully in the events scheduled to celebrate and make propaganda for the Third Reich.

After his appointment as Minister, Joseph worked hard first to eliminate the Communists, then all political opponents, and finally the Jews. His obsession with the Jews grew over time, so that he moved from wanting them moved out of Berlin, and then Germany, to wanting them exterminated, and he began to broaden his definition of who counted as a Jew, from fully Jewish to only partially Jewish by descent.

Hitler's decisions frequently conflicted with Joseph's advice to Hitler, and Joseph continually had to suppress his disapproval of Hitler's choices and convince himself that Hitler was the Messiah for Germany and that only Hitler could lead Germany. For example, Hitler never moved toward supporting the socialism that Joseph favored (even if he favored it only for good Germans), and Joseph was not in favor of war at first.⁴

Defeat And Suicide

By 1943, Germany began to experience defeat after defeat. Joseph realized that Germany might lose the war, and he told an aide that he would shoot himself rather than live under the enemy. As the air raids began to reach Berlin, Joseph refused to leave the city and was the only high-level party official to appear on the streets directing the

³ In 1939, Joseph's film industry made 111 full-length films. During the war, he established twenty-two radio stations broadcasting to the enemy. In 1943 report to Hitler, his ministry reported 38 million posters, 54 million brochures, political broadcasts in 18 languages beamed over 32 eastern transmitters, and 7,625 newsreels and propaganda films shown in 650 field cinemas.

⁴ For example, Joseph disapproved of the arrest of the SA leaders (including Röhm) in 1934; in the 1940s he kept urging Hitler to mobilize all Germans for the war effort, advice which Hitler ignored; as the Russians advanced toward Germany, he urged Hitler to conclude a separate peace with them; and in 1945 as Germany's situation worsened, he urged the massacre of prisoners of war and the elimination of Goering, now severely addicted to morphine.

emergency activities. Joseph saw Hitler's optimism over the war effort as the result of his toadying generals, and he formed a group to discuss how better to conduct the war, but again failed to change Hitler's tactics.

After the attempt to assassinate Hitler, Joseph was given authority to reform the state and public life, while Himmler was authorized to reform the Wehrmacht. Joseph was given the title Reich Plenipotentiary for the Total War Effort and he thought that he could construct a Nazi utopia. But first the war had to be won. Despite his efforts (closing factories, increasing the work week, canceling deferments, etc.), the situation worsened.

Toward the end of 1944, Magda began to see that Germany's defeat was inevitable, and she began to plan the death of herself, Joseph and the children, though she agonized over whether to kill the children too. Joseph, too, saw defeat as increasingly likely. He encouraged Magda to think about escaping with the children, but she resolved to stay at Joseph's side.

In early 1945, Joseph helped organize the defense of the city of Berlin so that they could withstand the allies. Trenches were dug, and tank traps set up. Joseph's ministry was destroyed by a bomb on March 13, 1945, but he continued to plan for the future, such as reorganizing the broadcasting system.

The battle for Berlin began on April 16, 1945. Many ministers and officials left the city, but Joseph and his family moved into Hitler's bunker. Hitler married Eva Braun on April 29 and, in his will, named Joseph as his successor as Reich chancellor. Hitler and Eva Braun committed suicide on April 30, after resisting Magda's plea that they leave Berlin. Joseph and Martin Bormann supervised the burial and burning of the bodies. Joseph and Bormann sent a letter via General Hans Krebs to the Soviet commander, General Chuikov, to ask for discussions for a cease-fire, but Chuikov wanted Krebs to surrender then and there. He could not, for he did not have the authority to do so. When Krebs reported back, Joseph and the others rejected the Soviet demand for capitulation. A second delegation was sent, and it failed also to achieve a cease-fire without capitulation.

On May 1, SS doctor Helmut Kunz put Magda's six children to sleep with morphine injections. Kunz refused to kill them, so probably Magda broke the cyanide capsules into their mouths herself. It is probable that Joseph and Magda also used cyanide to kill themselves, but the details are not clear. Their charred bodies were found on May 2 by the Russians with pistols near their heads. The corpses were photographed, identified and autopsied and later that summer transported to Moscow.

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SIR HENRY DELVES BROUGHTON

David Lester

Josslyn Hay, Earl of Erroll and hereditary High Constable of Scotland was found murdered in a car outside of Nairobi, Kenya, on January 24, 1941. Erroll was by tradition the first subject in Scotland after the Royal Family, continuing a line which began in 1315 and which derived more recently from illegitimate children of King William IV. At 39, he was a leading figure in Kenya's colonial community, notorious for his affairs with married women. Erroll and those suspected of involvement in his murder lived outside of Nairobi in Happy Valley in the White Highlands, famous for the exploits of the aristocratic fugitives from Britain and other nations who lived there. Alcohol, cocaine and morphine use added further scandal to the sexual escapades.

The man arrested and tried for the murder of Erroll was Sir Henry "Jock" Delves Broughton, whose wife was the latest of Erroll's conquests. The trial was a sensation in Britain where the Blitz was in full force, perhaps as a symbol of the uselessness of some of the upper classes. It certainly marked the end of an era among the British in Kenya. Broughton was acquitted of the murder, though he was probably the murderer, and he retired to England, without his wife, where he committed suicide.

Early Years

Broughton's father was the 10th Baronet, with a family seat in Cheshire on 34,000 acres. Broughton was born in 1883, and his mother died when he was two. His father remarried, but he did not get on well with his stepbrother and stepsister. His father kept him short of money, and Broughton came to hate his father. He went to Eton and joined the Irish Guards in 1902.

Broughton married Vera Boscawen, who came from an impoverished but good family, in 1913. His father died in 1914, when Broughton was thirty-one, leaving Broughton with a good income at last and enabling Broughton to get out of debt. His regiment sailed for France to fight in the First World War in August, 1914, but Broughton was taken ill and was left behind. Although Broughton was treated at hospitals and released in 1919 with a 50 percent disability pension, his illness was seen as psychosomatic and a way of getting out of fighting -- not an irrational solution given the carnage of the war and the small number of men who survived. However, he did limp and had an arthritic right hand, most likely the result of a car accident in 1915, and he occasionally had bouts of confusion and amnesia.

For the next twenty years, Broughton spent heavily. He entertained and gambled on a large scale and, from time to time, sold off part of his estates to pay for his pleasure. He kept a stable of thirty race horses, played bridge and croquet, and made several trips to Kenya to hunt game. Although he filled his house with guests every weekend, Broughton was not liked. He was considered vain, a name-dropper, distant and

humorless. Various acquaintances and servants described him as sour, arrogant, dishonest, morose, cowardly, vicious, cold and cruel.

Broughton and Vera had a son, Evelyn, born in 1915, who, by the time he went to Cambridge, was barely on speaking terms with his father. Broughton rarely visited his son at Eton or Cambridge and kept him short of money just as his father had with him.

Diana Caldwell

In 1935, at the age of fifty-two, Broughton met Diana Caldwell at the races. Diana was twenty-two, already divorced, and highly sought after in society. He courted Diana, and she seemed to respond to his advances. Meanwhile Vera was also engaged in liaisons; in 1939 the wife of her current lover, Lord Moyne, died and she filed for divorce from Broughton. Broughton was surprised and hurt, and, already having run through much of his inheritance, proposed to Diana and suggested emigrating to Kenya. Diana accepted, possibly because her father had recently died, her friends had gone off to war or married, and her mother was emotionally distant.

Broughton and Diana sailed to South Africa and, after Vera's divorce was granted, and they were married, on November 5, 1940, in Durban. Neither seemed passionately in love, and Broughton drew up an agreement which said that, if Diana fell in love with a younger man, Broughton would not stand in her way, but grant her five thousand pounds a year for seven years after divorce. Broughton and Diana arrived in Mombasa on November 12, 1940, and then flew to Nairobi. They visited friends, staying in separate rooms -- Diana remarked in public that she would not share a room with "that dirty old man."

At the end of November, Broughton left to visit some estates he had bought on previous visits and, while he was gone, Diana met Erroll at the Caledonian Ball at the Muthaiga Club in Nairobi. They were attracted at once, and Diana soon fell in love. When Broughton returned, he and Diana stayed at the Club, and the threesome were together a great deal. On December 5th, Broughton and Diana moved into their house at Karen, a Nairobi suburb named after Baroness Blixen.

The affair between Erroll and Diana grew over Christmas, and in January Diana and Erroll began deceiving Broughton in order to spend days and nights together. However, as soon as they did this, Broughton began receiving anonymous notes informing him about the affair. On January 12th, a friend interfered and encouraged Diana and Erroll to discuss a divorce with Broughton. That night, though, after the discussion, Broughton invited Erroll to stay the night.

