

SUICIDE STUDIES, 2026, 7(2)
ISSN: 2771-3415

David Lester
Stockton University

lesterd@stockton.edu
www.drdauidlester.net
ResearchGate.net

**PSYCHOLOGICAL AUTOPSIES OF 120 SUICIDES OF THE (MOSTLY) RICH AND
FAMOUS**

David Lester

Introduction

In 1989, I decided to start publishing the *Proceedings of the Pavese Society* which I distributed to some two dozen friends and colleagues in the field of suicidology, named after Cesare Pavese who died by suicide. It consisted mainly of biographies that I wrote of mostly famous people who had died by suicide. I then labeled them as *Biographical Studies* and put them on my website. (www.drdauidlester.net). This issue of *Suicide Studies* focuses solely on the essays of people, mostly famous, who died by suicide. Lists of suicides and brief biographical notes are omitted.

I have used these biographies in several research studies and in my books and articles as cases to illustrate particular theories of suicide. In addition, two collections have appeared:

Lester, D. (2000). *By their own hand: Suicides by the rich and famous*. Chichester, UK: Aeneas.
 Lester, D. (2008). *Exit weeping: Understanding suicide through the study of famous suicides*. Hauppauge, NY: Nova Science.

Recently, two research studies have appeared testing theories of suicide using 72 of the suicides in this volume:

Zhang, J., Tan, J., & Lester, D. (2013). Psychological strains found in the suicides of 72 celebrities. *Journal of Affective Disorders*, 149, 230-234.
 Lester, D., & Gunn, J. F. (2022). Is perceived burdensomeness present in the lives of famous suicides? *Death Studies*, 46, 1801-1806.

INDEX

Adams, Clover 5
 Arbus, Diane 8
 Arenas, Reinaldo 14
 Armstrong, Edwin Howard 19

Badialis, Craig 25
 Bang-Jensen, Povl 30
 Barrymore, Diane 34
 Bern, Paul 37
 Berryman, John 41
 Bettelheim, Bruno 50
 Boyer, Charles 57
 Brautigan, Richard 61
 Broughton, Henry 64

Carrington, Dora 68
 Castlereach, Viscount 72
 Celan, Paul 78
 Chatterton, Thomas 86
 Clark, Bruce 90
 Cleopatra 94
 Clive, Robert 98
 Cobain, Kurt 104
 Cole, Peter 110
 Coyle, Joey 112
 Crane, Hart 115

Dazai, Osamu 124
 de Nerval, Gérard 127

Egbert, James 131
 Ehrenfest, Paul 133
 Epstein, Brian 136
 Esenin, Sergei 143

Forrestal, James 146
 Fox, Joan 155
 Freud, Sigmund 158
 Fumimaro, Konoe 164

Garland, Judy 170
 Genoud, Francois 179
 Gertler, Mark 182
 Gilman, Charlotte Perkins 189

Goebbels, Joseph 193
 Gorky, Arshille 199

Halliwell, Kenneth 202
 Hammer, Agnes 208
 Hansen, Denny 211
 Harvey, Julian 215
 Heggen, Tom 217
 Hemingway, Ernest 225
 Hemingway, Leicester 237
 Heppner, Albert 240
 Hershberger, Willard 242
 Hoch, Ludvik [Robert Maxwell] 244
 Hoffman, Abbie 252
 Hyde, Robin [Iris Wilkinson] 259

Inge, William 265

Jarrell, Randall 271
 Jens, Christopher 275

Kammerer, Paul 280
 Kees, Weldon 286
 Koestler, Arthur 291
 Kosinski, Jerzy 294
 Kovalevskii, Vladimir 303
 Kreuger, Ivar 308

Ladd, Alan 310
 La Follette, Robert, 315
 Levi, Primo 319
 Lindsay, Vachel 325
 List, Georg 334
 Lockridge, Ross 338
 London, Jack 344
 Lott, Jean 356
 Lucadello, Tony 360
 Luxtons, the 362

Marx, Eleanor 365
 Mayakovsky, Vladimir 372
 McPherson, Aimee Semple 376
 Meinhof, Ulrike 385
 Miller, Hugh 388
 Mishima, Yukio 391
 Monroe, Marilyn 400

Mowrer, O. Hobart 410
Musica, Philip 418

Ochs, Phil 421
O'Neill Jr., Eugene 430

Papke, Billy 433
Pavese, Cesare 435
Plath, Sylvia 442
Presley, Elvis 450
Prinze, Freddie 449
Puller, Lewis 466

Rollin, Ida 469
Rothko, Mark 471
Rudolph, Crown Prince 478
Russier, Gabrielle 485

Sexton, Anne 492
Siddal, Lizzie 499
Socrates 504
Stanton, Elizabeth 508
Stekel, Wilhelm 512

Tausk, Victor 514
Teasdale, Sara 522
Toller, Ernst 531
Traina, Nick 534
Tsvetaeva, Marina 543
Tucholsky, Kurt 548
Turing, Alan 553
Turpin, Randy 559

Urman, Felix 561

van Gogh, Vincent 563
Van Ilpendam 570

Ward, Stephen 572
Wechsler, Michael 578
Weil, Simone 584
Weininger Otto 590
Wertenbaker Charles 594
West, Ellen 597
White, Jody 601
Wilde, Dolly 605

Woolf, Virginia 608

Young, Gig 613
Young, Robert 619

Zweig, Stefan 621

Attempted Suicides

Jamison, Kay 625
Luce, Clare Boothe 629
Parker, Dorothy 635
Reimer, David 642
Savage, Mary 647

CLOVER ADAMS

David Lester

In the 1880s, a group of five people used to meet almost daily at the house of Henry and Clover Adams in Washington, DC. Henry Adams was grandson and great-grandson of American Presidents and a historian. His wife Clover was a gifted photographer. John Hays began his career as a secretary to President Lincoln and ended as Secretary of State. His wife Clara was the daughter of a successful industrialist. Clarence King founded the USA Geological Survey and invested in mining concessions. They were friendly with many of their notable contemporaries, and they eventually decided to call themselves the Five of Hearts. But one of them, Clover Adams, killed herself in 1885 at the age of forty two. O'Toole (1990) has written a group biography of this group, and her account throws some light on the suicide of Clover Adams.

Clover's Life

After graduating from Harvard University, Henry Adams went to Washington as a secretary to his father, a member of Congress. Lincoln sent his father to England to persuade the English to stay neutral in the civil war, and Henry accompanied his father. He wrote articles for American newspapers while he was there and continued to write for the press when he returned to America. The President of Harvard University invited him in 1870 to teach history there, and Henry accepted.

In 1872, Henry resumed his friendship with the Hooper family. The Hooper's had three children, the youngest of whom was Marian, or Clover to her friends. (Clover had a brother four years older and a sister five year older.) Born September 13, 1843, she was five foot two, not especially pretty, but artistic and witty. Henry fell in love with her, and they were married on June 27, 1872. Henry's older brother disapproved of the match, and Henry's parents were also unenthusiastic.

There were some indications of instability in Clover's maternal relatives which concerned even Henry. An aunt had killed herself with arsenic at the age of twenty-eight while pregnant. Another aunt was eccentric, if not psychologically disturbed, and Clover's mother died of tuberculosis in her thirties when Clover was five.

Clover had not gone to college - it was unusual for women to receive a college education in those days - but she had received a progressive education at a school run by the wife of a distinguished Harvard University naturalist, Louis Agassiz, who often taught the students. The Hoopers were a relaxed family who thought that a good goal in life was to enjoy the fortune accumulated by their ancestors, whereas the Adams stressed self-improvement.

After ten days on Cape Cod, Henry and Clover set sail for Europe and Egypt. Clover missed her father, with whom she was very close, and was quite homesick. Her

first meeting with Henry's parents did not go well either. Egypt was quite traumatic for Clover, and some biographers have thought that she suffered a nervous breakdown there. O'Toole finds no evidence for this. Back in Europe, Clover's letters home seemed cheerful, and she bought art works in great quantity for their American home.

They arrived back in America in August, 1873, and set up house in Boston near to Clover's father. Henry decided to write a history of the USA during the Presidencies of Jefferson and Madison. In 1877, Henry gave up his position at Harvard University and his editorship of the *North American Review* and moved to Washington. After a year in Europe to explore the diplomatic archives, he and Clover returned to Washington.

Their days in Washington usually began with horse riding in Rock Creek Park, breakfast at noon with guests, Henry's writing in the afternoon, and evenings with guests. In summer they went north to Boston's North Shore with Clover's family. Soon, Henry's friends, John Hay and his wife and Clarence King visited daily for tea, and the Five of Hearts came into being. They welcomed guests, but only if they were amusing.

Clover was often restless and bored, especially when the others moved away on their various tasks. She read a lot but often complained about so much reading. In the summer of 1881, she took care of two of her brother Ned's five daughters after their mother had died, a task which may have aroused anxieties in her, since at thirty-eight she was childless. The reasons for the Adams childlessness are not known.

Barred from work, Clover sought self-expression in her artistic collections, designing her gardens, and eventually photography. As she took up these interests, she became less interested in, and even discontented with, social activities, especially with the Five of Hearts scattered.

In 1883, Clover visited a friend in New York alone and, though she had a great time, Henry forbade such trips again without him. In a similar repressive fashion, Henry refused to allow Clover's photographs to be published, robbing Clover of a chance for public acclaim. Eventually, both of them came to feel ennui and a spiritual yearning.

In 1883, Clara Hay's father shot himself. Henry Adams bought a piece of land in Washington and persuaded the Hays's to join them in building two adjoining houses on the land. Then, just after the inauguration of Gover Cleveland as President in 1885, news came that Clover's father had suffered a serious attack of angina pectoris. Clover went to Boston to help nurse him. He died on April 9.

Although at first, Clover seemed to deal with her father's death quite calmly and seemed not to mourn his loss, during the summer she sank into a deep depression. She had feelings of unreality and, when they returned to Washington in November to supervise the construction of their house, the depression persisted. Henry tried all he could to alleviate her mood but had little impact.

On Sunday morning, December 6, 1885, they had a late breakfast as usual, and Henry went off to see his dentist. As he left the house, a caller arrived, and Henry went in to ask Clover if she wanted company. She was already dead from an overdose of potassium cyanide.

Clover had long seen suicide as an acceptable action. When an artist friend killed himself in 1879, she noted that his death had spared him years of insanity. O'Toole suggests that today Clover would have received a diagnosis of manic-depressive disorder, and Clover's fear of insanity, made worse by the history of insanity in her family, may have precipitated her own suicide. In addition, the early loss of her mother, perhaps incompletely mourned, compounded by the recent loss of her father, also incompletely mourned, may have further contributed to her suicide.

Reference

O'Toole, P. (1990). *The five of hearts*. New York: Clarkson Potter.

DIANE ARBUS

David Lester

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Diane and Allan's building in New York City.

Fashion Photography

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

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

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

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

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

In 1951, Allan decided to take Diane and Doon to Europe for a year to have a

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

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

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

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

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

Last Years

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

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

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

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

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

Suicide was common among Diane's acquaintances. The off-Broadway director, Jess Kimmel, who lived in their building in 1958 killed himself, a friend Patti Greenfield fell to her death in 1967. In 1963, Diane discussed suicide intellectually with a friend. She was fascinated by the details of suicide, such as the hesitation cuts made by wrist-slashers, and she said that she would like to have photographed the suicides on the faces of Marilyn Monroe and Ernest Hemingway. In 1971, two people jumped from the roof of the Westbeth building Diane lived in. In the summer of 1971, Diane helped Marvin Israel

on a small sculpture of a person who had slashed his wrists.

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

Discussion

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

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

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

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

Reference

Bosworth, P. (1984). *Diane Arbus*. New York: Knopf.

REINALDO ARENAS

David Lester

Arenas was born on July 16, 1943, in Holguín, Cuba. His mother, expecting to marry a young man, had slept with him and got pregnant, whereupon the man ran off, leaving her to bear her son.¹ After living for a year with her prospective in-laws, she moved in with her parents, along with her many other single and abandoned sisters. As a fallen woman, his mother would have had difficulty finding a husband, but, though depressed and sometimes suicidal, she decided not to try, and she remained chaste for the rest of her life.

Arenas's grandfather was an alcoholic and physically abused his wife, but his grandmother was a strong woman who ran her large household efficiently. The grandfather farmed about a hundred acres (mostly for corn) and, though poor, the grandmother fed everyone and kept them healthy.

When he was five, Arenas caught meningitis but survived. He fell out of a tree and off a horse and into a well, but he also survived all of these childhood accidents.

Homosexuality played a prominent role in Arenas's life, and his first homosexual memory was from the age of six when he saw a large group of men bathing naked in a river. The following day, he says, he discovered masturbation. Like his friends, most of his childhood sexual activity was with animals -- hens, dogs, goats, pigs and horses. He even carved holes in soft-stemmed trees and fruits for sexual stimulation. His first heterosexual experience was with a cousin, but his first consummated act was with a male cousin when he was eight, and later an uncle use to sit Arenas on his penis when they rode into town on horseback.

He went to school, to which he had to travel on horseback. Although there were few books to read, Arenas's grandmother told him stories and made sure he went to school, and his mother taught him to write.

As economic conditions worsened, Arenas's grandfather sold the farm and moved the family into the town of Holguín. Once in town, Arenas, now thirteen, worked at a guava paste factory for twelve hours a day. On his day off, he went to the movies and decided to write novels, which he did in the evenings and at night and which, he recollects, were dreadful. He went part-time to a junior high school where he dated girls, but his friends knew that he was gay, even though he had not accepted this yet.

When he was fourteen, Arenas decided to join the rebels. He traveled to where they were hiding, and they refused to let him join because they had enough men. However, when he arrived back home, his family had spread the news of his defection in the town, and Arenas had to flee back to the guerrillas for safety. They let him stay. He

¹ This essay is based on Arenas's autobiography (Arenas, 1993).

never saw any fighting, and he was still with the guerrillas when Batista fled from Cuba on December 31, 1958, and Fidel Castro took over. Arenas was now fifteen.

Life under Castro

Arenas was given a scholarship to a new polytechnic institute where youths were trained to be agricultural accountants. The youths, and others like them, became the "vanguard of the revolution," the first Cubans indoctrinated into Castro's system. Arenas still had girl friends, and he continued to write. He graduated in 1961 and was assigned to a farm near Manzanillo.

He used to go home to Holguín on weekends, and there he began an affair with a young man whom he met on the bus and discovered the homosexual subculture. Dissatisfied with the work on the farm, Arenas applied for and was accepted into a planning course at the University of Havana. Arenas still refused to accept that he was a homosexual, but a friend took him to the National Library where he met many homosexuals, and soon Arenas was cruising in Havana for lovers and pick-ups. He also switched from being the active sexual partner to the passive, a role he came to prefer.

In 1963, he entered a story in a competition at the National Library which so impressed the judges that they hired him. There he had much more time to write, and also to read the books there. His book, *Singing From The Well*, won an award and was published, as did his second novel. When the head of the library changed, and the regime became more oppressive, Arenas resigned his position at the library.

He associated with the other writers in Havana, and they would meet to read one another's works and discuss literature. Arenas also began to enter the homosexual subculture in earnest, even though the regime became more intolerant of homosexuality. By 1968, Arenas estimated, he had already had sex with some five thousand men. Arenas notes that the sex was always free - there was no prostitution - and he notes that he liked strict roles in the sexual act, in which he was happiest being the passive partner. He was robbed and blackmailed in the course of his homosexual odyssey, but he remained undeterred.

He began working for the writers' union for which he had to check galley proofs, but at this time the harassment by the State Security increased. In 1967, he had met two visitors to Cuba, Jorge and Margarita Camacho, who kept in touch with Arenas after they left. He smuggled manuscripts out of the country with them which they helped publish abroad, and this met with further disapproval from the authorities.

In 1968, Castro sided with the Russians over their invasion of Czechoslovakia, confirming the repressive nature of his regime and destroying any faith Arenas and his friends had in the regime. Castro started ordering people to work in agriculture whenever they were needed. Arenas had to participate in the sugar cane harvest in 1970 when Castro had set an unreachable goal for the nation's harvest. The repression escalated. Writers were imprisoned and tortured until they recanted their opposition to the regime.

Arenas still visited his family in Holguín, but even his aunt had turned into a supporter of and agent for the regime, and she reported Arenas for his homosexuality and seditious writing. Although he continued to receive income from the writers' union, he was not allowed to write for them. In order to buy time, Arenas married a woman who wanted cover for her heterosexual affairs. They married, but in 1973, Arenas and a lover had their possessions stolen by two young men with whom they had just had sex. They reported the theft, but the young men accused Arenas and his friend of being homosexuals. Arenas was charged with being a homosexual and a counterrevolutionary. Although he was arrested, the security at the police station was lax, and Arenas walked out that night. He made several attempts to escape, first by swimming to America¹ and then, more reasonably, by trying to get to the American base at Guantanamo. The Cuban security was too tight, and Arenas had to return to Havana.

Arenas obtained a false identification and managed to escape capture for several months. Eventually he was captured and sent to the prison at Morro Castle. He tried to kill himself with an overdose of psychedelic drugs but, again, he survived. He was placed in the cells for dangerous criminals, rather than those for homosexuals. He refused to have sex with anyone because sex under forced conditions could not be enjoyable for Arenas, but his decision also helped keep him alive since he stayed out of the continual fights centered around sex. When they were seeking Arenas, the police had spread the rumor that he was a rapist and murderer. His reputation also helped him since the other prisoners were somewhat afraid of him.

After more than six months, Arenas was transferred to the State Security system where he was encouraged to confess his counterrevolutionary crimes and recant. After four months of isolation, Arenas confessed. He was then charged with corrupting minors and sentenced to two years in prison. He served this sentence at a open jail where the men were used to construct houses.

Just prior to his arrest, Arenas had caught syphilis. He had some treatment with penicillin, and after his release in 1976, he completed the treatment. He managed to pay a friend for an apartment by getting his aunt to give him the money for not ever coming back to the family house.² He obtained money by a variety of means. A group of his friends found a furnished convent which had been boarded up. They stripped the convent, sold most of the contents and used the rest for their own apartments. He also sold clothes that his friends sent from abroad or which he purchased on the black market.

He continued to write, and he continued his homosexual life despite the dangers involved in both activities. In 1980, after Cubans stormed the Peruvian embassy in an effort to escape from Cuba, Castro decided to let some Cubans emigrate. He refused to let any important Cubans leave, but, in desperation, Arenas went to the local police station and presented himself as a common criminal who had been sentenced for a public

¹ After failing, he tried to kill himself by slashing his wrists.

² A friend who had influence in the communist party also put pressure on the aunt.

disturbance. They gave him a permit for the Mariel exodus, and he left the port only hours before the authorities realized their mistake.³

The boat he was on broke down and drifted. Instead of a trip of seven hours, they spent four days at sea before being rescued by the U.S. Coast Guard. Finally, Arenas had reached freedom.

America and Suicide

Life in America was not easy for Arenas. He did not like the Cubans in Florida. Also, when he began to write and speak out against Castro, his publishers refused to publish his works anymore. They also failed to pay him the royalties his books had earned.

In August 1980, he was invited to give a talk at Columbia University in New York, and, once there, he found that he loved New York. He found an apartment which he shared with a Cuban friend who had psychiatric problems and who had also escaped in the Mariel exodus. He was writing again¹, and he resumed his homosexual adventures. He worked against Castro, starting a magazine briefly and appearing in several anti-Castro films. By 1983, he had obtained a visa which enabled him to travel abroad. He went to Europe and met the Camachos who had helped him since 1967. His mother visited him, and he gave talks at some forty universities.

Illness and Death

By the winter of 1987, Arenas was very sick and a doctor diagnosed him as having aids. By then, he had corrected most of the manuscripts he had smuggled out of Cuba, and he had written and published a number of other works. But he had not yet finished his series of five novels. His friend Lázaro took him, unconscious, to New York Hospital, and he survived. While there he helped with the French translation of *The Doorman* and wrote words to songs written by one of the doctors in the Hospital who then sang them in the intensive care unit to the dying patients.

Arenas was released after three and a half months and, when he returned to his apartment he found that someone had left him some rat poison, suggesting that he die by suicide. Arenas started dictating his autobiography into a tape recorder, since he was too weak to write. The French translation of *The Doorman* received a prize, and Arenas flew to Paris to receive it. But he soon came down with pneumonia and then cancer (Kaposi's sarcoma). But he survived again and began writing the fourth novel in his *pentagonía* while revising the fifth. He came down with pneumonia again, and went to Spain to recover, where he helped write an open letter to Castro asking for free elections which was signed by thousands of people and published.

³ He purposely misspelt his name so that the police would not discover that he was the lists of those forbidden to escape.

¹ He wrote or re-wrote six of his books.

Suicide had always been a theme in Arenas's life. A great-uncle hung himself at home and, throughout, his autobiography, he notes which friends, colleagues, notables and fellow prisoners died by suicide in Cuba. Indeed it seems from Arenas's autobiography that suicide was extremely common in Cuba. Arenas himself had made two previous attempts at suicide, when he was trying to escape from Cuba and when he was sent to prison in 1973.

As the illness worsened, his health deteriorated further, and his depression deepened. When he was no longer able to write, he decided to kill himself. He died of an overdose of drugs and alcohol on December 17, 1990, in Manhattan.

Reference

Arenas, R. (1993). *Before night falls*. New York: Viking.

EDWIN HOWARD ARMSTRONG

David Lester

Edwin Howard Armstrong was an inventor who held the patents for two of the major advances in this century which led to the development of radio. He was born on December 18, 1890, in the Chelsea district of Manhattan. His father, John, worked for the Oxford University Press, and his mother, Emily, came from a prominent business family in the city. She was a graduate of Hunter College and taught in the public schools for ten years before marrying John. The family moved several times, eventually ending up in Yonkers.

Armstrong, the first-born, went to the public schools where he was a good student. When he was nine, he came down with St. Vitus' Dance which causes involuntary twitchings and movements. Armstrong was kept home for two years, nursed by his mother and tutored by a great-aunt. He recovered with only a slight tic noticeable for the rest of his life -- hitching his shoulder forward and twisting his neck.

After this illness, Armstrong became even more thoughtful and withdrawn. He had always been interested in mechanical toys, and his social introversion led him to spend even more time with this hobby. In 1904, his father brought him back from England *The Boys' Book Of Inventions*, and Armstrong decided to become an inventor. As soon as he entered high school, his interests focused on wireless, and he was particularly enamored of Michael Faraday who had discovered electrical induction (the principle of the dynamo) and Guglielmo Marconi who was the first to transmit radio signals. Armstrong commandeered the attic and filled it with his equipment. The family nicknamed him Buzz, and he soon found others in the neighborhood fascinated by the new inventions, including a retired engineer from the old American Telegraph Company. In 1910, Armstrong built his own permanent antenna 125 feet high in the backyard, helped by his younger sister. Despite (or maybe because of) his hobby, he was judged to be only a fair student at high school. He took up tennis as a sport and became captain of the high school team. He graduated in 1909 and entered the department of engineering at Columbia University.

Student Days

Armstrong did graduate from Columbia, but his path was unorthodox. He puttered in the laboratory at all hours and tended to focus on his own interests rather than course assignments. Several faculty complained about him, but he had won the support of several influential faculty members who protected him. He spent most of his time in his attic or in the laboratory at Columbia and, in his junior year, he solved the problem of regenerative receiver circuits. He wanted to file for a patent, but his father refused to loan him the money (\$150) until he graduated. He was unable to raise the money himself, and so he recorded his invention on paper and had it notarized -- on January 31, 1913.

Armstrong graduated in June 1913, and he was offered an appointment as an assistant in the department for one year for \$600 a year. His father loaned him the money for the patent which was filed on October 29, 1913, with an addition on December 18. (The patent was issued on October 6, 1914.) Radio engineers were impressed by the demonstrations of his circuits (sending and receiving radio signals over long distances), and one of those who came to see them was David Sarnoff, later to become head of RCA and one of Armstrong's bitter enemies. Another engineer who came to see the invention was Lee de Forest who later challenged the primacy of Armstrong's patent (and won in the US Supreme Court). Armstrong published a report of his work in *Electrical World* in December, 1914.

In 1914, three rivals filed patents on the invention, including de Forest, Armstrong's father died of a stroke in 1915, and now Armstrong was the sole provider for the family (his mother and two sisters). Licences for his invention were bringing in only \$100 a month, and efforts to sell the rights to his invention came to nought as the major companies involved tried to see if they could develop alternatives in their laboratories to circumvent the patents. AT&T bought up rival patents, including de Forest's interfering patents. However, the amateur community recognized Armstrong's importance, even if industry refused to, by electing him President of the Radio Club of America in 1916.

By 1916, however, Armstrong's situation eased. The American Marconi Company realized the utility of Armstrong's patent and bought a licence, thereafter paying him about \$500 a month in royalties. Then in 1917, America entered the Great War.

The War and After

The First World War halted Armstrong's efforts to some extent. He joined the army as a captain, posted to Europe (headquartered in Paris) and given the task of organizing the communication systems for the military. He made several good friends who later worked with him back in America, and he had time to work on more inventions, in particular the superheterodyne circuit. After the armistice was signed, he filed for a patent (February 8, 1919) which was issued on June 8, 1920, another historic milestone in radio.

In 1919, he was promoted to Major, and he received the *Chevalier de la Légion d'honneur* from the French. He had also been awarded the first Medal of Honor from the Institute of Radio Engineers in America. He arrived back home in September 1919, recovering from a severe anthrax infection.

Back in America, Armstrong returned to work at Columbia University, fought the rival patent suit from de Forest and worked on the development of the superheterodyne. Again rival patents were filed and suits brought.¹

¹ At this time, General Electric purchased the American Marconi Company (in 1919), formed the Radio Corporation of America (RCA), in which AT&T made a large investment. These three corporations then

In the twenties, Armstrong sold two inventions for a large sum, won an initial victory over de Forest in federal court, came up with a third invention which he sold for an even larger sum, and fell in love. The money came to Armstrong from Westinghouse which had been left out by General Electric and AT&T and now wanted to get into the game. Although Armstrong had to pay large sum to the lawyers acting on his behalf in the patent suits, he still had a healthy income. At the same time, amateur radio began to boom, and Armstrong's lawyers advised him to license his inventions for amateur use (in crystal-detector sets), and royalties poured in from this source too. In 1922, his monthly income rose to \$10,000.

Now that radio stations were opening in cities across America, the amateur inventors moved to short-wave signals. With Armstrong helping, a group managed to send short-wave messages across the Atlantic in 1921. Although Sarnoff and his aides from RCA came to watch, the industry did not see the value of this invention until 1927. Again, the amateurs were in the forefront of developments, not industry.

Meanwhile, Armstrong had discovered the super-regenerative circuit, a patent for which was issued in July, 1922. RCA finally came to terms with Armstrong and bought his super-regenerative circuit for \$200,000 cash and 60,000 shares of RCA stock, making him the largest individual stockholder. Later patents that year netted him 20,000 more shares, and made him a millionaire. Furthermore, he invested well and avoided losses in the stock market crash later.

In his dealings with RCA, Armstrong had met Sarnoff's secretary, and in 1922 he asked her out. Marion MacInnis was twenty-two, of Scottish descent, and from New England. After a quick romance, they married on December 1st, 1922.

Armstrong was appointed as an Assistant Professor at Columbia, but he refused to accept the salary, taught no classes, and gave only occasional lectures.

The Fight with De Forest

De Forest, backed by AT&T, had not given up after his first loss in federal court, and the ensuing court battles lasted from 1920 to 1924 costing close to a million dollars in legal fees. De Forest tried to establish priority to the invention, and Armstrong fought, not because of the royalties involved, for he was already a millionaire, but because of the principle. He had invented the regenerative receiver circuit, radio engineers knew it, but the courts were not sure. At the initial victory in 1922 by Armstrong, he should have accepted or waived damages so that the case could be closed, but Armstrong would not allow Westinghouse (his supporter in the court battles) to waive damages, and he would not allow de Forest a compromise in which de Forest would purchase a company already licensed by Westinghouse. Given this breathing space, and a sign of Armstrong's intransigence, de Forest pressed on in his suits and began to win. By 1927, all of the court verdicts were in de Forest's favor, and in 1928 the US Supreme Court upheld the sought to dominate the field.

judgments in favor of de Forest. Armstrong did not give up, but came to the support of a small company sued by RCA and backed its fight up to the Supreme Court again, where in 1934, the court again supported de Forest. AT&T benefited from this since Armstrong's patents ran out in 1931, after which no royalties would be due, whereas de Forest's patents filed much later ran through 1941. Thus Armstrong and de Forest were pawns in a much larger fight between rival corporations, but the suits were made more complicated by the personality of both Armstrong and de Forest who wanted legal confirmation of their inventions. Armstrong was, however, the major inventor, and only his vanity prevented an early and compromise settlement back in 1922.

In 1934, Armstrong attended the annual convention of the Institute of Radio Engineers. He had informed the Institute that he would return the medal awarded him in 1918 for the invention which the US Supreme Court now said was de Forest's. He was not given the opportunity. The Institute's president addressed him from the chair and affirmed the earlier award and his precedence as inventor of the regenerative circuit. The meeting gave him a standing ovation, and the board which had unanimously agreed to this had many members employed by AT&T and RCA which had fought Armstrong and won in court! Despite this, industry representatives and publications continued for many years to downplay the role of Armstrong and to promote the name of de Forest as the inventor of the regenerative circuit.

FM Radio

During these legal battles, Armstrong continued to invent and to have some fun. He played tennis, vacationed with his wife, and spent summers at the Long Island beaches. He also continued to work on the problems of radio, and he now made an even more important discovery. In late 1933, he was issued patents for a new radio signalling system, later developed as FM radio, which solved the problem of atmospheric disturbances (static) which plagued AM radio. Although the laboratories of the major corporations had dabbled in this area, it had been concluded that FM signalling was impossible, and Armstrong's invention led to the revision of a "law" in the field, called Hartley's Law (named after an AT&T scientist).

The professor of the department at Columbia University (Michael Pupin), long a supporter of Armstrong, died in 1935. Armstrong was appointed as head of the Marcellus Hartley Research Laboratory in his place, at a nominal salary of \$1 a year. Armstrong supplied the equipment, paid the assistants, and paid the overhead expenses.

Armstrong demonstrated his FM system publicly in late 1935 and, though the quality of sound was impressive, the radio industry (now organized into NBC, CBS, ABC, and the Mutual Broadcasting System) was reluctant to adopt it. They had invested a great deal of money and effort in AM radio, and they did not see the sense in setting up a rival system. Thus, in public and before congress and regulatory agencies (the FCC had been established in 1927 and reorganized in 1934), the industry continued to attack FM signalling and to hinder its development. At the same time, RCA began to set its own engineers to work up their own patents and to engage in interference proceedings in the

Patent Office against Armstrong's patents. Undaunted, of course, Armstrong decided to invest his own money in setting up FM radio stations.

He obtained a license to operate in the small range of frequencies allotted by the FCC (2.7 megacycles versus the 120 megacycles allotted for experimental television), and he set out to build a 50-kilowatt station at Alpine, New Jersey, high on the Palisades overlooking the Hudson River. Armstrong's mother died in 1938, as the station was being built, but by now others were building FM stations elsewhere in America (Worcester and Hartford were the first). The station opened in 1939, having cost Armstrong \$300,000, and the quality of its broadcasts was outstanding.

By 1939, the dam began to break, and General Electric came out for FM. RCA at first fought the FM industry at the FCC, trying to limit FM's place in the spectrum of frequencies, but in 1940 it lost. RCA then decided to support FM, and Sarnoff tried to purchase the rights to Armstrong's patent for a lump sum. Armstrong again behaved stubbornly. He refused, demanding the royalties other companies paid. RCA refused Armstrong's terms.

The Armstrongs lived in a nice apartment in Manhattan, and they now bought a house at Rye Beach in New Hampshire. The Second World War meant an end to the expansion of FM radio, and a large decrease in the royalty payments to Armstrong. However, Armstrong let the military use his inventions without charge. Armstrong had already been advising the Signal Corps, and soon all of the military was using FM for communications. Armstrong also worked on a novel form of radar, and at the end of the war was awarded the US Medal for Merit.

The Post-War Era and Crisis

Once the war ended, FM radio took off again, and the battle resumed between the industry and the FM radio operators. The nascent television industry needed wavelengths assigned in the FM region, and so the FCC sided with industry and moved the FM radio stations from the 50 megacycle band to a new band between 88 and 108 megacycles for which they did not have the equipment. FM stations were also restricted by the FCC in power so that each station could serve only one small region. Despite this, the FM stations prospered, after a period of adjustment, and Armstrong's royalties poured in, even though companies like RCA refused to pay him royalties even they were using his inventions. Armstrong, himself, refused to reduce his fees although by doing so, companies like RCA might have paid them. Furthermore, Armstrong had spent close to \$1 million on his Alpine station, and he supported several other groups and organizations. Thus, his money was spent as quickly as it arrived.

Eventually RCA decided to challenge Armstrong's patents in court. By doing so, they not only challenged Armstrong's pride as the inventor, they also tied him up in costly litigation. In 1948, the patents for FM had only two more years to run (after which the royalties would dry up), and the court battle began in earnest. He filed suit against

RCA on July 22, 1948, seeking to get triple damages for the equipment made illegally by RCA during the term of his patents.

The battle lasted five years and ended with Armstrong's suicide. Most of the five years was taken up with depositions, but Armstrong also wrote scores of articles and letters to newspapers and magazines correcting the history of the development of radio which often ignored or minimized his own role. There were several attempts at a settlement, but Armstrong wanted vindication, which for him meant victory in court.

Inevitably, his marriage suffered. Marion had learned to live with his passion for radio. She had made a life for herself, without children, but often lonely. Now the court case consumed more and more of Armstrong's time, their money was being used up rapidly, and Armstrong himself looked close to having a breakdown. The crisis came in November 1953, at Thanksgiving when, after a row, Marion left to stay with her widowed sister. Armstrong's financial state was now in precarious. RCA made one last effort at a settlement, amounting to \$2 million, but Armstrong rejected this. Armstrong's despondency grew. On the night of January 31, 1954, Armstrong wrote a letter to his wife, dressed warmly in his overcoat, hat, scarf and gloves, and jumped from the thirteenth floor of his apartment building to his death.

David Sarnoff, head of RCA, attended the funeral, and RCA paid Armstrong's estate one million dollars to settle the suit.

Reference

Lessing, L. (1956). *Man of high fidelity*. Philadelphia: Lippincott.

CRAIG BADIALIS

David Lester

Craig Badialis was seventeen when he killed himself and his girl friend Joan Fox on the evening of a Peace Moratorium rally at Glassboro State College in New Jersey on October 16, 1969 (Asinof, 1971). Craig and Joan left twenty four suicide notes, most of which were suppressed by the police. They said they died in order to motivate people to do something peaceful and constructive with their lives. They died as a sacrifice.

Craig and Joan were popular, apparently well-adjusted, long-time sweethearts, clean-cut, good but not brilliant students. Craig was head of the high school dramatic society. Joan was a cheerleader. They had no history of unorthodox behavior.

Craig's Family

Craig was the second and last-born child, with a brother Bernie four years older. The father, Bernard, was fifty years old and worked as foreman of a carpenter's crew in Philadelphia. His father had emigrated from Italy in the 1920s. Bernard had grown up in the Depression, served in the Second World War and continued in the Air Force for twenty-two years before retiring. He met his wife Dolly in Blackwood after the war when home on leave. Dolly's father was also a skilled worker, and his four sons all became tradesmen and union members in Philadelphia. Bernard and Dolly had three children, but the first baby died shortly after birth.

Because of his tours of duty, the boys grew up without seeing much of their father. His retirement was hard for the sons who now had to deal with a traditional military-trained father. He was hard on them, especially Craig because Bernie was clearly his favorite. Bernie was tall, lean and athletic at seventeen and on the high school football and baseball teams, while thirteen year-old Craig was fat and clumsy.

Bernard would bowl once a week with the church league, spend some evenings at the Freemason's Lodge, and liked to hunt. Bernie hunted with him, but Craig disliked killing. Bernard was a Catholic and Dolly a Methodist, so they brought the children up Episcopalian. The family went to church every Sunday morning, and Bernard served on the governing board of the church.

Bernie had spent two years at Brevard College in North Carolina, and five months earlier he had come home with his wife Margaret and a baby. They had moved into Craig's room, and Craig had moved into the basement. Bernie was attending courses at Glassboro State College with the goal of becoming a teacher.

Craig's Early Years

Craig was born in Blackwood, New Jersey. The family moved to Hawaii for one year, but Dolly came back with the children to Blackwood to wait for her husband's

return. As a baby, Craig seldom slept well. He cried throughout the nights, but the doctor said that Craig was not colicky or sick, just overactive.

Craig had some musical talent and played piano, saxophone and finally guitar. His grades were average, and his teachers saw him as lazy and unmotivated. His mother was kind and lenient and tried to soften the strict discipline of her husband. Bernie recalled that there was a lot of hostility between the father and the two sons, with Craig suffering at the hands of both his father and his older brother.

Craig at High School

When Craig was fourteen, Bernie went off to college. Free from the competition with Bernie, Craig developed his own style. He liked girls and became friendly with several. In ninth grade, he discovered Joan and dramatics. Acting in and producing plays for the school became a central hobby for Craig. Craig began to write too, stories, poems, and long letters.

He continued to play the guitar and came to love the music of Janis Ian, Leonard Cohen, Joni Mitchell and Peter Paul and Mary. Although this was not to his father's liking, Bernard did not discourage Craig and even bought him a twelve-string guitar for his sixteenth birthday.

Joan Fox

The Fox's had six children. Andy Jr. was twenty-seven and, after serving in Vietnam, had become a police officer in Blackwood. Myrtle was next and then Linda aged twenty-one. Raymond was nineteen and presently serving in Vietnam, Joan was seventeen, and Ruthie was last aged fifteen. Joan was born in Philadelphia, and moved with her family to the New Jersey suburbs in the 1950s when she was three.

Joan was always boy-crazy. She began dating Craig early in high school. Though they occasionally had arguments and would go off and date other people, they remained together and grew closer. Indeed, Joan became increasingly dependent upon Craig, and her friends saw her as obsessed with him. During one brief break-up in the summer of 1968, Joan wrote to a friend "I get so afraid I'm going to lose him, I don't know what I'm ever going to do..." (Asinoff, 1971, p. 54)

Joan had to deal with a squabbling family at home and the contradictions in her life. The urge to succeed and be popular, which led to her becoming a cheerleader, was at odds with her more serious and thoughtful side.

The Last Year

Blackwood was a very conventional lower class community. But even so there were a handful of thoughtful students who were part of what we now call the 1960s culture. They opposed the war in Vietnam, they smoked marihuana, and they wanted to

question the conventional culture. Craig and Joan were friends with these few students as well as those in the mainstream of small town America.

Eventually, both Craig and Joan, but especially Craig began to change their attitudes and to oppose the war and the intolerance and small mindedness of the society. In the fall of 1968, Craig and Joan had marched to Camden to support American soldiers in Vietnam, But soon Craig was visiting Philadelphia to see avant-garde groups and drink in coffeehouses, and his views began to change. As he sought out the few students with modern ideas, he had to deal with the conflict, at home with his family, forcing him often to call friends to discuss issues from a pay phone, and within himself.