Broughton confided to a friend that he had been drinking whiskey and gin since the affair, and this made him sleepy and depressed (and perhaps suicidal), and his friend gave him Medinal, a form of morphine, to take regularly. Despite Diana's declaration of love for Erroll, Broughton tried to persuade her to visit Ceylon with him for three

months. When she refused, he tried to persuade her to stay in their house at Karen without seeing Erroll for the three months while he was away.

Diana went away for a few days and, while she was gone, Broughton reported to the police the theft of two revolvers and some money from their house. That same day Broughton discussed divorce with his lawyer. He seemed uncertain whether to go to Ceylon, canceling and rebooking the trip for himself several times. Finally, he seemed to decide to go to Ceylon alone and then return to England, leaving Diana the house in Karen. After that declaration, all the parties involved had dinner together, complete with champagne. Broughton toasted Diana and Erroll.

That evening, Broughton went home to Karen with a friend, June, arriving at 2 a.m., and Diana and Erroll arrived about thirty minutes later. Erroll did not stay, and his body was found at 3 a.m. by two African dairy workers, in his car which lay in a ditch, lying under the dashboard, with a bullet wound behind the left ear.

The Trial

The case was investigated by Superintendent Arthur Poppy. Broughton's maid described an occasion when Broughton wanted her to inject him with a syringe that he later told her was full of poison. (She refused.) Three weeks after the murder, Broughton and Diana went off on a shooting safari into the Southern Masai Reserve for eight days, though the relationship between Broughton and Diana seemed strained. Poppy was soon convinced of Broughton's guilt, and he arrested Broughton on March 10th. Broughton remained in jail for three months awaiting trial, but Diana and other friends visited him daily, and he received rather better treatment than other prisoners. He seemed almost relieved to be in jail and had only occasional bouts of depression and claustrophobia. Europeans were expected to clean their own cells, but Broughton had another prisoner do it for him. He had better food sent him from a nearby hotel, and went for a mile walk every evening with a warder. To his warder, Broughton admitted that if his people back in England rejected him, he would commit suicide.

Worrying about her husband's chances at the trial, Diana flew to Johannesburg to hire the most gifted barrister there, Harry Morris, who agreed to defend Broughton for five thousand pounds. The trial began on May 26th, and the prosecution did poorly. They failed to show how Broughton could have managed to commit the crime, given the times and evidence from witnesses, and the ballistics evidence was very weak. Broughton arranged for morphine to be smuggled into the jail if the verdict went against him, but the jury acquitted Broughton on July 1st, after deliberating for three hours and twenty-five minutes.

Within a few days, Broughton and Diana were on their way to Ceylon. However, although Diana had helped him during the trial, she was now frightened of him and despised him. They returned to Kenya at the end of September to find that he and Diana

were no longer popular. They were ignored and shunned for having brought disgrace to the colony -- even the Muthaiga Club banned them.

As he began to grow more depressed, Broughton rented Erroll's old house, but this made him even more depressed. He also began to drink more heavily. He decided eventually to return to England, arriving in November, 1942. Broughton's son had hired solicitors to find out what had happened to the estate, and as soon as he arrived in England Broughton was interviewed by detectives from Scotland Yard. There was no good case to be made against him for fraud, however, and he was allowed to return to the family seat in Cheshire, where he hid for three weeks. He began to socialize a little, and he confessed to two friends that he had indeed murdered Erroll.

On December 2, 1942, Broughton went to stay at the Adelphi Hotel in Liverpool, ostensibly to have his plaster changed -- the result of an injury caused by a car crash in Kenya earlier that year. He had planned to go with a woman friend, but her son fell ill and she could not go with him. Upon arrival, he told the housekeeper that he was not to be disturbed. Forty-eight hours later, he was found in his room, bleeding from the nose and ears and in a coma. He had taken fourteen injections of Medinal. He died at 2.25 a.m. on December 5th.

He left two suicide notes addressed to his solicitors. He talked about the strain of the trial and of the pain from his injury. As a result of the injury, he wrote, he blacked out from time to time, had lost sensation on his right side and was becoming paralyzed, but apparently he made no mention of the way his friends and acquaintances had turned against him.

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TWO FIGHTERS

David Lester

Billy Papke

William Herman Papke was born in Spring Valley, a mining town in Illinois, on September 17, 1886. As a boy he spent his time playing baseball, fighting and working. In his early teens, he was running errands for the grocer and driving a delivery van. Soon he was working with his father at the coal-face, work which developed his muscles.

In the evenings, the miners would often box, and Billy had been good with his fists from the age of six on. He turned professional in November 1905 and fought in New York and Boston. His manager, Tom Jones, traveled around the mines looking for likely prospects and started Billy on his career -- after two draws, he was unbeaten in eighteen months. He fought dirtily, head butting and using his elbows, like most of the fighters in those days.

In November, 1907, he stopped two men in one night, won a decision over Pat O'Keefe, a former British champion, and beat several more prominent fighters. Ed Smith called him the "Illinois Thunderbolt."

Billy met the reigning middleweight champion, Stanley Ketchel on June 4, 1908. Billy claimed that Ketchel hit him as he held out his hand to shake hands at the beginning of the fight, but both survived to the end, when Ketchel was declared the winner. Billy won his next few matches, including two victories in one night again, and was rematched with Ketchel on Labor Day, September 7, 1908. This time, Billy hit Ketchel as Ketchel held out his hand and knocked him out in the twelfth round. From then on, boxers had to shake hands before a fight during the referee's instructions. For their third fight, Billy was perhaps overconfident and was knocked out in the eleventh round.

Despite his brutal beatings in these losses, Billy remained in California and continued fighting successfully. A fourth bout with Ketchel was arranged for July 5, 1909, and both boxers broke hands during the fight. Both survived twenty rounds, and Ketchel was declared the winner.

Ketchel was shot to death at the age of twenty-four on October 14, 1910, by the "husband" of a housekeeper who claimed that Ketchel had raped her. Billy had gone to Australia to fight, where he performed only moderately well, winning some fights and losing others. He then sailed to England where he beat the British champion, Jim Sullivan. Billy came back to America where he fought poorly, even being booed for apparently faking an injury and losing. Billy retired but came back in February 1912. He lost four fights out of seven and then sailed to France.

Billy beat the French contenders, but then came up against Frank Kraus from Pittsburgh at the Cirque de Paris. Billy was disqualified in the fifteenth round for head butting. After two more fights, Billy retired for good in 1913, reputedly with \$300,000. He had one fight in 1919, and compiled a lifetime record of 64 fights, 38 wins and nine losses.

He settled down in Altadena, California, with his wife, Edna, and their three sons, one of whom also became a boxer. He owned real estate and a citrus grove. But his marriage broke up, and his wife left him, divorcing him in August, 1936. He threatened to kill her and on one occasion pointed a gun at her -- luckily his son took the gun from him. Edna decided to go to Los Angeles to ask the courts for protection from Billy.

On Thanksgiving Day, 1936, 28 years after he had lost to Ketchel, Billy drank heavily at a bar in Los Angeles where he worked as a celebrity host, left at dinner time, drove 25 miles to his ex-wife's apartment and shot her three times. He then shot himself twice in the chest. Both died -- he was fifty, she was forty six.

Randy Turpin

Randolph Turpin's father was a black immigrant from British Guiana (now Guyana) to Britain, who fought at the battle of the Somme in the First World War where he was wounded and gassed. His mother, Beatrice, was white, the daughter of a bare-knuckle fighter. They lived in a basement flat in Leamington, in the Midlands. Randy was the fifth child, born June 7, 1928. Three months later his father died from complications for his war injuries. Beatrice worked as a cleaner, while her relatives helped with the children.

All three Turpin boys fought, and Randy was known as the "licker" because he could lick his schoolmates by the age of twelve. He had partial deafness from being trapped under water while swimming, and this led people to think that he was indifferent to them when in reality he could not hear them too well.

Randy developed into a fine amateur fighter, winning three national junior titles and two senior titles. He joined the Royal Navy in December 1945 as an assistant cook. Around this time he attempted suicide by overdose after a row with his Leamington girl friend, Mary Stack. He turned professional in 1946, and by the time he left the Navy he was unbeaten in eighteen fights. He married Mary and had a son, but the marriage quickly deteriorated. He lost several fights, perhaps distracted by his personal crises.

The British Boxing Board abolished its bar against blacks fighting for titles, and Randy's brother Dick promptly won the light-heavyweight championship. In 1951, Dick was beaten and Randy could now fight for the title. (Randy refused to fight his brother.) In February 1951, he won the European title and then he fought Sugar Ray Robinson in London. Randy won on points.

Randy flew to New York for a return match 64 days later, trained at Grossingers resort and was rumored to have partied till late in the night. On September 12, 1951, after a bloody fight, Sugar Ray knocked Randy out in the tenth.

Randy went on to win the British and Empire light-heavyweight titles. After Sugar Ray was stripped of his title for not defending it soon enough and retired, there was a box-off for the vacant world championship. Randy beat a Belgium fighter, but then lost at Madison Square Garden to Carl Olson in 1953.

On November 2, just before he was to sail for England, Randy was arrested in New York for the rape and assault of his lover, Adele Daniels, aged 24. The police charge was dropped, but Adele sued for \$100,000, and Randy had to leave \$10,000 as a deposit before he was allowed to sail. Back in England, Mary had divorced him, and newspaper reporters harassed him about his new girl friend, Gwen Price, whom he soon married. Randy had a history of sexual escapades and assaults -- a policeman cited him in a divorce case for adultery, a girl claimed he had raped her on a train, and Mary brought a charge of assault after he kicked her in the stomach when she was pregnant.

Randy lost his European title to an Italian in May, 1954. At the trial in New York, Adele settled after five days for twelve hundred and fifty pounds before Randy was called to the stand. Randy continued fighting for seven more years, retired and went to work in a scrap yard. Most of his money was gone -- back taxes and a failed hotel venture took most of it. In 1959, he rented a small transport cafe in Leamington and turned to wrestling.

The taxman claimed another seventeen thousand pounds in 1962, forcing him to declare bankruptcy. He became bitter and angry, fell out with his family, and concentrated on his wife and three daughters. He tried a comeback, but retired after two fights. In 1964, his cafe was purchases compulsorily by the local council for a car park, and the taxmen went after his wrestling earnings. His wrestling engagements dried up, and he even tried to sell his boxing trophies to obtain some money.

On May 16, 1966, a final tax demand arrived. Three days later, Gwen saw him write a letter and take his two year old daughter to the attic. At 2.30 p.m., Gwen went up to the attic to check on them and found her daughter shot with two bullets (she survived) and Randy dead with two bullets, in the chest and left side of the head. His suicide notes talked about a gang of hired killers who were after him, raged against those who had cheated him, and said that he was not mentally disturbed. The verdict was suicide, and his doctor noted that he was possibly punch-drunk, with deteriorating eye-sight and poor health.

Six months before his suicide, he had been invited to Madison Square Garden in New York City, expenses paid, to attend a farewell gala for Sugar Ray Robinson. He stood in the ring with other fighters and 12,000 fans cheered and applauded. He said it

was, "one of the few times I have been treated like a human being." (Walsh, 1993, p. 156).

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ROGER (DENNY) HANSEN

David Lester

When I went to St. Johns College, Cambridge University, in 1961, I was one of eight major scholars out of about two hundred entering students. One of the other eight, Brian was his name I think, came up for the second term in January and killed himself with the gas in his college room just before the term started. I didn't know Brian at all well -- the English are not known for being friendly -- and I didn't wonder too much as to why he had killed himself. (I was reading physics at the time.)

Calvin Trillin went to Yale University with Denny Hansen in 1953 and when Denny later killed himself in February 1991, Trillin puzzled a great deal about how his friend from the 1950s had come to kill himself. He found that the Denny he knew at Yale was very different from the Denny who committed suicide. "Remembering Denny" is not a biography, but rather the tale of a search to find out why Denny changed so radically.

Before Yale

Denny's father was former ship's officer who then worked for a marine insurance company. His mother was "nervous" and "high-strung," possibly manic-depressive in today's jargon. Denny had an elder brother, fourteen months older, and had spent part of his adolescence in Hawaii before coming back to California just before entering high school.

Denny came from Sequoia High School in Redwood City, California, where he had been an outstanding student, president of the student body, a star swimmer and water-polo player, and the date of the "to-die-for" Marilyn Montgomery.

At Yale, Denny continued his glorious path, at least as Trillin saw it at the time. His friends were sure that he would be President of the United States and would discuss which positions they would hold in his cabinet. (Denny himself admitted that he would not mind being Governor of California.) Denny was a varsity swimmer, though not quite as outstanding as he had been at high school, Phi Beta Kappa and magna cum laude with high honors in history, won the Gordon Brown prize for the junior who had good scholarship and manhood, and ended by winning a Rhodes scholarship to study at Oxford University in England. Life magazine covered his graduation, sending Alfred Eisenstaedt to photograph the event. He appeared in the June 24, 1957 issue, along with articles on Juan Carlos of Spain, Prime Minister John Dieffenbacher of Canada, Bulganin and Krushchev of the USSR and Eugene Wilson of General Motors, and an excerpt from a book by Chiang Kai-shek.

After Yale

Denny's acquaintances at Oxford seemed to think, in retrospect, that life there (at Magdalen College) was not as great as Yale had been. The weather, of course, puts a chill on life.⁵ He was a loner there, and *Life* ran a follow-up piece on Denny which portrayed his life there as rather unpleasant -- it portrayed him as a helpless klutz who had not adapted well at all to university life in England. However, I might add that Rhodes scholars, and other Americans who come to Oxbridge, find themselves with degrees from American universities, but spending two years studying for an Oxford and Cambridge undergraduate degree. The best American students are two years behind the scholars at Oxbridge, and I suspect that this can be quite a shock for them. It is a shock to be the best student in your high school and find yourself one of the crowd at Harvard or Yale, but to graduate summa cum laude from Yale and find yourself no better than the freshmen at Oxbridge may be worse. Denny graduated from Oxford with a "Second," -- not the top degree (there are Firsts, Seconds (Two-ones and Two-twos), Thirds, and Special degrees).⁶

He next went to the Woodrow Wilson School at Princeton University where he obtained an M.A. in public and international administration. Professors there remembered that his grades were below his apparent capacity. Denny was then turned down for the foreign service. (Was it his bad back or his treatment in psychoanalysis in the 1960s⁷ that was the cause of this rejection? Or did someone tell them that they suspected he was gay?) This perhaps marked the first major disappointment for a man who was expected to achieve great things, although perhaps Denny always doubted that he merited the esteem which others had for him -- he may have the impostor syndrome in which people do not believe that they are as good as others think they are, and that some day they will be found out to be frauds. He also seems to have devalued some of what he was good at, such as his charm. As a friend on Denny's put it, "The way I see promise is that you have a knapsack, and all the time you're growing up they keep stuffing promise into the knapsack....Pretty soon, it's just too heavy to carry. You have to unpack" (Trillin, 1993, p. 25).

He then worked for Senator Harrison Williams of New Jersey, for NBC news from which position he may have been fired, and briefly in television in Cleveland, where he was remembered as an unhappy man with poor social skills. People in Washington, where he roomed in Georgetown with wealthy friends, remember him as having good and bad days, and Trillin noted that his male friends remembered Denny more favorably than his women friends, who saw Denny as sad and lost. Indeed, he was quite disappointed that, at the age of twenty-five, he was only a senate aide.

⁵ In my days at Cambridge in the 1960s, some college rooms had no hot water and only a single gas fire in the living room. The bedroom was unheated. My rooms in the third year had no nearby toilet -- to use a toilet, I had to cross the Bridge of Sighs (beautiful but with a cruel wind gusting through the open lattice-work) into the adjoining courtyard.

⁶ Denny was ill during final exams.

⁷ At the time he was rejected by the foreign service, Denny was in psychoanalysis, and his girl friend of the time said that, although psychoanalysis had helped him understand the roots of his psychological problems, it had not helped him cope with the problems.

He went to work for the National Planning Council (an economic think-tank), and while there he completed a doctoral dissertation at the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies, which was published as *The politics of Mexican development*, a book that was considered to be brilliant. He worked on the President's Commission on International Trade and Investment Policy during Jimmy Carter's presidency (where he found that he could not translate ideas into action -- he lacked the administrative skills for this, and furthermore his interest in South America was considered irrelevant to important foreign policy issues), as a senior staff member of the National Security Council for just seven months (but at least it was an appointed position which offset a little his rejection by the foreign service), and finally as a professor at Johns Hopkins University's Nitze School of Advanced International Studies, at the age of forty-one, initially as the Jacob Blaustein Professor of International Organization, and later in another Chair.