Although the arrival of Bernie and his family forced Craig out of his own room, he seemed to enjoy the company of both Bernie and Margaret. Bernie saw that Craig needed to get away from home, but a plan to go to North Carolina for the summer fell through. On his seventeenth birthday, his father bought Craig a 1962 Falcon.

In the summer of 1969, Craig and Joan worked at the Haddonfield Music Fair and had fun at first, but soon got depressed by the superficiality and pettiness of the world of show business. Joan worked also in a program for kids at the Methodist Church, and they both began to consider joining the Peace Corps after high school. Craig spent a lot of time that summer reading and writing poems and reflections in his notebooks that indicate a growing confusion and sadness.

Asinof presents a gloomy picture of the Highland High School in Blackwood. Blackwood is a town which has produced no distinguished Americans. It is run by building contractors, and the richest men in town were a building contractor and a funeral director. The school was newly built in 1967, but by 1969 the walls were cracking and the floors buckling. The school administration was concerned with discipline rather than education. It had twice as many gym teachers as social studies teachers, as many shop teachers as English teachers. One year after the school opened, the students spontaneously revolted and picketed the school. As a result the five minute period between classes was extended to eight. The school rewarded compliance. In 1968, a straw poll among the students gave George Wallace 38 percent of the votes and Nixon 34 percent for President. The student body sent CARE packages to American soldiers in Vietnam.

Craig was without direction. He liked the theater but was aware of his limitations. He could go to Glassboro State College but to do what? He had no special talents or inclinations. The Peace Corps seemed the only thing to do. His friends noticed how much more serious he had become. He kidded around much less that Fall.

Craig and Joan now became inseparable. (They had become lovers earlier that Spring.) Craig seemed to really want her, and Joan needed him. Friends thought that she was beginning to lose her self-identity. Joan was now a cheerleader, and Craig was planning a production of *The Mouse That Roared*, but they began to withdraw from their friends. Craig stayed in his room a lot by himself, depressed, writing sad poems.

When the idea for Moratorium Day on October 15 1969 was first publicized, Craig and Joan were enthusiastic, though the school administrators forbade any demonstration and threatened to punish any students who cut school that day. Craig talked about it a lot at home and tried to win over his parents.

On the Sunday before the Day, Craig fixed the tail pipe on his car and snapped at Bernie for borrowing it. Bernie was surprised because Craig never got angry at little things like that. On Tuesday afternoon, Craig was writing letters and cleaning out his room. He cleaned out his desk and burnt all of his notebooks in the incinerator in the back yard, together with all the posters off the walls of his room. He had already given his sister-in-law his loose change as a gift for his nephew.

Craig and Joan went to the rally at Glassboro State College on Wednesday, but the lack of organization and lack of real feeling depressed them. They drove home in the mid-afternoon. He dropped Joan off home and planned to collect her again at seven.

Instead of driving to the candlelight march at Glassboro, they drove to a wooded lane and Craig connected a vacuum cleaner hose to the tail pipe and then through a hole in the floor of the car that he had drilled.

Discussion

Most observers felt that the decision to die was Craig's. He was depressed over life in general and the Vietnam involvement in particular. He wanted to die, and Joan said she wants to die too if he did. Certainly Craig had been depressed in the months before his suicide, though the focus of his depression was unclear.

Bernie thought that Craig suffered because Bernie was clearly his father's favorite. Bernie stole the glory in the family, and the things that Craig liked to do were seen as sissy-like. Craig had been a fat kid, while Bernie was a fine athlete. When Bernie came home to stay, he drove Craig out of his own room. Perhaps Craig felt that he wasn't really loved?

In one letter that was revealed, Craig wrote to a friend

.....My life is complete except all my brothers are in trouble - war, poverty, hunger, hostility. My purpose is to make them understand all this trouble. Maybe this will start a chain reaction of awakening, love, communication. I've been so down, so goddam down, I can't get up. Not even pot helps.....(Asinof, 1971, p. 123)

In a letter to her mother, Joan said that they wanted to be martyrs. She did not think that what they were planning was cowardly or that they were copping out. They believed deeply in what they were doing.

A puzzle. For Craig and Joan did not show any signs of psychiatric disturbance prior to their suicide. Craig was depressed, but no evaluation can be made as to how severely depressed he was or the exact psychiatric nature of his depression. Their stated motive for dying was for the cause of peace. But could they really believe that their death would achieve peace? Was their death a rational suicide or not?

Reference

Asinof, E. (1971). *Craig and Joan*. New York: Viking.

POVL BANG-JENSEN

David Lester

Povl (Paul) Bang-Jensen worked from 1949 to 1958 in the Secretariat of the United Nations in New York. After being dismissed from his post there, he obtained temporary work at CARE, before killing himself on the day before Thanksgiving in 1959, leaving a wife and five children.

Copp and Beck (1961) are by no means convinced that his death was a suicide. Indeed they tried to find evidence for murder, perhaps arranged by the Russians. But the death remains a probable suicide. Let us look into the circumstances leading up to Paul's death.

Early Life

Paul was Danish. As a child, he didn't like sports much but read a lot. He got excellent grades at school. His older brother was outgoing and autocratic. Copp and Peck did unearth an incident when his brother persuaded Paul to grab the other of a poker in order to get a present. The poker turned out to be red-hot. They suggested that Paul came to expect betrayal by those above him.

Paul became a brilliant lawyer in Denmark and wrote a notable book on price-fixing. He came to the USA in 1939 to study international law. He joined the Danish Embassy in Washington at the start of the Second World War.

After the Nazis overran Denmark in April, 1940, Henrik Kauffman set up a government in exile in the USA. Paul became his right-hand man. He recognized the importance of Greenland and helped keep it in American rather than Danish control. He helped set up underground operations in Denmark. He met an American, Helen Nolan, from New York at an Embassy Party in 1939, Helen proposed to Paul in 1940 (it was leap year), and they married in 1943. They had five children.

He had hoped to be appointed as an Ambassador somewhere rather than go back to Denmark and start in the Foreign Service, but no appointment was offered to him. He turned down academic offers and stayed on at the Embassy. In 1948, Czechoslovakia had fallen to the communists, and people were concerned about the security of Scandinavia. Paul was sent back to Denmark to discuss the problem, and he was judged to have overdramatized the situation so that the government in Denmark believed a Soviet invasion was imminent. That incident helped tarnish his reputation with the Danish government and made it expedient for him to switch to the UN. Paul worked for the Danish Embassy for ten years before joining the UN in July 1949.

He believed in the mission of the UN but disliked the bureaucracy and the endless paperwork. Still he was judged to have performed competently there (for example, on the Palestine Conciliation Commission).

The Crisis

In 1956, the Soviets invaded Hungary to put down the revolution there. The Hungarian government had appealed to the UN for support of any kind, but the organization responded far too slowly to be of any help to the government. After the revolution had been suppressed by the Soviets, a special UN committee was set up to interview those concerned in the events and to write a report. Paul was upset by the lack of action taken by the UN, believing that some immediate response from the organization could have prevented the Soviet invasion. The committee had five members from the delegations, and about seventy members from the Secretariat whose main task was to provide the delegates with whatever support they needed. Paul was made Deputy Secretary, second-in-command.

Paul became overly involved in the committee's work. He came to see it as essential that the final report was absolutely correct in every detail as he saw it. Forgetting that the delegate members of the committee have the power and that the Secretariat staff are there to serve, he protested draft after draft of the report and accused his superior of giving in to Communist pressure, until the Secretary ordered him to absent himself from meetings. At that point, Paul made formal complaints to senior staff, all the way up to the General Secretary, Dag Hammarskjöld, where his behavior was seen as hysterical. On August 24, 1957, Paul was relieved of his duties as Deputy Secretary to the special committee.

However, an even more serious crisis occurred when Paul was found to be the only person with the names of the Hungarian refugees from the Soviet persecution who had consented to testify before the committee on condition their identity be withheld. (Quite reasonably, they feared assassination if the Soviets obtained their names, and there was evidence that the Soviets had spies trying to identify the witnesses at the time they testified.) The Secretariat ordered Paul to bring in the names of the Hungarian witnesses. Paul refused. The exchanges of memos and threats continued. On November 22, 1957, Paul was ordered to report the following Monday at the UN Health Clinic for a psychiatric examination. On Friday, November 29 Paul was ordered to deliver the records immediately. On Wednesday December 4th Paul was suspended, and security guards were ordered to escort him from the UN Building.

A group was set up in the Secretariat to discuss this crisis, and the resolution was that on January 24th, 1958, Paul burnt the lists of names on the roof of the UN Building in front of witnesses. Soon after, the group recommended Paul's dismissal from the staff of the UN.

Clearly the crisis at the UN had created enormous stress for Paul, but he had faith in the appeals process. Despite the false rumors circulating that he was mad or an alcoholic, he remained optimistic that he would be absolved.

There were hearings before the Disciplinary Committee, and his lawyers tried to get Paul a fair deal: top severance pay and a position in an overseas branch. But Paul refused a deal. He wanted exoneration. He went to the Appeals Board who refused to hear his case. On July 3rd, 1958, Dag Hammarskjöld fired him. The Administrative Tribunal (the Supreme Court of the UN) dismissed his appeal on December 5th.¹

After this, he became seriously depressed. The struggle to find a job deepened his depression. In April, a friend managed to get him hired at CARE as a consultant. He worked well there and continued to look for a job. Vocational guidance tests suggested hotel management. A job at the Danish Consulate in Chicago was discussed. But nothing definite was offered. CARE renewed his contract in the Fall. A colleague there recalls searching for Paul when he failed to come back after lunch one day, finding him sitting on a bench in the airline terminal, staring at nothing.

He was offered a teaching position in Denmark, but he didn't feel qualified. Moreover, his wife and children were Americans, and they all wanted to stay in America. On November 23rd, the General Assembly was due to discuss the Hungarian issue again, and Paul was upset that the truth would not come out even then.

He left home on Monday morning as usual, chatting to a neighbor, and disappeared. He apparently killed himself on Wednesday, but was not found dead until Thanksgiving Day, in a park, shot in the head with his own gun (a 25-caliber colt automatic), purchased June 17, 1941.

Analysis

Paul's Depression

In November, 1957, Paul was ordered to report to the head of the UN Health Clinic. The doctor there decided that Paul was under stress but mentally and physically normal. After the visit, Paul wrote a memorandum to his wife saying that he would never die by suicide and that if he was found dead with a suicide note, even in his handwriting, it would be a fake!

Paul was severely depressed by what had happened and talked about killing himself to friends and to his wife. He stayed in his room on weekends and couldn't sign his own checks. He was gravely worried about the future. Friends recommended that he see a psychiatrist. His minister observed him sitting alone in church, weeping. Paul consulted an industrial psychologist who also did vocational guidance, and they discussed suicide: the high rate in Scandinavia and the likelihood that Paul would ever choose that way out. He also visited a psychiatrist in mid-July with whom he also discussed suicide. He stopped going in September, telling the psychiatrist that he was going to see a Christian Scientist instead.

¹ There is also the possibility that potential defectors from Russia had contacted Paul and that he contacted American officials to see if and when they could defect. Indeed, Paul met Allen Dulles in December 1957, but nothing came of these efforts.

He saw himself as having failed, having let his wife down and being weak. His worries were made worse by a delay in his application to change his diplomatic visa into a permanent resident visa.

Copp and Peck give us no information about Paul's mental state earlier in life. We do not know if he showed depressive trends in childhood and adolescence or as a young man. Thus, without any evidence to the contrary, Paul's depression seems to be a reactive depression, brought on by the stress and his apparent failures.

Tragedy

Tragedy is created when we bring about our own misfortunes through fine motives rather than stupid mistakes. Paul believed in the usefulness of his work at the UN, and he was opposed to the Communist movement. However, he lacked the skills needed to work for the goals diplomatically within the constraints of the organization. He was a self-opinionated, angry zealot. One can see him cast successfully as a knight of old, albeit one who gets killed, or as an aggressive business man.

As a diplomat, he found no favor in the Danish government or the UN. And during the crisis at the UN which he created for himself, however good his motives, he alienated the delegate members of the committee, his superior in the Secretariat staff, and eventually all of the higher officers up to and including the Secretary General.

He was bound to be fired. He was simply not the right individual for the position he held. Yet he focussed on the purity of his motives and the correctness of his cause rather than his own personal failure to adopt the appropriate style for the job. Like many people who get fired, he blamed the organization.

Paul had a tendency to turn on those he disagreed with. He thought he was always right and that his superiors were wrong. If he took a dislike to someone, he did nothing to hide it. He was a difficult man.

I have often argued that to be able to feel anger toward others may immunize you against suicide. It is when you come to believe that "they" are right and that it was your own fault that this anger will be turned inward upon the self. Perhaps that is what happened to Paul around Thanksgiving in 1959. After all, he had been fired from the UN and clearly no other organization wanted him. Had jobs been offered him, he could have continued to see himself as right and the UN as wrong. But with no job offers, perhaps he came to realise that the fault lay with him. And once he came to that realization, perhaps there was no way left to him save suicide which he had been discussing intellectually for the past few months?

Reference

Copp, D., & Peck, M. (1961). *Betrayal at the UN*. New York: Devin-Adair.

DIANE BARRYMORE

David Lester

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

In April 1955, Diane attempted suicide with phenobarbital and alcohol, but survived. She managed to get a part in a tour of *Glad Tidings* and, while she was on tour,

Bob died of a heart attack. She published an autobiography which was a big success. She was interviewed on television shows, and a movie was planned of her life.

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

Reference

Packer, V. (1964). *Sudden endings*. Greenwich, CT: Fawcett.

PAUL BERN

David Lester

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

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

Dorothy Millette entered the Academy in April 1911, and soon she and Paul were romantically involved.² Dorothy left the academy before finishing her junior year and joined a company with Paul which was performing *Too Many Cooks* on Broadway. The show ran for a year and then toured. Paul then began acting, stage managing and directing plays on Broadway. Dorothy, however, found no work in New York City.

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

Dorothy had a psychiatric breakdown in 1921 with what would now be called schizophrenia.³ Paul arranged for her long-term care at the Blythewood Sanatorium in Greenwich (CT), whose doctors declared her to be incurable, and Paul pledged to continue her support. Paul then moved to California. He visited Dorothy a few times, but her rantings made Paul physically sick, and he stopped visiting.

² Dorothy was born as Dorothy Roddy in Indianapolis, an orphan. She worked as a stenographer, met and married a newspaperman and moved to the state of Washington where he edited a small-town newspaper. Dorothy went back to New York City to pursue her dreams of acting and divorced her husband after two years of marriage. She registered at the dramatic academy as Mrs. L. Melett before deciding upon her stage name of Dorothy Millette.

³ While on tour, she began to hear voices and became a religious fanatic, believing herself to be part of the inner circle of god.

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

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

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

Red-Headed Woman was released nationally on June 24, 1932, and was an immediate hit. Paul and Harlow married two weeks later on July 2, 1932. Paul gave Harlow the deed to his house as a wedding present.⁴ Two months later, Paul died by suicide by shooting himself in the head at their home with a .32 Colt revolver on early on Monday morning, September 5, 1932, while Harlow was at her mother's for dinner (and to sleep over) leaving a suicide note that apologized for his abject humiliation.⁵ The rumor was that he was upset over his small penis and his impotence.

Murder or Suicide?

The "scenario for Paul's "suicide" was, according to Marx and Vanderveen (1990), thought up by the MGM bosses, including the story that Paul was impotent. Marx and Vanderveen claim that several of Paul's girl friends said that Paul was "one hell of a lover," including the stripper Sally Rand who admitted having an affair with Paul.¹

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

⁴ What an odd wedding present!

⁵ A handwriting expert confirmed that it was Paul's handwriting.

¹ Paul was described by Marx and Vanderveen as a pleasant and generous man. They gave examples such as helping staff, actors and directors with their careers, buying a wedding ring for one actress because her husband couldn't afford one, and so on. His relationship with Harlow was described by friends as loving and, apart from friction over Paul's house, there seemed to be no problems. Rumors that he beat Harlow are erroneous. Harlow was sufficiently athletic that she could have floored him had he tried, and those who saw her naked body never saw bruises or marks.

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

On the evening of Paul's death, before Harlow went off to her mother's house, he and Harlow had a quarrel which was engineered by Paul to get Harlow out of the house since he expected Dorothy to visit him that night. Harlow had never liked Paul's house, partly because it was in an isolated canyon. Although he had given her the deed, he refused to let her sell it or exchange it for her mother's house.²

Paul realized that he could not persuade Dorothy to go back to New York City and be quiet, and that her revelations would ruin Harlow's career and perhaps his own.³ He agreed to see Dorothy that night. After Harlow left, Paul waited for Dorothy -- he swam in his pool and drank some champagne. When Dorothy arrived, she demanded to be known as his wife and to star in movies. Paul called for a limousine at 1 am to come to his house, but Dorothy refused to leave. He suggested a swim to cool down. Afterwards she stripped naked and, in shock, Paul smashed his champagne glass, cutting his hand and leaving blood on the stone floor. He went inside to clean his hand and put a robe on, and Dorothy, still naked, came up to him with a gun and shot him in the head. She threw the gun on the floor, put on her clothes and fled through the garden to the waiting limousine. She arrived back in San Francisco eight hours later. On Tuesday she checked out of the hotel, leaving her luggage there, bought a round-trip ticket on the *Delta King*, a ferry to Sacramento. She jumped from the boat as it neared Sacramento on September 7, but her body was not found until September 14 when a Japanese fisherman reported finding it.

The studio executives were at Paul's house early in the morning of his death, some six hours before the police arrived. They were worried that Harlow would be suspected of murdering Paul, and they bribed the District Attorney (Burton Fitts) to label the death a suicide. One of Mayer's staff moved Paul's body, cleaned the gun and then put it in Paul's hand. The "suicide note" was actually a note written by Paul at an earlier date in a book in which he used to write notes to Harlow. Harlow knew that the note was not a suicide note, and she knew that Paul was not impotent. She also knew that a woman had come to see Paul, although she was not fully aware of what their involvement had

² In his new will, Paul left everything else he owned to Harlow. The total value of these assets was about 24 thousand dollars.

³ Studio staff had clauses in their contracts binding them to morally correct lives. If they transgressed, they would be fired.

been. Harlow paid for Dorothy's burial and later for a grave marker which read "Dorothy Millette Bern 1886-1932."⁴

Who knows what to believe?

Reference

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

⁴ Other evidence against suicide was that Paul took out an 85 thousand dollar life insurance policy four days before his death, and he would have known that his suicide would invalidate it. At the medical examination for the policy he was certified as having no medical deficiencies.

JOHN BERRYMAN¹

David Lester

John Berryman was an American poet, winner of the Pulitzer Prize and other literary awards, who jumped to his death in 1972, at the age of 57. I have relied on the biography written by Haffenden (1982) for this essay.

Early Life

John was born on October 25, 1914, in McAlester, Oklahoma. His mother Martha was from a Southern family. Her father deserted the family when she was five, and she never felt that her mother loved her. Martha was working as a school teacher in Sasakwa, Oklahoma, when she met John Allyn Smith, a bank manager in McAlester. (John Allyn was born in Minnesota.) They married in July, 1912, when Martha was eighteen and John was twenty-five.

It is not clear whether Martha loved John Allyn, but they kept up appearances. The first child, later known as John Berryman, was born by caesarian operation, and Martha felt that her sins had prevented her from the agony experienced in a normal birth! She felt incomplete without suffering pain. When she was pregnant again, both her husband and her mother wanted her to have an abortion. They feared for her life, and her husband was not sure he could afford two children. Robert was born, however, in 1919.

John's childhood began uneventfully. John was raised as a Catholic, and the family was devout. He felt some sibling rivalry when his brother was born. John later remembered an incident when he pushed Robert off a wall and bloodied him.

In 1924, John's father had trouble at his bank. Perhaps there was rivalry with a colleague; perhaps he neglected his duties? At any rate, the family moved to Florida. Martha and John Allyn had also been having marital problems, perhaps because of Martha's intense attachment to her children. John Allyn also had at least one affair of which Martha was aware.

At first, just Martha, John Allyn and Martha's mother moved to Florida, leaving the two boys in a boarding school. However, the boys were bullied and unhappy there and soon joined their parents. Their father bought a restaurant and also worked as a real estate salesman. This was the time of the Florida land boom, which soon ended, leaving people with land worth much less than they paid for it. In 1926, John Allyn sold the restaurant for a third of what he had paid, and the family moved into an apartment building owned by John Angus Berryman.

It was soon obvious that Martha and John Angus were attracted to each other. John Allyn was distressed over his career crisis and had an affair with a Cuban woman. He asked Martha for a divorce so that he could marry his lover, and she agreed. Because

¹ This essay is based on Haffenden (1982).

of his distress, Martha had encouraged John Allyn to consult with psychiatrists, but these visits did not seem to help. It is possible that John Allyn considered drowning himself with his son Robert, but regardless of the truth of this report it is clear that John Allyn was very disturbed by his life situation.

In the period leading up to John Allyn's suicide, he was having arguments with Martha and John Angus, he remained unemployed, and his Cuban mistress went back to Cuba leaving him without any money. His divorce was to be finalized on June 26th, and on June 25th Martha suggested continuing their marriage. John Allyn refused and shot himself with a .32 automatic pistol early in the morning of June 26th. (Incidentally, John Allyn's elder sister had also killed herself.)

In later years, John Berryman called his father's suicide the turning point in his life, a turning point toward psychological instability. His biographer saw the father's suicide as a convenient rationalization for John. John felt guilt over his father's death and also anger. His father's death also threw him even more to his mother and her overpossessive love.

Within a few months of John Allyn's death Martha married John Angus (in September 1926), and her sons took his name. John Angus was forty-eight, and Martha was now thirty-two. The family moved to New York City where John Angus was a bond salesman. The family switched also to the Episcopalian faith. Again, it is not clear whether Martha loved John Angus.

In New York City, John, now twelve years old, went to public school, but two years later he went to South Kent School, a private school in Connecticut. John was bullied there and very unhappy but made good academic progress. The school affected a disdain for academic pursuits and stressed athletic prowess of which John had little. John was withdrawn, unaggressive, physically inept and wore glasses with thick lenses which earned him the nickname of 'Blears'. His mother, who earlier had encouraged John's interest in literature, pushed him to succeed in both academics and athletics, adding to his conflict.

John was sick a lot during these school years. He worried about his complexion and dandruff, and his concern over his hair loss and itching scalp continued into adulthood. In March 1931, John encountered three schoolmates by the railroad track who began to torment him. John threw himself in front of an oncoming train but was dragged away by the other boys. Despite this early suicide attempt, John did not attempt suicide again before his death, although he often wrote about suicide in his diary.

John became the foremost scholar at his school, with an average in the nineties, twenty one points above the school average. His mother continued to encourage his interest in literature, actively engaging in discussions with him about books. He wrote for the school newspaper and became the first boy at the school to bypass the sixth form and enter college from the fifth form.

Interestingly, the love and attention from his mother made his vacations in New York City very different from his bleak existence at school. In New York City, he was fashionably dressed, a flirt with girls, a good dancer, and a theater and film enthusiast. But it is questionable how self-confident John really felt in New York City since his later life shows much evidence of his lack of self-confidence and his inability to cope with the stresses of day-to-day life.

John Angus's health eventually began to fail, and Martha began to work more (in the world of fashion and advertising), eventually becoming the major provider for the family. There were hard times, however. John's brother was withdrawn from South Kent School, and John needed a scholarship to attend Columbia University.

During his freshman year at Columbia, John was academically unmotivated and over-involved with social activities. He pursued dancing, music, chess, theater, bridge, and tennis. He usually had a girl friend and would get upset whenever one of these relationships ended. On some occasions he would talk of suicide while distraught over these break-ups.

Because John had flunked an English course, he lost his scholarship and was obliged to drop out for a semester. As he moved through Columbia, his amorous adventures and traumas continued, though he remained a virgin, but his interest in literature gradually grew. He began to draft poems which were published in *Columbia Review* and came under the influence of a professor there, Mark Van Doren. He graduated in 1936 *Phi Beta Kappa*, after a crisis over a C in one course which would have prevented his graduation. (John had taken a dislike to the instructor.) He won a fellowship to study at Cambridge University. However, his excessive study, staying up all night at times, led to exhaustion which was complicated by a bad ear infection. Doctors advised Martha to withdraw John from college, but John continued to work and passed.

As we leave this early phase of John's life, two themes emerge from the college years. First is John's need for women in his life and his distress when the relationships fail. Eventually we shall see how John's relationships with women became critical in his life. Second, once John decided to apply himself to his studies, he overdid it. Working throughout the night to the point of exhaustion became a general pattern in his life and he seems driven. Women, work and breakdown characterize most of John's later life.

His Career

John's career involved many moves and he was often unemployed or appointed only for temporary positions (weeks or months at a time). Thus, he faced job insecurity for much of his life. He studied for two years in England and returned to the USA in 1938 where he remained unemployed for a year. He spent one year as an instructor at Wayne State University, three years at Harvard University, and eight years in various capacities at Princeton University where he taught occasionally and was supported by fellowships. In 1954, John was appointed to teach at the University of Iowa, but he was

dismissed after a drunken altercation. In 1955, he began teaching at the University of Minnesota, and he remained there for the rest of his life, eventually becoming a Regent's Professor of Humanities in 1969. Interspersed throughout this career were several sabbatical leaves.

Much of this career involved uncertainty. Though John was awarded many prizes and fellowships which helped support him and his family, he was turned down for others and lived with the uncertainty each time he applied for a fellowship as to whether it would be awarded him. He was in financial straits for much of his life, except toward the end, and never owned a house until after his third marriage. (He finally bought a house in Minneapolis in 1964.)

John's work never was easy. His first teaching position was at Wayne State University, where he sank into a cycle of alienation, bouts of work, followed by starvation and social withdrawal. Although college teaching is a relative easy job, many college teachers work themselves into exhaustion and mental breakdowns, and John was one of those teachers who broke down. For example, at Wayne State University John assigned lots of papers to his students and then decided that he had to read each paper carefully and write voluminous comments. When the pile of unread papers grew too great, John would spend hours at a time without a break for food or relaxation in order to read them. At this time too, his fiancé was in England, and they were growing apart.

His Poetry and Essays

John's writing was the dominant activity in his life. He wrote as if compelled to work through on paper the conflicts in his mind. His poems were intensely personal. For example, his sonnets, published in 1967, were written in 1947 to his mistress with whom he was in love (a married woman, Lise).

Throughout his life, John was productive, getting his poems and critical essays published quite successfully. However, writing inevitably involves many rejections too. No one escapes them. The rejections upset John terribly, probably because of his doubts about his own merits as a writer. As his career progressed, the honors came faster: Rockefeller Fellowships, Guggenheim Fellowships, a Pulitzer Prize, and so on. However, as his career progressed, his aspirations increased. Once it was enough to have his poems accepted for publication. Then the books of poems had to be praised, and finally he needed to be the greatest living American poet. What would have once thrilled him soon ranked as a bitter disappointment because of what he did not achieve. Toward the end of his life, John doubted more and more the quality of his work, and he sought the praise of his friends for his latest poems after each draft.

His Marriages

John married three times, but there were numerous other loves and sexual conquests. He had a number of 'loves' while at Columbia, and but his first serious involvement was with a 'Beatrice' in England (about whom the biographer tells us little),

two years John's junior. They were engaged to marry, although they had doubts about their relationship. John's return to the USA in 1938 introduced strains into the relationship, particularly since John had by no means freed himself from his mother's possessive love. Beatrice visited John in October 1938, staying until April 1939. She felt that John was not serious about finding a job (they could not live on the proceeds from his writing), and she disapproved of the pattern of his life. (After she returned to England, John had an affair that he told her about, forcing her to 'forgive' him.) She promised to wait until 1941 for John to get his life in order, but the Second World War intervened. (Beatrice decided to stay in England for the duration of the war.) However, it is unlikely that they would have married even had there been no war. During his first teaching position, at Wayne State University, John began sleeping with his students, and this became typical for him throughout his career.

After moving to Harvard University, John met Eileen Mulligan who had been a friend of one of John's girl friends at Columbia University and who had read his letters back then. They met in 1941 and became engaged in July 1942, just after Beatrice wrote to break off her engagement to John. They married in October.

The marriage seems to have been tolerable given that few people could have been happy with a person like John. However, in 1947, John fell in love with a twenty-seven year old married friend, Lise, and spent the summer writing sonnets about her and trying to persuade her to make love "just one more time." The affair was over by the end of the year, leaving John with a memory of ecstasy and a lot of guilt. Lise refused to leave her husband, which is perhaps as well for John, for it is by no means clear that he could have left Eileen. John turned to thoughts of suicide again but began seeing a psychiatrist in order to understand himself better.

Although John and Eileen stayed married, John threw himself into alcohol and affairs. His targets were mainly young married women, and his sexual desires so strong that he often masturbated after being with a lover. By 1949, his day was also filled with drug use including vitamins, an anti-spasmodic, dexedrine, martinis, nembutal and sherry. All this while smoking heavily!

Eileen had serious back problems following a fall, which brought out John's lack of concern for her. She also pursued a career, earning a Masters degree and working as a clinical psychologist. By 1953, Eileen had suffered enough from John's neglect, infidelities, drug abuse, reluctance to have children, and employment instability. After a trip together to Europe (in which he resented having to visit her in the hospital after she re-injured her back), she separated from him when they returned to the USA.

Eileen was an orphan and probably impressed by the young poet she met back in 1941. Although her life with John revealed his flaws clearly and must have entailed much suffering for her, she was able to build up a career for herself and develop the self-confidence to leave him to his own self-destructive path.

He then met Ann Levine, a young woman in her early twenties, soon after he arrived at Minnesota, and married her in 1956. They had a son Paul in 1957, toward whom John felt much affection and much resentment. By 1958, Ann had become disenchanted with John, and she left him in 1959.

In 1961, he met and married Kate Donahue, also in her early twenties, whose mother had died when she was young and whose father had been an alcoholic, the ideal wife for an aging alcoholic. They remained married until John's suicide. A daughter was born in 1962 and another in 1971. Kate eventually began to study to be a teacher, pursuing a career like Eileen before her.

His Social Presence

The frequent moves in his career led to John being lonely a lot. For example, when he first arrived in England in 1936 he knew no one and craved for company. This led him to behave inappropriately when he was in company. He would become over-excited to the point of dominating the conversation and insulting people. An acquaintance in England described his moods as hysterical joy, deep depression and obvious boredom. His social style was affected by his nervousness and self-doubts, to which John reacted by being noisy, boastful and bullying. His drinking exacerbated this public persona.

At his first teaching position at Wayne State University, he drank black coffee and chain-smoked. He was thin and had a bushy mustache. He bathed infrequently and wore such dirty clothes that he stank. John's biographer sums up John's style at Princeton between 1943 and 1953 as a braggart, womanizer, drinker and formidable intellectual. John was also consumed by insecurity over his worth as a poet and self-recriminations over his adulteries. He felt hateful, unworthy, pitiable, and could be paranoid about his critics. John admitted that sex and alcohol became the props for his existence.

His Psychiatric State

John experienced depression quite frequently. It could be brought on by loneliness, doubts about his adequacy as a writer, breakups with his women, and by his physical exhaustion. His first 'breakdown' seems to have occurred while in New York after his return from England when he was having great difficulty finding a job, his writings were being rejected, and his fiancé Beatrice was in England.

During his first semester at Wayne State University, the stress he created for himself by his work habits, loneliness, social ineptitude, and separation from Beatrice, all eventually led to a breakdown. He was exhausted at times, sullen and angry at others, and eventually began talking of demons and passing out. Soon after the beginning of the second semester, John collapsed and was examined by psychiatrists. One diagnosed post-epileptic confusion; another psychoneurotic maladjustment and possible schizophrenia. With the help of his friends, John hung on and finished the semester. John eventually

came to believe that he suffered from *petit mal* epilepsy and took medication for it for much of his life.

Thereafter his state gradually grew worse. During a period of unemployment in 1943, while married to Eileen, John was exhausted, undernourished, sleeping badly, suffering from indigestion, and his scalp was burning and itching. He feared another attack of *petit mal*. He thought of suicide and wrote that only his relationship with Eileen prevented him. His biographer labels these symptoms as psychosomatic and hysterical.

In 1947, after John's love affair with Lise ended, John saw a psychiatrist for a few years (until 1953). His diaries list many of the symptoms he presented to his psychiatrist over the years and which he analyzed in detail - little habits such as his aversion to opening mail or answering the door or the telephone, his emotional numbness, his eczema and fear of baldness, his pleasure in pimples and blackheads, his hatred of women, and the problems with his father and mother. (At one point, he worried whether his sexual excesses were rooted in homosexual tendencies.) John was an intellectual, and he wrote poems about his suffering. He seems to have become obsessed by his symptoms, and his self-absorption made them far worse. He analyzed his dreams in his diaries and tried to make sense of his mind. John worried about things that do not merit worry, and then he worried about his worrying.

This is perhaps a problem with all psychologically-oriented intellectuals, and those who keep diaries permit us to monitor their self-absorption. Many grow out of this, eventually reaching a measure of peace in old age. However, John's preoccupation with himself-as-a-problem grew during his life.

In 1954, John was hired by the University of Iowa. He fell soon after his arrival, breaking his wrist and damaging his ankles. He suffered from colitis, was lonely, sexually deprived, and not eating well. He slept very little, drank a lot and had hallucinations. He got into a fight with his landlord one night and was put in jail. The University dismissed him.

John arrived in Minnesota in 1954. There his health deteriorated and his drinking increased steadily. After his second divorce, he was frequently hospitalized for brief periods. Eventually he was diagnosed as an alcoholic and after his third marriage was treated on several occasions for alcoholism. He entered treatment for alcoholism in 1966 and 1967, but not seriously until late 1969. He was diagnosed as an alcohol and drug abuser. A list of drugs used revealed: sleeping pills since 1949, nerve pills since 1955, phenobarbital since 1959, Haldol, Vivactic and Tuinol since May 1969, Serax since November 1969, Thorazine since May 1969, Nembutal in 1961, and Librium occasionally. He also smoked five packs of cigarettes a day.

He had great trouble staying off alcohol and had to be re-admitted several times. He joined Alcoholics Anonymous and worked hard at fighting the craving. In 1970, one doctor diagnosed him as having a cyclothymic personality (with swings from depression to elation). Another felt that John was not psychotic when sober, but that he had a fear of

insanity and of choosing suicide.

John's Suicide

In 1971, John was still married to Kate, but Kate was now a school teacher. The marriage had severe problems. They had tried marriage therapy (back in 1969). Their sexual relationship was poor. They had one daughter and Kate was pregnant with another child. (Sarah was born in June, 1971). In June, John moved his mother from New York to an apartment opposite his house in Minneapolis. John, who needed his wife's full attention, was facing the coming of another baby in the house, and his mother drove him crazy with her demands. Kate was tired of the constant demands he made on her and was tired of his alcoholism. It would not have been surprising if John had feared that Kate would leave him soon.

John's income was higher now than ever before. In 1971, his total income reached thirty-one thousand dollars. After years of financial insecurity, he was better off. But he might have been afraid of the effects of his alcoholism on his future income, especially if his writing suffered. (He had defaulted on his child support payments in 1962 and 1966, and Ann had to take him to court.)

John's confidence in his ability to write well had gone. He was beginning to recognize that he no longer had the perseverance to finish any major work. He also began to lose confidence in his teaching ability. Although many of his students remember his teaching as outstanding, one commentator noted that John preferred to teach undergraduates (who would be more likely to worship him) which suggests an underlying self-doubt about his ability as a teacher. He had reverted to Catholicism, and his biographer believes that John retained his faith in God.

John began to drink again, although there was no alcohol in his blood after his death. On Wednesday January 5th, 1972, he left the house intending to kill himself. His note read "I am a nuisance." He came home. On Friday January 7th he left again, telling Kate "You won't have to worry about me any more." He took the bus to the University and walked to the Washington Avenue Bridge. At about nine in the morning, he climbed over the railings and jumped without looking back. He fell one hundred feet, landing near the pier of the municipal coal docks, rolling fifteen feet or so down the embankment.

Discussion

In some ways, this is the simple story of the slow disintegration of an alcoholic. John, beginning life with some psychological problems, gradually turns more and more to alcohol as a solution, and eventually killed himself as do many alcoholics.

However, the fact that John's father, who was portrayed to him by his mother as a spiritless, sexless, effete wastrel, died by suicide clearly must have been a critical event in John's development. It is noteworthy that early on, at South Kent School, John used an

attempt at suicide as a solution to the problem of being bullied. Despite the negative view John developed of his father, he probably identified with his father as a child, and the suicide of his role model would lead him to see suicide as an attractive alternative in crisis situations.

The death of his school mate and later, when he was at Harvard University, of his good friend Bhain Campbell from cancer would have been more traumatic because of the earlier death of his father. The experience of one loss often sensitizes a person to subsequent losses.

His father's suicide served to make John more dependent on his overpossessive mother, who was not very affectionate despite her love for her children. His relationship with his mother must have hindered his relationships with other women. Sometimes he put his mother's concerns before those of his lovers and wives. He also must have feared that women would try to possess him in the way that his mother had tried to.

It is also noteworthy that his personal style was so unpleasant that it must have alienated others from him, increasing his fears that he was not worthy. No wonder that he strove for sexual conquests, for they would prop up his insecure sense of self-worth. He preferred to teach undergraduates who would be more likely to like him as a teacher. He married young women, often lacking self-confidence in themselves, two of whom eventually found the confidence to free themselves from bondage to him.

John suffered from tremendous insecurity about his self-worth. The weak and sickly kid at school developed into an abrasive self-absorbed adult. Was he any good as a teacher, as a poet, as a son, husband or father, or as a lover? Despite the successes of his life (teaching jobs at good universities, acclaim for his poems, and three marriages), he continued to be plagued by doubts, and to alienate those who wanted to be close to him. At the age of fifty-seven, rather than reaping the rewards from his earlier successes, he seemed to be facing failure. His poetry was perhaps no longer good. His craving for alcohol was as hard to fight as ever, and his marriage was disintegrating. Sexual liaisons would probably become rare.

He could have continued the struggle and sought to improve himself. But his past attempts had not proved successful. Perhaps he had lost hope that future efforts would succeed? Rather than face a continuing decline, John chose the solution that his father had chosen forty-five years earlier.

Reference

Haffenden, J. (1982). *The life of John Berryman*. Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

BRUNO BETTELHEIM

David Lester

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

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

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

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

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

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

Life in Vienna

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

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

Gertrude (Trude) Weinfeld began teaching at the kindergarten in 1933, at the age of twenty-four. Her father was an accountant in Vienna. She and Bettelheim gradually came to know one another, and Trude eventually fell in love with Bettelheim. Bettelheim left the business to his co-owner and re-entered the university, and Trude encouraged him to study for his PhD. As their affair began in earnest, with a much better sex life too, Gina found the love of her life, Peter Weinmann, a married dentist in Vienna.