Professor And Death

When he committed suicide at the age of 55, Denny was professor of international relations at Johns Hopkins University's Nitze School of Advanced International Studies in Washington, DC. Denny he had published very little in the years prior to his death. A critique of American foreign policies remained unpublished at the time of his suicide. He may have been a perfectionist and reluctant to publish work that did not meet his exacting standards.

Denny was considered a prickly and difficult colleague. He had principles and stuck to them, and this brought him into conflict with others. It appears that working with others and compromise were not his strong points, as his failure to achieve in his White House position testified. The School of Advanced International Studies was not a typical campus. It was a transient place, with students and faculty often absent or present for only brief periods. It was well-known for faculty bickering, and yet Denny was considered to be a good teacher there. Denny's colleagues saw him as not contributing, either through scholarship or through newsworthy activity. Interestingly, he developed a stutter, a problem which began in the late 1970s.

In retrospect, Trillin suspected that Denny had been homesick at Yale and not as "happy" as he appeared. He had written to his aunt that he had experienced periods of depression while at Yale, and these had almost certainly continued. In 1979, when he wrote his will, his lawyer was struck by how isolated Denny was. He was not in touch with his family and had no family of his own, and he was cut off from his friends and colleagues. When friends visited Washington, they would try to meet Denny but, although he would talk to them on the telephone, he rarely met them. In the end, he left his estate to take care of his mother if she was still alive and then to Yale University. He had been seeing a psychiatrist in his final years who was astonished at how many "friends" Denny had -- friends whom Denny never met with, but friends who cared about him nonetheless -- the psychiatrist had thought that Denny was completely alone. The only relative with whom he was in contact was an Aunt -- Denny had broke with his

brother and sister-in-law, and his mother was in a nursing home, and he was not sure whether she was dead or alive.

Trillin found out after Denny's suicide that he was gay. This had never been suspected by his Yale friends, and it seems to have been a problem that Denny struggled with all of his life. He did eventually have gay lovers, including one with whom he lived for a time, but none of these developed into lasting relationships. He had a long relationship with a girl friend before he came out (was this a cover or not?), but they broke up in 1975, though they remained friends. Denny was upset when she married someone else six or seven years later. Trillin felt that, although Denny came out as a homosexual, he probably never felt good about his sexual orientation, growing up in the era that he did.

By 1990, Denny was still teaching, but his life had become grim. He resigned from editorial boards, quit going to conferences, and was deeply depressed. His young lover had moved to California. Denny was suffering from tremendous back pain (he had to take a medical leave in the late 1980s and had two operations on his back), and his doctors were urging another operation which would put him in a body cast for months. He had a gun, but his psychiatrist persuaded him to give it up. He began to talk to his research assistant about suicide, and he looked for a weekend place so that he could use car exhaust for suicide. In February, 1991, he did kill himself, using car exhaust at the deserted weekend cottage of friend at Rehoboth Beach in Delaware, jamming the gas pedal down with a book and frying pan.

A suicide note found in his Washington home had been written months before his suicide and mentioned that he would kill himself if the back pain became unbearable. The note left instructions rather than explanations.

Reference

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ALASDAIR CLAYRE

David Lester

Ved Mehta, an author, has written of his days at Oxford University where he went as an undergraduate in 1956. While there, he became good friends with Alasdair Clayre, who committed suicide on January 10, 1984, at eleven in the evening, by throwing himself in front of a train on the London Underground. This is Clayre's story.

Clayre was born on October 9, 1935, the youngest of three sons to a doctor in Southampton who was Danish by birth. His father died when Clayre was eleven, and his mother was left to raise them. Clayre was very close to his mother, who favored him and was proud of his scholastic accomplishments which exceeded those of his older brothers.

Clayre went up the same year as Mehta to read PPE (Philosophy, Psychology and Economics) at Christ Church. He had been a scholar Winchester College, a private school, second only in prestige to Eton. At Winchester, he had been a head boy and a scholar in the last year of school, and he also excelled at sports. After Winchester, Clayre had to complete two years of National Service (comparable to the American "draft").

At Oxford, Clayre was outstanding. He was brilliant -- he enjoyed chasing ideas and was a natural synthesizer. He was passionate about music, he spoke as if shouting, and he was always in high spirits. He regularly attended the lectures of Gilbert Ryle and other Oxford distinguished professors, and he saw many of them socially. He wrote a regular column for an undergraduate weekly, *Isis*, and he graduated with a First.

He was immediately elected as a fellow of All Souls, an Oxford college with sixty fellows and no students, a college founded in 1438. He was provided with a suite of rooms and left alone to think and write. A fellowship at All Souls was a passport to almost any establishment position -- the Civil Service, banking, publishing, Parliament or academic life.

Clayre, however, never settled down to one particular goal. He worked for a time as gardener for the writer Richard Hughes, studied architecture for a year, published a novel (*Window*) and a volume of verse (*A fire by the sea, and other poems*), produced television programs, lectured for the Open University on television, wrote a book on work (*Work and play*), studied Scientology, wrote, published and sang folk songs (he tried to be an English version of Bob Dylan), and ran a successful night club.

In his relationships, he was rather promiscuous -- breaking hearts and even getting two girl friends pregnant at the same time. As he got older, his girl friends got younger, and even his friends had to protect their daughters.

In October, 1974, when he was thirty-eight, he married Felicity Bryan with whom he had been living for two years. She was a literary agent, twenty-nine years old and the

daughter of Sir Paul Bryan, a member of Parliament. Their marriage lasted six years, but they lived apart for the last two years.

Clayre's final work was a twelve-part survey of China for British television (*The heart of the dragon*) and a book of the same title, which eventually won an Emmy in America. This project took him three years and involved consultation with scholars and extensive travel in China. The book was published on January 10, 1984, ten days before the first part of the television series was due to air -- and the day that Clayre committed suicide.

Mehta visited Felicity, who had remarried, in 1988, and he asked her about Clayre. Felicity said that Clayre had not been depressed in the early years of their relationship. He had a fear of settling down and often chased young girls and fashionable women. They led a carefree, spontaneous life, traveling on weekends on his motorbike. He was nervous about his writing and never let Felicity read his work. She guessed that he was not very proud of it. However, they did sing together, and she helped him with his recordings. She noted that he had tried television work in Manchester as a reporter but had not done well. When he tried to work for the Open University, they had no slot for him. He worked for the *Economist* for a time, but his political column was not very good. Felicity felt that Clayre was fearful of the judgment of the fellows at All Souls who might have judged him not to be a success. He considered himself a failure.

The marriage failed when Felicity found that Clayre was having an affair that he would not terminate. He also refused to have children. He kept in touch with Felicity after the divorce, visiting her and her second husband in 1983, seeming to want to start their marriage again. He said that he was lonely (his latest girl friend had returned to America), and he avoided discussing *The heart of the dragon*. He considered it a secondary work, not original, and was dreading the reviews. He seemed to think that people were against him, and he was worried about money although he was well-off financially. He began to telephone Felicity regularly, talking incessantly so that at last she began to hang up on him and her husband asked him to stop calling. After his suicide, Felicity regretted hanging up on him the last time that he called, just before his suicide.

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PHIL OCHS

David Lester

Phil Ochs, a folk singer who rose to fame in the 1960s, hung himself on Friday, April 9, 1976. The following biography is based on the book by Eliot (1989).

Early Days

Phil's father, Jacob Ochs, was born in New York City and wanted to become a doctor. He found that the American medical schools discriminated against Jews in their admissions, and so he went to study in Edinburgh, Scotland. While there, he met Gertrude Phin (his classmate was her brother), and they fell in love and married, with a baby, Sonia, already on the way. After Jacob interned in England, they sailed for America in 1940, whereupon Jacob was drafted into the Army. Philip was born December 19, 1940, followed by Michael in 1943. After moving with Jacob a couple of times, Gertrude returned to New York City to live with her in-laws for the duration of the war. Jacob came home in 1945 but immediately developed a manic-depressive disorder. He was drugged and given electroconvulsive therapy and released in 1947. The family moved to Far Rockaway where Jacob started his practice.

Phil was a dreamer, inattentive at school and at home. He would misplace his school books, forget what he had been sent to buy at the store, and lose the money and the shopping list. Phil enjoyed teasing his younger brother, Michael, and he once accidentally set the house on fire using matches to see more clearly in a dark closet.

By 1951, Jacob could no longer function in private practice -- his lethargy and re-hospitalizations were too disruptive. The only job open to such a bad doctor was in tuberculosis hospitals, and, as Phil was about to enter fifth grade, the family moved to Perrysburg, New York, forty miles south of Buffalo, where Jacob could work in the hospital.