Bettelheim decided to undergo psychoanalysis, and he entered into treatment with Richard Sterba, in late 1936 or early 1937. The analysis was not completed, lasting possibly a year only, with five or six sessions a week.¹ Later Bettelheim remarked that his analysis helped uncover the roots of his depression but not how to overcome it.

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

On March 12, 1938, the Germans annexed Austria. Immediately, several in Bettelheim's circle made arrangements to escape from Austria. Gina got a tourist visa for America the same day, in order to take Patsy back to her mother. Bettelheim had his car confiscated that day too. Bettelheim delayed because his mother refused to go. Bettelheim soon lost his business in the Aryanization program², but he claimed to have smuggled \$10,000 out of the country by mortgaging his life insurance policy (though this has not been confirmed). Bettelheim was arrested on May 28, 1938, and left for Dachau on June 2, 1938.

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

Dachau's concentration camp had opened in 1933 mainly for communists, Social Democrats, the handicapped, priests, homosexuals and criminals. Bettelheim was among the first Jews shipped there. He was labeled as Jewish and as a political prisoner. On the train from Vienna, he had been beaten about the head and stabbed with a bayonet. Dachau was not an extermination camp, but death was ever present -- from disease, exhaustion or the whim of the SS guards. On September 23, 1938, Bettelheim and the other Jews were sent to Buchenwald in Prussia. Bettelheim luckily was assigned to a sock-darning workshop under a political *Kapo*, which made life a little easier, though Buchenwald had the reputation of being the toughest concentration camp at the time. He and his family made efforts continuously to secure his visa and, when he finally was released on April 14, 1939, his weight had dropped from 150 pounds to 86 pounds, and he had lost all of his hair. His teeth were in terrible shape, and he had an ulcer.³ His release was helped by the pressures brought by Agnes Piel and by his cousin, Edith Buxbaum, both in America. He was back in Vienna on April 17th, obtained his

¹ It must have ended by the spring of 1938 when Germany annexed Austria.

² It became the business of Nikolaus Lackner, a Croatian Nazi, on July 7th, and he ran the company until December, 1955!

³ His passport was issued on January 26th and his mother purchased his ticket for America on February 6th.

immigration visa on April 18th, and left from the Netherlands on April 29th. He arrived in New York on May 11th. His mother left Europe on September 29th. Trude escaped into Switzerland soon after Bettelheim's arrest and went to Australia. Most of Bettelheim's relatives who stayed perished.

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

Life in Chicago

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

Trude heard about Bettelheim's release and left Australia for America. They met in Chicago, and Trude soon had a job conducting play therapy with children for the Jewish Social Services.¹ Bettelheim and Trude married in May 1941, nine days after his divorce from Gina.² That Fall, Bettelheim began teaching as an adjunct at Rockford College where he was so well received by the students that the college asked him to teach more. He taught art, philosophy, psychology and German, and stayed there from Mondays to Fridays. In January 1942, the University of Chicago recruited him to teach for the Department of Art in addition to his Rockford teaching. He also found time to write an article about his concentration camp experiences which was published in the *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology* in 1943. In 1944, Rockford College decided that it could not pay him enough to persuade him to leave the University of Chicago, but he was offered the job of directing the Orthogenic School run by the University of Chicago. He accepted and began October 1, 1944. He became an American citizen six weeks later.

It is from this period that some of the attacks made about Bettelheim after his death derive evidence. After Bettelheim began working with the disturbed children at the Orthogenic School and writing about them, it became "known" that he had worked with Patsy back in Vienna whereas, in reality, it was Gina -- though Gina never corrected this

¹ She later studied for a social work degree at Northwestern University so as to acquire proper credentials. Trude gave birth to Ruth in 1940, Naomi in 1945 and Eric in 1952.

² Gina went to Chicago too and married Peter Weinmann in 1941, and the two couples became good friends.

assumption while Bettelheim was alive. There seems to have been confusion over Bettelheim's degree -- it was assumed that it was in psychology. Had he been fully psychoanalyzed and was he a legitimate psychoanalyst?³ Had Eleanor Roosevelt helped obtain his release from the Nazis? Did Bettelheim start and encourage these distortions? Over the years too, Bettelheim's tales of his ancestry and experiences seem to have deviated somewhat from the truth, and Sutton (1996), his biographer, had to make great efforts to try to uncover the truth.

At the Orthogenic School, Bettelheim set up a remarkable institution centered around milieu therapy. He recruited, trained and counseled the counselors and teachers.⁴ He worked with the children and seemed to possess remarkable clinical skills. He transferred the mentally retarded children already at the school, replacing them with children with psychological problems -- primarily delinquents, runaways, and hyperactive or suicidal children. For the first few years there were thirty-two boarders and a few day pupils. Bettelheim's first book on his work, *Love is not enough*, was published in 1950 and established his fame across America. He was tenured in the Department of Education at the university in 1952.⁵

In 1956 the Ford Foundation gave Bettelheim a grant to work with psychotic children and, though this led to more prestige and publications (*The empty fortress*), it led to problems, for these children were much more difficult to work with, and his claims of success were later found to be exaggerated. Furthermore, although he declined to discuss punishment, he may have used corporal punishment more in these later years at the school, leading to accusations of brutality after his death, especially since his books presented the "ideal" of what the school should be rather than the reality it was.⁶ Bettelheim also acquired more funds for the school, enabling it to expand, and he also began to make it more luxurious.

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

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

³ In America, it was all right for non-physicians to be lay analysts for children according to the orthodox psychoanalysts, but lay analysts still needed adequate training and a full psychoanalysis. The Chicago Psychoanalytic Society admitted Bettelheim as a non-clinical member in 1946, but he was never admitted to the Chicago Psychoanalytic Institute.

⁴ With some of the counselors, mostly females, Bettelheim set up what amounts to a therapist-client relationship which, given his lack of official certification, may have been inadvisable. Bettelheim called these sessions "dynamic supervision."

⁵ Bettelheim's mother died in 1953.

⁶ Bettelheim once said that the child were id, the counselors ego, and he was the superego of the institution.

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

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

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

Bettelheim and Trude had trouble feeling at home in Portola Valley, near Stanford University, but gradually they settled down. Bettelheim still traveled extensively to give talks and seminars, and he continued to write and publish.⁷ Bettelheim had more physical problems -- a mild heart attack in Paris, leg surgery, cataract operation, troubles with a hip joint and neck, dental problems, heart problems and an intestinal infection. After publishing *The uses of enchantment*, Bettelheim was accused of plagiarism, and he had used similar wording in places (about half a dozen sentences) to an earlier book on children's stories by Julius Heuscher, but Heuscher seemed to be less upset by the copying than critics who disliked Bettelheim. The Bettelheims visited Europe every year and Japan in 1977, a cultural shock Bettelheim found "shattering."

Trude was diagnosed with breast cancer in June 1979. She had an operation and radiation therapy and recovered. Ruth had obtained a Ph.D. in childhood education and become a child therapist. She had married a Mennonite city planner. Naomi also studied

⁷ In 1982, Sanders requested that he stop visiting the Orthogenic School. However, in 1986, she organized a celebratory conference for Bettelheim at the university.

city planning and, after a quick first marriage, married a Jew and moved to Europe. Eric obtained law degrees from Oxford University and the University of Chicago and joined a law firm in San Francisco.

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

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

The End

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

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

Reference

Sutton, N. (1996). *Bettelheim*. New York: Basic Books.

CHARLES BOYER

David Lester¹

Charles Boyer was born in Figeac, in the pastoral southwest of France on August 28, 1899. His father was Maurice Boyer, who had moved to Figeac on the death of his first wife and opened a bicycle shop, where he met and married a thirty year-old spinster, Louise Durand. Maurice Boyer eventually sold farming equipment and moved into coal and grain sales. Charles was their only child.

Charles was a precocious boy in his studies, reading Shakespeare while his fellow pupils learned their alphabet. He was introverted and showed little interest in boyish games or athletics. Charles's father had consumption, but his death in 1909 still came as shock to the family. Louise sold off the businesses and focussed her energies on her only child. She paid for violin lessons for him and foresaw a career in medicine or the law. But Charles was smitten as child by the cinema and by the theater, and he resolved to be an actor, playwright and director. As a teenager, he devised a version of *Macbeth* for himself and his friends to act in. A class essay on Molière won a provincial prize.

In his teenage years, he developed into a handsome young man. When the First World War broke out, he worked as a volunteer orderly in a local hospital. He entered the Collège Campollion, near Figeac, but neglected his studies. He devoted much time instead to entertaining the hospitalized troops. Devising these entertainments made him realize that he did not like writing but that he did like acting. In 1918, he was recruited to play a small part in a film being made nearby, and the director persuaded Charles's mother that her son should go to Paris to become an actor. His mother allowed him to go on condition he enroll for studies at the Sorbonne.

Charles neglected his studies there in favor of making contacts in the theater world. After many rejections, his roommate recommended Charles for a major part in play in which the leading actor had fallen ill twelve hours before the opening performance. He learned the part in one day and became an overnight celebrity. The leading actor took over when he recovered, but Charles used his success to persuade the producer to get him admittance into the prestigious Conservatoire National Supérieur de Musique et de Déclamation de Paris.

He studied diligently there (and graduated), while accepting roles in plays and films. Although he loved acting on the stage, he saw that there was more money to be earned in films, and so he willingly took film parts. In a short time he was familiar to Parisian playgoers and, through his films, throughout France. He was soon the highest paid actor on the French legitimate stage and had performed in nine countries.

Charles in Hollywood

Though he could speak French, German, Italian, Spanish and Portuguese, his

¹ This essay is based on Swindell (1983).

English was poor. Nevertheless, he was persuaded to go to Hollywood for the first time in 1929 to make a French version of a film recently filmed in English using American actors.¹ On Charles's next trip to Hollywood, Irving Thalberg took charge of him, providing him with an English tutor so that Charles could act in the English versions of films. However, there was lots of idle time, and Charles took up smoking, becoming a four-packs-a-day chain smoker. In 1931, he worked in his first American film, *The Magnificent Lie*. It was a flop. Charles returned to France feeling that he had failed twice in Hollywood. Back in France, he returned to the stage and films, falling in love with an Anglo-French actress, Alice Fields, who rejected his proposal of marriage.

M-G-M asked Charles to return to Hollywood for *Red-Headed Woman* which also starred Jean Harlow. The film helped propel Charles into the public eye, but Irving Thalberg had a nervous breakdown and went off to Europe and M-G-M cut back on productions. So in 1932, for the third time, Charles returned to France in gloom. Back in France though he was again a star.

By the 1933 the German artists who were being persecuted by the Nazis were coming to France on their way to America. Paris was their first stop, and Charles met many of them and worked with them. One of them, Erich Charell, planned to go to Hollywood to make *Caravan* and persuaded Charles to be in it.

This time, Charles's life in Hollywood was happier. In January 1934, he met a British actress there, Pat Paterson, born in 1920 in Bradford, England. Twenty-two days after they met, they drove to Yuma, Arizona, and got married. Charles was thirty-four, Pat twenty-three.

Pat was trying to build a film career, but her films were not successes and the studios gradually lost interest in her. Though very disappointed, this removed a source of friction in the marriage, for it was proving difficult to advance both careers and stay happily married. Charles hated to be away from Pat, and she was an important source of support for him after unsuccessful films. He also held rather traditional ideas about what a wife's role should be. Pat had a contract with Fox Studios but, after they folded in 1935, other studios did not offer her work, and so the conflict between the two careers was resolved.²

Charles continued to make films on both sides of the Atlantic. He refused to sign up with any studio, remaining independent, and managed in most years to acquire a very good income, roughly \$100,000 a film by 1935. Perhaps 1937 was a peak year for his career. He received an Oscar nomination for his role in *Conquest*, in which he starred with Greta Garbo, and a European film *Mayerling* was a success in America that year too.³

¹ It was the custom then to make several versions of a film in different languages using the same sets.

² Pat was offered a role in a film in 1936, but she found herself quite nervous and no longer enjoyed making films. She enjoyed a small role in a 1938 film, but she was never offered another part.

³ He was nominated for four Oscars but never won one.

In 1936, the Boyers bought a house in Beverly Hills and settled down. They were very sociable and, beside their American friends, took care to befriend any English and French film people who came to Hollywood. Yet they also kept private. Their home was off-limits to the press, and Charles appeared infrequently in the fan magazines. Surprisingly for a Hollywood couple, Charles remained happily in love with Pat for the rest of their lives. Despite starring in films with almost every leading lady of the era, and despite his reputation in films as lover, he never had an affair. He invested his money wisely and soon was quite wealthy. They applied for US citizenship (they become citizens in 1942) and, since they seemed to have difficulty conceiving a child, inquired about adoption.

They arrived in France on September 1939, the day Hitler attacked Poland. Charles joined the French army and sent Pat to England. He was assigned to the 37th Artillery to perform switchboard duties at one of the Maginot Line's fortifications. However, the French authorities decided that Charles would be better as an emissary for them in America, and he was mustered out and urged to return to America.

Back in Hollywood, he made efforts to get friends to safety after the fall of France, frequently flying to Lisbon to make arrangements. He made radio broadcasts for *Voice of America*. He founded a French Research Foundation to document French contributions to culture but, during the war, he focussed its efforts on documenting the French involvement in the war.⁴ By 1941, he was smoking six packs a day and exhausted. He had heart palpitations at his Thanksgiving meal, and his doctor ordered him to cut down his smoking and slow down. Thereafter, he made only one, or at most two, films a year. Then Pat got pregnant, and Michael was born on December 9, 1943.

After the War

Charles returned to France for a while after the war and put much effort into saving from execution and imprisonment those actors and directors accused of collaborating with the Nazis.

Back in America, Charles returned to the stage in New York City, appearing in Sartre's *Red Gloves* (*Les Mains Sales*), and helping to put on and act in several other plays. He also appeared in some thirty films made in America and in Europe. His changing interests led him to sell the house in California and move into a suite in the hotel Pierre in New York City. As well as his changing interests, Charles was upset by the persecution of Ingrid Bergman for having an illegitimate child and by the cooperation of the film industry with the Committee on Un-American Activities. He and Pat bought an apartment in Paris, a house in London, and a home on the island of Ischia in the Mediterranean (where the family gathered every summer to paint).

Michael decided as a teenager that he wanted to work in television as a producer. Charles had seen the potential of this new medium and had formed a successful

⁴ Over the years, Charles contributed \$2 million to the Foundation. He was awarded a special Oscar in 1942 for this work.

production company with some friends which produced *Four Star Playhouse* and *The Rogues* among others. Michael was the producer for *The Rogues* and, after it was cancelled in 1964, it was expected he would soon find other projects. But Michael had little talent and even less training. New projects did not appear. He fell in love but, when his lover told him that she wanted to break their relationship off, he went into his den and shot himself - September 23, 1965.

Death

The Boyers never recovered from Michael's suicide. They sold their houses and retired to Geneva. Charles did make a few more films. Probably the activity helped him survive. His health grew worse, and in 1977 Charles and Pat flew to New York for medical check-ups. Charles was told he needed a prostatectomy, but Pat was discovered to have advanced cancer of the colon and liver. Charles decided not to tell Pat, but he moved them to Scottsdale, Arizona, since the climate was better there for her. She died there on August 24, 1978. Charles did not go to her funeral in California. He got their house in order and killed himself with an overdose of barbiturates on August 26, 1978, two days before his seventy-ninth birthday.

Comment

Charles Boyer seems to have been a psychiatrically stable person despite the loss of his father when he was ten. His suicide seems to have motivated by his declining health and by the death of his wife without whom he did not care to exist.

Reference

Swindell, L. (1983). *Charles Boyer*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday.

RICHARD BRAUTIGAN

David Lester

The facts are these. Richard Brautigan was born in 1938 in Spokane, Washington, and became one of the major literary figures of the 1960s with books such as *Trout Fishing in America* and *In Watermelon Sugar*. He married and divorced twice and had one daughter. After the 1960s, he continued to write, but his books were no longer popular. He began to drink more heavily, and he shot himself in the head in 1984 in his cabin in Bolinas, California.

His daughter Ianthe Brautigan, has recently written a memoir about her father. A question. Why do people think that, because their parent, child or spouse died by suicide, they have something of interest to say, and why do publishers think that the resulting memoir has merit? A biography is of great interest; a description of how difficult it was to survive a crisis is of little interest. But let us see what Ianthe Brautigan tells us about her father.

Richard told his daughter very little about his childhood, his parents or his family. He never even told Ianthe his mother's name.

Richard was born in Tacoma, Washington, according to his daughter and lived there for eight years. He was baptized a Catholic. He lived in poverty, partly as a result of his family's status and because of the Great Depression. Ianthe describes his family as poor white trash. Richard's mother told Ianthe that one of the first baby-sitters she left him with (while she worked) barely fed him, and he became malnourished. The family moved a lot, and many of his stepfathers were violent. Richard told Ianthe of one stepfather finishing cooking dinner after he had knocked Richard's mother unconscious with the frying pan. Some of them beat him, but his mother eventually married a good man when Richard was thirteen (who worked at a tire shop). Richard thought his surname was Portersfield until he graduated from high school, when his mother told him who his real father was. His mother drank a lot too. He talked of sisters and brothers, but Ianthe knew of and met only one, a sister, Barbara. Ianthe heard from Barbara after 32 years of no contact. Barbara told Ianthe that Richard had baby-sat her a lot while their mother worked, and had taken her fishing and hunting quite a bit. Richard had a paper route and picked vegetables in the summer until he was old enough to work in the cannery. He and his sister, Barbara, used to collect glass returnables by the highway to make money.

From Barbara, Ianthe was able to trace Richard's mother, Mary Lou. Ianthe talked to her on the telephone and visited her. She found out that her great-great-grandparents ran a poorhouse in Missouri while her great-grandmother Bessie was bootlegger, selling moonshine whiskey during Prohibition. Bessie bought a tavern in St. Helens and then worked as cook in Tacoma, Washington. Mary Lou would not talk about Bernard Brautigan, her husband whom she married when she was 16, but left while she was pregnant with Richard in 1935. Brautigan denied that Richard was his child, and

Mary Lou went to live with her brother. Richard met his father only twice, briefly both times. Two of Bernard Brautigan's siblings died by suicide, a brother and a sister.

Richard discovered poetry in his adolescence and decided to be a writer over the objections of his mother. She wanted him to get a job, but the jobs open to him were unskilled, such as pumping gas and picking fruit. For example, he worked in a pickle factory for a while after he left high school. There was no money for him to go to college, although he was quite good at academics.

He spent a few months in the Salem Mental Hospital. He was sent there after he threw rocks at a police station in order to get arrested because he was hungry. He was there for three months, and they gave him ECT. After his release, he left for San Francisco. He met and married Virginia Adler, and they had a daughter, Ianthe, in 1960. Richard and Virginia split up (on Christmas Eve in 1963) when Ianthe was three. His writing matured, and his early books (*Trout Fishing in America* appeared in 1967) were published to great acclaim in the counterculture movement. In all, he wrote eleven books, a book of short stories and nine books of poetry.

Ianthe stayed with her mother after the marriage broke up, and they lived mostly in the Bay Area. Richard stayed in San Francisco too, for nine years in an apartment on Geary Street, so Ianthe visited him and stayed with him a lot after he moved in to Geary Street when she was five. For the first few years, Ianthe lived in town too, and Richard would pick her up. After Ianthe moved with her mother to Sonoma County, Ianthe would catch the Greyhound bus into San Francisco and Richard would meet her at the bus station. After she turned ten, she would take a taxi to his apartment whereupon Richard would pay the driver.

In the later 1960s, Richard's books brought him wealth, but the fame brought him stress, so that he was often irritable. In 1974, construction on Geary Street forced Richard to move, and he was never as comfortable again. His drinking also began to get worse after the move.

Richard bought a ranch in 1974 in Paradise Valley, Montana, about sixteen miles from Livingston, and Ianthe began visiting him there rather than in Bolinas, although Richard kept the house in Bolinas, California. Richard first took Ianthe to Montana in October 1973, when she was thirteen, and she was aware that Richard needed her. When her mother and half-siblings moved to Hawaii, Ianthe shuttled back and forth between Montana and Hawaii. At first, Richard tried ranching, but his efforts to raise pigs and chickens failed.

Ianthe noted that stories and writing were the most important activity for her father and his friends, far ahead of wives, children and even themselves. In Montana, Richard and his friends would gather, cook and tell stories. Drugs were common, but Ianthe was protected from them, and Richard himself did not use cocaine or marijuana. He drank and took Valium for sleep. Richard could not drive, and so others had to drive him to pick up Ianthe and into town for shopping. At first, Ianthe visited him in

summers, but in 1975 she stayed for the school year. Unfortunately, Richard decided to leave Montana at the end of October, leaving Ianthe with friends to finish the school year. In 1976, Richard went to Japan, but he returned to Montana in the summer. Ianthe's friend who visited them there described Richard as autocratic, self-centered and arbitrary, and she noted that Ianthe was vulnerable to his whims and demands. Ianthe joined her mother in Hawaii for the Fall of 1976 and went to school there.

Richard had several girl friends in Montana, but he seemed unable to have a long-term relationship. He also began to visit Japan, staying in the Keio Plaza Hotel in Tokyo, where he met and married his second wife, Akiko. Ianthe visited him there in the summer of 1977, staying on the 26th floor of the hotel while her father stayed on the 35th floor. As the 1970s passed, Richard's heavy drinking grew worse.

By the time Ianthe started college, Richard had returned to San Francisco with Akiko. Ianthe stayed with them for a little while and then moved out to Bolinas. Akiko and Richard had split up by 1980, and Richard moved back to Montana. Ianthe visited him there to close the house up for the winter. The divorce had left Richard short of cash, and the reviews of his new books were quite negative.

In 1984, Richard was going to visit his ranch in Montana, but he shot himself before he left. He set up timers in the house so that the radio played and the lights came on and off, and his answering machine filled up with messages. Was he planning to leave, or was he planning that his body would not be discovered for a while?

Richard began talking about death when Ianthe was eight, and he suffered from severe insomnia.¹ A bad night was four or five hours sleep. He told her when she was fourteen that he hadn't killed himself during her visit because he didn't want her to find his body. At that time, in Montana, Ianthe tried to stop his drinking by pouring all his alcohol down the sink, but Richard did not notice the loss. He raged and had blackouts, and Ianthe called her mother for help. After raging at Ianthe one night, Richard suppressed his rage at her until she was 21 and about to get married. When she was twenty and a freshman in college, he again went through a suicidal crisis, calling her on the telephone, and she would beg him not to kill himself. He later objected to her marriage and refused to come to her wedding. He again called her in the middle of the night, drunk and angry.

He killed himself when she was 24 with a .44 Magnum on the second floor of the house in Bolinas, near the walk-in fireplace, standing up, facing the ocean. Ianthe still doesn't know why.

Reference

Brautigan, I. *You can't catch death*. New York: St. Martin's, 2000.

¹ Richard was very pale and never let himself get tanned by the sun. He claimed that he could barely swim. He had scoliosis in his back and bit his finger nails down to the quick.

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 died by 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 die by 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.

Reference

Fox, J. (1982). *White mischief*. New York: Random House.

DORA CARRINGTON¹

David Lester

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

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

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

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

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

London Years

Dora arrived at the Slade in 1910 when she was seventeen. College life gave her freedom from her family and freedom from society's rules. Though Dora remained politically uninvolved, her life changed dramatically. At the college men and women

¹ Based on Gerzina (1989).

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

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

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

Life with Lytton

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Discussion

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

Darling Carrington. I love her. I always wanted to marry Carrington and never

did. (Gerzina, 1989, p. 293)

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

Reference

Gerzina, A. (1989). *Carrington*. New York: Norton.

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 Staal, 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.

Reference

Leigh, I. (1951). *Castlereagh*. London: Collins.

PAUL CELAN

David Lester

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

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

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

Paul's mother, Fritzi Schragar, had fled with her parents west to Bohemia, spoke German, and liked to read German literature. Paul's paternal grandparents had also fled from the Russians. The family was religious -- his mother's grandfather had made a pilgrimage to Safed in Palestine, and his grandfather was a Biblical scribe. Paul's mother was born in Sadagora, an Hasidic center, near Czernowitz. During the First World War, the family fled the Russians, and Paul's father was wounded fighting for the Austrians. Within the family, Leo was rather insecure and indecisive, and Fritzi made most of the important decisions for the family. After the death of Leo's father in 1924, the family became somewhat more liberal, but they respected the dietary laws and observed the religious ceremonies. Leo was a Zionist, and he hoped that his son, Paul, would eventually emigrate to Palestine, especially after Leo's sister emigrated there in 1933, an aunt with whom Paul kept in touch.

Paul was born shortly after the end of the war, an only child, and given an Orthodox Jewish upbringing with strong Zionist convictions at the insistence of his father. Judaism, however, was to provide a moral structure rather than a religious faith.

On his birth certificate he was called Paul, but he was also given the Hebrew name of Pessach (to pass over), a name to be used on religious occasions and passed on orally. Paul's father was very strict and demanding, and beat Paul for even minor offenses. An only child, Paul spent his early years almost exclusively in the company of other adults. He seemed to be a "sad child," with his spontaneity and cheerfulness suppressed.

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

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

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

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

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

In 1933, the family began to hear of the persecution of Jews by the Germans. Leo's brother fled Germany to Romania and added his personal stories. Paul was now no longer a monitor, nor the best student in the class, and he began to develop friendships with other students. He visited their homes and brought them home to his. In 1934, Paul changed schools mainly because of the anti-semitism at his gymnasium, entering another state school in which the teachers were mainly Ukrainian, with a few Jews and some democratic Romanians. Most of the Jewish students attended this gymnasium. In 1935,

the family fortunes improved, and they managed to purchase their own house. Paul's attachment to his mother became even closer (and hers to him), and Fritzi often sat with Paul and his friends, enjoying and contributing to their discussions.

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

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

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

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

Paul did well in his first year, visited England at Easter, and continued with his leftist politics, making friends with some Trotsky supporters. The next summer, with the outbreak of war, a return to Tours was out of the question. The Romanian medical schools had limited Jewish quotas, and so Paul decided to spend his time studying romance languages and literature at Czernowitz University. After the Hitler-Stalin non-aggression pact, Romania was forced to cede northern Bukovina to the Soviets, and the Red Army entered Czernowitz in June 1940. This impeded Paul's studies (he was anti-Soviet), but his command of the Russian language improved.

Under the Soviets, Paul became an interpreter for the housing commission for a while², but in September the university re-opened with Russian faculty. The students were now paid a salary, but the instruction was poor. Paul and other students complained and learned that protest was not permitted under Soviet rule. Luckily, Paul received only a stern rebuke.

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

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

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

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

In June, 1942, the region's governor began deporting more Jews. Paul's parents hid the first weekend, but then Fritz decided not to hide anymore. Leo and Fritz were deported on June 27, after a row with Paul who had stormed out of the house. One friend thought that Paul's parents drove him out in order to save him. Other friends had grabbed their parents from the trains, while others had gone with them, some even surviving the horrors of the experience. Paul did neither. He learned eventually that his father had been shot (or possibly had died from typhus) and that his mother had been killed by the SS as unfit for work.

The deportations ended in July. Paul was placed in a forced labor camp run by the Romanian army. They shoveled rocks and built roads in harsh conditions with minimal rations (they were fed only a watery corn soup) but allowed to return home for a brief

² Leo worked in a planning and building office as an engineer for the first time.

rest every few months. He worked in these camps for nineteen months, learning Yiddish from his companions, writing poems, and translating foreign works. Seventy-five poems remain from this period.

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

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

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

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

As the truth of the extermination of the Jews became known, Paul wrote a poem that later became a classic -- Todesfuge -- The Fugue Of Death. It first appeared in Romanian in May, 1947, in a magazine in Bucharest, but later became a classic in German.

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

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

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

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

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

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

There was a recrudescence of anti-semitism in Germany in 1960 which upset him, and he began to fear that his son would be kidnapped in Paris by Nazis. He was also hurt by finding no one who could understand the conflict he felt in writing poetry in the language of a country which had persecuted the Jews. He tried to get some such understanding from the aging Martin Buber, but Buber was not able to understand

Celan's conflict. Anti-semitism continued to upset him. For example, he resigned from the Austrian PEN club because of anti-semitic remarks made by a member.

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

At this time in his life, he felt acutely isolated. He wrote in German and felt kinship with Germany, yet the Germans had murdered his parents. France never welcomed or recognized him, and he was never invited to read his work there. He began to try writing in Romanian, perhaps in an effort to return to his roots. In 1962, he reported to friends that he went through a "rather severe depression." In May 1965, he entered a psychiatric clinic for a few weeks, and again in December for seven months and February 1967 for about five months, receiving drug and electroshock therapy. Felstiner described Celan as "...a sick man, sometimes violent and even suicidal" (p. 243) and notes that Celan and his wife decided to separate.

Celan seemed to be affected more than most by political and social events -- Israel's 1967 war, the French student uprising in May, 1968, and the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in August 1968. In September 1969 he visited Israel where he met relatives and friends who had survived the holocaust and Hebrew poets whose mother tongue was also German. But he returned to Paris after only two weeks.

He died by suicide the following year. Somewhere around April 20, 1970, Celan jumped into the River Seine. His body was found on May 1st., seven miles downstream.

Comment

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

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

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

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

References

- Chafen, I. (1991). Paul Celan. New York: Persea Books.
- Felstiner, J. (1985). Paul Celan. *Commentary*, 79(4), 44-55.
- Felstiner, J. (1995). *Paul Celan*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

THOMAS CHATTERTON

David Lester

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

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

Early Days

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

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

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

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

When he was ten, he used the little pocket money he had to join a library and began to read at every opportunity, withdrawing from sports and recreation with the other boys. Between the ages of eleven and twelve he listed over seventy books read,

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

Apprenticeship

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

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

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

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

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

In 1768, Thomas tried to find a publisher for his medieval poems. He wrote to Dodsley in London, presenting himself as the discoverer of ancient works, but the publisher did not appear interested. He then sought to gain the famous writer, Horace Walpole, as a patron, seemingly a good choice since Walpole too had published a novel,

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

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

Freedom and Death

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

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

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

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

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

On August 24 1770, he drank arsenic mixed with water and died in agony in his

room in Holborn, just three months short of his eighteenth birthday.

Discussion

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

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

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

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

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

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

Reference

Nevill, J. C. (1970). *Thomas Chatterton*. Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Press.

BRUCE CLARK

David Lester

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

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

Childhood and Teenage Years

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Discussion

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

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

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

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

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

Reference

Berkow, I., & Olderman, M. (1985). An American tragedy. In J. Thorn (Ed.) *The armchair book of baseball*, pp. 46-66. New York: Scribner.

CLEOPATRA

David Lester

Hughes-Hallett (1990) has pointed out that most of our presumed knowledge of the facts of Cleopatra's life are distortions introduced by those who wrote about her. Hughes-Hallett has distilled the facts of her life from several sources.

Cleopatra VII was born in 69 BC in Egypt, the third child of Ptolemy XII, nicknamed Auletes, the flute player. The dynasty was founded by a Macedonian general who became the ruler of Egypt after the death of Alexander the Great in 323 BC. Since the Egyptian royal family favored incestuous marriage, Cleopatra was mainly of Greek descent.

The Egyptian empire had shrunk over the years so that it now consisted of only Egypt itself. The Romans had taken over many of Egypt's former territories, and the threat of annexation by Rome was real. Ptolemy offered Rome his help in exchange for protection from his enemies. In 59 BC Julius Caesar and Pompey (who together ruled Rome with Crassus) declared publicly that Ptolemy had the right to his throne and charged him 6,000 talents for this (about the size of the Egypt's annual revenue). Two years later, his subjects led protests against him, and he fled to Rome, possibly taking his twelve year-old daughter, Cleopatra, with him.

While he was in Rome, his first-born, a daughter, Cleopatra VI Tryphaena, usurped his throne. Ptolemy borrowed another 10,000 talents to pay for Roman soldiers but, by the time they returned to Egypt, Cleopatra VI had been killed by Ptolemy's supporters and his second-born, also a daughter, Berenice, had seized the throne. The Romans, including a young officer, Mark Antony, defeated her forces and restored Ptolemy, who quickly had Berenice executed. Ptolemy died in 51 BC, whereupon Cleopatra, aged eighteen, and her younger brother, Ptolemy aged ten, were declared joint heirs.

Cleopatra was not particularly beautiful, but she had a nice voice and "force of character." The first two years of her reign did not go well. The floods failed (leading to a poor harvest), and there was more civil unrest, especially because her people did not approve of her allegiance to Rome. She agreed to send troops to help the Romans in Syria, but her troops refused to go. The young Ptolemy had a regent, a eunuch named Pothinus, who was hostile to Cleopatra, and soon Pothinus issued edicts in Ptolemy's name alone, as if Cleopatra had been deposed.

When Caesar and Pompey began their Roman civil war, Pompey's son obtained Pothinus's help, but when, after Pompey's defeat, Pompey went to Egypt, he was killed by the Egyptians as he tried to land. Four days later, Caesar reached Egypt. Caesar was angry that the Egyptians had killed a Roman and demanded the 6,000 talents (plus interest) that Rome was owed. The Egyptians rioted, and Caesar was forced to remain in the royal palace with Ptolemy and Pothinus. Cleopatra made her way into the place,

despite Pothinus's attempts to keep her out, and became Caesar's lover. Caesar took her side in the power struggle, and arranged a marriage between Cleopatra and Ptolemy and decreed that they should rule jointly.

Cleopatra's younger sister, Arsinoe, left the palace and joined the rebel Egyptian forces, declaring herself Queen. Caesar had Pothinus executed on suspicion of being in league with Arsinoe and, when his reinforcements arrived, defeated the Egyptian forces. Afterwards Ptolemy was found drowned in the Nile, dragged down by the weight of his armor. It is unlikely that Ptolemy and Cleopatra ever consummated their marriage.

Caesar then married Cleopatra, still his lover, to another younger brother, Ptolemy XIV, then about twelve years old, and proclaimed them joint rulers of Egypt. Ptolemy had no powerful allies, and so Cleopatra now was the real ruler. Caesar left Egypt soon after this and, after more military triumphs, returned to Rome in 46 BC with Arsinoe as his prisoner.

Cleopatra was in Rome for Caesar's return, but she was kept well away from Caesar's wife. She had Caesar's son with her, Ptolemy Caesar (commonly called Caesarion), and she stayed in Rome until Caesar's assassination in 44 BC. She returned to Egypt in July, and Ptolemy died in September -- his death remains a mystery. Cleopatra then named her son, Ptolemy XV Caesar, as her co-ruler.

Cleopatra was now in her mid-twenties, and for the next three years she devoted herself to governing Egypt. She did this very well, despite more flood failures which resulted in poor harvests.

Back in Rome, a civil war had broken out between Mark Antony and Octavius, and both appealed to Cleopatra for help. Cleopatra, like her predecessors, hedged her bets until she could be sure who would win. In 42 BC, Antony and Octavius split the Roman Empire between them, giving Mark Antony the eastern part. Antony, now forty and married for the third time, wanted to attack the Parthian empire and summoned Cleopatra to Tarsus in order to persuade her to help him in his campaign. They became lovers, and Cleopatra agreed to help him in return for his protection against her enemies, including the execution of Arsinoe. After a stay with Cleopatra in Alexandria, Mark Antony left for his territories. His wife died, and he married Octavius's sister, Octavia. Meanwhile, Cleopatra gave birth to twins by Antony, whom she named Alexander and Cleopatra Selene.

For the next three years, she returned to the task of governing Egypt and restoring its economy. She kept Egypt in peace, learnt Egyptian, and observed the rites of Egyptian religion. By the end of the reign she had paid off the debts incurred by her father and by the demands of Caesar and Mark Antony. She appears to have made money from oil in territory near the Dead Sea and by leasing land around Jericho to King Herod of Judea.

In 37 BC, Mark Antony returned to his Parthian campaign and asked Cleopatra to help him. She bargained for land in what are now Lebanon, Syria, Jordan and southern Turkey. In return, Cleopatra built him a fleet. Resuming their political alliance, they also became lovers again. In May, 36 BC, Mark Antony departed for war, leaving Cleopatra pregnant (with Ptolemy Philadelphus). The war went badly, and he summoned Cleopatra again. She arrived in January, 35 BC, with money to pay his soldiers and winter clothing for the troops.

At this point Mark Antony made a momentous decision. He cast off Octavia (who had given him only daughters) and allied himself with Cleopatra (who had given him two sons), and he made Alexandria the center of his empire. Over the next six years until his death, Octavius, later the Emperor Augustus, was able to cast Mark Antony as a traitor who had thrown in his lot with foreigners.

Mark Antony next had to deal with an uprising led by Sextus Pompey, a son of Pompey, who had seized towns in Asia Minor. After this triumph, he granted the territories of his empire (and some yet to be conquered) to his three children. Thus, he was annexing these lands, not to Rome, but to the Egyptian empire. He made Caesarion, now thirteen, King of Kings and declared him the legitimate heir to Julius Caesar, a direct threat to Octavius. Mark Antony's plan was, therefore, to leave the Eastern Empire to the Ptolemy's and take the Western Empire for himself.

From 33 BC on, preparations were made for the war. The battles in Greece went badly for Antony, and Cleopatra wanted to keep her hold over Antony by making her fleet indispensable. So Mark Antony chose to fight on sea rather than on land, and he lost. He and Cleopatra escaped to Alexandria with their ships which held the treasure which would allow them to fight on, while Octavius defeated the remaining resistance.

Cleopatra tried to escape with Caesarion to India, but Arabs attacked her ships in the Red Sea. In 30 BC Octavius returned to the east to deal with Mark Antony. Cleopatra offered to step down in favor of her children, but Octavius ignored her request. In August, 30 BC, Octavius had Alexandria besieged. Cleopatra locked herself in her monument with three attendants. Antony, believing that she had died by suicide, stabbed himself. Dying, he was hoisted into her monument where he died in her presence.

When Octavius's representative forced his way into Cleopatra's monument, she tried to kill herself, but was overpowered and taken prisoner. Octavius let it be known that he planned to take Cleopatra to Rome as his prisoner, possibly to encourage her to die by suicide. She got rid of the guard by giving him a letter to take to Octavius (which asked Octavius to bury her next to Mark Antony), and killed herself. It is not certain how she died -- the only marks on her body were two tiny scratches on her arm. Perhaps she had some poison which she swallowed or perhaps she pricked herself with a poisoned pin?

Octavius had Caesarion executed, but he spared Mark Antony's three children. Little Cleopatra was married to Prince Juba of Numidia, and her two brothers led a quiet life with her there. Octavius then annexed Egypt.

Hughes-Hallett concluded that Cleopatra probably had only two lovers in her life -- she had four children with them. She was a good ruler and a shrewd politician. She died because she chose the wrong side in the Roman civil war.

Reference

Hughes-Hallett, L. (1990). *Cleopatra*. New York: HarperCollins.

ROBERT CLIVE

David Lester

Richard Clive was a barrister and owned a country estate in Shropshire. He was a tyrant to his family and paid attention to his children only in order to punish them. To protect her first-born son, Robert, born September 29, 1725, from him, Rebecca Clive sent Robert to live with an uncle and aunt in Manchester when he was two years old. They had no children of their own and so welcomed the frail but difficult boy. Robert grew up to be aggressive and independent, with a fiery temper, and he was expelled from several schools. He led his gang in raids against shop-keepers who refused to pay them "protection money." The only time that he was well-behaved was during a long and severe illness with a fever and convulsions.

Eventually, Robert's father decided that Robert, whom he called "that idiot," should be sent out of the country to India. Robert left England alone, without anyone seeing him off at the dock, to begin work as a clerk for the East India Company in Madras. He arrived there after fifteen months at sea on May 31, 1744.

Early Years in India

At this time, the East India Company worked simply as a group of traders. The British government had no interest in making India a colony. When Clive arrived, there was great rivalry between the English and the French, with the Dutch playing a minor role.

At first Clive was discouraged and miserable in India. He hated the work of a clerk, but he did not dare to return home. Most of the Europeans in India kept themselves apart from the Indians, except for the prostitutes, but Clive departed from this norm. He got involved with the Indians and learned their language.

Soon after his arrival, Clive underwent a medical inspection and was found to have phimosis, a condition in which the foreskin constricts the penis. Against his will, Clive was circumcised. The later consequence of this was that Clive was more acceptable in Muslim high circles in India since all Muslim males were circumcised.

Clive worked as a clerk, joined his fellow Englishmen in the brothels of Madras, took opium pills to drug his consciousness and was desperately unhappy. One night, at the age of nineteen, alone in his room, he held his pistol to his head and pulled the trigger twice. The gun failed to fire. His friend, Edmund Maskelyne, came by, and Clive asked him to fire the gun out of the window. The gun discharged. Clive decided that he was meant to live and thereafter changed his life style. He spent his free time in the library of the Governor of Madras, reading the books there, and he learned Hindustani and Persian.

India was at that time ruled by the Grand Mughal, a descendent of the Mongol conquerors of India, but the country had split up into smaller regions, each ruled by a

local dictator. This gave the British and the French an opportunity for conquest, for the Hindus preferred the Europeans as rulers rather than the Muslim usurpers.

The major French region on the west coast of India was at Pondicherry, governed by Joseph-Francois Dupleix. When the War of the Austrian Succession broke out, England and France went to war, and Dupleix was ordered to capture Madras. The French attacked on September 14, 1746. The English soon surrendered, but Clive and some friends slipped out of the town disguised as Muslim mercantile agents. It took them eight days to reach Pondicherry, where they found the Governor of Madras chained, stripped naked and paraded through the streets.

Twenty miles south of Pondicherry lay the English fort St. David. Clive and his friends went there, and helped defend it during a three-month siege by Dupleix. Clive loved the fighting, and eventually the French were repulsed. Clive fought so well that he was appointed as an ensign, or sub-lieutenant, of the Second Company of European Volunteer Foot Soldiers of Fort David.

After reinforcements arrived from England, the English under Major Stringer Lawrence, attacked Pondicherry, but failed to take it. In 1748, the war ended in Europe, and so the warring factions in India had to call a halt to their fighting.

In 1749, Lawrence decided to attack the port-fort of Devikota south of Fort St. David in order to restore the deposed Rajah to the throne. Lieutenant Clive was Lawrence's personal aide, and they attacked. Clive led the charge, with 35 Europeans and seven hundred natives. Only four of the Europeans survived, but Clive was one of them, and Devikota surrendered.

It is important to note that Clive always led his men into battle, and, though soldiers standing at his side were often killed, he was rarely wounded. His seeming "immortality" combined with his phenomenal success in battles led the Muslims and Hindus of India to regard him with awe.¹ After this, Clive decided not to return to work as a clerk, but stayed with the army. He was promoted to Captian, and his friend Maskelyne was appointed as an ensign and Clive's aide. Clive came down with malaria and dengue fever in 1750 but recovered on opium and quinine.

The War with the French

Dupleix immediately began allying himself with some local rulers in order to defeat others, trying to build up a greater region of influence for the French. The English followed suit, but Dupleix soon controlled most of southern India. Meanwhile, Clive rose in rank, becoming the commisariat chief, and he was made a junior merchant, allowing him to trade privately. He soon had a fortune of forty thousands pounds.

The first English expeditions failed, as Clive foresaw. Given more freedom, Clive first reinforced Trichinopoly, then led an expedition against Arcot. Outnumbered two to

¹ His mastery of the native languages aided this.

one, Clive arrived at the town, and the defenders fled. Clive took the town without a shot being fired, and he forbade looting and brutalizing the inhabitants, which won him support from the residents of the town. The French along with Chanda Sahib, the Governor of Trichinopoly, sent 7000 Hindustani soldiers and 150 Frenchmen to attack Arcot. They took the town, but could not take the fort, manned by only eighty Europeans and 120 Indians. Clive was ill with malaria and out of opium, and he had only laudanum and quinine to take. Despite his illness, when the Indians attacked, Clive decimated them with his battery and the determined fighting of his men. The horde fled, leaving the English with four killed and two wounded. Clive followed this success with a defeat of 400 French and 4500 Indians with his own army of 380 English and 1300 Indians. It was now clear to the native leaders that the English would be better partners than the French. Clive himself was recognized as Kampeni Jehan Behadur, The Greatly Daring In War. After these battles, Indian and many Europeans refused to serve under any captain but Clive.

Lawrence arrived back in India in 1752, and he was wise enough to make Clive his second in command despite Clive's low rank. Lawrence told his disgruntled officers that Clive was a military genius. Lawrence and Clive then relieved the English under siege at Trichinopoly -- again 1,500 soldiers defeated an enemy army of 23,000.

After this, Clive was again ill with fever and fatigue and the effects of wounds received in the battles. His friend, Maskelyne, had sent for his sixteen year-old sister to come to India. When Peggy arrived, she and Clive fell in love at once. They were married on February 18, 1753. It should be mentioned here that Clive appears to have been hypersexual for most of his life. He masturbated constantly, and he engaged in oral and anal sex with both men and women. Part of this was a consequence of the mores of the time in India, when indiscriminate sexual behavior was the norm for everyone, European or Indian. However, even allowing for the general promiscuous sexual behavior, Clive seems to have been especially active. Despite this, he appears to have loved his wife dearly, and she was continually pregnant, though some of the pregnancies ended in miscarriages. Clive did not abstain from his sexual activities upon marrying Peggy, but he did give up drugs.

Soon after the wedding, Clive was ill with epileptoid convulsions, and he was given a leave so that he could return to England. Back in London, he was the social lion of the season. The press hailed his victories, the titled sought him as a guest for their parties, and the politicians sought his advice. They lived in Queen's Square off St. James's Place. However, they were obviously "nouveau riche."

Clive decided to stand for parliament and, though he apparently won, was unseated in a new election because of the enmity of the Prime Minister. Saddened by this defeat, Clive asked to return to India, and he came back as Lieutenant-Colonel of Foot in India.

Clive was soon involved in the petty wars again, but he then met the major challenge of his career, the battle that won India for the English. A young ruler,

Sirajuddawleh, in Bengal was especially savage and desirous of power. As a child he tortured his pets and sodomized his playmates. As an adolescent, he was a paranoiac sadist. He decided to conquer the rival forces in Bengal, and he led an army of 40,000 against Fort William, adjacent to Calcutta, and defeated the English there. He then put 146 European captives into a dungeon, eighteen feet by fifteen feet -- the "Black Hole of Calcutta." The next day only 23 were still alive. The 21 men who survived were circumcized and set free after several weeks of rape by Sirajuddawleh's soldiers.

The English knew that Clive was needed. So on October 1756, Clive set sail from Madras to Calcutta. Meanwhile, the English and French were again at war, this time in North America, ending the truce in India. On January 3, 1757, Colonel Clive (on behalf of the East India Company) and Admiral Watson on behalf of the Crown declared war on Sirajuddawleh. In the first battle, Clive, with 800 Europeans and 1500 Indians, defeated the enemy forces of 15,000 foot soldiers and 18,000 horsemen. Although Sirajuddawleh signed a treaty with the English after this, he continued to plot against them.

Clive defeated the French at Chandernagore in March, and soon after had to face Sirajuddawleh again. Despite Clive's efforts to avert a battle by negotiating with other possible Indian allies, the two opposing armies met up at Plassey. Clive had 1000 Europeans, 100 Eurasians, and 2100 Indians. Sirajuddawleh had some 100,000 men entrenched at Plassey. Clive was outnumbered thirty to one.

Clive's anxiety before the battle drove him to sexual excess. His servants observed him masturbating, were ordered to perform fellatio on him, and procured a camp whore for him. His biographer attributes Clive's hypersexuality to the phimosis of his adolescent years, aggravated by the anxiety aroused by his circumcision and by his manic-depressive disposition.

The battle took place on June 23, 1757. Clive's negotiations for allies appeared to have failed. None of the other leaders in Bengal had given any sign that they would leave Sirajuddawleh's army and support Clive. Clive had to attack alone. By 5 pm the battle was over. Clive lost 24 killed and 48 wounded. The enemy lost 600 men, and the rest fled. Not only did this battle secure India for the English, it brought Bengali gold pouring into England, which stimulated English industry and made London the capitalist leader of the world, and thereby facilitated the industrial revolution.

But what was Clive to do with his reluctant allies. He made the chief of them, Mir Ja'fer, Viceroy of Bengal, but Clive made it clear that Mir Ja'fer was simply a puppet. Sirajuddawleh tried to flee but was captured and put to death by Mir Ja'fer's son. Robert Clive, aged thirty-one, was master of Bengal. All over India he was now Bare Jangi-Lat Sahib Behadur -- the Great and Bold Warlord Sahib.

Again, Clive did not plunder the land, nor brutalize the Indians. He even returned gifts from the local leaders. In this way, he won their trust and devotion as well as their fear and respect. Although there were plots on his life, he had supporters who thwarted these plots. Of course, Clive was a good businessman, and he did not go poor. He gave

gifts to his five sisters, his parents and more distant relatives, his in-laws, and even Colonel Lawrence who had given Clive the chance to show what a fine soldier he was.

Clive wanted to return to England as soon as possible, but the commander-in-chief of the English forces, Admiral Charles Watson, died in August. Although the East India Company named four co-governors of Bengal, all four resigned in favor of Clive. Thus, despite his continuing malarial fever, eased only a little by quinine and opium, and his temperament (an inherent melancholia interspersed with fits of anxiety and overwork), Clive stayed on from 1758 to 1760 to govern, taking care to increase his wealth. Clive reorganized the administration of the territories, and at the same time obtained a gift of land (twenty-four fertile districts adjoining Calcutta) from the Viceroy of Bengal which would provide him with an untaxed annual income of one million rupees. The English eliminated the remaining French interests in India, and followed this up by eliminating the Dutch. Meanwhile, enmity toward Clive grew among the London directors of the East India Company, particularly Laurence Sullivan, the Chairman.

Clive and his family sailed for England on February 21, 1760. His second homecoming outshone his first. He was hailed as a conquering hero and a great statesman, and he was also the richest person in Great Britain. King George, now growing madder by the year, awarded Clive the Order of the Bath, but not an English title, and so Clive purchased an Irish estate which made him Baron of Plassey in the Kingdom of Ireland. His efforts to get into the House of Commons still aroused a great deal of opposition, but he won a seat in April 1761.

Meanwhile, his enemy, Sullivan, had won back control of the East India Company. Then in 1764 word reached England that the new Viceroy of Bengal had executed about two hundred Europeans in Patna and had the three leaders decapitated and castrated. The East India Company requested Clive to return to India to restore order, but he declined. After a brief battle of wills, Sullivan had to admit defeat. Sullivan was replaced by Charles Rouse, a supporter of Clive, and Clive agreed to return to India.

Clive left England on June 4, 1764, landed in India on April 10, 1766, and began to clean up the mess. He negotiated to annex all of Bengal into official Company control. He also allowed the Indians to collect the taxes, leaving the English to dispose of them, thereby allowing each group to share in the administration of government. But Clive's physical and mental disorders continued to plague him. He suffered from fevers and fits of melancholia to such an extent that his aides had to tie him to the bed to prevent him from doing harm to himself. He left India for the last time in January 1767.

England and Suicide

Clive returned home to his palatial home in Berkeley Square and to further honors, even being acclaimed in Paris despite the fact that he had defeated the French. According to reports at the time, Clive seduced (or was seduced by) large numbers of women while touring Europe.

Returning to London in 1768, Clive found growing opposition to him both in Parliament and the Company. Pamphlets were written attacking Clive, while his supporters published defenses. Eventually, in April 1772, the House of Commons appointed a committee to look into the affairs of the East India Company in India, but which quickly turned into a trial of Clive. Finally, a motion was presented to censure Clive. Clive's supporters managed to get the most condemnatory passages deleted, and they added amendments asserting that Clive had rendered "great and meritorious services to his country." Thus, the motion, as passed in May 1773, absolved Clive of all guilt.

Despite the victory, Clive fell into great despondency. He shut himself off from his family and friends for days at a time. The months of anguish and anxiety had taken its toll. His mental condition was exacerbated by an attack of gallstones which was excruciatingly painful. Drugs (primarily laudanum) helped the pain a little, but failed to relieve his depression. His condition worsened, until on November 22, 1774, he took all of the opium at his disposal and died.

Reference

Edwardes, A. (1966). *The rape of India*. New York: Julian.

KURT COBAIN¹

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.

¹ 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.²

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, 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

² 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.

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)³, 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.⁴ 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.

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

³ Kurt claimed that he slept with only two women on all of his tours

⁴ Kurt claimed that the cough syrup helped his throat and chronic bronchitis, especially when on tour.

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.⁵

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.

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

⁵ The group also had friction over the royalties since Kurt felt as songwriter that he should have a larger share.

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 house⁶ 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.

References

- Azerrad, M. (1993). *Come as you are*. New York: Doubleday.
- Jobes, D. A., Berman, A. L., O'Carroll, P. W., Eastgard, S., & Knickmeyer, S. (1996). The Kurt Cobain suicide crisis. *Suicide & Life-Threatening Behavior*, 26, 260-269.

⁶ The house was just off Lake Washington in the Seattle neighborhood of Madrona.

PETER COLE⁷

David Lester

Peter Cole, a London bookseller, hung himself in his warehouse in Leadenhall Street, London, on December 4th, 1665. He was under stress from business pressures and illness, and his friends thought his volatile personality played a role in his decision.

Cole was born in 1613 in Barfold, Suffolk. His father was a clothier. Cole was apprenticed to a stationer in London who published Americana. He obtained his freedom on January 11th, 1637, and set up as a printer and bookseller. One of his earliest works was *News from America*, written by John Underhill, published in 1638. In 1643, he opened his new business, the Printing Press, in Cornhill, and situated his living quarters, warehouse and printing plant in Leadenhall Street. His possible melancholic nature was suggested by his printing and selling of the scaffold speeches of those beheaded at Tower Hill, such as the Earl of Strafford in 1641 and the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1644.

An active Puritan, he published the petitions circulated by the Puritan leaders and books and pamphlets by independent thinkers. After the Stuarts were restored to the throne, he published more ordinary works on such topics as shipping. When Cole started publishing, printers/publishers held the copyrights of his works, but Cole had a reputation of being opportunistic, appropriating and reappropriating texts to which he did not have a valid claim.

Cole was a Puritan and outspoken republican, opposed to the monarchy. He made his fortune from selling popular medical books written in English. He commissioned Nicholas Culpepper to translate into English books written in Latin and published by the Royal College of Physicians. Cole wanted to bring medical information into the hands of ordinary people, and eventually Culpepper wrote for Cole a series of books explaining medicine and instructing people where they could find medicinal herbs in the countryside with which to medicate themselves. By identifying and personifying popular, unlicensed medicine, and by challenging the establishment, Cole earned himself the enmity of physicians.

After Culpepper's death in 1654 at the age of 38, Cole published 17 further manuscripts written by him, and Culpepper's widow had plans to produce 79 more. However, a rival bookseller, Nathaniel Brooke, expropriated some of these manuscripts and invented others, purportedly written by Culpepper, but not in actuality. Brooke attacked Cole in print for publishing spurious works himself, and Cole was hurt financially by Brooke's actions.

In 1661, a movement began to give licensing power for medical books to the Royal College of Physicians, which would have hurt Cole's business. He tried unsuccessfully to obtain an exemption from Parliament. The King approved the Press Act in 1662. Cole moderated his attacks on the College and tried to mend fences with its

⁷ This essay is based on Furdell (2004).

members, but he killed himself in 1665.

Suicide was a crime in England, and the estate of a suicide was confiscated on behalf of the Crown. Both the Roman Catholic Church and the Church of England forbade burial in consecrated ground. At the time of Cole's suicide, there was growing compassion toward suicides, and an indication that the suicide was psychiatrically disturbed often allowed his heirs to inherit his estate. But Cole's fortune was too large, and King Charles II needed funds for a new palace in Greenwich. As a consequence, Cole's carefully prepared will, written three weeks before his death, was ignored. The man who opposed the monarchy provided funds for the King's new home!

Cole's friends tried to portray him as "distracted" and preoccupied prior to his death. Cole never married, but he came from a sizeable family with many siblings, and his will documented his concern for their welfare after his death. His suicide was not a result of economic jeopardy - he left a large fortune, which the King was happy to confiscate.

Printers lived and worked in atmosphere full of lead, antimony, copper, arsenic and tin, and many printers died young from lead poisoning or had symptoms of the poisoning. Perhaps Cole had such symptoms and an expectation of an early, painful death. There is the possibility that Cole had plague in 1665, the year of London's greatest epidemic, but plague killed quickly whereas Cole had prepared his will weeks in advance (on November 14th 1665).

The conclusion is that perhaps a looming business crisis and a chronic medical condition caused by lead and other toxic chemicals led Peter Cole to kill himself.

Reference

Furdell, E. L. (2004). "Reported to be distracted." *The Historian*, 66,772-792.

JOEY COYLE: THE MAN WHO FOUND \$1 MILLION⁸

David Lester

Joey Coyle, an Irish-American, was twenty-eight years old and an amphetamine addict. He worked on the docks as a longshoreman in Philadelphia but, since the economy was in bad shape, he was not working regularly. For the last month he had been idle. Joey never finished high school, but he was good with machinery and he repaired the lifts on the docks.⁹

Joey's father had died of a heart attack eight years earlier after an argument with Joey about the length of Joey's hair. Joey felt guilty, thinking that he had contributed to his father's heart attack. Joey lived in his mother's house on Front Street in South Philly, close to the Delaware River waterfront, but she had liver disease and, because Joey was not good as a caretaker, she had moved a few blocks away to live with her daughter, Ellen.

Joey's friends had mostly gone to school, learned skills and moved on. But Joey was stuck in a permanent adolescence. He hadn't adapted to the adult world. But he was fun, and people liked him. His skin was pink, his hair blonde and his eyes blue. He was generous, but unreliable. In a fight with a man (in an early example of road rage) Joey had got cut on his face, and so he had a scar from his eye to his earlobe.

On Thursday February 26th, Joey woke up at noon and went out with two friends, John and Jed, to get some speed. On their ride they saw a yellow metal tub and, when they examined it, found two sacks of money which, it turned out, had fallen from a Purolator Armored Car. They threw the sacks into the car and drove off. They had just found \$1.2 million.

The police did not catch Joey until Wednesday March 4th. Those seven days were filled with incredibly stupid behavior on the part of Joey if he wanted to keep the money (which was illegal). He declined to give it back when, after a few days, he was told that Purolator was offering a \$50,000 reward. Joey believe that "finders, keepers."

In those seven days, Joey bought and used a great deal of speed, which probably did not help his decision making. He approached a friend whom he thought had mob connections and could launder the money for him. He kept splitting the haul into parts and leaving parts with various friends in their houses. Although he realized that secrecy was crucial, he told everyone he met that he was the guy who found the money, even bartenders from whom he bought drinks. He gave scores of people \$100 bills, telling them where the money came from. His behavior was made even less rational by the fact that the speed was making him paranoid so that he began to distrust everyone whom he had asked to help him. Eventually, he persuaded one friend to help him, and they devised a plan to have him fly to Mexico under his friend's name with about \$100,000, but they

⁸ This is based on Bowden (2002).

⁹ Joey had an older brother and two sisters.

were arrested by the FBI at the gate at JFK Airport in New York.

On Tuesday, March 3rd, the Philadelphia detectives found the car which had been seen at the “scene of the crime” and went to the car’s owner (John’s father). John and Jed confessed to the police and, after the news hit the newspapers, those to whom Joey had given or entrusted the money began to return it, voluntarily or under threat of prosecution. The police recovered about \$2 million, leaving \$196,400 unaccounted for.

Joey came home a hero. The Philadelphia community welcomed him back, and the media played up the romantic folk-hero theme. The fact that this poor kid has suddenly found a million dollars appealed to everyone. The press asked people what they would have done with the money, and most said that they would have kept it too. The press stressed how Joey had given friends and strangers \$100 bills and bought drinks for everyone in the bars. The judge released Joey on bail. Stores sold “Free Joey Coyle” t-shirts, and Joey stopped by the stores to sign them.

Joey’s mother died, after a long illness with liver disease, on Mother’s Day in 1981. Joey again felt guilty as he had after his father’s death. He thought that her worry over his predicament had hastened her death. A few weeks later, Joey slashed his wrists with a razor blade in a parasuicidal act.

The trial began on February 16th, 1982, and many jurors were dismissed because they had read about the case and had already formed an opinion. The defence based its case on the notion that finding all that money had created temporary insanity in Joey. The prosecution was not allowed to bring up Joey’s addiction to speed and had difficulty countering the argument. All of Joey’s friends stated, on the witness stand, that Joey was acting “crazy” after finding the money. The jury acquitted Joey. Even the police who had investigated the crime thought that bringing Joey to trial was a mistake, an attempt at headline grabbing by the District Attorney which failed. Joey remained a folk hero. People always asked him where the missing money was, and he always carried the lead that was used to seal the bags of money in his pocket.

For the next seven years, life went on. Joey continued to use drugs, and he was arrested several times and sent for treatment. There were attempts to make a movie out of the story (for which Joey would get a some up-front money), but they came to nothing until Mark Bowden wrote a series of articles in the *Philadelphia Inquirer* about Joey. Disney paid everyone involved in the case so that the company was able to make the movie. *Money for Nothing* was released on September 1993, with John Cusack playing Joey. Disney changed the facts quite a bit of course. No mention was made of Joey’s drug addiction, and the people who were Joey’s friends and helpers in real life were of different sex and character in the movie. For example, the male friend who helped Joey attempt to go to Mexico became a woman and an ex-girl friend in the movie. The pre-publicity for the movie called for a joint tour for Joey and John Cusack. It never came off.

Joey was terrified of the movie and its release. He dreaded the attention it would

bring him. He thought that the movie would portray him as a drug addict and that the city would take away the money that Disney had paid him for permission to make the movie. The movie money had also fuelled Joey's addiction since it gave him money to buy speed, and this increased his paranoia. Joey looked pale, puffy, and old. His face was soft and pasty. He had framed Mark Bowden's newspaper stories about him, but he had never read them. "I've never been a reader," he said.

Joey hung himself on August 15th 1993, three weeks before the movie's release, in the stairwell of his South Philly home, using an electric cord.

Reference

Bowden, M. (2002). *Finders keepers*. New York: Atlantic Monthly Press.

HART CRANE¹

David Lester

Hart Crane was born on July 21, 1899, in Garrettsville, Ohio, as Harold Hart Crane. (He adopted his mother's surname as his first name when he was eighteen and sided with his mother during his parents' divorce.) His father's family could trace their ancestors back to English ancestors who arrived in 1646. His grandfather ran the biggest store in Garrettsville, was a director of the local bank, and ran a maple-syrup cannery. His mother's family, the Harts, traced their line back to New England settlers and were also in business.

His mother, Grace Hart, had visited Garrettsville and met his father, Clarence (C.A.) Crane in 1898. After a brief romance, they married, on June 1, 1898. The marriage was a failure from the beginning. Grace was terrified by sex. As a result, Clarence found her cold, and she found him lustful. Hart was torn by their conflict and this, more than any other factor, accounts for his life style and his eventual suicide. Hart initially took his mother's side, but toward the end of his brief life he took his father's side. To an outside observer, however, Grace is clearly at fault. Her terror of sex alienated her husband and caused her to turn to her son as her fantasied lover. She became obsessed with Hart, devoting herself after his suicide to building up his reputation and trying (unsuccessfully) to obliterate the record of her pathological behavior. She even tried to communicate with Hart through mediums. Hart's homosexuality was partly the result of Grace's pathology. Hart killed himself at the age of thirty-three, jumping from a boat bringing him from Mexico to New York City.

Hart's Childhood

Hart was not sickly but was considered delicate. His relatives waited for the first signs of the allergies that ran in the Crane family, but Hart had none at first. They would develop later. Hart was precocious, walking, talking and reading at an early age.

By age three he showed feminine interests. He liked to play with his aunt's dress-making materials and to decorate hats. His aunt and mother were concerned by this and forbade such play. When Hart was five, the family moved to Warren, Ohio, where Hart led a more typical kid's life.

The business ventures of his father and the marital conflict between his parents consumed his parents' energy. Hart learned that he could get their attention and approval by being witty and clever and by being sick. If he was criticized by his parents, Hart would fall ill with what we would now call psychosomatic complaints. He had fits in which he would vomit and cry hysterically. Both Hart and his mother came to believe that his illnesses were a direct result of her unkindness or insensitivity.

In 1908, the marital conflict became so severe that Grace entered a private

¹ This essay is based on Unterecker (1969).

sanitarium and C.A. moved to Chicago. Hart, age nine, was sent to live with his grandparents in Cleveland. There he had an indulgent grandmother, servants and much freedom. In 1909, both of his parents moved in with Hart's grandparents.

By age eleven, Hart was interested in the theater, painted, took piano lessons, and loved to write. He read rather than play outdoors. It was then that he told his grandmother that he wanted to be a poet. His teenage years seem relatively uneventful. He tried smoking, both cigars and a pipe. He was caught playing with a neighbor's daughter. And he had his first homosexual experience with a young man who worked for the family.

His biographer is reticent about Hart's homosexuality. He minimizes it, fails to describe Hart's lovers and the path of his affairs, and generally treats it as if it were not important. The fact is that Hart, as already noted, had the kind of mother who moves a son (particularly an only child) toward homosexuality. He had an early seduction about which we are told nothing. And he spent his adult life cruising waterfront bars picking up sailors for quick sex. Hart spoke of love, but none of his sailors stayed for long, a few months at the most. He never managed to establish a long-term homosexual relationship. In the early 1900s, homosexual encounters were probably uncommon, especially in the midwest. Hart, even with an inclination (conscious or unconscious) to develop into a homosexual, might never have encountered the opportunity, ending up a latent homosexual. In this context, an early homosexual encounter looms as critical.

At this time too, though he occasionally dated, Hart was telling his mother that she was more beautiful than girls his own age and was his real sweetheart. He felt that she was in need of his protection more than "common girls." It is likely that Grace encouraged this unhealthy attachment.

In January 1913, his grandfather died. Hart had not been as close to his grandfather as to his grandmother, but it was an upsetting experience to watch his grandfather fall sick and die. His grandfather left Hart a legacy of \$5,000 to be given to him once his grandmother died.

Hart entered a good high school in January, 1914, and he attended intermittently for the next three years. He was not active in school. He joined no clubs, played no sports, and did not write for the school newspaper or magazine. He was in the college-oriented program, but he was frequently absent. For example, he took one semester off to go with his mother and grandmother to visit their house in an island off Cuba.

Hart had built up a good library in his room at his grandmother's. When he wrote poetry, he would smoke cigars or smell his mother's perfume (or other odors such as the maid's sweaty shoes) in order to get himself into a poetic mood. His first poem appeared in print in the Greenwich Village *Bruno's Weekly* in September, 1916.

Hart also showed moodiness, moving from high elation to deep depression. At his grandmother's Caribbean island house in late 1914, his parents had a very bad argument,

and C.A. left for the USA. Grace turned to Hart as a confidante, not noticing how depressed he was becoming. In early 1915, Hart made two suicide attempts, one by slashing his wrists and another by swallowing his mother's Veronal powders. It is clear that his parents' violent quarrels and their "violent sexual reconciliations" (as he described them to friends) left him very upset, to the point of physical illness. On the other hand, when his parents were away, he was lonely.

In 1916, Hart was a "published" poet but unhappy at school, so he decided to quit school. In November, after a particularly bad row, C.A. moved out, and Hart's parents filed for divorce. Hart had a second poem published (in *The Pagan*), and so it was agreed that he could quit school, ostensibly to find a job to help support his mother. In this confused time, Hart's parents decided that he could go and live in New York City, thinking that he would study for the entrance exams for Columbia University. Hart made only token efforts in this direction, but started instead on the life path that would lead to his decline and suicide.

Hart's life makes sense in the light of his psychological disturbance, and so it makes sense to briefly review his problems.

Depression

Hart suffered continually from depression. This could be brought on by letters from his mother or his father when they tried to involve him in their affairs, his poverty, his loneliness or the rejection of his poems. His biographer mentions periods of elation, and so this raises the possibility of a bipolar affective disorder. However, there is not sufficient information in the biography to make such a diagnosis, and Unterecker gives no information about the presence of psychiatric disorder in Hart's relatives. His maternal grandparents seemed to have been free from any disorder.

Hart suffered from insomnia for most of his life and, in addition, he suffered at times from nightmares so that he preferred insomnia to sleep.

Alcoholism

Initially, Hart drank to overcome his shyness in company and for poetic inspiration. He would begin a composition when drunk and polish it later. However, his drinking quickly grew out of control until he was drinking up to nine scotches at a time (by his own admission in 1927) or a half a gallon of bootleg wine in 1928. By his late-twenties, Hart was clearly an alcoholic, suffering from delirium tremens. In 1927, Yvor Winters described Hart:

.....he regarded Crane as a man of "more or less manic-depressive make-up" and.....was shocked to find that "his hair was graying, his skin had the dull red color with reticulated grayish tracteries which so often go with advanced alcoholism, and his ears and knuckles were beginning to look like those of a pugilist. (Unterecker, 1969, p. 526)

Hart was only 28 at the time! (His hair was white by the next year.)

Hart would go on drinking sprees for days at a time, often being picked up dead drunk by friends, sometimes getting into fights and being arrested by the police (in New York City in 1927, Paris in 1929 and Mexico in 1931).

Paranoia

Hart seems to have had paranoid tendencies toward the end of his life. He felt betrayed by his friends and parents and, when he was drunk, he would list his grievances against them. He often got into fights with taxi drivers whom he felt had overcharged him.

Hart typically blamed others for his misfortunes, never apparently realizing what an unpleasant person he was. He borrowed money from friends, moved in with them, interrupted them whenever he needed company, destroyed their property, and insulted them. He behaved like a pampered brat, immature, with the self-centeredness of a child. Friends eventually asked him to leave, though he would often storm out before he pushed them to the brink.

By 1928, Hart was becoming increasingly violent when drunk, and his landladies and friends frequently hid from him in fear during what were described as his "incoherent attacks." His behavior deteriorated still further during his final year in Mexico.

His paranoia was, therefore, based in part on real events, but they were events he brought on himself.

Physical Illnesses

Hart suffered a lot from psychosomatic illnesses - hay fever and hives in particular. He also from time to time had boils, back ache, and occasional tonsilitis, urethritis (which he thought at first was venereal disease) and conjunctivitis. His eyesight was also poor. However, Unterecker suggests that Hart enjoyed his illnesses, and they certainly elicited sympathy from his friends.

Suicide Attempts

His first documented suicide attempts were in 1915 when on vacation with his mother after his father had stormed back to Cleveland. He slashed his wrists and took an overdose. Unterecker does not mention suicidal behavior again until Hart's final year of life spent in Mexico.

Interestingly, his friend Harry Crosby shot himself in December, 1929, in New York, and Hart was with Harry's wife and mother that evening and helped them cope with the shocking event.

Homosexuality

Initially, in Akron in 1919, in Cleveland in 1921 to 1923 and in New York City in 1924, Hart fell in love with and had, albeit brief, affairs with men. But Hart's homosexuality soon developed into a pattern in which he would cruise parks in Cleveland or waterfront bars in New York City and elsewhere looking for casual sex. Occasionally, these casual episodes developed into relationships that lasted weeks or months, but this was not typical. In many of these episodes, Hart was drunk, and it was not uncommon for Hart to be beaten up and robbed during his visits to the waterfront. In 1922 he was blackmailed after a casual encounter. When he was in Washington, DC, in 1920 working for his father, and in California for six months with his mother in 1927 and 1928, he became involved with groups of homosexual friends, and he went to orgiastic parties. But Hart failed to find a stable lover.

It must be remembered that homosexuality was not so accepted or open in the 1920s as now and that Hart was from the conservative midwest. He never really felt comfortable about his homosexuality. He may have assuaged his guilt by making sex a brutal experience and by getting beaten up by truckers or sailors who objected to his advances. He was typically drunk during his sexual searches, probably to overcome his guilt. When he finally fell in love with a woman for the first time, Peggy Cowley in Mexico in 1931, he seemed overjoyed to be normal for the first time, though very quickly he had to supplement intercourse with Peggy by casual homosexual encounters with Mexican boys.

Hart and His Parents

His emotional life was dominated by his parents. At first, there were daily letters back and forth and an intimate involvement with the details of one another's lives, especially between Grace and Hart. After his parents' divorce, he sided with his mother and became alienated from his father. In time, he became more and more aware of the suffocating possessiveness of his mother. In 1928 he fled from her home in California and spent the rest of his life hiding his whereabouts from her. Upon breaking with his mother, he became close to his father.

Hart's mother had continual breakdowns, and her letters to Hart would plunge him into anxiety or depression and interfere with his writing. When he stayed with his mother he fought with her, and yet he was lonely without her. Eventually her jealousy over his relationship with his father, his friends and his homosexual lovers (after he had confessed to her) drove him away. Hart's mother was the neurotic mother often found in background of disturbed sons. Hart eventually fled from her, but far too late in his life to achieve independence and maturity.

Hart's father seems to have been a normal, pleasant, conservative businessman. Despite the odd life style of his son, he was willing to support his efforts to be a good poet, and he sent him money regularly once Hart reconciled with him.

Hart and His Friends

Hart made many friends and had hundreds of acquaintances. His friends lent him money to live on, let him stay with them, critiqued his work, and went to plays, restaurants and bars with him. He carried on a voluminous correspondence with them and they with him.

Yet a frequent cry of Hart's was that he was so lonely. Of course, he alienated his friends by his drunken and abusive behavior but, amazingly, many remained tolerant of him. His loneliness suggests a couple of possibilities. First, that these "friendships" were not close, close enough to form the social bonds that people need. Or second, that they could not replace the need we all have for a primary tie, usually with a lover or spouse. Hart kept his overly close ties to his parents long after others have moved on, maintained a large circle of "friends", and looked for orgasms in toilets and dark alleyways. None of these can replace deep and meaningful relationships.

Hart's Efforts to Support Himself

Hart's adult life consisted of a series of moves from one city to another and long periods of half-hearted job-hunting interspersed with brief periods of work. He lived in rented rooms, other people's apartments and houses, or with his mother or father. The list of his travels is long: New York, Cleveland, New York, Cleveland, Akron, Washington DC, Cleveland, New York, Woodstock, New York, Pawling NY, New York, Isle of Pines, New York, Patterson NY, Los Angeles, Patterson, New York, France, New York, and thence to Mexico. His moves were made on the basis of lovers he had, friends offering to support him, searches for jobs, and retreats back to his parents.

His attempts to get work fit a classic pattern: an individual who develops a perception of himself as a writer and resents the effort needed to develop a secure career. Hart worked - as a temporary salesman in bookstores, as a low level copy-writer in advertising agencies, and for his father in his father's stores. But he spent most of his time "searching" for jobs. He lived off loans from friends (which he did repay) and toward the end of his life on monthly checks from his father. In 1925 Otto Kahn gave him \$2000 (and an additional \$500 in 1927) to write poetry. In 1929, his grandmother died, and he received his inheritance of \$5000 which he spent in eight months on a trip to France followed by a stay in New York City. In 1931, he received a Guggenheim fellowship for \$2000 and went to Mexico for a year.

When he received these large sums of money, he spent them quickly and foolishly. He gave no serious thought to establishing a stable base, though he had fantasies of stable work in an advertising agency and of owning a house in the country. His income from writing was miniscule, and his attempts to write stories, plays, movie

scripts and magazine articles came to nothing, more through his lack of persistence than from rejections from editors and publishers.

His adult life, therefore, was dominated by his poverty. Like a pampered child, he blamed others for his failures. He seemed not to acknowledge the role of his alcoholism, his laziness, his failure to go to college, or his general lack of motivation and persistence. He seemed to think that his parents had a duty to support him throughout his life and that he could remain a dependent child.

Yet, at the same time, he also realized his failure, especially in contrast to his father, a successful businessman. When it came down to a final reckoning, Hart knew that he had failed in his career, in his friendships, in his love life, and probably as a writer. By age thirty-three his life was over, and he could look forward only to the life of a derelict.

Hart's Poetry

Hart had some success as a poet. After publishing occasional poems in small magazines, he sold his first poem (for ten dollars) in 1919. His first collection (*White Buildings*) was published in 1926, after two years of sending the manuscript around to publishing houses, and it received an enthusiastic reception, along with some criticisms. Hart was pleased with its reception. He worked for years on a long poem, eventually published as *The Bridge* in 1930 to more negative and critical reviews, though Hart was awarded the Levinson Prize by *Poetry* that year.

However, by 1928 Hart was finding it hard to write. As his reputation grew, magazines began to solicit work from him, but he had nothing to send. After *The Bridge*, Hart wrote very little. He tried writing articles for *Fortune* and book reviews, but finished only a couple of pieces. His alcoholism and deteriorating social relationships did not make writing easier. In 1930, Howard Lovecraft wrote of Hart:

Poor devil - he has "arrived" at last as a standard American poet seriously regarded by all reviewers & critics; yet at the very crest of his fame he is on the verge of psychological, physical, & financial disintegration, & with no certainty of ever having the inspiration to write a major work of literature again. (Unterecker, 1969, p. 626)

The Final Year

Hart's final year of life was spent in Mexico as a Guggenheim fellow. It was a failure. Rather than writing, Hart continued to deteriorate. He stayed almost permanently drunk, sought homosexual pick-ups, and abused and insulted friends and acquaintances there.

He wrote a couple of poems, one book review and an article. But his plans for a play, an epic poem, a series of book reviews and a series of articles were abandoned. His fear that he was finished as a writer grew.

.....he seemed full of doubts about what he had written and full of doubts about whether he could ever write anything more. He seemed very depressed and in a sort of hopeless state of mind..... (Unterecker, 1969, p. 683)

Then, soon after his arrival there, his father died, and Hart went back to Cleveland for the funeral. (His grandmother had died in September 1928.) This must have been a severe loss for him since he had grown close to his father in recent years now that he was completely alienated from his mother. One result of his father's death was an expectation of being able to live on his inheritance, but soon problems arose with how much this would be and how regular the checks would come.