Phil developed an interest in movies and went as often as he could. He collected movie magazines and photographed the marquee. Gertrude made the boys learn musical instruments, and Phil tried the clarinet. Surprisingly, Phil was quite talented at the instrument, and he practiced devotedly.

The hospital in Perrysburg closed, and Jacob moved to a hospital in Columbus, Ohio. Gertrude got a private teacher for Phil who soon realized that the boy was talented. He was accepted for the Capital University Conservatory of Music even though he was only fifteen years old, and the next year he was the leading soloist.

After Phil accidentally shot himself while paying cowboys and Indians with a friend, Gertrude decided to send her boys away to school. Phil chose a military school, Staunton Academy in Virginia, because they had a band, and he enrolled there in 1956.

He missed playing solos, but liked the school band. He learned to smoke and drink 3.2 beer in the canteen. He wrote, and one of his first stories won a small prize in a contest at the Academy.

However, he decided to give up the clarinet, much to Gertrude's dismay, but he graduated and entered Ohio State University. A few weeks before classes started, he asked his mother to have his nose fixed. She agreed.

College Days

Phil arrived at Ohio State University and had two interests during his first semester: idolization of Elvis Presley who had starred in *Loving You*, and support for Fidel Castro who had overthrown the Cuban government and who was briefly the hero of America.⁸ Back home with his parents in Cleveland Heights, Ohio, Phil decided to drop out -- he had no friends at college, and he was learning nothing. He set out for Miami where he was quickly arrested for vagrancy and jailed. The sheriff took a liking to him and gave him special privileges, but Phil claimed to like the other prisoners. After release, he tried to get a job as a singer, but failed. He slept on the beach, washed dishes and sold shoes, but he soon grew hungry. His gums got pyorrhea, his skin became pasty, and his stutter worsened. He called Cleveland collect for money to come home.

The next Fall, Phil was back at Ohio State University. He made a friend in Jim Glover who roomed with him and introduced him to folk singers such as Pete Seeger. Jim's parents lived near Phil's, and Phil visited the Glovers frequently in the breaks. Mr. Glover was a Marxist and became a surrogate father for Phil whose own father was either helping the TB patients or hospitalized himself for his manic-depressive disorder.

At Ohio State University, Phil and Jim got involved in politics, fighting for changes such as having the ROTC removed from campus. (ROTC was mandatory for all male students at the university.) He practiced guitar and majored in journalism. He worked as a reporter for the campus newspaper, *The Lantern*, applied himself to his studies, and hoped to become the editor when he was a senior. However, his fellow students disliked his political agitation and saw him as much too left-wing. He wrote frequent letters to the *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, protesting their editorials, and *The Lantern* editors assigned him to music reviews and other uncontroversial articles. Jim and Phil began to perform together, calling themselves *The Sundowners*, and eventually were booked to play at a coffeehouse in Cleveland. Phil thought that Jim was not sufficiently motivated in his practicing, and so Phil quit before the performance and refused all entreaties by Jim to give the performance. Jim left for New York, and Phil later got a job by himself singing at a different coffeehouse in Cleveland, the first act and master of ceremonies for the visiting folk singers. Back on campus, he was now popular with girls, obtaining straight As, producing his own newspaper, *The Word*, and playing at a small club in Cleveland Heights on weekends. But *The Lantern* staff chose someone

⁸ Castro was a guest on *The Tonight Show*!

else as editor for the campus newspaper, and so Phil quit the university with one term to go for his degree. He left for New York City to stay with Jim.

In these years, we can see the tendency to impulsive decisions, such as quitting school twice, and his overreaction to events, such as refusing to perform with Jim. In another instance, he broke with a girlfriend because she wanted to go to a party when he wanted to go to the movies. It was his way or no way, regardless of the consequences, even though in respect to *The Lantern*, for example, he knew that the other staff members disapproved of his left-wing views.

New York City

It was 1962, and folk music had become popular. Jim had teamed up with a woman from California as "Jim and Jean," and Jim let Phil move in with them in Greenwich Village, much to Jean's dismay. She and Phil became rivals for Jim -- Jean won on the stage, Phil won off the stage. Phil wrote songs for Jim and Jean which they included in their acts.

Jean went to acting school where she made a friend, Alice, whom she thought would get Phil off her hands. Alice was attracted to Phil, and Jean found an apartment vacant in the same building as hers. Alice moved in and persuaded Phil to join her. Alice was eighteen, from the upper classes in Philadelphia, and an Irish Catholic. For a while Phil slept on the sofa in the apartment until one day Alice took him into the bedroom and seduced him.

Phil sang in the hootenanny's in the Village and was booked as an opening act at Folk City. Pete Seeger and other folk singers decided to start their own newspaper, *Broadside*, and Phil became a regular contributor in September, 1962. He was writing songs all the time, meeting other singers, and enjoying life. Then Alice got pregnant. She put no pressure on Phil to stay or to marry her, but his sister, Sonny, told him to marry Alice -- he owed Alice that, and the child would not be illegitimate. His father died at this time, and Sonny put pressure on Phil to attend the funeral and to marry Alice, both of which he was reluctant to do. Phil went to the funeral and married Alice at City Hall. They moved to a larger apartment on Bleeker Street which became a meeting place and hangout for all of the singers passing through the Village.

Phil went down to Florida in June, 1963, for a singing engagement, and was introduced to groupies by his friends there. Alice called up during an orgy in bed and was down there in two days. Phil told Alice that he had not had sex with the girl and that he had "diseases." Despite Alice's efforts at seduction, Phil did not have intercourse with her for months.

Michael spent a lot of time with his brother Phil in Greenwich Village during the summer of 1963, and Phil sang as often as he could and hung out with friends. Alice saw very little of him. The highlight for Phil was singing at the Newport Folk Festival with

Bob Dylan and Joan Baez, even though beforehand he had a crushing headache, possibly from heat prostration.

Phil still loved political action. ABC finally decided to have folk singers on their network, but banned Pete Seeger. When the folk singers protested, they asked Seeger to sign a loyalty oath, which he refused to do. Phil was energized by this and both organized the other folk singers and wrote a song about the events.

Phil persuaded Albert Grossman, Dylan's manager, to manage him and Alan Leventhal to handle his publishing. He sang at hootenannies at Carnegie Hall and at the Town Hall. Phil then went off to Michigan for a series of concerts set up by Grossman even though Alice was due. When Alice was ready to give birth, a friend took her to a home for unwed mothers and brought Alice and the baby home to Bleeker Street a few days later. Phil returned after his tour to see his daughter Meegan. He also neglected his brother Michael during this period, and Michael dropped out of Adelphi University and went to Ohio State instead, telling Phil that he would not have him as a friend and so would not have him as a brother.

Phil joined other folk singers for political causes, such as going down to Kentucky to support the miners and Mississippi for civil rights. He also joined others in singing for a *Broadside Ballads, Volume 1* album. Elektra brought out Phil's first album. By January 1964, Phil was hardly ever at home on Bleeker Street, preferring to hang out with friends, drinking. After his album came out, Grossman arranged for him to appear in clubs, at first mainly on the East Coast. Finally, in June, Phil called Alice from the Midwest, and they agreed to divorce. Back in New York, he told Alice that he had changed his mind and that they should have another child. She turned him down. They separated officially in January, 1965, and Phil found his own apartment. He gave Alice a list of whom she was not allowed to sleep with, and she diligently slept with every one on the list. Phil also broke with Grossman, who had made Phil feel like a second best to Dylan, and persuaded Arthur Gorson, naive to management, to manage him.

In 1965, Vietnam was replacing civil rights as the major liberal and radical issue. Phil loved singing at the teach-ins and protests, and he found Berkeley an incredibly energizing experience. Phil's second album was released in February of that year and sold 40,000 copies; in contrast, Bob Dylan's *Bringing It All Back Home* was released the same month and went gold. Jim and Jean moved to California to pursue their careers, and Alice moved to California with Meegan where she used her recent inheritance to buy a house. Back in New York, Phil met an Australian folk singer, Tina Date, whom he thought was the love of his life. Tina, however, saw a scruffy, dirty, poorly dressed man with the oiliest hair she'd ever seen.

Phil gave another concert at Carnegie Hall, perhaps the last performance of Phil as a journalist, for afterwards his songs turned more personal and more abstract. He continued to tour the country giving concerts, and he also started his own music

publishing company which would retain for him the rights to his music. His album from the concert reached 150 on *Billboard's* best-selling list.

Friction between Phil and Tina soon developed, accompanied by fights. On tour in England, Phil tried to see Tina who had already moved there. She refused to see him, and he and trashed the hotel room in which he was staying, after which the hotel threw him out. Friction also grew between Phil and Arthur. Phil was upset because Arthur wasn't giving his career enough attention, and Arthur was tired of Phil's demands on his time. They decided to end their business relationship.