In December, 1931, he fell in love with Peggy Cowley who had come to Mexico to divorce Malcolm Cowley. He was overjoyed at having fallen in love with a woman at last, but he was soon soliciting Mexican boys. Peggy moved in with him, and they began to quarrel continually. His intake of alcohol increased, and he worried about his inheritance and his literary reputation. He was particularly worried about how his latest poem would be reviewed.

Moroseness and anger against the world possessed him.....He became an ugly, sick man in mind and body. Constant tirades against the servants, Mexico, his friends in the States.....Mexico was destroying him. His friends despised his work. The world despised his work. He was a failure as a poet, the laughing stock of his friends. (Unterecker, 1969, pp. 737, 751)

One day in April, he decided to kill himself. With Peggy and a friend helping him, he tried to draft a will. Then he took some iodine and later some mercurochrome, after which his stomach was pumped. Peggy persuaded him that he had to go back to America, though he was afraid to return there. They left by boat on April 23rd, 1932.

During a stop in Havana, Hart went off for a homosexual encounter but became angry at Peggy. What had she done in Havana? Why hadn't she returned to the boat? (She had been waiting for him in a restaurant!) He became drunk and violent. A night watchman on the boat prevented him jumping overboard, but Hart jumped successfully to his death around noon the next day, on April 27th.

Discussion

Hart Crane was many things. He was an alcoholic and a violent and abusive person, with little regard for others. He was a pampered child, spoilt by his parents and grandparents, and he decided that living off them was an acceptable life style. Though his alienation from his relatives and their deaths pained him a great deal, there was always their inheritances for him to squander as he continued his downward path.

But he was also a poet and might have been a productive poet if his life circumstances had been otherwise. He had little to support his self-esteem. After all, he

failed to develop a career or to form a stable life (with home and lover). All he had was his poetry.

Literary matters consumed him, both the esthetics and the politics. This made him vulnerable, for he became involved in the politics of the literary world and its squabbles. The reception of his poetry was critical to his feelings of self-worth. Some of his work was praised, but much was not. Even successful writers must face rejection after rejection at times. And Hart's experience was no different. His first collection of poems was passed from publisher to publisher for almost two years before getting accepted. Then, when he was receiving recognition, his creative powers declined. Perhaps they would have declined anyway, but his increasing alcohol abuse and unstable life may have been sufficient cause in themselves.

It is always interesting to ask what would have happened had the person not killed himself. What would Hart Crane have become? A drunken bum in New York City? Perhaps robbed, beaten up and killed by the sailors one day at the waterfront? An isolate for sure, for he was rapidly becoming so abusive that his friends and acquaintances would soon have abandoned him. And yet what might have happened if his father had not died and if Hart had gone to live with him? His times there seemed to have been the happiest and quietest periods of his life and as close to normal as Hart ever came. But, probably, Hart's lack of self-control would have driven him from Ohio, back to New York and to the path of chronic self-destruction that he had chosen for himself.

Reference

Unterecker, J. (1969). *Voyager*. New York: Farrar, Strauss & Giroux.

OSAMU DAZAI

David Lester

Osamu Dazai was born on June 19 1909 in Kanagi as Shuji Tsushima (Wagatsuma & DeVos, 1978). His family was important in the region and owned much land. His father was thirty-nine and his mother thirty-seven when he was born. There were seven older children (and two more dead in infancy), and his great grandmother, grandmother, aunt and cousins all lived in the house, a total of over thirty people including the servants. His mother was an invalid, and Osamu was reared by the servants and sometimes sent to live with others. He was weak himself and often sick.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

After an appendectomy, he became addicted to morphine. In 1935 he came in second for a major literary award, but he continued to abuse drugs and alcohol. His family had him hospitalized against his will and, surprisingly, he freed himself from his addictions to drugs, though he went back to abusing alcohol.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Reference

- Wagatsuma, H., & DeVos, G. (1978). A koan of sincerity. In L. F. Manheim, M. D. Faber, & H. L. P. Resnick (Eds.) *A new anatomy of melancholia*, pp. 156-181. Hartford, CT: University of Hartford.

GÉRARD DE NERVAL

David Lester

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.

Reference

Sowerby, B. (1973). *The disinherited*. London: Peter Owen.

JAMES DALLAS EGBERT III

David Lester

On August 15, 1979, Dallas, a sixteen year-old sophomore at Michigan State University, disappeared.² Dear is a private investigator who was called in to find him, and his book is an account of his investigation which throws only a little light on the life circumstances of Dallas.

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

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

As Dear investigated, he found out that Dallas was homosexual and a gay activist³, and this posed a problem for his college associates and his male lovers since he was only sixteen and, therefore, under-age.⁴ He was also into drugs and tried marijuana, cocaine, quaaludes and some he cooked up himself. One of his pastimes was to hang from a trestle bridge near campus that trains used, perhaps even lying on the tracks at times as the trains passed over him. Dallas had had epileptic seizures on at least two occasions while at the university.

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

Dallas called Dear on September 13th and eventually told Dear where to go to collect him -- Morgan City, Louisiana. He told Dear that he had decided that he had three

² Dallas disappeared supposedly just before final exams, which suggests that he was taking summer school courses.

³ Dallas had joined the Gay Council on campus.

⁴ Dear found out later that Dallas had been asked to leave the cub scouts because of homosexual problems that had arisen.

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

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

Reference

Dear, W. (1984). *The dungeon master*. Boston: Houghton-Mifflin.

PAUL EHRENFEST

David Lester

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

Early Life

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Professor at Leyden

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

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

The End

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

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

References

- Einstein, A. (1956). *Out of my later years*. Secaucus, NJ: Citadel Press.
 Klein, M. J. (1970). *Paul Ehrenfest*. Amsterdam: North-Holland.
 Klein, M. J. (1970). Ehrenfest, Paul. In C. C. Gillispie (Ed.) *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, pp. 292-294. New York: Scribners.

BRIAN EPSTEIN: SUICIDE OR ACCIDENT?

David Lester

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Beatles

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

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

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

Drugs

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

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

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

The Beatles

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

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

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

His Homosexuality

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

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

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

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

Business Matters

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

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

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

In January 1967, after several efforts to find a business partner had failed, he merged with the Robert Stigwood Organization. The merger added to his stress. Brian and Robert did not get along well, and the two staffs thoroughly disliked each other.

Brian's Life Style

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

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

His Psychological State

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

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

The Final Months

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

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

Brian began to fall ill. He contracted yellow jaundice in 1965 and glandular fever

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

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

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

Discussion

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

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

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

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

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

Superficial. One friend commented on Brian's superficiality. He was asked what would happiness be for him, and he replied that it would be to have the number one hit

record every week for a year. His friends were appalled. Perhaps one can only run for so long, run until one loses hope that there is anywhere else to run? What could Brian do next? What would sustain him, hold his interest, and satisfy his desires, even his superficial desires? It is hard to guess. His life seemed at a plateau, if not in a trough.

Reference

Coleman, R. (1989). *The man who made the Beatles*. New York: McGraw-Hill.

SERGEI ESENIN

David Lester

Sergei Esenin was born on October 3, 1895, the son of a peasant in Konstantinovo in the province of Ryazan in Central Russia (McVay, 1980). He was raised by his maternal grandparents since his parents lived apart for most of his childhood. His father lived in Moscow, and his mother gave birth to another child which his father refused to acknowledge. Sergei felt as if he were an orphan.

He attended the local primary school from the ages of nine to fourteen and then moved to a church boarding school. He was able, mischievous and a fighter. Sergei did not enjoy school and declined to go to the Moscow Teacher's Institute. Instead, arriving in Moscow in July 1912, he worked in a butcher's shop, at a bookshop, and in a printing works, and sometimes attended lectures in the evening. In the big city, he gave up his vegetarianism and began to smoke and drink.

He had begun to write poems while at school, and he continued to do so in Moscow. He joined a literary society where he recited his poems and soon his poems were published. He joined up with other peasant poets, and they dressed in peasant costumes and gave recitations at fashionable salons. Although there were critics of his work, his popularity grew, and he became arrogant and ambitious.

He was called into military service in 1916 but seemed to have avoided onerous duties. He may even have recited his verse to the Empress. After the revolution in 1917, Sergei's poems were criticized by the Marxist critics. Sergei, who had been living near St. Petersburg since 1915, moved back to Moscow in 1918 and joined up with fellow poets to form a group called the Imaginists. The Imaginists rejected the idea that poems should have content, and they liked eccentric and coarse imagery. They set up a publishing firm and bookshops and read their poems in bohemian restaurants, including a cafe they ran themselves.

The group gained notoriety and success. Sergei gave up his peasant costumes and now dressed as a dandy. He cultivated the image of a hooligan, behaving irresponsibly for publicity, such as writing obscene verses on a convent wall. He lived with his friends when he was not travelling around Russia, and this period was remarkably productive and reasonably happy for Sergei. However, there were already premonitions of boredom and depression. In particular, he hated the encroachment of modern changes on the countryside. He began to drink excessively and, when he was drunk, was bitter, arrogant, intolerant, self-pitying and hypersensitive.

Sergei had first fallen in love with a village girl when he was fifteen. In Moscow, he fell in love with a woman, Anna, with whom he lived, and they had son in 1915. Nevertheless, he abandoned them to go to St. Petersburg later that year. In 1917, he married a secretary, Zinaida, but they parted within two years and divorced in 1921. Zinaida had two children, but Sergei believed that the second was not his. Most of

Sergei's friends believed that Sergei loved Zinaida more than any other woman in his life. Many of Sergei's male friends were infatuated with him, and some biographers have speculated that Sergei was a latent homosexual.

Isadora Duncan

The American dancer, Isadora Duncan, decided to visit Russia in 1921. She was forty-four and Sergei was almost twenty-six when they met, and they seemed to be attracted to each other immediately. Sergei moved into Isadora's apartment in Moscow. Isadora was instantly captivated by Sergei and saw him as the lover for her autumn years. Isadora's two children had drowned earlier, and Sergei may have reminded Isadora of her son. Sergei was captivated by Isadora's fame and the life she could promise him. He was tyrannical toward Isadora from the first, beating her and insulting her.

Isadora's life was one of excess too. Although Sergei had drunk a lot before meeting Isadora, the wild parties night after night at Isadora's apartment soon increased Sergei's intake until he was truly alcoholic. In 1920 and 1921, Sergei maintained his life with the poets and his life with Isadora, but he grew increasingly ill and depressed. He described himself as tired, wretched and corrupt. In time Isadora won out over the poets. Once Sergei's divorce from Zinaida was granted in 1921, Isadora and he planned a trip abroad where she would dance and he would recite his poetry. Sergei and Isadora were married on May 2 1922 and they left by plane for Germany on May 10.

Their travels took them to first to Germany where there was a large Russian emigré group, then Belgium, France, Italy, America, and back to France. Isadora danced, and Sergei recited and arranged for the translation and publication of his poems. But Isadora received more attention, especially since Sergei could speak only Russian. (In fact, Isadora spoke hardly any Russian and had great difficulty communicating with Sergei.) The course of their travels involved expensive hotels, excessive drinking, and incessant quarrels. They did very little sight-seeing, and Sergei hated every place they visited.

As the trip progressed, Sergei's behavior grew increasingly uncontrolled, and he began to break apart the furniture in the hotels they stayed in until many hotels refused to let them stay. Sergei, depressed, bored and now homesick, continued to drink heavily, and people who met him recognized him as an alcoholic. He first threatened suicide in Berlin and continued to talk of it from time to time. He also ran away from Isadora for days at a time. Sergei tried on several occasions to give up drinking because of his poor health, but he found life without alcohol unbearable.

Back in France in February 1923, Sergei's feelings of inferiority as a Russian peasant in the civilized world and as being viewed simply as Isadora's lover, combined with his drunkenness, led to more fights with Isadora and great destruction in the hotels. Within a week, Sergei had fled to Berlin leaving Isadora in France.

Isadora travelled to Berlin in March to see Sergei and, despite more fights and

expulsions from hotels, they returned to Paris together in April. Sergei's behavior led to his arrest, but Isadora managed to get him transferred to a private clinic. Finally, in July they left for Moscow. Soon after their arrival in Moscow Isadora left for a dance tour in the Caucasus. Sergei immediately moved out of Isadora's apartment and went to live with a former poet colleague. He soon became attached to a nurse, Galina Benislavskaya, and in September moved in with her. Sergei telegraphed Isadora that he was in love with another and had married her!

The Final Two Years

When Isadora returned to Moscow, Sergei hid from her. They eventually did meet on a couple of occasions, but the relationship was never resumed. Isadora eventually left Russia without him in September 1924. Meanwhile, Sergei fell in love with an actress, but their relationship soon petered out. He became estranged from his Imaginist poet friends. He had spells in hospitals, a possible suicide attempt, and eventually left for the Caucasus in September 1924 for a six-month rest. He returned to Moscow in March 1925 where he fell in love with Sofia Tolstaya, a granddaughter of Tolstoy. He continued to wander restlessly about Russia, but in June he decided to marry Sofia, and he left Galina to live with Sofia. They married in September even though he had never obtained a divorce from Isadora. He still wrote prolifically, often on the theme of death. In December, he entered a psychiatric clinic where his alcoholic hallucinations and delirium tremens were noted. He left after a month against the doctor's advice. He spent the next few days in Moscow, drinking, gathering his belongings and saying goodbye to friends. He left Moscow for Leningrad, arriving there on December 24. He spent the next two days quietly, visiting a friend on December 25th. In the early hours of December 27th, he wrote a brief poem in his blood. He was found hanging from a pipe in his room on the morning of December 28th, 1925.

Discussion

Sergei's life was beginning to show signs of self-destructive decline before he met Isadora Duncan. But his involvement with her hastened the end. With her, his drinking and uncontrollable behavior increased, and his self-esteem suffered especially on the trip abroad where he was clearly not held in as great esteem as his middle-aged wife. However, back in Russia, though he continued to write, he failed to find satisfying relationships, and he continued to drink. His depression and despair grew and, after his last attempt to give up drinking, he decided to kill himself. What is surprising is the speed of his decline - fame by the age of twenty and alcoholism and death by the age of thirty. Perhaps he would have been dead by then even without Isadora?

Reference

McVay, G. (1980). *Isadora and Esenin*. Ann Arbor, MI: Ardis.

JAMES FORRESTAL

David Lester

James Forrestal is the highest ranking government official in America to have died by suicide. So far.

In the early hours of Sunday May 22, 1949, Forrestal tied one end of his dressing gown sash to a radiator and the other end around his neck. He then jumped from the window of a kitchen on the sixteenth floor of a building at the Bethesda Naval Hospital where he had been hospitalized for psychiatric reasons. The sash broke, and Forrestal fell to his death on the roof of a third floor passageway.

Forrestal was no longer an official of the government. He had resigned from his position as Secretary of Defense and left office on March 28th. But his personal problems had begun much earlier, and so it is clear that he was mentally disturbed while in office. This raises the fascinating problem of what would happen if such an affliction ever occurred in the President of the nation. The stuff that novels are made of.

But let us see what we can learn of Forrestal's life. In this, I am relying on the biography by Rogow (1963).

Forrestal's Childhood

James was born in the small town of Matteawan in New York State on February 15, 1892. (Matteawan is about sixty miles from New York City.) He was the third child of James and Mary Forrestal. His mother's father, Mathias Toohey, had settled in Matteawan in the 1840s and soon owned a large farm. The first Catholic service in the town was held at his home. His daughter Mary became a school teacher. Forrestal's father, James, arrived in 1857 from Ireland at the age of nine to join his mother (who was in service with a family) and his step-father. He became an apprentice carpenter, and in 1857 he organized his own construction company. He became a Major in the National Guard and was active in Democratic party politics.

The force in the home was Mary Forrestal. She was a strict disciplinarian and closely supervised the education of her three sons. If they misbehaved, she punished them with a strap or by sending them to bed without supper. She was a staunch Catholic and insisted that the family attend Mass regularly. She did not tolerate swearing, jokes or pulp magazines. Her hobby was music.

Her oldest son, Will, stayed close to her. He became an accomplished musician, did not mix much with his peers, never played sports and stayed single. He died before James' suicide.

Henry, the second born, was a star football player at school. He never went to college but entered his father's construction business, becoming head of it after his

father's death in 1923.

James was sickly as a child and, in addition to the usual childhood diseases, had a severe case of pneumonia. He looked frail, and later in life he made an effort to build himself up physically through sports and exercise. At the age of twenty five he was five feet nine and a half and weighed one hundred and fifty pounds.

He started in a parochial school and moved to the public high school. He graduated in June 1908 at the age of sixteen and then worked as a journalist for three years. In 1911 he entered Dartmouth University, but transferred after a year to Princeton University. Six weeks before graduation, he withdrew and so never received his degree. He refused to attend the lectures in one course and, when threatened with failure, decided to withdraw rather than retake the course in the following year.

His parents had wanted him to be a priest and so were disappointed by his choices. It was as if Mother had Will, Father had Henry, and so God could have James.

Although his family gave him financial support, James was continually in financial distress. His friends at Princeton did not know of his family's contributions and believed him to be from a poor home. James did not want to accept money from his family and felt guilty about it when he did.

Rogow argues that there was little love or affection from James's parents which probably made it hard for him to establish close and warm relationships with others. The home was restrictive, and James came to reject the Catholic and parochial attitudes of his family. He became estranged from his family and in later life was moody, taciturn and withdrawn. When at Princeton, he rarely visited his home. Although he wrote to his parents and brothers, he did not confide in them. He rarely discussed his family with friends, and many did not know where he came from. His two sons did not meet their Matteawan relatives until after their father died.

His parents, and particularly his mother, never forgave him for rejecting the priesthood and the Church, and he suffered from guilt too. In 1925 he rented an apartment in New York City for his mother and bought her a fur coat. But she accepted neither gift and died in October that year.

An interesting childhood, but not unusual for families in those days. It does not seem to be especially traumatic, though we cannot sense whether and to what extent James felt rejected and unwanted by his parents. But it is not a childhood that we would expect to lead to depression and paranoid ideas of persecution later in life. Perhaps there is much that we don't know?

James's Early Career

James transferred to Princeton because he had aspirations and thought that Princeton would advance his career more than Dartmouth. In his senior year, he was

editor of the *Daily Princetonian* and was voted by his class as the man most likely to succeed.

He had three brief jobs before beginning to work for Dillon Read as a bond salesman in 1916. By 1919 he was head of the sales department in New York City (despite a break during the First World War for training as a naval aviator), by 1923 a partner, by 1926 a vice-president, and in 1938 at the age of forty six he became its president.

The 1920s saw him sharing an apartment with three other bachelors. His lifestyle reflected ambition, drive and dedication. He had little social life, but worked long hours. He dressed expensively, went to the Philharmonic, and lived well.

Rogow titillates us by telling us that James had a love affair that was ended by the woman, but he provides no other details. For James, estranged from his family and unable to show warmth and affection, rejection by his first lover could have been extremely traumatic.

He chose Josephine Ogden to be his wife, divorced and an editor at *Vogue*. They were married in October 1926. A Thursday. His colleagues at Dillon Read had no warning of the marriage, and James was back at work on Monday.

James believed that husbands and wives were entitled to lead separate lives, and he did not want children. In a few years he had constructed such a marriage. The sociable, gay and witty Josephine could not get on with the workaholic James. As the years passed, they spent less and less time with each other. Together, they seemed cold and distant. At the time of her husband's hospitalization, just ten days prior to his suicide, Josephine left for Paris.

But they did have children. Michael born in 1927 and Peter born in 1930. The two sons saw little of their father during their childhood and adolescence. He sent them to boarding schools in America and abroad, and the two children were raised primarily by the servants. James was often away and, when he was at home, he would send for them on Friday evenings to find out about their week. They recall that these weekly meetings were nerve-racking for everyone. He was stingy with them and believed in forcing their independence, even in crises. James not only kept physically distant from them, but he showed them no affection. Only in later life did he show any interest in their lives.

So here we have James in a cold relationship with a wife and a cold relationship with his sons. James does not seem to know how to relate closely or warmly to his family, or perhaps he did not want to. He lacks either the necessary social skills or the motivation.

Was he schizoid? It is hard to say. None of those who remember him describe him as being hard to understand, suspicious or manifesting any psychiatric symptoms.

And his success both in his Wall Street career and later in politics make it unlikely that he was psychotic or pre-psychotic at this time. Eccentric perhaps.

To give one example of his success at Dillon Read, it was James who arranged for his company to purchase Dodge and later sell it to Chrysler at a profit. In 1933, he was investigated by a Senate committee for his financial dealings (in which he had netted nearly a million dollars profit for himself and avoided paying taxes), but in those days there was no regulating agency (such as the Securities And Exchange Commission), and he was never found to have behaved unlawfully.

Government Service

From 1940 to 1944, James was Under Secretary of the Navy, from 1944 to 1947 Secretary of the Navy, and from 1947 to 1949 the first Secretary of Defense.

His government career started off well. The country would soon be at war and, as Under Secretary, James gathered a competent staff and began to reform the methods by which the Navy ordered and purchased material. However, as he worked longer and longer in the government, James seemed to antagonize more and more people, perhaps inevitable for a bureaucrat who wants to change things.

As Under Secretary, he had disagreements with the Fleet Commander in Chief, Ernest King, who never forgave James for fighting his reorganization plans that would have given the Fleet Commander increased power over the civilians (the Secretary and the Under Secretary of the Navy). King lost that fight.

James's biographer, Rogow, notes that James always had trouble dealing with authority figures. (James would have problems later with President Truman too.) But there is no hint of this problem in James's business career. Perhaps in business, success in your financial deals is the measure of skill rather than the negotiation and compromises necessary for bureaucratic success.

As James moved on and up in his government career, he developed a distrust of the communists and of the Russians. In fact, he eventually began to see the Russians as a dangerous enemy. He worked long and hard to convince others of this. He also encouraged attempts to root out communist infiltration in the labor movement, academia, the government and the media. James wanted the USA to be militarily ready for any eventuality. James's office became the clearinghouse for information related to the communist influence in the world.

James was competent. It was his reorganization of the Navy Department that facilitated the production of the ships and material that led to the victories at Midway and Guadalcanal in the War. When the Secretary of the Navy died in office in 1944, Roosevelt had no hesitation in nominating James for the position.

However, as Secretary of the Navy, James soon had to deal with President

Truman, for whom he had less respect and with whom he agreed less than President Roosevelt. He also had to deal with peacetime rather than war.

His positions brought him into increasing conflict with Truman. On the one hand, as a member of the cabinet, he was supposed to support Truman. On the other hand, in speeches and in front of congressional committees, he was asked for his opinion. And his opinion was usually more hawkish and more anti-communist than Truman's.

In particular, he took an anti-Zionist position because he saw the oil in the Middle East as vital for the USA and he felt that we should not antagonize the Arabs. This led to James being seen as anti-semitic as well as anti-Zionist.

As James became increasingly at odds with other members of the administration and government, he began to become suspicious of the motivations of those opposed to his positions. At the same time, more and more people began to attack James for his positions. These attacks had begun even while he was Under Secretary. For example, in 1940 he, along with others, was accused in the press of wanting to establish a complete military dictatorship. (Even his wife was criticized for her appointment as an unpaid civilian adviser to the Waves.)

During James's years in office, the Russians indeed fulfilled his expectations. In May 1947, a communist government took over in Hungary, and in February 1948 the Czechoslovakian President appointed a pro-Soviet cabinet.

The decision to unify the services under a Secretary of Defense also led to a great deal of fighting over different proposals. Although he was initially opposed to this, James eventually saw it as inevitable and sought to shape the new office. He did not approve of the proposal being considered by Truman, and his lobbying against it bordered on insubordination. He expected to be asked to resign as Secretary because of his strong opposition. But the request never was made. He was accused of stifling dissent in the Navy, the unit of which he was the civilian head.

However, when the new department was created, James was nominated to be the first Secretary of Defense, though he was not the first choice for the position. (Robert Patterson, the Secretary for War, declined the position.) Though there was criticism from liberal groups, most of the media praised the decision. When he accepted the position, James made many statements that this would be his last position and that he might only stay another year. Most of his friends ignored these protestations and assumed that James eventually wanted to become President. He had already been asked whether he would run for Governor of New York and whether he would stand as a candidate for Vice President.

During 1948, James's relationship with Truman was deteriorating badly. They differed on many political issues. In the election of 1948, James was thought by Democrats to be supporting Dewey rather than Truman, and he made it clear that he would like to serve as Secretary of Defense or State under Dewey. After Truman's

victory, James submitted his resignation which is traditional upon the election of a President, and he expected it to be accepted. Surprisingly, Truman wanted him to continue, and James was pleased.

In contrast to his success as Under Secretary of the Navy, James felt that he had failed in his attempts to unify the services as Secretary of Defense. He was also exhausted, both physically and mentally. Some of his friends urged him to resign, but he would not.

James's Mental Breakdown

By 1948, James was losing weight and had little appetite. He had digestive disturbances, insomnia and chronic fatigue. His aides noticed nervous habits, such as dipping his fingers in his water glass and moistening his lips. He picked at one part of his scalp which consequently became quite irritated. He began to postpone decisions and to worry about those already made. He would revise and re-revise speeches. He had memory slips and made mistakes in identity. (In his own house, James had asked the butler where the butler was.)

Truman found out about this and ordered the Secret Service to investigate. They discovered that James had acquired a large quantity of sleeping pills and made out a will. James was also showing great suspiciousness. He was worried who might be at the door whenever the bell rang. He suspected that the communists and the Jews were out to get him fired and that Stuart Symington, the Secretary for the Air force with whom he had had serious disagreements, was spying on him.

The Secret Service concluded that James was suffering from a psychosis with suicidal features. But most of his colleagues and friends did not realize the severity of the breakdown and put James's behavior down to fatigue.

There is some disagreement about James's resignation. Rogow feels that James was told in January that Louis Johnson would succeed him on or about May 1st. On March 1st, Truman summoned James and asked for a letter of resignation. James seemed to be stunned by the suddenness of this request. James slept little that night and arrived at the office the next morning haggard, depressed and exhausted. He finally composed a satisfactory letter and resigned as of March 31st. He was vague when asked by reporters about his future plans. He denied that he was to be President of Princeton University or that he planned to write a book. The press did report that James and his wife planned to travel to England, and reservations were made on the *Queen Mary*.

James was present on March 28th when his successor was sworn in. On March 29th James received various honors and plaudits from members of the government. Later that day an aide found him in his office, sitting rigid, with his hat on. He seemed to be unaware that someone had entered the room. He was bewildered to find he longer had a limousine at his disposal. His aide arranged to get him driven home and called a friend, Ferdinand Eberstadt, to come over and stay with James. Eberstadt found James agitated

and depressed. James told Eberstadt that he was a complete failure and was considering suicide. He attributed his firing to Jews and communists, and he suspected that they were in the house right then. He even searched the house for them.

Eberstadt called the new Secretary of Defense who arranged to have James flown to Florida to stay with his wife and friends. An Air Force plane flew him down that evening. His first words as he stepped off the plane were, "Bob, they're after me."

During the next few days, James made at least one suicide attempt, and as a result all knives, razor blades, and belts were hidden. His family made sure that James was accompanied at all times, whether shaving, swimming or simply out walking. James told one friend that the metal holders for beach umbrellas were wired and that everything said was being recorded. He believed that the communists were about to invade the USA and at times talked as if the invasion had already occurred. He believed that he was targeted for assassination.

He also recognized that he needed psychiatric help. Dr. William Menninger flew in on March 30th to talk to James, and Dr. George Raines, chief psychiatrist at the Bethesda Naval Hospital, flew in the next day. Menninger concluded that James had a severe depression seen usually in soldiers with operational fatigue. It was decided to hospitalize James, and he was flown to the Bethesda Naval Hospital on April 2nd.

James was sedated for the flight, but he was nonetheless very agitated. He talked of suicide and his enemies. He wondered whether he was being punished for being a bad Catholic and for marrying a divorced woman. On the way from Washington airport to the hospital, he tried to leave the car, but was restrained. He said that he did not expect to leave the hospital alive, but it is not clear whether he was referring to suicide or to assassination.

Raines diagnosed James as having involuntional melancholia, a psychotic depression in middle aged people. James spent seven weeks at the hospital. He was given narcosis¹ during the first week, followed by subshock insulin therapy² and daily psychotherapy. Raines noted that the depression got worse toward the end of each week.

James showed some improvement. He gained weight, and his depression seemed less severe. At the beginning of May, James was given more freedom. He was allowed to visit other patients on the floor and to use the kitchen. His brother visited, as did President Truman and Secretary of Defense Johnson.

Raines stopped the daily psychotherapy on May 14th and left for a professional association meeting in Montreal on May 18th. James's wife left for Europe on May 12th and his son Michael for Europe on May 13th. (His son Peter was working in Washington.)

¹ Sleep induced by narcotic drugs.

² Mild seizures induced by insulin, a procedure eventually replaced by electroconvulsive therapy.

On Friday May 20 James seemed fine despite the fact it was the end of the week. On the evening of Saturday May 21st James declined a sedative and sleeping pill. At 1.45 am on Sunday May 22, he was observed to be copying a poem by Sophocles. Shortly afterwards, he jumped from the window of the kitchen.

Discussion

In the last few months of his life, James was depressed and suicidal and had delusions of persecution. He was clearly psychotic. According to Rogow's biography, this psychosis was not apparent before 1948. (James registered a Smith & Wesson revolver with the Washington police in September 1947, one week after becoming Secretary of Defense, the earliest hint of paranoia.)

During his government career, James had rationally been concerned about the intentions of Russia and communists toward the free world. He suspected them of imperial desires and he was, on the whole, correct. In his psychotic delusions, this rational fear was translated into a fear of personal persecution by his enemies, both anonymous (Jews and communists in general) and known opponents (such as Stuart Symington).

Those who admired and agreed with James's views saw his suicide as brought about by the hostile journalists who had attacked him, especially in the few years prior to his death (including Drew Pearson and Walter Winchell). James really was attacked in the public media and in this sense had real enemies. James was hurt by these attacks, which were not only on his political beliefs but also on his personal honor, integrity and courage. Just as Ernest Hemingway's biographer (Jeffrey Meyers) pointed out, even paranoids can have real enemies. Certainly, these attacks may have nourished his delusions of persecution.

Our problem is that we see only hints of this eventual disintegration in his youth: lack of warmth from his parents, their rejection of him, hostility toward his career choice, estrangement from his family; a strange relationship with his wife and with his sons. But nothing in the reports of those who knew James back then suggests psychosis or even a personality disorder that might develop into a psychosis.

A loner, an insulated man, with success on Wall Street and initial success in government, who eventually ran into people who disagreed with his world view and under whose opposition he seemed to break down. He lacked the self-confidence to withstand opposition and hostility, and he had never developed the social relationships, especially with a wife, that would help him survive rough times. A colleague recalls him calling one Christmas Day to suggest a game of golf, as if he did not know that people spent Christmas with their families.

Rogow points out that toward the end of his tenure as Secretary of Defense, because of his strange behavior, he was consulted less and involved less in decisions. This exclusion increased his anxiety and sense of failure, which in turn led to him being

excluded still more.

It is interesting to speculate on what might have happened if James had stayed on Wall Street. There were no signs of deterioration during his career there. Would that environment, one in which he had been very successful, have protected him from disintegration? Or was his psychosis quietly developing, getting ready to bloom when he reached middle age?

Reference

Rogow, A. A. (1963). *James Forrestal*. New York: Macmillan.

JOAN FOX

David Lester

The Fox's had six children. Andy Jr. was twenty-seven and, after serving in Vietnam, had become a police officer in Blackwood. Myrtle was next and then Linda aged twenty-one. Raymond was nineteen and presently serving in Vietnam, Joan was seventeen, and Ruthie was last aged fifteen. Joan was born in Philadelphia, and moved with her family to the New Jersey suburbs in the 1950s when she was three.

Joan was always boy-crazy. She began dating Craig early in high school. Though they occasionally had arguments and would go off and date other people, they remained together and grew closer. Indeed, Joan became increasingly dependent upon Craig, and her friends saw her as obsessed with him. During one brief break-up in the summer of 1968, Joan wrote to a friend "I get so afraid I'm going to lose him, I don't know what I'm ever going to do..." (Asinoff, 1971, p. 54)

Joan had to deal with a squabbling family at home and the contradictions in her life. The urge to succeed and be popular, which led to her becoming a cheerleader, was at odds with her more serious and thoughtful side.

The Last Year

Blackwood was a very conventional lower class community. But even so there were a handful of thoughtful students who were part of what we now call the 1960s culture. They opposed the war in Vietnam, they smoked marihuana, and they wanted to question the conventional culture. Craig and Joan were friends with these few students as well as those in the mainstream of small town America.

Eventually, both Craig and Joan, but especially Craig began to change their attitudes and to oppose the war and the intolerance and small mindedness of the society. In the fall of 1968, Craig and Joan had marched to Camden to support American soldiers in Vietnam, But soon Craig was visiting Philadelphia to see avant-garde groups and drink in coffeehouses, and his views began to change. As he sought out the few students with modern ideas, he had to deal with the conflict, at home with his family, forcing him often to call friends to discuss issues from a pay phone, and within himself.

Although the arrival of Bernie and his family forced Craig out of his own room, he seemed to enjoy the company of both Bernie and Margaret. Bernie saw that Craig needed to get away from home, but a plan to go to North Carolina for the summer fell through. On his seventeenth birthday, his father bought Craig a 1962 Falcon.

In the summer of 1969, Craig and Joan worked at the Haddonfield Music Fair and had fun at first, but soon got depressed by the superficiality and pettiness of the world of show business. Joan worked also in a program for kids at the Methodist Church, and they both began to consider joining the Peace Corps after high school. Craig spent a lot of

time that summer reading and writing poems and reflections in his notebooks that indicate a growing confusion and sadness.

Asinof presents a gloomy picture of the Highland High School in Blackwood. Blackwood is a town which has produced no distinguished Americans. It is run by building contractors, and the richest men in town were a building contractor and a funeral director. The school was newly built in 1967, but by 1969 the walls were cracking and the floors buckling. The school administration was concerned with discipline rather than education. It had twice as many gym teachers as social studies teachers, as many shop teachers as English teachers. One year after the school opened, the students spontaneously revolted and picketed the school. As a result the five minute period between classes was extended to eight. The school rewarded compliance. In 1968, a straw poll among the students gave George Wallace 38 percent of the votes and Nixon 34 percent for President. The student body sent CARE packages to American soldiers in Vietnam.

Craig was without direction. He liked the theater but was aware of his limitations. He could go to Glassboro State College but to do what? He had no special talents or inclinations. The Peace Corps seemed the only thing to do. His friends noticed how much more serious he had become. He kidded around much less that Fall.

Craig and Joan now became inseparable. (They had become lovers earlier that Spring.) Craig seemed to really want her, and Joan needed him. Friends thought that she was beginning to lose her self-identity. Joan was now a cheerleader, and Craig was planning a production of *The Mouse That Roared*, but they began to withdraw from their friends. Craig stayed in his room a lot by himself, depressed, writing sad poems.

When the idea for Moratorium Day on October 15 1969 was first publicized, Craig and Joan were enthusiastic, though the school administrators forbade any demonstration and threatened to punish any students who cut school that day. Craig talked about it a lot at home and tried to win over his parents.

On the Sunday before the Day, Craig fixed the tail pipe on his car and snapped at Bernie for borrowing it. Bernie was surprised because Craig never got angry at little things like that. On Tuesday afternoon, Craig was writing letters and cleaning out his room. He cleaned out his desk and burnt all of his notebooks in the incinerator in the back yard, together with all the posters off the walls of his room. He had already given his sister-in-law his loose change as a gift for his nephew.

Craig and Joan went to the rally at Glassboro State College on Wednesday, but the lack of organization and lack of real feeling depressed them. They drove home in the mid-afternoon. He dropped Joan off home and planned to collect her again at seven.

Instead of driving to the candlelight march at Glassboro, they drove to a wooded lane and Craig connected a vacuum cleaner hose to the tail pipe and then through a hole in the floor of the car that he had drilled.

Discussion

Most observers felt that the decision to die was Craig's. He was depressed over life in general and the Vietnam involvement in particular. He wanted to die, and Joan said she wants to die too if he did. Certainly Craig had been depressed in the months before his suicide, though the focus of his depression was unclear.

Bernie thought that Craig suffered because Bernie was clearly his father's favorite. Bernie stole the glory in the family, and the things that Craig liked to do were seen as sissy-like. Craig had been a fat kid, while Bernie was a fine athlete. When Bernie came home to stay, he drove Craig out of his own room. Perhaps Craig felt that he wasn't really loved?

In one letter that was revealed, Craig wrote to a friend

.....My life is complete except all my brothers are in trouble - war, poverty, hunger, hostility. My purpose is to make them understand all this trouble. Maybe this will start a chain reaction of awakening, love, communication. I've been so down, so goddam down, I can't get up. Not even pot helps.....(Asinof, 1971, p. 123)

In a letter to her mother, Joan said that they wanted to be martyrs. She did not think that what they were planning was cowardly or that they were copping out. They believed deeply in what they were doing.

A puzzle. For Craig and Joan did not show any signs of psychiatric disturbance prior to their suicide. Craig was depressed, but no evaluation can be made as to how severely depressed he was or the exact psychiatric nature of his depression. Their stated motive for dying was for the cause of peace. But could they really believe that their death would achieve peace? Was their death a rational suicide or not?

Reference

Asinof, E. (1971). *Craig and Joan*. New York: Viking.

SIGMUND FREUD

David Lester

Sigmund Freud was born as Sigismund Schlomo Freud on May 6th, 1856, in the Moravian town of Freiberg now known as Pribor, Czechoslovakia. His father Jacob was a wool merchant who was never very wealthy. Jacob married his third wife, Amalia, in 1855 when he was forty, twenty years older than her. Two grown-up sons from his first marriage lived nearby, and Freud grew up playing with his nephew who was one year older than himself. Freud's first sibling, Julius, was born in 1857 but died after seven months. In 1858, when Freud was two-and-a-half, a sister Anna was born. During his mother's confinement, his half-brother had Freud's nursemaid arrested for theft, and so Freud suffered a somewhat more traumatic dethronement than is usual.

In 1859, the family moved to Leipzig and the next year to Vienna. Between 1860 and 1866, Amalia had five more children, four girls and a boy. The family remained quite poor, and during this period Freud's uncle was imprisoned for trading in counterfeit money.

Freud soon began to show signs of academic promise. He became the family favorite, with his own room even though the family was overcrowded in their small apartment. Even when finances improved (assisted by Freud's two half-brothers sending funds from England where they had settled), the family lived in six rooms, though they now could afford servants. (Freud's parents and his six siblings shared three rooms.) When Freud complained that the noise of Anna's piano playing interfered with his studies, the piano was banished.

As a Jew, Freud experienced anti-semitism throughout his childhood. (Freiberg had 130 Jews in a population of 4,500.) Although legal discrimination had been eliminated by 1867, strong anti-semitic sentiments still existed in Austria. In 1885, for example, anti-semitic riots occurred, and the new mayor of Vienna in 1897 was openly anti-semitic. Freud's reaction to anti-semitism was defiance and open anger.

At his gymnasium, Freud was top of his class for seven years running. Freud decided on medicine, after having considered law, but in his third year at university (in 1875) he was still considering a doctorate in philosophy and zoology. He entered university early at 17, but graduated with his medical degree late at 25. While there, he first pursued research on hermaphroditism in eels but then moved to Ernst Brucke's laboratory where he studied the nervous system, first in fish and then in humans, resulting in many publications between 1877 and 1883. It was through Brucke that Freud met Joseph Breuer who became a father figure for Freud and later a collaborator on Freud's early works.

In 1879, Freud had to leave the university for a year of compulsory military service (during which he worked as a doctor). He graduated in 1881, and in 1882 he met and fell in love with Martha Bernays, who was visiting one of his sisters. Two months

after their first meeting, they were engaged. This led Freud to reflect on his poverty. He left Brucke's laboratory and took a junior post at Vienna's General Hospital, but he did not feel financially able to marry Martha until 1886. They were apart for most of this time, and they wrote to each other almost every day. Martha had grown up in an Orthodox Jewish family, while Freud by now was an atheist.

He rose slowly through the ranks at the General Hospital. His research interests focussed now on cocaine, but he missed discovering its anesthetic properties. (Although Freud took cocaine on occasions, there is no evidence that he was ever addicted to it.) Freud obtained a travel grant to study with Jean Martin Charcot, stimulating his interest in psychiatry. On his return to Vienna six months later, Freud resigned from the General Hospital and opened a private practice for nervous diseases. He married Martha on September 13, 1886. His first child, Mathilde, was born in October, 1887. (Freud had six children in all.)

Early Years

Domestically, much time was taken up with his children and their problems. His sister-in-law, Minna Bernays, resigned to spinsterhood after the death of her fiancé, lived with the Freuds and, despite rumors that Freud and she had an affair, Gay (1988) found no evidence for it. Freud's father died in 1896 at the age of 81. (His mother died in 1930 at the age of 95.)

At first, Freud's income was barely enough to support his family, and he was continually passed over for a professorship. (Freud's senior colleagues proposed him for a professorship in 1897, but the Ministry of Education ignored the nomination until Freud decided in 1901 to enlist the support of influential people to push his appointment. Freud got his professorship in 1902 after a seventeen year wait compared to the average wait of eight years.) However, by the end of the Century he was earning enough to live comfortably. Freud turned 50 in 1906 and from then on began to worry about his age. He called himself a "shabby old Israelite" and thought he would be dead in ten years. This concern stayed with him for the next thirty years! In his sixties, he began to complain about fatigue a great deal.

His sexual activity never seems to have been great, and he had periods of abstinence in his late thirties. However, in his personal correspondence he notes "successful coitus" in 1915 (at the age of 59), though his biographer infers from this that there must have been unsuccessful attempts too.

He continued to smoke cigars all of his life, to the point that he seemed addicted to them. He had started smoking them in the 1890s at Wilhelm Fliess's suggestion to help his nasal catarrh. However, his father was also a heavy smoker, as were most of Freud's colleagues.

Freud's early professional life was highlighted by his friendship and collaboration with Joseph Breuer as they discussed the cases that they treated and by his friendship,

mainly carried on by mail, with Wilhelm Fliess, an ear, nose and throat specialist in Berlin.

Freud's development of his psychoanalytic ideas was slow. *Studies In Hysteria*, co-authored with Breuer appeared in 1895, nine years after the opening of his practice. By that time, Freud and Breuer were no longer as close as they had been, and Freud's relationship with Fliess was much more important to his intellectual development. Freud began his self-analysis in the mid-1890s, and his first book on psychoanalysis was *The Interpretation Of Dreams* published in 1899. Although he had tested out his ideas on Fliess during these formative years, the two men quarreled at a meeting in 1900, and the close friendship ended.

Freud was sensitive to criticism and would have bouts of depression when his work was not well received and after the publication of an important work (similar to a post-partum depression). He also suffered from a variety of psychosomatic symptoms (such as migraine headaches, fainting spells and intestinal problems). He pressed on with his pioneering work without support from the scholarly community. In later years, he exaggerated the extent of his isolation and rejection during these early years. However, the radical nature of his theories and the fact he was a Jew probably did lead to more scholarly ostracism than for others in Vienna at the time. However, he persisted in his explorations and slowly achieved recognition.

In 1902, a small group of five local physicians and a few interested laymen began to meet every Wednesday night at Freud's house to discuss psychoanalysis. After his book on dreams, Freud began to write prolifically on his ideas, and books appeared with regularity. Between 1899 and 1905 he published two key psychoanalytic texts (on dreams and sexuality), a technical study on jokes, a popular book and a case study. In 1906, Freud turned 50, and the years of fame were about to begin.

Fame

In 1908, the informal group organized itself as the Vienna Psychoanalytic Society, with a secretary (Otto Rank at first), dues and minutes on each meeting. Foreigners were now important members of the group - Max Eitingon and Karl Abraham from Berlin, Ernest Jones from London and Sandor Ferenczi from Budapest became important disciples for the new ideas.

Freud began to work hard at getting his ideas accepted throughout the world. He cultivated particular disciples whom he thought would be ideal at this task, such as Carl Jung, Swiss and non-Jewish. Unfortunately, Freud could not tolerate disagreement over what he considered to be the fundamental principles of psychoanalysis, so that some of these intellectually brilliant disciples eventually broke with Freud and pursued their own ideas. Each of these "defections" upset Freud greatly. Of special importance were the departures of Alfred Adler in 1911, Wilhelm Stekel in 1912, Carl Jung in 1914, and Otto Rank in 1924.

Despite the ridicule and occasional attacks his work received around the world, Freud was invited to the USA for an honorary degree by the President of Clark University in 1909. In 1910 the first International Congress was held, and the International Psychoanalytic Association was formed soon after. In 1912, Ernest Jones organized a tight, almost clandestine committee to be Freud's dependable 'palace guard' in order to preserve orthodoxy in the discipline, which pleased Freud greatly.

The First World War had a dramatic impact on Freud's theories (he proposed the death instinct as an important drive after this war), but only one nephew died in action, and his relationships with his adherents among the allies survived the war. During and after the war, he suffered from the same problems as others - no heat in winter, a shortage of food, influenza epidemics that killed 15,000 Viennese, and so on - but on the whole, as a well-known physician (with foreign clients paying in dollars and pounds) and with relatives in England sending supplies, he suffered less than most. His daughter, Sophie, pregnant with her third child died of influenza during the epidemic, and this saddened Freud greatly for many years.

In 1917, he was nominated for the Nobel Prize, and he began to wait for it each year. But he never was awarded one. In 1920 his daughter Anna accompanied him to the international congress, and this marked her growing involvement in the psychoanalytic movement. (Freud psychoanalyzed her starting in 1924!) She became a lay analyst and made important contributions to the field of child psychology. She remained very close to her father (she became his secretary, nurse, confidante, and colleague) and never married.

The Last Years

1923 marks the beginning of the end of Freud's life. A niece died by suicide. A four-year-old grandson (the child of Sophie already dead) died of tuberculosis. And Freud was diagnosed with cancer of the palate. The growth was removed, but the cancer continued to plague Freud until his death in 1939. Even then, his physician noted his readiness for suicide. Freud made it clear that he wanted his physician to help him leave the world in a decent manner if his suffering should be intense and prolonged. Freud described his depression that year as the first of his life and, since he had been depressed many times before, this depression must have been severe.

Freud later underwent over thirty operations and had scores of fittings, cleanings and refittings of a prosthesis for his jaw. He retrained himself to speak, but his voice never recovered its clarity. The operations also affected his hearing, making him almost deaf in his right ear. He no longer attended the psychoanalytic meetings partly because of these physical problems. Freud also developed occasional angina. His diary for November and December 1929 notes heart and intestine attacks, anti-semitic riots, and being passed over for the Nobel Prize.

His fame continued to grow and honors were bestowed upon him. His ideas, albeit distorted, had permeated educated society around the world. He was made an

honorary member of many societies. Journals on psychoanalysis were formed in most major countries. Translations of his work appeared. Frankfurt awarded him the Goethe Prize in 1930. But sad events also took place, such as the death of Karl Abraham in 1924 at the age of 48, followed by his card partners in Vienna with whom he had played tarok every Saturday night, his mother in 1930, and Sandor Ferenczi in 1933.

The rise of the Nazis in Germany led to further problems. Freud's books were included in burnings in May 1933. Although Freud considered exile, he resisted it until the German take-over of Austria in March 1938. During that Spring, over 500 Austrian Jews died by suicide. Freud rejected the idea of suicide, however, when it was raised by his daughter Anna. Himmler urged that the Freuds be imprisoned, but Goering and the German Foreign Office counseled prudence. Many years earlier, Freud had collaborated on a book on Woodrow Wilson with William Bullit who was now the American Ambassador to France. Through his influence President Roosevelt instructed the American Ambassador in Berlin to watch over Freud's case. Freud refused exile until Anna was taken to the Gestapo headquarters on March 22, 1938. After that, with friends paying the ransom (Freud's bank accounts had been confiscated), Freud left Vienna on June 4, 1938, arriving in London on June 6th.

In England, he was weak, but continued to see a few patients and to write. He underwent major surgery on his cancer in September and later had some radium treatment. By August 1939, the pain from the cancer was severe and the smell from his ulcerated cancer was so bad that his pet dog would cringe from him. He was extremely weak, and it was hard to feed him, yet he rejected sedation.

On September 21, he reminded his physician (Max Schur, who had also gone into exile in London) of their agreement to end Freud's life in just these circumstances. Schur injected Freud with three centigrams of morphine on September 21, followed by two more injections the next day. Freud died at three in the morning on September 23, 1939.

Discussion

Freud's life is of interest because of the lack of trauma in it that usually characterizes the lives of suicides. There is no early loss, no history of psychiatric illness, and few suicides in his family. There are no signs of psychiatric disturbance in Freud himself. Although he had periods of depression, they do not appear to have been severe enough to warrant a diagnosis of depressive disorder.

In extremely trying circumstances, including severely painful cancer and increasing anti-semitism in Austria, Freud clung to life. He rejected the idea of suicide to escape the German persecution. But, when safe in London and close to death from cancer, he chose to die.

Even at the point of his death, his relatives and friends reported nothing that would indicate psychiatric illness. He had lived as long as he could, and he chose to hasten his death just a little. Freud's suicide appears to be the rational act of a rational

person.

Reference

Gay, P. (1988). *Freud*. New York: Norton.

KONOE FUMIMARO

David Lester

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

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

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

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

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

Early Years

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

imperialism by those powers and the discriminatory treatment of Asian peoples.

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

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

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

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

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

More right-wing assassinations took place in 1936, and the Imperial advisor finally felt that only Konoe could control the military and right-wing elements as prime minister. Konoe was asked to form a cabinet, but he refused on grounds of poor health. His refusal made him even more conspicuous and raised expectations for him. In May

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

Konoe's Cabinets

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The War Criminal

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

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

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

On the evening of December 14th, after the last of his friends had departed, and Konoe remained with his family and close associates. At 11 o'clock Konoe talked with

his second son until 2 a.m. Four hours later, Konoe was found dead in his bed from potassium cyanide poisoning.

Reference

Oka, Y. (1983). *Konoe Fumimaro*. Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press.

JUDY GARLAND

David Lester

Judy Garland rose to become a famous movie star and singer. For all of her adult life, she was addicted to drugs, and she made numerous suicide attempts. Judy died from an overdose of sleeping pills in London on June 22, 1969. Her daughter, Liza Minelli, and her biographer (Frank, 1975) both believe that Judy's death was accidental. But this seems unlikely. We will see that Judy was very likely to kill herself and that in all probability she did.

Childhood

Frank Gumm had been born in Tennessee and his wife Ethel in Michigan. They worked together entertaining movie audiences. After their first two daughters were born, Mary Jane (Suzy) on September 24, 1915 and Virginia (Jimmy) on July 4, 1917, Frank decided to settle down, and he leased the movie theater in Grand Rapids, Minnesota, supplementing his earnings with a job on the local newspaper. Ethel, helped him, selling tickets and playing the piano during the silent movies. Her daughters sang for the audience during the intermission.

When Ethel got pregnant again, she and Frank decided to have an abortion, but their friend, Marc Rabwin, studying to become a doctor, persuaded them that it was too dangerous. They hoped for a son, but Judy was born two weeks overdue on June 10 1922, named Frances Gumm. Judy knew that she wasn't wanted, that her parents wanted a son and that she was overdue. Clearly her parents told her of their desires and attitudes, and this must have shaped her negative self-image.

Judy's childhood was reasonably happy. The household was cheerful, and relatives were always around. There was lots of music and singing. And Judy, known as Baby, was the pampered child. When she about a year old, Judy fell ill with a fever and was unable to hold any food down. She recovered after a month in hospital, but nearly died. After this, Judy was seen as delicate and fragile, and this increased the extent to which her family indulged her. Judy was self-willed, she demanded whatever she wanted, and "she was spoiled rotten." A friend of the family who saw Judy when she was five decided she was a tyrant, and wondered how Judy would ever meet disappointment. (Ethel even served Judy's breakfast in bed!)

When she was two-and-a-half, Judy made her stage debut at her father's movie theater, and soon the parents had created an act for the three Gumm sisters. In June 1926, the parents moved to Los Angeles, where their friend Marc Rabwin was now a doctor. Frank leased a movie theater in Lancaster, north of Los Angeles on the edge of the Mojave Desert.

The family lived there for the next six years, from Judy's fifth birthday to her eleventh. Almost as soon as they arrived, Judy fell ill again with a fever. She also

suffered from bad hay fever there. Frank and Ethel's marriage deteriorated during this period. Ethel became involved with a married friend, and in fact married him after both of their spouses had died. There is also the possibility that Frank had homosexual tendencies. All that the children knew then was that their parents quarreled a lot and often threatened to separate.

Ethel devoted much attention to her daughters' careers. She enrolled them in the local dance school, she gave them music lessons, and she had them sing. In late 1927, she enrolled them in a dance school in Los Angeles which had been a springboard for many stars. Judy liked this, but she also missed the fun of childhood and disliked the early morning hours and continual lessons. Eventually Suzy and Jimmy dropped out of the weekend lessons in Los Angeles. Ethel took Judy for auditions and was the typical pushy stage-mother. Judy, however, began to enjoy the enthusiastic response of an audience.

The Gumm sisters still performed as an act together, and word began to spread (even in the press) about the child with the incredible voice. They didn't earn a lot from their performances, and this drained the family's earnings. In 1933, the financial problems forced them to give up the movie theater, and they moved to Los Angeles.

Judy was enrolled there in a school for professional children. The Gumm sisters, now called the Garland sisters, continued to perform in the Los Angeles area and elsewhere (including Lake Tahoe). Several people tried to get Judy, as she was now called, a movie contract. She sang for Joe Mankiewicz, she sang for Ida Koverman who worked for Louis B. Mayer (the head of Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer), and soon she sang for Mayer himself, who signed her without a screen test in September, 1935, when she was thirteen.

Early Years at Metro

Metro continued and enlarged upon the pampering and special treatment that Judy had already experienced. Metro's Special Services Department was one of the most extraordinary finishing schools in the world. It provided her education, even building a small classroom near the set when she was working on a movie. She had a voice coach, was given dance lessons, diction lessons, drama lessons, make-up lessons, and deportment lessons, and had a physical therapist and specialists to help her lose weight.

Metro was a factory, designed to turn out fifty-two movies a year to send to their theater chain (Loew's). Three thousand people worked in Culver City making this possible. But, of course, this led to intense scrutiny and competition between the actors. Judy was short, plump, with scoliosis (a slight curvature of the spine which ran in her mother's family). Her teeth were crooked and her nose a problem. (Judy had to wear removable caps on her teeth and rubber discs in her nose on screen.) She also had to continually fight excessive weight above her waist. Judy was humiliated by all of these judgments and by comparison with her peers. Judy soon came to believe that she was not physically attractive or sexually desirable to men, and certainly inferior to the other teenagers there (who included Lana Turner, Elizabeth Taylor and Hedy Lamarr). Ethel

would remind Judy that she was signed for her voice, but that was not enough for Judy.

Judy's voice coach, Roger Edens, worked with her intensively and developed her skills as a singer. And Ethel came to the studio every day to rehearse and accompany her. But seven weeks after she signed with Metro, her father died without warning (of a massive hemorrhage of the mastoid). Judy took the pillow her father had lain on and slept on it for many nights, resisting all efforts to wash it. His death was a profound shock for her, and she spent much of her life looking for a father figure to replace him. Most of her close friends were males, and she was truly happy only when she was in love.

Her first two roles were in a short movie *Every Sunday* with Metro and a small part in *Pigskin Parade* for Twentieth Century Fox. Her first major movie role was in *Broadway Melody of 1938*, and for this movie the studio began giving Judy benzedrine and phenobarbital to help her lose weight and to sleep at nights. These were new wonder drugs for the movie colony in California, and no one was aware of their addictive potential. For Judy, their use for *Broadway Medology* began her life-long dependence on drugs.

Broadway Melody was released in the Fall of 1937, and the reviews of Judy's performance were enthusiastic. After several more movies, usually with Judy cast as the girl who never gets the man she loves, MGM decided to build a movie especially for Judy, *The Wizard of Oz*.

Work on *The Wizard of Oz* began in mid 1939. Judy showed a need for privacy on the set of this movie. She stayed in her dressing room a lot, even taking her three hours of school lessons there rather than in the teaching cubicle usually built on the set. The movie was released in August, and Judy went on a publicity tour with Mickey Rooney. Before one performance, Judy collapsed backstage and couldn't go on, the first of many such collapses in her life as a performer.

In November, Ethel eloped with Will Gilmore, her long-time lover now recently widowed, to Arizona where she married him on the fourth anniversary of Frank Gumm's death. Judy never forgave her mother for this.

Although Judy had had several crushes, her first love was Artie Shaw, in his late twenties and twice divorced. She confided to him her self-doubts. She saw herself as homely, fat and ugly. She was well aware of the vibrato in her voice that could get out of control. Artie was never aware that Judy was in love with him. He never thought of Judy as someone to love or make love to. In February 1940, Judy read in the newspapers that Artie had eloped with Lana Turner (who was one of Judy's rivals at Metro). Judy had seen him three nights before his elopement and had no idea that he was in love with anyone else. Although they remained friends, she felt that he had forsaken her, just as her father had almost five years earlier.

Judy's adolescence was drawing to a close. In the Spring of 1940 she received a

special Oscar for the best juvenile performance (in *The Wizard of Oz*). Later that year, Louis Mayer gave her an eighteenth birthday party at his house, and raised her salary from \$750 to \$3000 a week. She fell in love with David Rose, the leader of an orchestra, and married him in July, 1941, after fights with her mother about her affair with him. It was Judy who pushed for the marriage. She loved him, but she also wanted to get away from her mother's control.

And thus begins the end.

Judy's Life

It seems strange to see Judy's life at age nineteen as beginning its decline. Although she was a major star already, many of her famous performances were still ahead of her. But her life from now on was simply a repetition. The same events, catastrophes, and breakdowns simply keep reoccurring again and again, except with increasing seriousness. Let us look at the major themes.

Her Mother

Ethel had shaped Judy's life and continued to try to maintain control. She was opposed to most of Judy's loves and lovers. Ethel's marriage to Will increased the alienation Judy felt, though that marriage lasted less than four years. After a serious row in 1949, Ethel moved to Dallas to live near her daughter Jimmy. She moved back to Los Angeles eventually to try to help Judy, but Judy refused to see her. She left word with servants not to admit Ethel even to see Liza or Lorna. Ethel died in January 1953, in Los Angeles after a heart attack in the parking lot of the factory where she worked for \$61 a week. Judy, of course, went to the funeral and felt grief and guilt in addition to the anger she had long felt toward Ethel.

Later in 1962, Judy had a bad argument with her sister Jimmy, and they were never reconciled.

Marriages

Her marriage with David Rose was soon over. Their careers kept them busy and apart. They had different life styles, and Judy's dependence on the drugs was a problem. They separated in the Spring of 1943 and divorced in 1944.

She next married Vincente Minnelli in 1945. Vincente made her feel that she was an attractive women, and he admired her talent as an actress. Liza was born in March 1946, and Judy had problems coping with a husband, a house, a child and a career, especially while addicted to drugs. The marriage deteriorated, and Judy moved out in December 1950. The divorce was final in March 1952.

She married Sidney Luft in June 1952, already pregnant with Lorna who was born in November 1952. (Joey was born in 1955, at which time Judy had her tubes tied.)

Sid devoted himself to Judy. He abandoned his career in order to manage Judy's. But marital conflicts grew over the years and in 1958 they separated and began a seven year period of fights, reconciliations and separations. Finally, they were divorced in 1965, whereupon Judy married Mark Herron a younger man. This marriage lasted only six months before they separated. There was then a succession of possible husbands and affairs until she married another younger man, Mickey Deans, in January 1969. Five months later Judy was dead.

Judy's Career

By the time she was twenty-two, Judy had been in nineteen films. For 1943 through 1945 she was voted one of the five most popular screen actresses. However, Judy's drug and emotional problems began to interfere with her work. She was usually late to work, if she arrived, and temperamental to work with. MGM paid a psychiatrist to be with her on the set in 1947. MGM had to suspend her frequently and fired her from three movies (including *Annie Get Your Gun*). In September 1950, MGM cancelled her contract, almost fifteen years to the day after they signed her.

Judy had always had little or no ability to handle her financial affairs. Her mother and financial advisers had tried to plan wisely but failed. After her divorce from Minnelli and her firing from MGM, Judy was continually in debt. In 1950, she and Minelli owed \$60,000 in back taxes and thousands more to friends. (In 1966, Judy's assets were listed as \$12,000 and her liabilities to 120 creditors were \$122,000.)

In 1950, Judy was free from contractual obligations. She could do radio, concerts and films at will. During most of this period she was married to Sidney Luft, and he often acted as a business manager for her. Her freedom was, however, superficial. She was in debt so often that she had to work in order to pay her bills. However, her drug addiction and increasing psychological disturbance led her to cancel performances and walk out on contracts, so that often she could not even cover the expenses of the tour she had embarked on.

She appeared in *A Star Is Born* in 1954, *Judgment At Nuremberg* in 1961, *A Child Is Waiting* in 1962, followed by *I Could Go On Singing*. She continued to give concerts, some outstanding and others where she was booed off the stage (as in Australia in 1964), collapsed on stage, or simply went to sleep in the middle of a song.

Drugs and Breakdowns

Judy was addicted to uppers and downers, amphetamines and barbiturates. Severe addiction to amphetamines leads to paranoid symptoms, and Judy developed increasingly severe paranoia. (In her separations from Sid Luft, she was often convinced that he was going to kidnap her children.) In addition, she was an alcoholic. (Judy and Sid attended one meeting of Alcoholics Anonymous and one of Drugs Anonymous but did not like them.) She also smoked heavily, often while drugged, with the result that she set fire to her house on one occasion and to her hotel room on another.

She had frequent stays in hospital and sanitariums, mainly to dry out after a physical or psychological collapse: July 1947, March 1949 where she received six electroconvulsive shock treatments, May 1949, November 1951, and more. Eventually, her alcohol and drug abuse caused her liver to become diseased, and she was frequently hospitalized with kidney and liver problems (for example, in 1959, April 1962, and August 1963) though it is hard to be sure whether she was hospitalized for physical illnesses, to dry out from drugs, or as a result of a suicide attempt.

Judy's Mental And Physical State

Judy suffered from many symptoms, including insomnia, chronic colitis, post-partum depressions (exacerbated by having to dry out during the pregnancy), headaches, and sudden inexplicable fears (a sense of impending doom, an inability to work, and a fear that she might lose her voice). She frequently collapsed on stage (for example, at The Palace in New York in November 1951).

In 1943, she entered psychoanalysis with Ernst Simmel, but, on her own admission, chronically lied to him and so probably got little benefit from it. He died in the Fall of 1947, another loss for her.

Suicide

It had always been known that her father's Aunt Mary had killed herself by pushing her wheelchair off a bridge because she was dying from a mysterious crippling disease and didn't want to be a burden to her fiancé. Judy's mother made at least one suicide attempt after a fight with Judy, taking a lethal dose of seconal and whiskey, and her stomach had to be pumped.

Judy's sister Suzy attempted suicide with an overdose in the Fall of 1962 (an alcoholic, she had been depressed) and finally killed herself with an overdose in May 1964 while Judy lay recovering from an attempt at suicide with an overdose herself in Hong Kong.

Judy made numerous suicide attempts; in July 1947 after a row with Minelli when she cut her wrists while others were in the house; in June 1950 after another row with Minelli and after being fired from a movie, when she tried to cut her throat; after the birth of Lorna in December 1952 when she cut her throat with a razor; in the 1950s she called a friend threatening to kill herself and her son Joey; in 1957 when she slashed her wrists deeply in the presence of her husband Sid; when she tried to jump out of a window in front of a friend in May 1961; in July 1961 when she took an overdose (or had a kidney attack); in July 1962 when she took an overdose in London (and later paid a blackmailer to keep the photographs out of the press); in September 1962 when she took another overdose (or had another kidney attack); in May 1964 when she took a large overdose during a typhoon in Hong Kong and had her stomach pumped; in 1965 when she threatened to jump out of the window in front of Mark Herron; in 1966 when she slashed her face superficially after a row with Mark (and claimed he had cut her); in

March 1969 when she overdosed while on a concert tour in Scandinavia; and finally in June 1969 when she killed herself with an overdose. (Judy often seemed to have no memory of her attempts, and her biographer prefers to believe that Judy attempted suicide only under the influence of drugs. She also usually went to the bathroom for her slashings and overdoses.)

At the time of her death she had just married Mickey Deans, a young pianist-singer who had been managing a discotheque in Manhattan. They married in London in January, 1969, and again in March in case there had been a delay in her divorce from Mark Herron. Judy was still giving concerts and went to Scandinavia in the Spring for a series. Judy and Mickey flew to New York in May, where her daughter Liza found her subdued and very thin. A physician called in by a friend tried to take her off seconal and switch her to thorazine. Judy and Mickey flew back to London on June 17th after Mickey's plan to open a chain of Judy Garland Theaters in America had fallen through.

At 2 am in California on the 22nd of June, a friend (John Carlyle) called her in London (where it was 10 am) to talk to her. Mickey looked for her and found her in the bathroom, dead from an overdose.

Discussion

There is much in Judy's life of interest given her eventual suicide - a history of chronic alcohol and drug abuse, severe depressions and suicidal behavior, and problems in her marriages and relationships with friends made worse by her drug addiction. Several of these deserve discussion.

Loss

Judy experienced many losses in her life. Her father died when she was thirteen, her first love never even realized that she was in love with him and married a rival teenage star. Her mother died. Her sister killed herself. Even her psychoanalyst died.

In addition, her severe illnesses when she was a year old and when she was five meant separations from her mother which may have made these later losses more difficult to adjust to.

Suicide

Her daughter Liza did not want to believe that Judy's death was suicidal, and neither did her biographer. It is clear that Judy had a chronic history of suicidal behavior, much of it nonlethal and almost always done while others were around. However, several attempts were lethal, requiring stomach pumping and intensive care. She could easily have died during those attempts. And one of her wrist slashings when Sid was present was very deep.

Thus, although it is clear that her suicidal behavior could be seen as impulsive, manipulative and a cry for help, this does not eliminate the possibility that Judy also, at

times, truly wanted to die.

Furthermore, the timing of her final suicidal act is important. Her career and life had been disintegrating at a fast rate. She was going through lovers and husbands quite quickly, arguing with them soon after going to bed with them. She was no longer seeking father figures, but taking any new young man who was around and would bolster her self-esteem. She had been drunk and fallen asleep on stage and been booed. She was heavily in debt.

How many more friends could she find who would put up with her incredible demands? What had she to look forward to? Who would marry her next? Even her children were disengaging themselves from her. Her existence was ready for death.

The Real Judy and the Pampered Star

Judy Garland was spoiled and immature. She behaved like a small child. She was incapable of caring for others or of taking care of them. These traits became more extreme as she got older, but were always there. Let me give some illustrations.

In 1963, Judy wanted her daughter Liza to be with her in California. But Liza was in her fourth month of Best Foot Forward in New York and in love with a dancer. Judy called and offered the dancer a part on her television show. When he flew to California, Liza quit her show and went to California too. When Judy wanted something, she demanded it, now and at any cost to others. (Of course, she was also jealous of Liza's growing success, as well as proud, and the chance of interfering with Liza's career probably played a part too, especially as her own career was in ruin.)

Judy called friends at all hours of the night to talk because she could not sleep or to summon them to her house. When she needed someone to talk at 3 am, she didn't care that they had to go to work at 6 am. She fired her doctors when they balked at 2 am calls. Judy would even keep her children awake to keep her company. Lorna and Joey would be so tired, but Judy would keep them awake and talk, talk, talk through the night.

In fact, Liza and Lorna had always served as therapists for Judy. They grew up to be what psychologists call "parentalized children", children who never got to experience a healthy childhood in which they can depend upon others to take care of them, but rather childhoods in which they have to take care of parents. No wonder that Judy's children needed psychotherapy!

The luckiest choice she made in her lovers was Sid Luft. He devoted his life to her completely for a while. Her needs for love, attention and affection could never be satisfied, but Sid thought that he alone could do it. Even after the bitter break-up of the marriage, Judy could still turn to him, and he could not resist her entreaties.

Again, Judy's irresponsibility in all matters got worse toward the end of her life. An example from this period epitomizes her. When in New York in 1967, Lorna, aged

fourteen, was running the house, looking after her mother, picking out clothes for her and so on. One night, Judy decided to cook a meal. First she needed money. She sent friends out to borrow \$200 off her ex-husband Sid. Amazingly, he gave them the money! The shopping list began with an electric meat grinder, twelve crystal goblets and twelve liqueur glasses at one of the most expensive stores in Manhattan. And then they bought the food. But Judy decided not to bother grinding the meat. She told them to call Sid and have him buy some ground meat. He did! Judy opened a can of gravy (the extent of her cooking), and they sat down to eat at 11 pm.

Of course, Judy in the 1960s was a caricature of what she had been, but she had not been too different when younger. As the young star, even before she signed with MGM, Judy saw the world as revolving around her.

But who was she? To a large extent, she was a creation first of her mother and then of the studio. She had been shaped and directed by others. Her reward was attention, praise, and eventually applause. Ethel disapproved of much of what Judy herself wanted. Thus, Ethel would not let Judy explore her own desires but always tried to impose her own will. This was especially evident over Judy's boy friends and lovers.

By the time she broke with her mother, Judy's real self had been neglected to such an extent that all she could seek in her independence was continual support for the social self she had developed. Thus, she needed admiring friends, lovers and husbands, and drugs to keep her from ever exploring herself, the Judy that saw herself as fat and ugly with a precarious voice.

Judy Garland, the star, was worth something. Frances Gumm was a frightening, dreadful and appalling prospect. Judy Garland could command others to obey her whims. Frances Gumm couldn't even choose clothes to wear, form healthy relationships, or earn a decent living out there in the real world.

Like Ernest Hemingway and Marilyn Monroe (and to a lesser extent others, such as Hart Crane), Judy Garland lied about and distorted her past. She tried especially to put the blame on others for her misfortunes and failures. The callous studio. The nasty mother. All to bolster the public Judy and avoid dealing with the real Frances.³

We can see that, at the age of forty-seven, it was proving increasingly difficult for Judy to continue her life-style. She could no longer support the image that had been created. Her choice was between finally discovering and exploring Frances Gumm and replacing Judy Garland with this real self, or dying. She chose to die.

Reference

Frank, G.: (1975). *Judy*. New York: Harper & Row.

³ For example, a time when she and her sisters had collected bees became a story of how her sisters had locked her in a room with bees which stung her.

FRANCOIS GENOUD

David Lester

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

In the 1960s Genoud continued to finance Arab terrorism, selling weapons and paying legal fees. In 1969 he helped the defense of three terrorists from the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine who had blown up an El Al plane in Zurich in February. In 1987, he financed the defense of Klaus Barbie, the Gestapo Chief known as the Butcher of Lyon during the war, who was tried for the killing of 4,000 non-Jewish French citizens and for deporting 7,000 Jews to the death camps.⁴ Genoud set up a fund to help Nazis in prison, even sending them chocolates.⁵

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

At the time of his death, Genoud was in poor health and he was still grieving over the loss of his wife. There had been an assassination attempt on him in October 1993, when a bomb exploded outside of the door to his home. However, he was also in danger of being investigated for his past activities and for his recent anti-semitic statements which were illegal under a new Swiss law on racial incitement. Lawyers were seeking search warrants for his home. His suicide ended the legal maneuvers.

References

⁴ Barbie was convicted in 1987 and died in prison.

⁵ Genoud's daughter, Martine, had married a revolutionary who was killed in the 1980s in an internecine battle in Lebanon.

- Paris, E. (1985). *Unhealed wounds*. New York: Grove Press.
- Preston, L. (1997). Hitler's Swiss connection. *Philadelphia Inquirer*, January 5, Magazine Section, 8-11, 24, 26.

MARK GERTLER

David Lester

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

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

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

Early Days

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

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

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

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

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

Apprenticeship

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Life as a Painter

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Independence

Although Mark no longer had an artist as an intimate friend, he had many friends, including D. H. Lawrence, Katherine Mansfield, and a good friend S. S. Koteliansky (Kot). The war brought fears of deportation for his parents, and service in the military for Mark.⁶ His parents were spared when they found a way to be declared Polish. Mark's opposition to the war also brought a crisis of conscience over his friendship with Marsh, and in late 1915 he gave up the stipend from Marsh.

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

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

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

⁶ Interestingly, many years before, Mark's father had used self-inflicted wounds to get out of military service.

The Routine

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

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

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

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

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

Mark left the sanitarium in October 1936, and he and Marjorie moved into a new house, bought with a mortgage raised by her father. Mark found a new gallery to take his

paintings. In 1937, their nurse left, and they decided to cope with their son alone. Mark took up teaching to ease the overdraft at the bank, but his migraine headaches became more frequent, and his depressions continued.

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

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

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

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

Discussion

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

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

Mark had always struggled with his painting. The periods of neglect more than outweighed the periods of acclaim, and he was never really a successful artist during his lifetime. The developments on the continent overwhelmed the art world and left almost all of the British painters out of the mainstream. Mark himself was continually plagued by doubts about his merit as a painter and, since painting was so central to Mark's

identity and existence, failure or even mediocrity was difficult to accept.

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

Reference

Woodeson, J. (1972). *Mark Gertler*. London: Sidgwick & Jackson.

CHARLOTTE PERKINS GILMAN⁷

David Lester

Charlotte Gilman was a leading feminist of the late 19th and early 20th Century who committed suicide in old age when dying of cancer. She was born Charlotte Perkins on July 3, 1860, in Hartford, Connecticut. Her father, Frederick Perkins, was a Beecher, probably the most famous family in America, with the first Beecher landing in Boston in 1637. He was not as successful as the typical Beecher, failing to graduate from Yale University and working as a librarian in addition to writing. He married a distant cousin, Mary Westcott, also with English roots, and they had three children, Thomas who died after a month, Thomas and finally Charlotte. After Charlotte's birth, his wife was told that she might die if she had another child, whereupon Frederick left the home. Mary had a fourth child in 1866 (after a visit from Frederick) who died after eight months. From 1863 to 1873, Mary and her two children stayed with assorted relatives or in rented rooms, mostly in New England. Mary divorced Frederick in 1873, whereupon the Beechers turned against her.

Frederick did not abandon his family. He visited and provided some financial support, but he was a distant figure for Charlotte. She missed him and was angry at him, but rarely permitted that anger to appear. Matters were made worse by the decision of her mother to withhold affection from her children so that they would suffer less from rejection later in life! Charlotte's older brother was rather mean to her, though they did become dependent on each other and had some good times together. Thomas tried various jobs in his life, failing at most, and his family was supported in part by Charlotte in his later life.

Charlotte first made a collection of her literary pieces when she was ten, but her mother disliked Charlotte engaging in fantasy and discouraged her from reading and from having friends. Luckily, after a couple of years, Charlotte disobeyed her mother. She did decide, however, to live with her mother and follow most of her rules until she was twenty-one. From age sixteen to twenty-one, Charlotte laid out a program for self-improvement for herself, including exercise. She had only four years of schooling, and none after the age of fifteen. She took care of her ailing mother and was often depressed and weary. Still, she did have friends with whom she played games almost every evening, and she visited relatives. She painted (and sold a little of her work), gave private lessons and taught art classes. She studied at the Rhode Island School of Design (against her mother's wishes) and took correspondence courses at home on a variety of academic subjects. She developed a close friendship with Martha Luther whom she met when she was seventeen which lasted until Martha married four years later, a loss which affected Charlotte deeply.

A Disastrous First Marriage

Charlotte met Walter Stetson, a young artist born in March 1858, in January

⁷ This essay is based on Lane (1990).

1882. By the time Charlotte met him, he was well-respected, had some works accepted at exhibitions, and had attracted a few patrons. He proposed marriage after three weeks, but Charlotte hesitated for two years. Walter wanted a pure and loving traditional wife and, with much foreboding and anxiety, Charlotte finally married him in May 1884. A daughter, Katharine, was born in March 1885.

Charlotte lived a split life with Walter. At home she was deeply depressed and could barely function as wife or mother. At the same time, she managed to function much better away from home. She took a break away from her family with friends in Pasadena in the Winter of 1885 where she painted and wrote a play with her friend, Grace Channing, whom she had met in her teens in Providence. Back home in February 1887, her depression returned. Yet, she visited the gym and wrote a suffrage column for a local weekly newspaper in Providence. She also published several poems in the *Woman's Journal*.

In April 1887, she went into treatment in Philadelphia with Dr. Silas Mitchell who tried to give women a time-out from their stressful lives, but who wanted them to return to and enjoy their traditional role. Charlotte returned to Walter and felt even worse than before. She felt that she almost went insane. She and Walter decided to part and, after a year, Charlotte left (in September 1888) with her child for Pasadena.

In her two years in Pasadena, Charlotte earned money by giving art lessons, tutoring, lecturing and selling her writing. In the first year, she wrote 33 articles and 23 poems. She joined a theater group as actor and interior designer. She also began to be known as a social critic.

Walter visited in late 1889, and a relationship developed between him and Grace. Grace left to be with Walter on the East Coast in the fall of 1890, and she eventually married him in 1894. Charlotte missed Grace tremendously, and she sent her daughter to live with Grace and Walter in May 1894.

In 1891, Charlotte moved to Oakland, remaining in the area until 1895. During this period, her reputation as a writer and lecturer grew. She was known as a socialist and a feminist. Most of her lectures became journal articles and provided material for her books, and by the end of her life she had lectured on more than two hundred topics. While in Oakland, she briefly ran a journal *Impress*, published her first books of poems, and became active in a number of organizations. In her personal life she met (in May 1891) and perhaps became lovers with a woman, Adeline Knapp, a relationship which ended acrimoniously in early 1893. In 1891, her ailing mother came to live with Charlotte and soon developed cancer, and Charlotte was often exhausted with the demands made on her by personal and professional commitments. Charlotte filed for divorce in 1892 and was granted it in 1894, an event which made headline news. Her mother died in March 1893, but Charlotte's father had visited several times during her stay in Oakland and now kept in touch with his daughter, sometimes helping her out with money, and eventually marrying again more conventionally.