Michael, Phil's brother, had graduated from college and moved to California, working menial jobs while he tried to establish himself as a photographer. Phil called Michael and offered him 25% to be his manager. Michael moved to New York City and set up the business in January, 1967. Michael's first assignments were to find Phil an apartment and a girl friend. He found an apartment in the Village on Spring Street and a woman he'd known in college, Karen, who moved in with Phil one week after meeting him.

The poor sales of Phil's records led to friction with Elektra, and they parted company, and he signed with A&M who planned a cross-country tour for him from March to July. In New York, Phil met an Englishman, Andy Wickham, and they quickly became good friends, even though Andy was anti-left. Phil spent the summer that year in Los Angeles, recording his first album for A&M, wrote a little for the Los Angeles *Free Press*, and organized "War Is Over" rally on June 23 at which they would simply declare that the Vietnam war was over. However, the organizers forgot to get a permit for the rally, and the police broke it up as soon as it began. But, of course, they made the television news!

Back in New York that Fall, he gave another sold-out concert at Carnegie Hall, but his new album did not sell well. He continued to tour and held a "War Is Over" rally in New York's Washington Square, this time with permits, in August. The concerts in California was not successful, the one in Santa Monica less than a quarter filled, and Phil took off with Andy, who had moved to the West Coast, for several days of drinking.

Phil's music was less concerned with protest now, and his songs began to shift toward the more commercial. On occasions, he was not invited to join the group concerts supporting various causes. With Michael's urging, Phil decided to move to Los Angeles, and Karen went with him. Initially, Phil and Karen stayed with Andy and his girlfriend, Frances. Phil and Andy spent a great deal of time together, leaving the two women alone together. The men did not take the women out, and the women had no friends of their own. They saw only Phil and Andy's friends. The women were physically abused by Phil and Andy. Karen was trapped by her emotional ties to Phil and chose to stay.⁹

⁹ Phil and Alice had agreed to never finalize their divorce, thereby preventing either of them from being free to marry again.

Phil campaigned for Eugene McCarthy in the Presidential race, while Michael produced a Phil Ochs songbook which appeared in March, 1968. (It sold 25,000 copies in the first year.) It proved impossible to get Phil on television, and he refused to star in a movie which turned out to be a hit, *Wild In The Streets*. Phil recorded a new album and set out with Michael for a European tour. He went to Chicago for the Democratic Convention and participated, even buying the pig that was nominated for President. However, though arrested over the pig incident, Phil was not one of the major figures in the trials afterwards.

Back in Los Angeles, some negative articles about Phil's music increased his depression which had followed the Chicago incidents, and Andy took him to Mexico to cheer him up. Phil and Michael seemed to be drifting apart, but Phil came out of his lethargy enough to agree to another album and tour, and he appeared once more at Carnegie Hall. In Los Angeles, Phil had a tombstone made for himself, which stated that he died in Chicago, 1968, and he used this for the album cover. The album sold only 30,000 copies. He cancelled the tour and returned to Los Angeles.

Phil was called to testify before the trial of the Chicago Eight, and this made him anxious. He had often used anti-anxiety drugs, but now he chewed Valium as if it was candy. (Phil was never into hard drugs much at all. He drank heavily and smoked marijuana occasionally, but he was scared of drugs like acid and heroin.) His stutter also grew worse. However, his testimony in Chicago in December, 1969, went well.

Deterioration

On the way back from Chicago, he stopped to see Elvis Presley perform in Las Vegas and was awed by the performance. Afterwards he talked, jokingly at first, of becoming the Elvis of the left-wing. He had a gold suit made by the tailor who had made the suit for Elvis, and he wore it when performing. Phil's face was puffy, his stomach a globe from all of the junk food he ate and from the wine, beer and rum he drank throughout the day; as a result he looked ridiculous in the gold suit. He held a big party for his thirtieth birthday, and then sang Elvis songs at The Troubadour. He recorded a new album with a picture of himself wearing the gold suit on the cover, and the album sold worse than any of his others. He gave his "Elvis" concert at Carnegie Hall where he was booed. He cut his finger in the interval between the two shows, but at a doctor's office he refused to let anyone touch him. He wouldn't show the cut to anyone, nor give his name and address. Eventually, he was calmed down, and he allowed himself to be treated. After a few drinks and some amphetamines, he performed the second show. He tried to tour with his new show, but ended the tour after only a few performances.

Back in Los Angeles, Phil was depressed over the failure of his "rock-and-roll" tour. Andy and Frances left, ostensibly because Andy couldn't stand Phil's left-wing friends (friends such as Jerry Rubin). Phil and Karen had a fight, and Phil threw out her possessions onto the street where they were stolen. Karen then left Phil for good, and Phil went to bed for several days.

Although Phil had been eccentric for much of his life, this period marks the turning point between eccentricity and craziness. His business decisions began to be grossly irrational, and his interpersonal relationships began to disintegrate. His intake of alcohol and drugs such as Valium and amphetamines increased, and his physical condition deteriorated. He also fell into deep depressions.

Between 1967 and 1969, with Michael's management, Phil had grossed over a half a million dollars. Now, his income dropped considerably. He gave up his house and moved to an apartment. Soon, the apartment was full of newspapers, dirty clothes and empty gin bottles. Michael had invested Phil's money and gave him a monthly allowance, so he did not have to work too much. He decided to travel abroad. In London, Tina Date was shocked to see a bloated greasy person, with puffy features and dirty clothes. Back in Los Angeles, Michael told him that he needed new income and suggested a tour, but Phil refused. He was too depressed to write new songs, and he decided that his creative energy was gone.

He visited Chile with Jerry Rubin, and Phil got excited by the political movements there, with Allende in power. He went to Uruguay, but he was at the University of Montevideo when the Army attacked the students. He was arrested and expelled, refused entry into Bolivia, and allowed into Peru only if he left immediately. He returned to America. He now did occasional concerts, mainly at colleges, and stayed drunk most of the time and went to movies. When friends asked him what was on his mind, he'd reply "Suicide."

In 1971, he was in a bad accident while driving drunk and had to have false teeth. In 1972, he went on a tour of Australia, where his major interest was visiting brothels. But his energy began to return a little. In 1973, Michael tried to revive Phil's career with a concert in Greenwich Village, and the following tour went better than expected. He began to write again for the Los Angeles *Free Press*.

He decided to visit Africa, setting up concerts in several countries. However, while in Tanzania, he was attacked and robbed, and the attackers ruptured his vocal cords when they grabbed him from behind. After this, his voice was raspy, and he was never able to sing well. When he did perform, he drank ice cold beer to ease his throat, but this meant, of course, that he was usually drunk when performing.

After the overthrow of Allende in Chile, which further depressed Phil, he went to New York City where he organized a benefit for Chile and, interestingly, once energized by political activity, he seemed to revive, becoming more like his old self. He sang at Avery Fisher Hall in April, 1974, and then at the Felt Forum in Madison Square Garden with Bob Dylan. But soon after he was depressed again. He confessed to a friend that he couldn't write and had tried to hang himself from the staircase but the banister had broken. Although eating huge amounts of food, he complained continually of being constipated, and he thought that he had stomach cancer. He stopped coming back to his

apartment on Prince Street (which he had subleased to others), and his assistant, Deni Frand, would invite him to stay at her place. He would come home late, always drunk and filthy, smelling of vomit and urine. Deni would put him to bed, throw his pills away, and wash his clothes.

To avoid the winter in the East, Phil flew back to Los Angeles and moved in with a friend, Lee Housekeeper. He began to jog in the mornings, and his physical condition began to improve. He even cut down on his drinking. Phil learned to play backgammon and declared himself one of the world's greatest players. But he still felt ugly, was embarrassed about being overweight, and felt sure that his friends no longer liked him. Within weeks he was drinking again.

Insanity And Suicide

In April, 1975, the Vietnam War was finally over, and Phil decided to organize his biggest "War Is Over" rally, this time in Central Park in New York City. A hundred thousand people came, and Phil felt rejuvenated. But Bob Dylan's new album was a smash hit, Phil's voice was so bad that he couldn't honor commitments for concerts, and he lost a backgammon match in the Village. He had been unable to get Elvis's manager, Colonel Parker, to manage him, so he tried to get Colonel Saunders (of Kentucky Fried Chicken) to be his manager. He changed his name to John Train and decided to open a bar in the Village. Michael resisted giving him the money, but Phil began to threaten to kill Michael and to kidnap Sonny's children and hold them for ransom. Michael gave in and emptied Phil's account to raise the \$30,000 he wanted. The bar closed in a couple of weeks.