The Mature Life

In 1895, at the age of thirty-five, Charlotte was now truly alone and independent. For the next five years, until her marriage in 1900, she traveled across America and abroad, lecturing and writing. Her activity was interrupted by frequent depressive spells, but she learned to endure these periods knowing that her spirits would eventually revive.

Her first book on society's problems, *Women and Economics*, was published in 1898 to great acclaim. She followed this with a series of volumes: *Concerning Children*, *The Home*, *Human Work*, *The Man-Made World*, and *His Religion and Hers*. Although by modern standards, there are problems with her writing (for example, she was rather racist), her works were innovative and provocative, and her radical views received widespread attention. Her biographer, Lane (1990), claims that Gilman began a theory of gender and gendering, and she was also an ardent socialist. For seven years, from 1909 to 1916, she wrote and published a monthly magazine *Forerunner*, each issue of 32 pages and the total run equivalent to 28 books. Over her lifetime, she also wrote at least 186 pieces of fiction and 490 poems. Her fiction consisted both of realistic stories of women's lives and utopian visions.

In 1897, she visited a first-cousin, Houghton Gilman, born in 1867, whom she had known since childhood, a moderately successful lawyer in New York City, and they slowly fell in love and decided to marry. The decisive act did not take place until June 1900, and their relationship was stable and happy. Houghton appreciated the needs of his wife and her desire for a career and did all he could to facilitate it. They decided to not have children for fear of possible defects in their offspring due to their close genetic relationship.

As her life progressed, her depressions came less often, but her standing declined. After the First World War, her ideas were rather dated. Her books sold less well, and her lectures were less in demand. Charlotte became somewhat bitter in her final years about the relative indifference with which her ideas were met. Although she earned a reasonable income, she never was financially comfortable, and Houghton earned too little from his legal work to make much difference.

Her relationship with her daughter grew closer, though they never discussed their feelings about the separation and Katharine remained angry at her mother's action, and Katharine spent time with both of her parents. After Katharine married, Charlotte and Houghton often helped out financially (as they did for Charlotte's brother too).

Charlotte and Houghton lived in New York City from 1900 to 1922, and then they moved to a home they inherited which they shared with Houghton's brother and his wife despite much friction between the two couples.

Death

In 1932, Charlotte found out that she had inoperable and terminal breast cancer.

Though she worried about how Houghton would live after her death, he died unexpectedly of a cerebral hemorrhage on May 4, 1934. She sold her share of the house to her brother-in-law and moved to Pasadena to be near her daughter. She rented a room and continued to busy herself with her causes and enjoyed being a grandmother. She gave lectures and, since she could persuade no one to write her biography, worked on her autobiography. She tried x-ray treatments for the cancer in 1934, but thereafter decided to let it take its course. She reluctantly took morphine for the pain in 1935 and finally informed Katharine about the illness in March 1935. Katharine insisted that her mother come and live with her, and Grace managed to find enough money to visit Charlotte for her final weeks.

By August 1935, Charlotte had revised her autobiography and finished the proofreading. Many years earlier, in the *Forerunner*, Charlotte had expressed her disapproval of suicide except when people are "beyond usefulness." Just prior to her death she was asked to contribute an article on euthanasia (which was published posthumously), in which she developed these ideas.

In August 1935, Charlotte told her family of her plans, and on August 17 1935 she killed herself by inhaling chloroform, a methods she had described in the *Forerunner* article in 1912 as in "good taste."

Comment

Charlotte Gilman survived a nervous breakdown during her first marriage and periodic depressions throughout her life, but she seems to have not been seriously suicidal until her progressive cancer in old age. Having nursed her mother through a death from cancer, she decided, probably rationally, that a premature death was a sensible choice.

Reference

Lane, A. J. (1990). *To Herland and beyond*. New York: Pantheon.

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 women¹, 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.

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

¹ Magda had occasional affairs also.

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 Germany², 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.³

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 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

² 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.

³ 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.

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 died by 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.

Reference

Reuth, R. G.(1993). *Goebbels*. New York: Harcourt Brace & Company.

ARSHILE GORKY

David Lester

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

Early Years in Armenia

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

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

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

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

Life in America

Gorky attended a technical high school in Providence until the Spring of 1921,

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

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

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

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

In 1933, Gorky worked on the Civil Works Administration public works of art

project, later for the Temporary Emergency Relief Administration and for the Federal Art Project. He painted murals for Newark Airport in 1935 and for the New York World's Fair in 1939.

Final Days

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

Comments

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

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

Reference

Mooradian, K. (1980). *The many worlds of Arshile Gorky*. Chicago:Gilgamesh.

KENNETH HALLIWELL

David Lester

Joe Orton was born on January 1st, 1933, as John Orton, in a lower class housing estate in Leicester. His mother Elsie, worked as a machinist until her eyesight failed and she had to become a cleaning lady. His father William worked as a gardener for the local government. Joe was their first child - he had a younger brother and two younger sisters. The family was quite poor. They had no telephone, no car, and no appliances. One of Elsie's treasures was a cheap pink glass dish from Woolworths.

All the children remembered the home as unhappy. The parents bickered, and the home was drab and depressing. William had little to do with his children. Joe felt close to his mother, buying her birthday presents as a teenager, but not his father. (When he returned dutifully for his annual visit, he always brought Elsie gifts, but never lavished money on her as she had hoped. She died in 1966.) Elsie was often brutal to her children, beating them severely, on occasions until they were unconscious.

Elsie complained a lot about William, telling everyone she should never have married him. They never kissed, and once the fourth child was born, Elsie banished William to another room. After 1945, William never had sex with his wife.

Joe had asthma as a child and missed school a lot because of illness. He reported his first sexual encounter at the age of fourteen when a man masturbated him in a movie theater. But Joe was interested in girls for a while during his adolescent years.

Elsie believed that Joe had gifts, so after Joe had failed the eleven-plus exam for entrance to a grammar school, she decided to send him to a private school, not realizing it was a commercial school. Joe attended the school from 1945 to 1947. Teachers there remember Joe as semi-literate and poor at expressing himself in speech or in writing.

Somehow, though, Joe became interested in theater. He joined several local dramatic societies and was thrilled at any part he was given. He decided to try to enter the Royal Academy of Dramatic Art (RADA) and took elocution lessons to improve his diction and prepare for the examination. He even took jobs to try to save money for the tuition should he be accepted. However, he hated the low level jobs he got, and he was usually fired. Theater gave him his only success.

Joe auditioned at RADA in January, 1951 and was accepted. The Leicester government helped out with the tuition. An attack of appendicitis delayed his arrival until May, 1951. It was there that he met Ken.

Kenneth Halliwell

Ken's father, Charles, was a chartered accountant. The family lived in a neat duplex near Liverpool. Ken was born on June 23, 1926, and his mother, Daisy, was told

it would be too dangerous to have any more children. Ken grew up shy, keeping to himself. He read a lot and liked dressing up and acting. He developed into a mother's boy, always clinging to his mother when company was around. She pampered Ken and was close to him.

In September, 1937, Daisy was stung by a wasp and choked to death in front of Ken. Ken and his father were left together, but the relationship was cold and distant. His father ignored him, and Ken ran away from home many times.

Ken became interested in the theater and joined the local dramatic society in which he was very successful, much more so than Joe later. Although he went to grammar school, Ken stubbornly refused to go to University. From 1942 to 1951, he played prominent roles in twenty productions. In 1944, Ken became a conscientious objector and served in the coal mines at Wigan, Lancashire.

In 1949, Ken's father died by suicide by putting his head in the gas oven. Ken was twenty-three years old. He came downstairs, saw his father, stepped over the body and turned the gas off. After having his morning tea and a shave, he went next door to the neighbors to call the police.

He auditioned at RADA at the same time as Joe, but was rejected. Finally, he persuaded RADA to admit him, and he paid for his own tuition from the small sum of money his father had left him.

Life with Ken

Joe soon moved in with Ken, and they became lovers. In their two years at RADA, surprisingly, Joe did well and Ken poorly. Ken was inhibited and wooden on stage, far too anxious. Joe graduated while Ken received only a Certificate of Merit. Joe worked for a few months as an assistant stage manager but disliked the work. His contract was not renewed. Ken went off to work on the stage for a summer season in Wales, his only work as an actor.

They came back to London and lived together again. Writing was Ken's idea. Together they wrote several novels. Initially, Ken wrote and Joe typed. Gradually, Joe played a more important role, until their works were truly joint efforts. Because they had only Ken's inheritance to live on, they lived an ascetic life. They wrote during the day to limit the electric bill. For three years, they both worked for six months each year at a factory to earn enough to buy a new apartment. A publisher recalls a meal served by Ken of rice with sardines followed by rice with syrup.

Joe worked hard at developing his writing skills. He practiced with lists of words, sentences, word constructions. They began to submit their work in 1955, but it was regularly rejected. However, Charles Montieth at Faber & Faber saw potential and encouraged them. He took them out to dinner and gave a party for them.

In 1957, Joe and Ken began also to write their own individual works, which also met with rejection. In 1958, Joe "invented" Mrs. Edna Welthorpe who wrote letters to the newspapers and to companies. In these letters, Joe again was practicing his literary skills as well as expressing his hostility. (In one of his first letters from Edna, she requested permission to use the local Baptist Church Hall for a performance of a play on homosexuals called *The Pansy*.) Joe's last novel, *Head To Toe*, was written in 1961 and published only after Joe's death.

In 1959, they started taking books from the public library, pasting in pictures incongruent with the content, writing obscene descriptions of the books and generally defacing them. The changes were funny, but they were also obscene and hostile. In 1962, Joe and Ken were arrested for this defacing of library books. They were sentenced to six months in prison, sentences they served in separate prisons. Ken was repentant after the prison time, but the experience seem to have given Joe a focus for his writing and improved his writing.

In 1962, Joe wrote a play, *The Visit*, which was praised by the British Broadcasting Company and the Royal Court Theater. Thus encouraged, Joe wrote *The Ruffian On The Stair*, which was accepted by the BBC in 1963. It was broadcast in August 1964 to excellent reviews. But by then, *Entertaining Mr Sloane* was already a success on stage, the *Good And Faithful Servant* completed and *Loot* underway. Of course, there were many crises in the production of the plays, and they often opened to bad reviews. But despite this, Joe's fame and prestige grew with each new project. *Loot* was judged the best play of 1966 by the *Evening Standard*, bought for Broadway and sold to the movies.

During this period, Joe's success contrasted with Ken's failures. His manuscripts lay at home, rejected. Joe shrugged off his mother's death, while Ken had never recovered from his mother's death. Joe went around London with important people, while Ken stayed home alone. Joe made sexuality, isolation and rage the topics for his comic writing, Ken was oppressed by his sexuality, isolation and rage. Joe took the ideas he and Ken had created together in their earlier rejected work and now turned them into successful scripts, acknowledging Ken's contribution only in his diary, not in public.

Life after Fame - and Death

The relationship between Joe and Ken began to deteriorate after Joe's success, and soon Joe wanted to extricate himself from the relationship. They bickered and fought. Ken was chronically depressed and jealous of Joe's success. He had gone bald in his twenties and was greatly embarrassed by his physical appearance. (One of the first things Joe had done with his money from writing was to buy Ken a toupee.) Ken disliked himself so much, he could not believe that anyone else could like him. When they went out together, Ken sulked in the background and was generally rude and hostile. Ken was never photographed and never mentioned. When they talked about breaking up, Ken often threatened suicide. Joe wanted to be free from this.

In 1951 when they met, Ken was masculine and assertive. After success came to Joe, Ken turned into a complaining housewife. Initially, it was Ken's inheritance from his father that had supported them. Now it was Joe's financial success from his plays that paid the bills. Joe was gone for much of the time. Whereas for most of their life together, they had been in each other's company almost all of the time, Joe now had rehearsals to attend, producers to meet, and all the other chores associated with his profession.

Joe encouraged Ken with his attempts at painting. In 1967, Joe arranged a showing at a Chelsea art gallery. But there was no immediate success for Ken. Only Joe's business associates bought any pictures. In 1966, Ken sent a play to Joe's agent who rejected it. Having educated Joe and helped him develop his comic writing skills, Ken now had to face his own failure. He had failed as an actor, he had failed as a writer, and it looked as if he would continue to fail.

Interpersonally, Ken was an outcast. The circle of friends he and Joe had were almost all from Joe's career, and all of them found Ken unpleasant to have around. Ken had considered suicide for a long period. In 1953, at the RADA, he had told a fellow actress that he would probably end up like his father. In 1962 he had slashed his wrists. In a novel he wrote with Joe, *The Boy Hairdresser*, the character based on Ken contemplated suicide.

Meanwhile, Joe documented all of this and more in great detail in his daily diary which Ken read and re-read. Ken's only attempt at a solution was to urge a move out of London, to the suburbs or to Brighton. They did go down to Brighton to look at places, but Joe wanted to stay in London. The most he would consider was to visit Ken in Brighton on weekends. Joe could no longer stand sex with Ken. Joe's friends were surprised at Joe's indifference to Ken's pain.

Ken threatened Joe on many occasions. "You're turning into a real bully, do you know that?.....You'd better be careful. You'll get your deserts" (Lahr, 1978, p. 12).

On their last trip to Morocco, only six weeks before the deaths, while Joe easily and casually had sex with a variety of Moroccan youths, Ken was more timid. Although he was taking librium and valium, Ken was anxious. Finally, three days before leaving for London, Ken physically attacked Joe.

Ken began to suffer from all kinds of physical complaints in 1967. After they had taken a miserable trip to Libya in March, Ken's depression deepened. Spots appeared on his legs, he had heart palpitations, and he had pains in his chest. He went to various doctors, until one told him that he was overly nervous and suffering from guilt over his mother's death and gave him tranquilizers.

Back in London on June 30th, Ken came down with hay fever. Joe finished *What The Butler Saw* in early July, and Ken read it. He made some suggestions which Joe liked and saw that it would be a great success. At a party on July 21, a television producer told Ken, ".....People dislike you enough already.....you - a middle-aged nonentity - it's sad

and pathetic" (Lahr, 1978, p. 24). Ken was stunned and dejected, but he continued to bore people with his stories of Joe's casual sexual promiscuity and his psychosomatic complaints. The more Ken needed love, the more he made himself unlovable.

Their biographer comments that the only way left to Ken to make his presence felt, of proving to himself, to Joe and to the world that he mattered was to murder.

In April, Ken had been urged to seek help and had visited a Dr. Douglas Ismay, a general practitioner. Joe left on August 1st to visit his family back in Leicester, and by the 3rd Ken was acutely suicidal. He visited the suicide prevention center run by the Samaritans. They gave him an appointment for some future time, and so he visited Dr. Ismay without an appointment. Dr. Ismay gave him antidepressants and amphetamines. Ken went back to Dr. Ismay on the 4th and called him in desperation on August 8. Dr. Ismay believed that Ken needed hospitalization. He changed the prescription to stronger antidepressants. Later that day Dr. Ismay called and told Ken that a psychiatrist would call at Ken's apartment the next morning. Ken said that he was feeling better on the new antidepressants, and so Dr. Ismay changed the appointment to the 10th.

The end came between 2m and 4am on August 9th, 1967. Ken beat Joe to death with a hammer. The blows caved in Joe's skull, and brain was spattered on the walls and the ceiling. Ken was covered with blood, and he took off his pajamas. He then took twenty-two Nembutals and died.

Discussion

Ken's life was in many ways the life of a typical suicide. He lost his mother in a particularly traumatic way when he was eleven. His father then killed himself when Ken was twenty three. These experiences are very common in individuals who later die by suicide. In his career, Ken was a failure. He was a bad actor and did not graduate from RADA. He could not get his writing published or sell his paintings. For most of his adult life, Ken was sustained by his close relationship with Joe. Although Joe was incredibly promiscuous, always on the lookout for a casual sexual encounter, these other sexual experiences were casual. Ken remained his only lover.

However, as Joe's success grew, Ken was faced with the contrast between Joe's fame and his own failure. Sensitized by the earlier loss of his mother (and his father), Ken could not face losing Joe. The murder-suicide served to escape from the unbearable pain of his life and to destroy the person he had come to hate.

Joe was a successful comic playwright, but as a human being he seems to have been thoroughly obnoxious. He was alienated from his family. He had few friends, though many acquaintances. He was involved in a long-term relationship with Ken, but continually cruised through the public toilets of London and the beaches of Morocco for casual sex. He was involved, admittedly, with a very neurotic individual in Ken, but Joe does not seem to have the interpersonal skills to build a good relationship. Joe was a self-centered, angry and vulgar person. But what is of interest here is the possibility that he

played a role in precipitating his own murder. Was Joe dying by suicide by getting someone to kill him?

Ken had threatened suicide many times to Joe, and so Joe knew that Ken was in a state of despair. Joe had refused to have sex with Ken for years, and Joe's sexual indifference to Ken was contrasted by his strong sexual appetite for strangers. Not only this, but Joe documented all of this in his diary which he knew Ken read. In the last few weeks of their life, Ken had in fact physically attacked Joe. In this situation, it would be reasonable to fear for your life. You would take care not to antagonize the other person, and you would try to get out of the situation quickly and carefully. Not Joe. To some extent, therefore, it seems reasonable to conclude that Joe played a role in precipitating his own murder and that this may have been motivated in part by, possibly unconscious, suicidal motives.

Reference

Lahr, J. (1978). *Prick up your ears*. New York: Knopf.

AGNES HAMMER

David Lester

Signe Hammer's mother died by suicide, and she has written a memoir about her mother which gives us some information about her mother's life and death (Hammer, 1991).

Agnes grew up in an arts-and-crafts studio. Her father was a woodcarver, printmaker, painter, sculptor and commercial artist. Her mother was a potter, and Agnes learned that craft as a child. Both parents had emigrated from Norway, meeting for the first time on the boat to America. They built the house they lived in piece by piece, and they decorated each room with care. Agnes was the first child and Olaf the last, eight years younger.

Shy and nervous, unsure of herself, Agnes went off to Barnard College, studying literature, art and history, but dropped out after a year. Relatives thought that Agnes quit after one year because times were hard during the Great Depression, and she needed to work so that the family could survive. But perhaps the anxiety of the competition at college was too much for her? She worked as a legal secretary for five years, living at home and giving her parents most of her salary, until she met John, a meeting arranged by his mother's friend and a neighbor of Agnes's parents.

John studied civil engineering under his own father at Gettysburg College, obtained a job with the Louisville & Nashville Railroad until he could switch to the Pennsylvania Railroad. Soon after his marriage, he was managing a freight branch on Delaware's Eastern Shore. John and Agnes married in June, 1930; he was 26, she was 24.

Agnes must have thought that John was a good fit. While they were courting, he wrote sensitive letters to her and bought her expensive art books. But John was, in reality, contemptuous of Agnes's esthetic and socialist ideals. He was a businessman, driven to acquire money and rather chintzy. John came from a family where emotions were not discussed, and both he and his brother chose wives who were (or seemed) prepared to be conventional and whom they could dominate. John went to church on Sundays, did not drink much, and saved for the future. He represented security. Signe reckons that her parents were highly sexed but uneasy about it. They were probably virgins, and both were prudish.

John was a civil engineer and, after landing the job with the Pennsylvania Railroad, moved his family around as the railroad moved him from job to job. During the Second World War, John went off to Persia to manage railroads there, leaving Agnes and the children in Fort Wayne, Indiana. Agnes was miserable there, but after the war the family moved to the Philadelphia area where it was assumed they would settle. John worked at the headquarters in Philadelphia and stayed in the Army Reserve. His goals were to become a Vice-President of the Railroad and a General in the reserve. Now forty

years old, Agnes made the new house an expression of herself, for example, working hard in the yard to landscape it.

Agnes and John had four children, three boys and then a daughter, and the youngest son, Erik, four years older than Signe (who was born in 1940), resented Signe's arrival and continually fought with her.

While living alone with the children during the war, Agnes was deeply depressed. She roused herself for neighbors and for her sons. But with Signe, she no longer kept up a front. Her rages were terrifying, coming without warning like a thunderstorm. She tried to control her children, and Signe in particular, to restrain all impulses that might cause a disturbance. Agnes was a perfectionist. She never allowed anyone to kiss her on the mouth -- she regarded that as unsanitary.

In Pennsylvania, Agnes bought a piano for Signe to practice on and paid for French lessons for her. She joined the League of Women Voters, and John remodelled the house to improve it. They had a cleaning lady and someone to do the ironing, and the family appeared on the surface to function well. The boys played sports and joined the scouts, and the family went together to the games and ceremonies. But there was still tension. The emphasis was on control and assigning blame for any mistakes. Signe describes the atmosphere in the house as "barely contained rage."

Even though depressed in Indiana during the war, Agnes had grown independent. Now, in Pennsylvania, John tried to assume control again. Agnes liked Wallace for President, while John became strongly anti-communist and forced Agnes to quit the League of Women Voters which he considered too left wing! He forbade French lessons for Signe, saw the piano lessons as a waste of money, and generally used Signe to get at Agnes. Her father's misogyny gradually wore Agnes down. She talked less and less and retreated further into her old refuge, perfectionism as a housewife. Her anxiety grew, and her mood was grim.

When Agnes was forty-four, John was transferred to run Penn Station in New York City, and so he decided to move the family. Agnes told him that she would never leave the house in Pennsylvania. The stage was set for the final battle. But John acted as if he had won. He found a house in northern New Jersey and bought it. Agnes fell into a deep depression. She could not speak to John, she could not divorce him, and she could no longer live with him. She stopped eating and lost weight.

One night in the Spring of 1950, while her husband was away for the week in New York at work and her children were in bed, Agnes set up the ironing board in front of the open oven and turned on the gas. At some point, perhaps after her death, a spark from the refrigerator exploded the gas, and the kitchen caught fire. One brother ran into the street shouting fire. The other went into the kitchen to see what happened and to see if his mother was still alive. She died on the anniversary of the date she promised to marry her husband.⁴

⁴ Signe was now nine.

The night before, Agnes had sat in the living room, her eyes full of tears. Her children had been fighting at the dinner table, and she had said that if they did not stop quarreling, she would kill herself. Later, a cousin told Signe that her mother had kept a scrap-book with clippings of successful suicides. An uncle told Signe that her mother had visited her mother-in-law to talk about her marital problems, but her mother-in-law told her that, in their family, people did not divorce. In the 1940s, few people divorced, and there were no support groups for divorced women. Furthermore, she had not worked for twenty years. How could she support her family?

She had also asked a friend whether she ever felt that she could not take it any more. One rumor in the family was that her husband had taken a lover during the war; her daughter wondered whether menopause contributed to the decision. Of her four children, one became manic-depressive and the other three chronically depressed.

Agnes's suicide ruined her husband's career. Her suicide made it clear that she preferred death to living with him. Furthermore, because his wife had died by suicide, he was never appointed as a vice-president of the railroad. The railroad insisted he quit the Army Reserve since his involvement was thought to be affecting his job performance, and so he achieved neither of his two life goals.

Reference

Hammer, S. (1991). *By her own hand*. New York: Soho Press.

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 died by 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 Dieffenbacker 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.¹ 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-tvos), Thirds, and Special degrees).²

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 1960s³ 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.

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*

¹ 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.

² Denny was ill during final exams.

³ 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.

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 died by 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

Trillin, C. (1993). *Remembering Denny*. New York: Farrar Straus Giroux.

JULIAN HARVEY

David Lester

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

unconscious body of the seven year-old daughter of the Duperraults whom he could not revive.

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

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

Reference

Packer, V. (1964). *Sudden endings*. Greenwich, CT: Fawcett.

TOM HEGGEN

David Lester

Tom Heggen wrote only one book during his brief life. *Mr. Roberts* began as a collection of short stories about life in the Navy, was issued as a book and then became a play on Broadway. Tom disintegrated once the script for the play had been completed, and he killed himself in 1949 at the age of twenty-nine. It is interesting to speculate whether the success of his book contributed to his death. Why did he kill himself once he achieved this early success? Would he have killed himself had his first work not been so successful?⁴

Early Years

Tom's grandparents were Norwegian and had come to the farmlands of Iowa in the 1880s. Tom's father, T.O., was born in 1885 and had escaped a farm life by becoming a school teacher. He then moved into baking and finally set up a mortgage-loan company.

Tom was born in Fort Dodge, Iowa, on December 23, 1919. He was christened Orlo Thomas and was known as Orlo during his childhood. He switched to his middle name in high school. He had a sister, Ruth, two years older and a sister, Carmen, three years younger, both of whom doted on him. His family was an unemotional one. His mother Mina rarely showed affection or anger. She was concerned with being a good wife and mother, keeping a clean house and dressing her children immaculately, even though money was often scarce. Tom was frail as a child, and his mother was overprotective of him, refusing to let him go out and play with the other kids, for example, if the weather was cold. Tom was under five feet for most of his early years and weighed less than ninety pounds. He excelled at school and skipped two grades of elementary school.

At high school, he failed to get into the debating team, the tennis team, or the chess team. Since scholarship did not win peer approval, Tom began to seek friendship with others by designing and carrying out clever pranks, a habit that stayed with him all of his life.

When Tom was eight, an eighteen-year old cousin Wallace Stegner (who later became a well-known writer) lost his mother and became close to the Heggens. He fulfilled the role of elder brother to Tom. During Wallace's undergraduate and graduate years, he would visit on weekends, and his interest in writing stimulated Tom.

During the Depression, T.O.'s business failed. In 1935 he found a job in Oklahoma City as an evaluator for the FHA. Mina was never really happy again after being uprooted and moving to a town she disliked, and Tom shared her depression and despair. During his senior year in high school there, Tom read a lot, slept a lot and stayed

⁴ The facts of Tom's life are taken from the biography by Leggett (1974).

by himself. He did poorly in his studies and was lucky to graduate. Tom had switched from exuberance and devilishness to being moody and diffident.

College Years

The Heggens could not afford to send Tom to the University of Oklahoma, so he went to the local commuter college, Oklahoma City University. He joined a fraternity, Phi Chi Phi, but soon became discontent with fraternity life, especially since his friends were in more prestigious fraternities. Classes bored him, and he earned a succession of Cs. When his cousin Wallace won a prize with a short story, which he showed to Tom, Tom was impressed and tried writing a story based upon Wallace's. When he sent it to Wallace, Wallace told him he like it, and Tom had it accepted in the university literary magazine.

Tom sought out the offices of the campus newspaper and became a reporter. He also found a circle of friends there. He developed his wit while drinking beer during all-night bull sessions, and he pursued his reading of contemporary American literature. In his sophomore year, he was given a column in the campus newspaper.

However, his pranks got him into trouble. In his fraternity-pledging days, he had presented a skit so offensive that the Dean came up on stage to stop the performance. He had a job as typesetter at the university press, and this allowed him to substitute the name of a famous local prostitute in the guest list for the Delta Psi pledge dance. In his sophomore year, he stole the ballot box for the election of the freshman queen. The President of the university suspended Tom for the Spring semester and privately suggested to Tom that he transfer.

In the Fall of 1938, Tom enrolled at Oklahoma A&M at Stillwater. Here, he again joined a fraternity and worked for the university newspaper. He earned money by waiting on tables at the fraternity. He became disillusioned with the newspaper when a story he wrote on a communist party cell on campus was killed by the newspaper editor (because of his fear of a lawsuit).

Tom fell in love for the first time here, with a classmate and fellow worker at the newspaper, Carol Lynn Gilmer. Carol found Tom to be intense, always feeling emotions so much more deeply than other men. But she also noted his black moods. Carol Lynn was not ready for a romantic commitment, and her reservations made him feel rejected.

In 1939, T.O. found a job in Minneapolis, and Tom moved to the University of Minnesota to be with his family. Again, he worked for the campus newspaper, and again he carried out pranks, for example, herding thirty college females into the newspaper offices to be judged by the staff for a position as "office whore" without the women being aware of what it was all about. (His jokes were particularly cruel to women.) Classes at the School of Journalism bored him, and his work was so poor that he was warned after a semester by the Director of the School to work harder. He wrote a weekly column for the newspaper and published short stories in the campus magazine.

Carol Lynn transferred to Northwestern University (as she had planned), and they kept in touch by mail. He wanted her to transfer to Minnesota, but she refused. Finally, in his senior year, he got involved with another woman, Frances Solem, and by the end of the year considered himself unofficially engaged. He got a job at the *Readers Digest*, selecting and cutting articles, and after graduation in 1941 moved to Pleasantville, New York.

Before the Book

Tom felt ambivalent about the *Readers Digest*. He admired the professionalism of the staff but disliked the conservatism and isolation. In November Tom was ordered to Minneapolis for a physical examination for military service. The Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, however, led Tom to enlist in the Navy as a yeoman on December 15th.

After finishing basic training, Tom was assigned to the battleship *South Dakota*. He spent the early months of 1942 in Philadelphia while the ship was fitted out. He was discontented with his assignment, and he was able to persuade a friend (Chuck Roberts) in the Navy's Chicago public relations office to have them both transferred in April to a training program for apprentice seamen.

During the training program, Tom visited Carol Lynn, now in her senior year at Northwestern University. She was engaged but agreed to see Tom. In a short time, she realized that she loved him and broke her engagement. Tom's training program moved from Notre Dame to Northwestern for three months, and this gave them time to develop a new relationship. This time they were both in love.

Carol Lynn was awarded her MA in June, and she chose a job with the *Readers Digest* over one with the *Chicago Economist*. Tom was assigned to a ship in North Atlantic, and they married in Pleasantville during a few days leave. However, Tom experienced grave doubts about marriage in the days before the marriage and felt no better after the wedding, though his biographer says that their sexual relationship was good.

His Navy career started off badly. During a drunken binge in Bermuda, he cut his arm so severely that he needed an operation and a two-and-half month convalescence in Boston. Carol Lynn visited, but Tom was cold and distant. Eventually he was assigned to a ship in the Caribbean, and then in June 1944 he was sent to the Pacific on the *Virgo*, an attack cargo and troop ship. Tom was an assistant communications officer, giving him an easy life on board. He had time to read and tried writing stories about life on board ship. These turned out well. He sent some to his cousin Wallace and spent shore leaves writing rather than drinking. Tom was happy, and he felt better about his marriage now.

Tom was detached soon after the peace accord was signed. He went to visit Wallace in Palo Alto, where he found that *Atlantic Monthly* had accepted some of the stories and Houghton-Mifflin had expressed interest in publishing the collection. Tom

went home to Minneapolis and learned that the book, later to be called *Mr. Roberts*, was accepted. Interestingly, Tom wrote letters to his publishers disparaging the book. He thought the stories poor and was very pessimistic about its chances for success.

Carol Lynn arrived in November and, though their first days together were fine, tension soon crept in. Carol Lynn felt excluded from aspects of Tom's life, his friends and his book in particular. In November, Carol Lynn went alone to visit her family, and Tom finished the manuscript for Houghton-Mifflin. Tom got his job back at the *Readers Digest*, and Tom and Carol Lynn went to Pleasantville in January, 1946. They brought a house and lived with a friend, Vera, until it was ready.

At the *Readers Digest*, Tom worked on condensations, but his mischievousness (such as adding dialogue to the books he was condensing) got him into trouble. At home, he avoided working on the new house and seemed content to stay with Vera. After moving to the new house, visitors would see Tom sulking and sullen, behaving in a very childish way to Carol Lynn. Tom knew that he was at fault and confessed to Vera that he knew his cruelty sprang from a fear of failing Carol Lynn and was really a cry for help.

However, he continued to provoke quarrels. He blamed his job for his inability to write. In March, Carol Lynn agreed to separate and, when Tom got a sizeable advance for Houghton-Mifflin for the book, he decided to ask for a transfer to the New York City office. He tried to write more stories, and one was accepted by *Colliers*, but another was rejected. However, his first book was receiving a lot of attention. One story was accepted for the annual O'Henry Award collection and MGM was interested in the book. When the book came out in August, the reviews were enthusiastic.

Houghton-Mifflin had received inquiries about a dramatization of the book, and so Tom decided to work with an old colleague from his Minnesota days, Max Shulman, on a play based on the book. Tom quit the *Readers Digest*, and they went to Minneapolis in January, 1947, where they wrote a draft of a play in fifteen days. Unfortunately, producers did not like it.

Living in New York as a successful novelist, Tom was considered an eligible prospect by the women there. A friend played matchmaker and introduced Tom to Helen Parker, divorced with two children, and an editor at *Liberty*. Tom fell in love with her and pursued her, and it was eventually understood by both of them that they would marry.

Tom decided to try a re-write of the play by himself. He went to Minneapolis to work on it. The producer Leland Hayward liked it and suggested that Tom get together with Joshua Logan, a successful director, to work on the play. Tom was anxious these days, sleeping poorly and fretting about his future. He began to take barbiturates to get to sleep. The idea of getting help with the play appealed to him. He went to visit Logan in Connecticut, and they liked each other. Logan invited Tom to spend the summer with him and work on the play.

The collaboration worked well. The play progressed, and they worked so closely that Logan requested he be recognized as co-writer. Helen was outraged that Tom had let Logan dominate him, but Tom was aware that he had grown to be dependent upon Logan for his creativity. Reluctantly he agreed.

The summer of 1947 was one of the happiest times Tom had known. But once the play was finished, production began, and Tom was left out. Logan was directing the play and thoroughly involved, while Tom was on the sidelines. Although he was still involved with Helen, she objected to all of Logan's decisions. She was a hindrance as they tried to line up backers, and she began to insist that Tom and she find a house to live in. Tom, as he had with Carol Lynn, procrastinated.

He was drinking heavily and taking Seconal to get to sleep. Their sexual relationship had deteriorated. Helen was becoming more like a guardian and Tom more like a child. Tom's weight had dropped to one hundred and twenty pounds. (He was five foot eight inches tall.) he began to see a psychoanalyst regularly.

Tom was preoccupied with *Mr. Roberts*, feeling pride and possessiveness and, at the same time that it had been taken from him and was being abused. Logan seemed to be cutting the Heggen contribution to the play and aiming instead for belly laughs. Tom watched the rehearsals feeling like an outsider.

As the play neared Broadway, more cuts were made, and Emlyn Williams arrived to accompany Logan, leaving Tom feeling even more excluded. Finally, at the Broadway opening, with his family and friends in attendance and the cheers resounding throughout the auditorium, Tom refused to go on stage with Logan to take a bow. The reviews the next day stressed Logan's contribution to the play, and Tom was barely mentioned.

Tom read in the newspapers that Logan was now planning to work on *South Pacific*, shattering Tom's hope that they would work together on a new project. Much as Tom resented Logan, he felt dependent upon him.

Logan bought tickets for himself and his wife Neddy and for Tom and Helen to go to Cuba. In Cuba, however, the relationship between Tom and Helen deteriorated further. Tom was interested only in drinking and nightclubs, and he began to accuse Helen of flirting with other writers they ran into there, such as John Dos Passos.

On the fifth day of their stay there, the papers reported the suicide of Ross Lockridge. Tom had never met Lockridge, but he felt a deep sense of loss. He had read Lockridge's book, *Raintree County*, three months earlier, and he identified with the man who might have been going through the same torments as he was. Tom's solution was to get drunk, and he spent the next days drinking and vomiting. When Helen and he arrived back in New York, Helen went off to see her sons. Tom was furious at being abandoned. They had one last furious row, and Helen walked out of Logan's apartment where Tom used to stay and out of his life.

Tom had made few friends in New York. His success had increased his sense of loneliness. At parties to which he was invited he would hide in a corner and resist efforts to coax him out. But neither could he face going home to Minneapolis where his family could not have understood his psychological distress even if he had been able to tell them about it.

Mr. Roberts was making him very rich. Weekly checks for thousands of dollars kept arriving. Yet Tom still was upset over having to share the money with Logan and Max Shulman. Furthermore, Tom could not write. Every day he would try to sit at his typewriter and write something, and everyday he would fail.

Tom met a variety of women in New York, and he started seeing Frances again, who by now had also become an alcoholic. He went home for occasional visits to Minneapolis and met twice weekly with his psychoanalyst. He was taking twenty barbiturates a day to stay composed. He decided to take a boat trip to overcome his writer's block. He travelled to Europe on a freighter but stayed drunk for the whole trip. He quarreled with a chorus girl whose fare he had paid, and he found the travelling unsatisfying. Even the beauty of Italy could not lift his depression, and this added to his hopelessness.

Back in New York, he moved into an apartment with Alan Campbell, recently divorced from Dorothy Parker. Tom's life continued as before. Logan was busy with *South Pacific*, and when Tom had an idea for a play they could develop together, Logan initially seemed enthusiastic but then excluded Tom from his future plans.

After *South Pacific* had opened on Broadway and the Logans had left for Europe without him, Tom made the decision to die. He offered to help some friends buy a house and, when the wife asked him if he was trying to get rid of his money, he admitted it. He looked up old friends as if saying goodbye to them. At the end of April, Alan Campbell, about to leave for California, noted an improvement in Tom's mood, as did Tom's psychoanalyst.

On Wednesday May 18th, he talked to several friends. He tried to get Frances's mother to take her daughter home to Minnesota. He called Frances to persuade her to see a doctor. A woman he had been half-heartedly pursuing called to say she was marrying some else and couldn't have supper with him that evening. He walked over to the pharmacist to pick up a new batch of Seconals. He went back and paid all of Alan's bills. In the late afternoon, another woman friend came to pick him up for dinner, a dinner which he had forgotten about. She left after a drink. Later another woman came by, instructed by Alan Campbell to check up on Tom. She stayed for supper but declined to stay the night.

The next day, the cleaning woman found Tom's nude body submerged in the bathtub. On a nearby ledge was a knife and a double-edged razor blade. Death was due to drowning with an accompanying overdose of barbiturates.

Discussion

The significant early event in Tom's life would seem to be his father losing his business during the Depression. This seemed to teach Tom that failure can follow unpredictably upon success. This experience followed upon a childhood in which he had never received the warm love that some mothers and fathers can provide for their children and in which he experienced failure at most of the activities he tried. To be sure, he could have done well academically, but that brought him no rewards.

In college, he seemed aimless. Courses did not matter, and there seemed to be alternative activities. Tom hung around with the campus journalists and wrote for the newspapers. But even there, he does not seem to have taken his task seriously. Was he trying to develop his writing skills or simply having fun being witty and provocative?

His book happened by chance. He wrote stories which he did not think highly of. But others liked them, and he seemed to be swept up by the success of his book. He wrote his book in the isolation of a ship at sea. But thereafter he was involved with girl friends, family, and friends, and he never wrote again, except for a couple of short stories. It looked like he might follow his father's pattern of failure.

His work with Joshua Logan seemed to hasten Tom's declining self-confidence and conviction that he was a failure as a writer. They worked so well together that Tom came to believe that he could work only with Logan as a collaborator. But Logan did not want Tom as a permanent partner.