He was arrested after a crash in his car for drunk driving, and Michael tried to prevent Phil's friends from bailing him out. He hoped that jail would sober him up and motivate him to seek treatment. However, a friend provided bail. Michael looked into having Phil committed to a psychiatric institution but found that this was impossible until Phil committed a serious criminal offense.

Phil found an empty apartment owned by a friend who was in Los Angeles and who let him stay there. However, his behavior was disruptive. When he came home drunk, unable to open the vestibule door, he would smash it. He began to itch at night, scratching himself to a bloody pulp and then destroy the furniture. The owner got a friend to go over and change the locks so that Phil could not get in, but he smashed the door down and attacked the friend. She had the police arrest him, but again he was released.

Phil began to carry weapons -- hammers, lead pipes and knives. Friends banned him from their apartments, and Jerry Rubin finally got him to check into Gracie Square Hospital for treatment, even though he was terrified of doctors. At the first group therapy meeting, which unfortunately was conducted in Spanish, Phil got up and left the hospital.

He went back to Los Angeles where he was arrested for driving drunk without a license, insulting a police officer and carrying a semi-automatic pistol. Again, a friend bailed him out. He had his possessions moved to the East Coast, but the truck driver abandoned the truck in Arizona, and Phil never recovered his possessions. He told friends that he was CIA agent, and he begged for money and ate their food. Eventually, he left Los Angeles for New York City. On the way he visited Alice and Meegan for just one night.

In New York, he stayed in friends' apartments, and then went out to Far Rockaway to stay with his sister Sonny and her two sons, David fourteen and Jonathan eleven. Phil stopped drinking, he played cards with the kids, Andy visited, and Michael called every week. His mother, Gertrude, persuaded Phil to see a psychiatrist and Phil made a second appointment for April 12th. Sonny took him to a B. B. King concert at Madison Square Garden. Jerry Rubin visited New York, and during the evening Phil climbed out on the window ledge and pretended that he was about to jump.

On Friday, April 9th, 1976, David cut school to spend the day with Phil and came home to find Phil dead. Phil had hung himself in the bathroom. Andy took the ashes back to Scotland, where he scattered them from Edinburgh Castle.

Comment

Phil's father had a manic-depressive disorder, and much of Phil's behavior makes it appear that he too had the same disorder. However, his manic and depressive episodes were usually triggered by specific events. Political injustice energized him, and he worked well as a political organizer. However, toward the end of his life, his mania led him into irrational business decisions, and the accompanying irrational thoughts made him delusional.

His depressions were usually brought on by his failure to become an enormously popular singer. Elvis was his hero, and yet he never came close to emulating Elvis's success. In the folk realm, Bob Dylan's success continually reminded Phil of his own meager achievements. Discontent with his own achievements, Phil grew increasingly depressed and appears to have contemplated suicide for many years before he finally killed himself.

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KURT COBAIN¹⁰

David Lester

Kurt Cobain was born on February 20, 1967, in Aberdeen, Washington, 108 miles southwest of Seattle, on the Pacific coast. Logging was once the major industry, but layoffs had led to high unemployment. His father, Donald, was a mechanic at the Chevron station in town, and his mother, Wendy, stayed home. They lived in a rented house in nearby Hoquiam and moved to Aberdeen when Kurt was six months old. Kurt had a sister, Kim, born three years later.

Wendy's side of the family was musical -- her brother played in a rock band, and her sister played guitar. Kurt first showed an interest in music at the age of two. His aunt would give him records and sometimes invite him over to her house to watch the band practice. She had recorded a single and played in bar bands in the area. Kurt grew up the darling of Wendy's seven aunts and uncles, usually the center of attention, and he would entertain them with his singing. Aunt Mary gave him a bass drum when he was seven, and Kurt decided that he wanted to be rock star. He was also very good at drawing.

Kurt was considered hyperactive and was given Ritalin (amphetamine). It quieted him down but made it hard for him to sleep, and so he also took sedatives. Kurt's doctor decided that sugar and Red Dye #2 should be eliminated from Kurt's diet. As a result, he was not allowed to eat candy bars. Beside his hyperactivity, Kurt was plagued by chronic bronchitis and scoliosis.

Kurt took drum lessons in third grade and played in the school band, although he never learned to read music. He was left-handed, even though his father tried to turn him into being right-handed.

His parents divorced in 1975 when Kurt was eight, although Donald opposed the divorce, and they fought over the kids. Kurt changed after the divorce, from being cheerful and sunny to being quiet and sullen. He wrote on his bedroom wall, "I hate Mom, I hate Dad, Dad hates Mom, Mom hates Dad, it simply makes you want to be sad."

After the divorce, Kurt lived with his mother and her boy-friend who was schizophrenic and physical abusive to Wendy. Kurt was angry, and Wendy sent him to live with his father in a trailer home. There was friction between Kurt and his father because his father wanted his son to be more involved in sports, an activity which did not interest Kurt. Donald got remarried to a woman with two children, and they moved to a house in Montesano. Kurt did not get on well with the step-family, he refused to do chores and he skipped school. Donald got him a job bussing tables, but Kurt rarely turned up for that. Donald got angry very easily with Kurt and may have been physically abusive to Kurt -- Wendy recalls incidents, but Donald does not.

¹⁰ This essay is based primarily on Azerrad (1993).

Donald forced Kurt to join the high school wrestling team, and Kurt hated it, although he did well -- it was a good outlet for his anger. However, in a match, while Donald was watching, Kurt deliberately lost, and soon afterwards Kurt moved out to live with three sets of Uncles and Aunts and his grandparents -- moves which forced him to change high schools. Before leaving Donald's home, Kurt and his friends discovered Donald's record collection and began to listen to the rock music while stoned. Kurt started smoking marijuana in ninth grade and smoked every day until he finished high school.

Wendy could not take Kurt home until she had finally freed herself from the schizophrenic boyfriend, so she encouraged her musician brother, Chuck, to look after Kurt. Chuck bought Kurt a guitar for his fourteenth birthday, and Kurt took a week of lessons. He became obsessed with it and practiced constantly. He formed a band with two friends. He went to local concerts and struck up a friendship with a local group called the Melvins, helping them haul their equipment

In 1984, Kurt was still being shuttled from relative to relative. His mother had married an alcoholic longshoreman, but Kurt persuaded her to let him live with them. Kurt obtained money for his amplifier by selling his step-father's guns after Wendy threw them into the river.

In high school, Kurt was writing and recording his own songs on a tape recorder. He auditioned to join the Melvins but was rejected. Kurt did badly in high school, skipping classes and not doing much work. Wendy sent him back to his father's where he lasted a week and then to the home of one of his friends. A special remedial program did not work, and Kurt dropped out a few weeks before his graduation in May, 1985. Because he failed to find a job, Wendy threw him out, and he used some of his father's support money to rent an apartment which he shared with a friend. He got a job as a janitor at the high school but could not keep up with the rent. He moved out in the late Fall of 1985, owing several months' rent. By now he had tried acid and was taking it regularly. He survived by sleeping over with friends, on the porch of a friend's house, in the attic of his mother's house when she was out working, and under the North Aberdeen Bridge over the Wishkah River. He used his food stamps (for which he was eligible) to buy candy, and he used the change to buy beer. That winter he got together with two friends and formed a band which they called "Fecal Matter" -- they played one gig before disbanding.

In the winter of 1985, he moved in with the family of another friend where he stayed for eight months, faithfully doing his chores and behaving better than usual. Kurt had been a vandal since seventh grade (he especially enjoyed trashing empty houses), but now, high on beer and acid, he and his friends would write strange graffiti in Aberdeen -- such as "God is gay," and "Amputate acrobats." Kurt was caught on one occasion and fined \$180 and given a thirty-day suspended sentence.

He got a job as a maintenance person at the YMCA but did very little work, and then worked as a swimming instructor for kids in the summer. He formed a new band (Brown Trowel), and they played once at Evergreen State College. He also began taking Percodans, an opiate-derived pain-killer, to which he became addicted. After two months, the supply ran out, and Kurt had to withdraw "cold-turkey." By now, Kurt had tried every drug except PCP, and he now tried heroin. On opiates, Kurt did not hate people as much, and he could be more relaxed and calm.¹¹

Eventually he got into a fist-fight with the friend and moved back to his mother's. In the Fall of 1986, he persuaded her to rent a decrepit shack a few hundred yards from her house, and he moved in with the guitarist of the Melvins. The place was soon filthy. Kurt got a job at a nearby coastal resort, but he did as little work as possible. One night that winter, while trying to cook french fries, Kurt burned his hand so badly that the local hospital told him he would never play guitar again, but Wendy took him to a specialist who treated it so that he could play.

Kurt met Chris Novoselic who became the second guitarist in Nirvana at Aberdeen High School, but they did not get together until this time. They formed a band, but the project fell apart after a month. Chris and his girl-friend, Shelli, went to Arizona but returned late in 1986, and he and Kurt started a new band (The Sellouts) playing Credence Clearwater tunes. Kurt found a girl-friend, Tracy, who liked to party but who was also a nurturing person.

The band got several engagements, and a recording of one of their concerts became their demo. They finally settled on the name *Nirvana*. Kurt was evicted from his shack and moved in with Tracy in Olympia. Shelli and Tracy both worked the graveyard shift at the Boeing Company cafeteria, Chris worked as an industrial painter for \$6 an hour, while Kurt stayed home, slept, made some artwork (especially painting and sculpture), practiced the guitar and took acid. For the four years Kurt stayed in Olympia, he was a recluse. Occasionally Tracy would fuss that Kurt was not contributing to the rent, and so he would go and stay in his car for a few nights. Finally, in order to finance a proper demo, Kurt took a job with a janitorial company, but, as before, Kurt did little work. Since they cleaned doctors' offices, Kurt did learn to steal drugs, and he grew to like codeine and Vicodin (an opiate-derived painkiller). He tried cocaine and speed but didn't like them. At this time, Kurt also began to experience severe stomach pain which plagued him for the rest of his life. Despite its chronicity, no physician ever managed to diagnose the cause.

The demo was recorded on January 23, 1988, at a studio in Seattle, with Dale Crover on drums, and Kurt paid the bill from his janitor's wages. In June they made their first single, this time with Chad Channing on drums. In December they recorded their first album (Bleach released by Sub Pop). A friend, Jason Everman, paid the bill, and he joined the band for a while. In February, 1989, the band made a tour on the West Coast,

¹¹ Ever since high school, he had developed nervous tics such as popping his knuckles, scratching his face and flipping his hair compulsively. His eye twitched.

and then in June toured America. This tour was made in their own van, with expenses kept to a minimum. They often slept in the van or at the home of a fan. Gradually the band developed the habit of smashing their equipment after performing. Eventually, they bought cheap equipment to break in order to spare their good guitars and drums. In October, 1989, they joined TAD for a tour in Europe, playing thirty six shows in forty two days, traveling on a crowded and uncomfortable bus. Under the stress, they considered breaking up but stayed together to finish the tour. After returning, Chris and Shelli got married.

They had a brief California tour, and in April, Kurt called Tracy on her birthday to tell her he wanted to break up. Later that year, they grew unhappy with Chad's drumming and fired him, and Dale came back briefly for a West Coast tour.

Kurt had a new girl-friend, Tobi Vail (although this relationship did not last long - they broke up in late 1990)¹², and he found a good drummer at last, Dave Grohl. They group practiced for five months and then looked for a major label, finally signing with Geffen.

Kurt clearly found life difficult. He hated work, he liked drug-induced states, and even off drugs he liked to sleep. In late 1990, he began using heroin. Although they had signed a good contract, they had little to do that Winter, and Kurt and Dave lived a depressing life in an apartment in Olympia. Heroin was a way to feel better. Kurt claimed that he used heroin only once a week at this time.

The band began recording songs for a new album and stayed in Los Angeles to be near the studio. At this time Courtney Love, the leader of a group called *Hole*, began to drop by. She first got to know Dave through Dave's girl-friend, and then she met Kurt. Over the course of 1991, she and Kurt gradually got more involved, dating, taking drugs together, and occasionally fighting. Since Kurt did not know dealers in L.A., he used codeine cough syrup and Jack Daniels.¹³ They toured England, and this time the conditions for the group were better. The band still trashed equipment at the end of each performance, and they began to trash dressing rooms and hotel rooms on the tour. *Nevermind* was released in September, 1991, and was the number one album by January, 1992.

Courtney began popping up during the tour, and in December she and Kurt decided to get married. They had used drugs a lot during their relationship, and they took heroin together in Amsterdam in November, 1991. Kurt said that his stomach pain was so bad that it made him suicidal, and so he decided that heroin was a better choice since it helped reduce the stomach pain. Kurt therefore consciously decided to pick up a habit. Chris and Dave were unhappy with Kurt's addiction, but the issue was rarely discussed openly among them., Chris and Dave kept their frustration mostly to themselves.

¹² Kurt claimed that he slept with only two women on all of his tours

¹³ Kurt claimed that the cough syrup helped his throat and chronic bronchitis, especially when on tour.

Kurt said that he never overdosed (despite tabloid reports that he had), but once got strands of cotton in his vein, producing a fever and headache for which he went to a hospital. Courtney's habit was milder than Kurt's and, when she found that she was pregnant in January, 1992, she stopped using drugs. Kurt detoxified himself, but his stomach pain was severe on a tour to Australia, and he began taking methadone to relieve the pain. Courtney joined the band in Japan and Hawaii, where she and Kurt got married on February 24th. The marriage added tensions to the band because Kurt did not want Shelli at the wedding, and so Chris stayed away too. The tensions were not talked through until October, during a tour in Argentina.¹⁴

Kurt did not enjoy his fame. It meant pressure, interviews, and criticism in magazines and newspapers, and he returned to heroin, spending his time painting and writing new songs. He tried to detoxify again but quit the program after a few days. The band went on a brief tour in Europe, but the methadone Kurt took there did not stop his stomach pains, and he hated foreign food. Back in America, Kurt's habit had grown from one hundred dollars a day to four hundred dollars a day. In August, with the baby imminent, Kurt checked in to Cedars-Sinai to detoxify, spending twenty-five days there.

While Kurt was there and Courtney was expecting the baby, *Vanity Fair* ran a scathing article on Courtney (in the September, 1992, issue) which really upset the couple. Their daughter, Frances, was born on August 18, 1992, a perfectly healthy baby, but the reports of drug abuse in the *Vanity Fair* article led Children's Services to take the baby away. Frances was given to Courtney's sister for a month, and this additional trauma led them to consider suicide. The hostile press continued for quite some time, with stories that the baby was born addicted and more.

Later that year, in September, while on tour, Kurt's father who had tried to get in touch with his son before, turned up backstage in Seattle after a concert. He and Kurt talked, but Donald did not hear from Kurt again. An album of live tracks, demos and B-sides, *Incesticide*, was released in December. By now, Frances was allowed to live with Courtney and Kurt, but they both had to have regular urine tests to prove that they were drug free. Kurt was able to ameliorate his stomach pain with Buprenex, a mild synthetic opiate which he injected directly into his stomach. One physician diagnosed the condition as a pinched nerve as a result of the scoliosis of the spine, and physical therapy also helped reduce the pain. The Cobains won custody of their daughter, free from Children's Services supervision in March, 1993.

In 1993, Kurt worked as his own publicist and arranged for interviews and articles that he approved of. He designed a custom guitar for Fender, and the band recorded the music for a new album, *In Utero*, which Kurt had developed during 1992 when the band did not tour much. In April the band performed to raise money for rape assistance in Croatia, and the group also protested against a Washington State bill to punish stores that sold "erotic" music.

¹⁴ The group also had friction over the royalties since Kurt felt as songwriter that he should have a larger share.

There remained a lot of tension in the group. Kurt and Courtney fought almost daily, there was friction between Courtney and the other band members, and there was friction within the band. All of the band members considered developing music by themselves, and they made tentative efforts in this direction. Kurt had been the dominant creator for Nirvana, as he had desired, but now he resented that Chris and Dave did not contribute more to the music. Kurt felt that Chris did not practice enough and that Dave was not creative enough. Eventually, much of the tension dissipated, and the group began to hang out together

The End

Azerrad's biography was written prior to Kurt's suicide. According to Jobes, et al. (1996) and the *New York Times* (April 9th, 1994), Kurt overdosed on champagne and tranquilizers in Rome on March 14, 1994, in Rome while on tour with Nirvana, and the band cancelled the tour. On March 16th, he locked himself in a room in his house¹⁵ with guns, and Courtney called the police for help. Kurt entered a drug treatment center in Los Angeles on March 28th, but left after two days. He was found on April 8th, by an electrician who had come to work at his home, dead from a shotgun wound to the head. He had been dead for three days, and the medical examiner found heroin and Valium in his blood.

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¹⁵ The house was just off Lake Washington in the Seattle neighborhood of Madrona.