Tom was unable to maintain relationships with women. Engaged to Frances, he deserted her for Carol Lynn. But with Carol Lynn, he seemed happier when away from her. Together they quarreled. With Helen, the same pattern developed. Perhaps Helen was a flirt. Perhaps she would have slept with any famous writer. But given Tom's previous pattern of behavior with Carol Lynn, it seems likely that the breakup of the relationship was also partly Tom's fault. Indeed, it is hard to imagine anyone enjoying the company of an alcoholic drug abuser, with little self-confidence and even less self-insight, who seems happiest when he is away from you.

Where did Tom learn this inability to form close relationships with women? Or more precisely, where did he fail to learn how to form close relationship with women? At home of course, with a cold unemotional mother (who incidentally was depressed by her husband's business failure, perhaps leading Tom to fear how his lovers would respond to his failures). And with two sisters who perhaps loved him no matter how immaturely and selfishly he behaved at home.

And so Tom sunk lower and lower into alcohol and drug abuse and depression. The suicide of Ross Lockridge clearly helped foster the idea of suicide as a way out (they even had the same publisher), and he made the decision to kill himself. (Everyone noted that his mood improved in the last week of his life, probably because he had made the decision to die and was now close to escape.) He knew Alan Campbell, his roommate, was leaving for a while. He tidied up his business affairs. On the day of his suicide, he

tried a few last efforts to make contact with others. But they failed. This one was marrying another; this one had a supper engagement; this one wouldn't stay the night. Was this how life was going to go on and on and on, interminably?

Perhaps he tried to cut his wrists as he lay in the bath, for the means were there on the edge of the bath. But he didn't. Instead the barbiturates drugged him, and he sunk into the water to drown.

Reference

Leggett, J. (1974). *Ross and Tom*. New York: Simon & Schuster.

ERNEST HEMINGWAY

David Lester

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

His son-in-law was Ed Hemingway, a doctor. In 1928 Ed Hemingway suffered a financial loss from properties he had bought in Florida and discovered, in addition, that he had diabetes which he had failed to diagnose and treat. He suffered from terrible headaches, hardening of the arteries and angina. He feared gangrene of his feet, a result of the untreated diabetes, which might have led to amputation. Ed Hemingway came home for lunch and shot himself in his bedroom with a .32 Smith and Wesson revolver that had been used by his father, Anson Hemingway, in the Civil War. He was found immediately by his 13 year-old son, Leicester, who was home with the flu.

Leicester Hemingway was much younger than his brother Ernest Hemingway, and modeled his life after his elder brother. He shot game, tried writing fiction, and toward the end of his life grew a beard and began to look like his elder brother. By 1982, he had diabetes, had undergone five operations and was threatened with loss of his limbs. He shot himself. Ursula Hemingway Jepson was Leicester's sister. In 1966, she had three cancer operations. Depressed, she killed herself with an overdose of drugs.

But this chapter is about Ernest Hemingway, grandson of Ernest Hall, son of Ed Hemingway, and brother of Leicester and Ursula, who on July 2, 1961, suffering from diabetes and depression, shot himself in the head with a twelve-gauge Boss shotgun. In this essay, I have relied on the facts presented by Meyers (1985).

Ernest's Home

Ernest Hemingway was born in Oak Park, a suburb near Chicago, on July 21, 1899. Both of Ernest's grandfathers served in the Civil War, and Anson Hemingway in particular was always relating heroic tales of the war. Ernest grew up reading military histories, and was fascinated by the recent wars: the Spanish-American War of 1898, the Boer War in 1899-1902, and the Russo-Japanese War in 1904-1905. In his later life, Ernest went to five wars, in Italy, Turkey, Spain, China and France.

He was raised in a town that was white, Protestant, prosperous and conservative. The family was very religious, with morning family prayers, Bible reading, and Sunday church. The Sabbath was strictly enforced, and after punishment the children had to kneel down and ask God for forgiveness. Later, Hemingway moved far from those values, converting to Catholicism eventually, but their influence stayed with him.

Ernest's mother, Grace, was a talented contralto, and gave up a potential career in

music, supposedly because the stage lights hurt her eyes and because she married Ed. She gave music lessons, earning a fair amount of money.

Ernest's father, Ed, was a doctor, specializing in obstetrics. He seems to have been dominated by his wife. For example, he promised at the time of their marriage that she would never have to do housework. He kept his word, cooking, shopping, doing the laundry and supervising the servants. Grace was pampered, spoiled and selfish. Although they got on each other's nerves, they were happy with each other and in love. They had six children, and Ernest was the second-born child and first-born son.

Ernest's Childhood

Ernest's childhood was relatively uneventful. Other siblings were born, he went through school and graduated, he played sports, took music lessons with his mother, and learned to hunt and fish with his father.

For three years, he was dressed in girl's clothing and had his hair long, so that he would look like a twin to his elder sister, Marcelline. Meyers dismisses this since it was often the custom to do this to boys in Victorian times. But Meyers misses the point that even common events may still have special relevance for some individuals.

Ernest's later life can be seen as the epitome of the macho masculine life style. This exaggerated style makes his early years of cross-gender identity of interest. Not only this, but Ernest had periodic episodes of impotence: when he first left Hadley (his first wife) for Pauline (his second wife), during his infatuation with Jane Mason in 1936, in 1944 in Paris when he was courting Mary (his fourth wife), and in 1960 during his depression.

In addition, Ernest was constantly fascinated by the merging of identities between a man and his lover. In several novels, the lovers resemble each other physically and switch roles. In the "Garden of Eden," Catherine wants to be a man and calls David "Catherine," while David wants to be a woman and calls Catherine "Pete." Ernest, himself, reversed names when he wrote to a young woman he was in love with in his old age, Adriana Ivancich. Latham (1977) suggests that Ernest experimented with sex role reversal with his wives, and Mary (his fourth wife) reported an interview in which Ernest says he likes sodomy and that his wife is a boy. Meyers suggests that Ernest had a hair fetish (though he documents only a literary preoccupation with hair), and he documents Ernest's exaggeration of his sexual conquests and sexual performance, while his wives, if they commented at all, tended to criticize his performance. Finally, Ernest often showed a pronounced hostility to homosexuals. All of this certainly points to some sexual conflict within Ernest.

Portents of His Later Life-Style

Early on, his mother noted Ernest's tendency to be aggressive, self-confident, and courageous and to exaggerate. Meyers records adolescent fights with his parents, for

example, about eating vegetables, wanting to wear long trousers at the age of fifteen, working on the family farm in the summer, and playing the cello in the family orchestra. His cruelty to animals is first shown at the age of six when he hacked a porcupine to pieces.

At school, he was competitive, developed an interest in boxing and began to write. He rejected the idea of going to college and instead went to work for the *Kansas City Star*. However, war appealed to him, and he volunteered as a Red Cross ambulance driver and left for Italy in 1918, at the age of 18.

Just before leaving the United States, he announced his engagement to a film star whom in fact he had never met. His parents believed him and were upset. This develops a theme in his life which was always been present, but eventually grew to pathological proportions. Ernest could not tell the truth about himself. He exaggerated, invented, and distorted his version of his life. In his version, he was not an ambulance driver in the First World War, but a soldier and leader. He boasts of sexual conquests that never existed, such as his "African wife" and of "irrigating" Mary four times in a night at a time when he was probably impotent. He changed his version of his life after significant events, imputing motives and actions to his relatives and wives which are false. For example, he blamed his mother for his failure to go to college (since she spent the tuition money on her houses), whereas in fact he chose not to go.

This is a fascinating trait, especially since we find it in Marilyn Monroe, who also died by suicide. It is as if Ernest did not like himself and could not accept that others would like him. He had to invent a person whom he thought people would like and surround himself with cronies who would like the person he invented. He shows the typical neurotic pattern described by Carl Rogers (1959). Rogers felt that, if children were not liked for themselves and that if conditions of worth were set up for them by their parents, then they would suppress their true selves and develop a false social self that was designed to win approval from others.

In this regard, it is interesting to note that his parents, and especially his mother, disliked his intention to write fiction and in fact threw him out in 1920. They were horrified by his published works and considered them disgusting and obscene. They were also morally offended by his divorce from his first wife and by his conversion to Catholicism. It is fascinating to read Ernest's letters to his parents in which he tries to explain his writing and justify it. He is still, as an adult, trying to get his parents to like and approve of him.

The First World War

Ernest's experiences in the war provided two critical events. First, he was injured. On July 18, 1918, a shell landed three feet from him, while he was handing out chocolate to soldiers in the trenches. It killed a man standing between him and the shell, and he received over 200 shell fragments. Some of these (perhaps ten) caused quite severe wounds, and there have always been rumors of damage to his genitals. Again Meyers

minimizes the importance of this event. However, others, such as Young (1966), noted that Ernest was passive in this first confrontation with death, and he spent the rest of his life facing death and actively challenging it. He went to wars and sometimes fought in them, he faced bulls in Pamplona, he shot big game, and in the end he caused his own death. It is as if he had a repetition compulsion, to re-experience the panic that he felt in his first experience with death and this time prove himself courageous.

Meyers quotes Ernest writing about Mussolini: ".....all his martial bombast and desire for military glory was a defense mechanism, formed against his own knowledge of how frightened he had been in the world war and the ignominious exit he had made from it....." (Meyers, 1985, p. 96). This seems so apt for Ernest himself. Peter Wykeham said that Ernest impressed him as ".....the sort of man who spends his whole life proving that he is not scared."

Although at first during his convalescence in Italy he seemed to have few symptoms of trauma, after he had returned home he suffered from insomnia and could not bear to have the lights out. To help him, his sister Ursula (who was three years younger than him) used to sleep with him at night. It is likely that the war experience was very traumatic for Ernest.

The second major event of the war was that he fell in love with a nurse, Agnes von Kurowsky. What made the experience traumatic was that, after he had gone back to the United States, believing that they were in love and would marry, she wrote to him and rejected him for another. This was Ernest's first real love, and we might note that he was still a virgin, and it led him to never trust women again. In each marriage, he was looking for the next partner should the current wife reject him, and he perhaps cast them off before they could cast him off. The situation is more complex, of course, since as each wife got to know him better, it would have been harder for him to maintain the false self that he created to deal with his feelings of worthlessness. It would have been harder to deceive his wives about the real Hemingway.

His Marriages

His first marriage was to Hadley Richardson in 1920, a woman eight years older than Ernest. This marriage came only one year after his first sexual experience, which was with a waitress. Hadley had some similarities to Ernest's mother, having also tried and abandoned a career in music. She was submissive, adopted his interests (in boxing, fishing and drinking). Meyers denies that she was a mother substitute, despite the appropriateness of the role for her. However, she used to sign her letters to Ernest as "Mummy." She clearly helped Ernest work out problems he had experienced with his mother, and he managed to create a role for himself very different from his father's role with his wife. They had one son, John. Meyers notes, however, that perhaps Gertrude Stein served as a mother substitute for Ernest, resembling Ernest's mother in age, talent, egocentricity, and anger with and rejection of Ernest when he succeeded.

After an infatuation with Duff Twysden in 1925, Ernest fell in love with and

married Pauline Pfeiffer in 1927. She was four years older than Ernest. They had two sons, Patrick in 1928 and Gregory in 1931. In 1932 he became infatuated and had an affair with Jane Mason. This ended in 1936, and Ernest met Martha Gellhorn later that year. She was nine years younger than Ernest. They married in 1940 and had the least satisfactory marital relationship of the four marriages. Martha was away a good deal of the time, working as a journalist and, when they were together, they fought violently. Martha was less submissive than the previous two wives and less willing to put up with Ernest's behavior, which was getting worse as he got older.

He met Mary Welsh in 1944 and was married to her from 1946 until his death in 1961. Mary, like Martha, was nine years his junior. He wanted a daughter, but Mary had a tubular pregnancy which left her sterile. During his marriage to Mary, Ernest had two flirtations, with Nancy Hawks and Virginia Viertel, and two infatuations with young women, Adriana Ivancich and Valerie Danby-Smith. Meyers does not think that Ernest ever slept with either of his last loves.

Meyers notes that as Ernest aged, his wives and loves became younger and younger. In his youth he married older women, and in his old age he fell in love with young women, but this is not an unusual pattern for men.

Relations with His Family

Ernest ended up on bad terms with most of his family. He called his father a coward for his suicide, hated his mother and blamed her for his father's death and much more, quarreled with his elder sister Marcelline and his younger sister Sunny, rejected another younger sister (Carol) for her marriage, reacting much like an Oedipal father in his jealousy of her husband, rejected his young brother Leicester despite Leicester's attempts to emulate and flatter Ernest, criticized his son John and quarreled with Gregory. Only Ursula (the one who slept with him during his recovery after the First World War) remained in favor up until the end.

With his sons, he seems to have ignored them as babies (as did Pauline, the mother of the youngest two). Later he seems to have been more devoted to them, but their adolescence brought attempts to dominate them and adulthood brought sexual rivalry (according to Meyers), especially as Ernest's wives and romantic figures became younger. His will left nothing to his sons.

Relations with Friends

In the 1920s in Paris, Ernest was friendly with other authors and artists. However, by 1937 he had quarreled with almost all of these friends. He found reason to attack each of them, especially if they showed any disapproval of his writing or his behaviors. His attacks could be in print or physical. Charles Sweeny described him as extraverted, suspicious, disloyal and violent. He seemed especially scared when people got too close to him.

Meyers characterizes him as a swaggering hero in the 1930s, a drunken braggart in the 1940s, and a sad wreck in the 1950s. Ernest replaced his intellectual friends of the 1930s with soldiers, sportsmen, millionaires, hangers-on and sycophants. (With such people, drinking and engaging in sports, one can be friendly but safely distanced.) He also seemed to need a few people around him with whom he could be a domineering father/teacher. Ernest needed and liked to have around him father-mentor figures, soldier-heroes, kid brothers, surrogate sons, trusty drivers and erotic teenage females. Yet Ernest also had attractive traits. He could be generous and entertaining, and he was brave.

Literary Criticism

Ernest has been considered one of the finest writers in America in the Twentieth Century. He received the Pulitzer Prize in 1952 and the Nobel Prize in 1954. However, Ernest was always wounded by negative reviews, of which he received many. They made him feel undervalued and were severe blows to his confidence. They reinforced his doubts about his creativity, talent and future productivity. He usually reacted with anger at his critics, and he attacked them in retaliation.

This pattern fits in with our analysis of Ernest as someone who was never liked for himself as a child and who never came to like himself. When critics attacked him, fairly or unfairly, he lacked the inner sources of self-esteem to enable him withstand their attacks.

Alcoholism and Depression

As Hemingway aged, his drinking increased. He was already drinking brandy in large quantities when he was in the hospital recovering from his wounds in the First World War. By the 1930s he was drinking up to seventeen scotch and sodas a day. His drinking increased further in the 1940s. Eventually, the alcohol consumption caused physiological damage, and these problems exacerbated his physical decline in the 1950s.

Interestingly, most of his friends (and enemies) thought he could hold his alcohol well. He rarely passed out and did not appear to have developed some of the side-effects of alcoholism, such as dts, blackouts or nutritional deficiencies. He seems to have developed the French pattern of being steadily intoxicated rather than the American pattern of binge drinking.

He is reputed to have had regular periods of depression throughout his life. In the 1940s, Ernest usually woke up happy, but could not maintain this mood for the whole day. His depression was especially strong if he did not drink. He called his depressions his "black-ass" moods. There is no evidence that Ernest ever had a manic phase. At the end of his life, he was suffering from severe depression and was given electroconvulsive therapy (ECT) by doctors at the Mayo Clinic in a fruitless effort to ameliorate it.

Other interesting symptoms apparent during his life included obsessive traits, manifest in his counting of the words he wrote, the animals he killed and, later on, daily recording of his blood pressure and weight. He began to show excessive anxiety in the early 1940s, especially about taxes and his financial solvency.

Ernest almost never accepted any responsibility for events, preferring to externalize the blame. For example, he blamed his mother for his unhappy childhood (part of the myth he created) and for preventing him going to college, he blamed Pauline and Dos Passos for breaking up his marriage to Hadley, Jinny Pfeiffer for breaking up his marriage to Pauline, and Gregory (his son) for causing Pauline's death. Gregory attributed this trait to his father's remorseful conscience. But it seems more likely to be the result of his dislike of himself. To have accepted the blame would probably have increased his sense of worthlessness and depression and made suicide more likely.

Ernest's fascination with killing is also of interest here. He learned to hunt and fish with his father. His experienced his first fighting in Italy during the First World War, and then moved on to a fascination with bull fighting. He pursued his interest in hunting, followed later wars and eventually got to kill men (German soldiers) during the Second World War.

Why did he kill? Hotchner (1966) quotes Ernest as saying, "I spend a hell of a lot of time killing animals and fish so I won't kill myself." Thus, Ernest, himself, saw his killing as a way of externalizing his anger, which fits the classic psychoanalytic theory of depression and suicide.

Mental Illness in His Family

Ernest's father showed symptoms of suspiciousness and paranoia at the end of his life. He was depressed and completed suicide. Two of Ernest's sons had episodes of mental illness. Patrick became paranoid schizophrenic in 1947 and received ECT, which destroyed his memory. Later, in 1957, Gregory, who abused drugs, had a mental breakdown and also received electroconvulsive therapy.

Thus, there is evidence of psychiatric illness in three generations of Hemingways. Believers in the medical model of psychiatric illness would see this as suggesting genetically-caused psychiatric illness in the family. However, the existence of disturbed family systems provide an equally plausible explanation of three generations of psychiatrically ill people. Crazy people not only pass on their genes, they provide an unhealthy atmosphere in which their children are raised.

Suicide in Ernest's Social Network

Suicide abounded in Ernest's social network. We have already mentioned the attempted suicide of his maternal grandfather and the suicide of his father. The father of his first wife, Hadley, killed himself in 1903. His lover Jane Mason attempted suicide in 1933 by jumping, breaking her back but surviving. One of his servants killed herself in

the 1950s, and one of his biographers (Charles Fenton) jumped to his death.

After his father's suicide, Ernest said that he would probably die in the same way, and he began to consider suicide much more often. He asked for the gun his father used, and then threw it in a lake as if to prevent himself using it. Perhaps his rejection of his father's act was also a means of convincing himself not to die the same way.

Accidents and Illnesses

Ernest experienced an incredible number of accidents and illnesses. He had many concussions, shot himself accidentally, and suffered severe burns, cuts, fractures, and internal injuries.

Meyers notes that the likelihood of accidents was increased by Ernest's bad temper, recklessness, irritability, bad vision, slow reflexes, clumsiness and heavy drinking. However, the fact the Ernest would box others, both barefisted and with gloves, run with the bulls in Spain, shoot big game, and follow wars placed him in the position to get hurt. He is, in Shneidman's (1968) terminology, a death-chancer and death-hastener, and Menninger (1938) would see Ernest's behavior as a manifestation of his self-destructive impulses.

To dispel any notion that Ernest's accidents were simply bad luck and that self-destructive motives played no role, after a severe concussion in London in 1944, when it was recommended that his head be opened and the hemorrhage drained, he left the hospital and went on a bombing flight with the RAF instead, risking severe brain damage.

Final Stresses

Toward the end of his life, Ernest experienced the loss through death of many of his friends. His publishers, Max Perkins and Charles Scribner died, as did Pauline (his second wife), his mother, and his childhood friend Katie Dos Passos. In the last year of his life, he was upset by the deaths of Gary Cooper and George Vanderbilt.

In 1954, he was in Africa on a safari, and he survived two plane crashes in the space of a few days. He received very serious injuries, and this time his body seemed not to recover. The actual crash injuries included liver and kidney damage, burns and impaired vision and hearing. But more importantly, he lost confidence, and friends described him for the first time as an "old man."

After the crashes, he was believed to have died, and so he was able to read his obituaries. For those who contemplate suicide, the fantasy of how one will be viewed after death is fascinating. Ernest got to experience this before his real death, and perhaps he was pleased by this preview of how he would be viewed.

The Final Months and the Mayo Clinic

In late 1960, Ernest began to deteriorate rapidly. He was depressed and his obsessions continued. He developed pathological fears about taxes that he might owe and other unlikely infringements of the laws. He developed a paranoid fear of persecution from a variety of sources. He accused a driver of trying to kill him, Mary of trying to get rid of him in the Mayo clinic, and the FBI. (His paranoid accusations against the FBI had a basis in reality since they had kept a file on him since his days in Cuba, even talking to his doctor at the Mayo Clinic.) He became unable to make decisions, over matters such as which clothes to wear or in which motel to stay.

His physical condition was serious. He had a chronic skin disease, eye problems, hypertension, diabetes, and liver and kidney disease. In addition, his hair loss and impotence upset his image of himself. Hotchner (1966) quotes Ernest as saying that "if I can't exist on my own terms, then existence is impossible."

He was admitted to the Mayo Clinic in December 1960, released in January 1961, readmitted in April 1961 and released in June 1961. He received eleven to fifteen ECTs during the first admission and ten more during his second admission. There was no change in his symptoms. However, the ECT did damage his memory. At home between the two admissions, he was unable to write even a few sentences, and he complained about his loss of memory.⁵ He was convinced that there was no cure for his psychiatric problems.

Meyers is strong in his criticism of the Mayo Clinic. He sees Ernest's treatment as worsening his life situation, deepening his depression and destroying his memory. He castigates the doctors for releasing him rather than transferring him to a different institution. He focuses particularly on the use of ECT, and notes that Ernest had never attempted suicide until after his first release from the Mayo Clinic. Indeed, Ernest made several suicide attempts during the trip to readmit him to the Mayo Clinic in April 1961, trying to walk into the propellers of an airplane and trying to jump from the airplane. Valid though Meyers' criticisms are, he is writing in 1986 when our knowledge about ECT was more complete and when there were powerful anti-depressant medications available. Ernest's treatment was not unusual in 1960. Furthermore, it would not have been surprising if Ernest had killed himself even had he never been admitted to the Mayo Clinic or any other psychiatric institution. The sources and causes of Ernest's suicide lay far beyond the treatment received at the Mayo Clinic.

Ernest and Suicide

Ernest had thought of suicide all his life. From his reading *The Suicide Club* by Stevenson as an adolescent, to his thoughts of suicide during marital crises, Ernest had always seen suicide as a way to die. He predicted that he would kill himself with a gun,

⁵ At a conference in 1979, I mentioned that the ECT had probably destroyed Hemingway's memory, and several psychiatrists in the audience attacked my supposition. Within a few years, it was common knowledge that ECT does have a permanent impact on memory for many, if not all, patients.

and in the 1930s told others that a shotgun in the mouth was the way to complete suicide. He said that he had often talked himself out of it, but he saw suicide as alternative to a painful and humiliating death from a serious illness. He saw suicide as a way of going out in a blaze of light at one's peak rather than as a deteriorated wreck.

Meyers views his eventual suicide as motivated by desperation at his physical and psychological deterioration, with elements of self-pity and revenge (against Mary whom he left to find his disfigured head when she came down). Meyers also hints at elements of psychic homicide since, though Mary locked up Ernest's guns, she left the keys out for him to find. Perhaps his suicide was a welcome relief for her?

Discussion

The presence of psychiatric illness in several generations of the Hemingway family suggests the role of genetic factors in predisposing members of the family to depression. But let us assume that there was indeed a genetic predisposition to depression, and therefore suicide, in the Hemingway family. The timing of the suicides shows the influence of learning. Not all patients who are depressed kill themselves in old age when suffering from a severe illness. Many kill themselves long before this stage.

Ernest, like his father, killed himself only when he was suffering from diabetes and other physical illnesses and when under other stresses (financial reversals for his father; a creative block for Ernest). Both used guns, and both killed themselves when others were around. Ed Hemingway killed himself while his thirteen year-old son was at home; Ernest while his wife Mary was at home. This suggests that, for both of them, anger at the rest of the family was a component of the suicidal action.

From his mother, Ernest learned that she really wanted a daughter, and this affected him for the rest of his sexual life. He suffered from impotence and sought to establish a macho image that could not be mistaken for sex-role confusion. From his father, he learned not to let women dominate him the way his mother dominated his father.

From his parents, he learned that he was not very likable. Thus, he learned not to reveal himself, and he began to build up a façade self that would hide the real Ernest and present a mask to others that would get their admiration and approval. This distortion of the truth about himself became almost pathological in its extent. His low self-esteem led to him casting off friends before they could really hurt him and to difficulties in coping with reviews of his literary work.

From Agnes he learned that women could not be trusted and that you had better have a replacement ready in case your wife deserted you. From the First World War, he learned that he was scared by death so that he needed to prove to himself that he could face death without fear - again and again and again.

Ernest was exposed to suicide from a young age. He was six when his grandfather tried to shoot himself. He was twenty-nine when his father shot himself. In adulthood, many of his friends and acquaintances attempted or died by suicide, and he talked about it continuously. To take just one example, Flanner (1972) talked with Ernest in 1944 and agreed with him that liberty could be as important in the act of dying as in the act of living. They promised not to grieve if the other died by suicide. After his father's suicide, although he condemned his father for cowardice, he said that he would probably die in the same way.

The experience of reading his obituaries showed Ernest that he would be appreciated and lauded after his death. Thus, suicide would achieve escape from pain and help establish him in people's memory in the way that he desired.

Ernest knew quite clearly that he displaced his self-destructive impulses by killing animals. He felt that if he stopped killing animals, he might kill himself.

Finally, Ernest's suicide secured for him an escape from tremendous physical and psychological pain. It was the best alternative for him, given the circumstances into which he had got himself by the time of his old age.

In some ways it seems foolish to ask why Ernest killed himself because it seems like the ideal way for him to die. He lived life to the full - loving attractive women, drinking, fighting, and hunting. He had won universal acclaim as a writer. But now he was sixty and unable to continue this style of living. He was diseased, impotent, depressed and no longer able to write. It is hard to picture Ernest dying as a frail old man, locked up in a mental hospital, trying to convince others of the validity of his paranoid delusions.

Yet that is what makes Ernest's death interesting because other men move gracefully into old age and assume roles that befit them. They can become at peace with themselves and the world and serve as models for us, or they can become sources of wisdom that we turn to for their views on life and the world. Ernest could not fill these roles.

In a sense, Ernest killed himself many years before his death, when he began to suppress his true self, build up a phony image of himself and surround himself with cronies who would reinforce this phony image. As Ernest got older, his true self became more and more deeply buried, and his phony image more and more pathological, until at the end Ernest was the antithesis of the psychologically healthy person.

References

- Flanner, J. (1972). *Paris was yesterday*. New York: Viking.
 Hotchner, A. (1966). *Papa Hemingway*. New York: Bantam.
 Latham, A. (1977). A farewell to machismo. *New York Times Magazine*, October 16, 52-99.

- Menninger, K. (1938). *Man against himself*. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World.
- Meyers, J. (1985). *Hemingway*. New York: Harper & Row.
- Shneidman, E. S. (1968). Orientation toward cessation. *Journal of Forensic Sciences*, 13, 33-45.
- Young, P. (1966). *Ernest Hemingway*. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World.

LEICESTER HEMINGWAY

David Lester

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

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

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

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

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

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

In 1936, Leicester married an adopted daughter of his Uncle Tyler, and they had two sons (Peter and Jake).¹ He built boats, worked for the USIS in Bogota, went into the shrimp business, declared himself king of a tiny Caribbean island, was a bookmaker, a publicity man for a jai alai fronton in Miami, ran a charter boat in Montego Bay, and wrote adventure stories for a magazine in New York City. He published a war novel (*The Sound of Trumpets*) in 1953, which Ernest considered inferior. Later, Ernest burnt one of Leicester's manuscripts without telling him.

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

In a reversal of roles, it was Leicester in 1940 who took a small boat through the Caribbean searching for Nazi refueling stations for their submarines. Though Ernest never admitted it, he followed Leicester's example and spent part of the war searching for Nazi support groups in the Caribbean. Leicester worked in radio intelligence, a military film unit and the signal corps during the war and met up with Ernest in London.² Leicester obtained frequent leaves to either assist Ernest or to nurse him through his injuries.

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

Analysis

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

¹ After Ernest's son Gregory was divorced in 1966, Leicester brought up his two sons. (Both Gregory and his wife had psychiatric problems.)

² Leicester encouraged Mary Welsh to meet his brother while in London, and she eventually became Ernest's fourth wife.

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

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

References

- Hemingway, L. (1961). *My brother, Ernest Hemingway*. Cleveland: World.
Meyers, J. (1985). *Hemingway*. New York: Harper & Row.

ALBERT HEPPNER³**David Lester**

Albert Heppner was an American competitor in the 50 kilometer (31 mile) walking trials for the 2004 Olympic Games. They were held in February, 2004, at Chula Vista Marina, south of San Diego. The start was at 7.30 a.m. Heppner was 29 years old, 5 foot 8 inches tall. His peers liked him, but he was emotional - crying if he was disqualified, exuberant after a race. He helped newcomers to the fraternity, eating with them if they were alone, taking them to the airport, mediating disputes and making his room a lounge for all the athletes. Online, he wrote a log of his activities and thoughts, and sent them to periodicals for publication and to 500 friends and colleagues in the field. But Heppner told his mother, “I *have* to get to the Olympics.”

Four years earlier, Heppner had become hypothermic during the trials and lost a spot on the team. He became depressed for the next six months and left the training facility. He joined the Army that August. Boot camp lifted the depression, and the Army put him in their World Class Athlete Program and sent him back to the training center. He had a hernia in 2003 but, after that healed, his times dropped, he lost his room in the dormitories, and the depression returned for a while. He took Prozac, learned yoga, swore off women, and lived in a condo his parents helped him purchase in Chula Vista.

His father, Max Heppner, was 71 years old and could not fathom Heppner's commitment to the sport. Max had hid from the Nazis in the Netherlands for three years, losing his grandfather and father, and emigrated to America after the war along with his mother. Max, and his wife Evelyn, eventually conceived the one child, Albert. Four years later, Max left his wife and son and married another Holocaust survivor. Evelyn fell into a depression and turned Albert over to a sister in Cleveland for a while. Eventually, she settled down in Maryland with him. Heppner later grew closer with his father, and Max paid for Heppner to attend a four-day Landmark Forum (the resurrection of the old EST workshops).

At school he was outgoing, the only boy among the African-American girls on the high school pep squad. When he was 15 and looking for a sport to excel at, he saw some walkers and recognized that his physique was ideal for that event. He even got a college athletic scholarship.

He had four main competitors at the trials for an Olympic spot, and all five had trained together for years at the ARCO Olympic Training Center in Chula Vista. After 7 kilometers, Curt Clausen pulled away, surprisingly. Heppner had to decide what to do - follow or stay with the pack. He followed. But Curt had needed a toilet and, after going to the toilet, let the pack catch back up with him. Heppner decided to go all out and build up his lead. Those watching groaned. They knew it was a mistake, but Heppner thought he could win.

³ This essay is based on Smith (2004).

His lead grew to two minutes, and then he cracked. He slowed, and the others caught up with him. He finished 5th in 4 hours, 23 minutes, way behind Curt who won in 3 hours and 58 minutes (just under the Olympic qualifying time of 4 hours and the only one to qualify for the Olympics).

Heppner still had a few races in which he could beat the 4-hour time and qualify. His father consoled him and flew home. His mother stayed at the condo. On the third day after the race, he had breakfast with the other athletes and California Congressman Randy Cunningham. Cunningham gave Heppner a silver dollar that his father had given him with the admonition never to give up.

Heppner ran an easy 3 kilometers afterwards with the others and then left in his SUV at 11 a.m. At 5 p.m., instead of picking up his mother's cousin in San Diego as he had promised, he drove to the gorge at Pine Valley and jumped to his death.

Reference

Smith, G. (2004). Walking his life away. *Sports Illustrated*, 101(3), 62-68.

WILLARD HERSHBERGER

David Lester

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

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

The Final Season

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

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

In July 1940, the Reds' catcher sprained an ankle, and Hershberger took over. He was batting .362. The Reds began a road trip on July 23, seven games in front of the second-place team. They won the first four games, and Hershberger hit well, but he then went three for twenty in the next five games he caught. The temperature on the East Coast was in the 90s and that was thought responsible for Hershberger's decline. On July 27 the Reds lost to the Phillies in 100⁰ weather, and the next day they played a double-header in 99⁰ weather. Hershberger was clearly suffering from dehydration.

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

The next day, Saturday, the Reds were playing a double-header with the Boston Bees. Hershberger did not reported to the ballpark, and his manager was alarmed. The

travelling secretary called the hotel, and Hershberger answered and said he felt ill. He promised to come down. but he still had not arrived after the first game. The manager then dispatched a friend of Hershberger's to the hotel who found Hershberger in the bathroom. He had covered the floor with towels and slashed his throat with his roommate's safety razor while leaning over the bathtub.⁴

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

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

References

- Barbour, J. (1987). The death of Williard Hershberger. *The National Pastime*, 6(1), 62-65.
- Lester, D., & Topp, R. (1988). Suicide in the major leagues. *Perceptual & Motor Skills*, 67, 934.

⁴. Years later, the friend who found Hershberger also committed suicide.

LUDVIK HOCH aka ROBERT MAXWELL

David Lester

On November 5, 1991, in the early morning, Ludvik Hoch slipped into the waters of the Atlantic from his private boat and drowned. His death was rumored to be a murder or the result of a heart attack and accidental drowning, but it was probably suicide. His huge financial empire was on the verge of collapse, and his suicide spared him the humiliation of being exposed as a villain and charged with plundering pension funds.

Hoch, himself, told many versions of his life, and it is far from clear what the true facts were. The following account is not from an "authorized" biography, but from a book by a journalist who worked for him and who wrote the book after Hoch's death (Davies, 1992).

Early Events

Hoch was born in a small town, Solotvino, in Ruthenia, Czechoslovakia, near the border with Russia, on June 10, 1923. He was the eldest son of a poor Jewish laborer, Mehel Hoch and his wife Chanca. Gisl (a sister) was born in 1919 and died two years later. Brana (another sister) was born in 1920, one of the three children to survive World War Two, despite being placed in the concentration camps of Mauthausen and Buchenwald. Ludvik was next, followed by Chamhersch (a brother) in 1925 who died two years later of diphtheria. Ludvik also caught diphtheria but survived. Shenya was born in 1926, Sylvia in 1929, Zissel in 1931, Tzipporah in 1933 and a third son Itzak in 1940. Of these later children, only Sylvia survived the war; the rest were killed by the Nazis, as were his grandparents, parents, aunts and uncles. Some were shot, while others died in the extermination camps.

The family was poor. The children shared a bed, had few clothes and went barefoot for half the year. Ludvik remembered being hungry all the time and scavenging for food. He said, "We were like pigs" (p. 16). Ludvik attended a religious elementary school and then a local Czech government school. When he was ten, he was sent to a Yeshiva to study to become a rabbi, first in nearby Sgiget and then to Bratislava. However, at the age of sixteen, Ludvik quit school, cut off his sidelocks and stopped wearing his skull cap.

He began buying and selling cheap jewelry and trinkets. He picked up many languages, including Yiddish which was spoken at home, Russian, Hungarian and Czech. He later added English, German, Romanian, French and Hebrew. When the war broke out, Ludvik was still sixteen, and it is not clear what he did during the war. His official press releases said that he fought the Russians and Germans in the Czech army, escaped to France via Bulgaria and Greece, was wounded and captured by the Germans at Orléans and escaped. He was evacuated from Marseille in 1940 with other Czech soldiers and arrived in Liverpool, England. He was described as a "scarcely literate teenager.....quite unruly, like a young bull" (p. 19).

He joined an Auxiliary Pioneer Corps, doing manual labor for only two shillings a day for three years. He came to the attention of a Brigadier who enabled Ludvik to join the 6th North Staffords. Ludvik changed his name to Ivan du Maurier, after the cigarettes he smoked. By the time of the Normandy landings he was a sergeant. He changed his name again to Leslie Jones and fought well. In liberated Paris, he met a sophisticated, educated daughter of a wealthy Huguenot owner of silk factories, Elizabeth Meynard. In January 1945, he proposed, was promoted to Second-Lieutenant, changed his name to Ian Robert Maxwell and was married nine weeks later. In the final months of the war, he showed exceptional bravery and was personally presented with the Military Cross by Field Marshall Montgomery. In November 1945, he found his two surviving sisters and Betty was pregnant with own first child.

The Early Career of Robert Maxwell

The British promoted him to Captain and, because of his knowledge of languages, assigned him to Intelligence to interview captured Germans. He next headed the press section of the Public Relations and Information Services Control where he censored Der Telegraph, the German-language newspaper for the British sector of Germany. Maxwell was able to find ink, paper and printing machinery to keep it going, and its circulation rose to 250,000. The editor, Arno Scholz, inspired Maxwell to become a socialist and to own a newspaper. Maxwell socialized a good deal with Russians, and some claim that the KGB managed to recruit him. During the two years in Berlin, Maxwell also met Ferdinand Springer who had run a large scientific publishing house before the war. Maxwell helped the family restart the business, and this provided the basis for Maxwell's later fortune. He also continued his bartering and eventually became a director of a small import-export business run by fellow Czechs from a London office.

Maxwell was demobbed in October 1947 and immediately turned to business. His first company sold German newspapers to German prisoners of war in Britain. He then distributed Springer's books outside of Germany by persuading the Allies that it was important to provide access to German scientific research findings. In Britain, Butterworth-Springer was established to publish scientific research from Britain, and Maxwell purchased the company in May 1951 with a loan from Hambros, a private bank. The company was renamed as Pergamon. In the next fifty years, Pergamon rose to become one of the major publishers of scientific books and journals in the world.⁵ By 1990, Pergamon published over four hundred journals and had a booklist of 3,500 titles. It provided the basis for Maxwell's fortune and, uncharacteristically for Maxwell, it succeeded because he let the managers and editors run the company without interference. Maxwell was a brilliant wheeler-dealer but a very bad manager. In most of his other business ventures, he actively managed them, and they typically failed. But with Pergamon in hand, Maxwell was soon a millionaire and living a stylish life.

⁵ Maxwell lost control of Pergamon for a brief period in the 1970s, but he was able to buy it back in 1974.

Maxwell began to buy into all kinds of ventures, publishers and associated businesses at first, but later more diverse companies. Some made money; others he simply stripped their assets. In 1972, the Department of Trade and Industry investigated how Maxwell had run Pergamon and concluded that Maxwell was ".....not in our opinion a person who can be relied on to exercise proper stewardship of a publicly quoted company" (p. 31).

Maxwell's next diversion was to run for Parliament. He won as a Labor candidate in 1964 in his second try, but lost the seat at the next election. His constituents liked him, but most of the work back home was done by his wife, Betty.

In the 1980s, Maxwell decided to try to buy a newspaper, long his dream. He failed in attempts to buy the *Daily Herald*, the *News of the World* and a major printing company. A newspaper he helped to start, the *Scottish Daily News*, failed. But he also had successes. He bought Odhams Press and, finally, was able to buy the Mirror group which published the *Daily Mirror*, *Sunday Mirror*, *People*, *Scottish Daily Record*, *Scottish Sunday Mail* and *Sporting Life*.

Maxwell became thoroughly involved in running the Mirror Group, hiring and firing staff, deciding the stories to be covered, and even writing the editorials. As mentioned above, Maxwell was a poor manager, and his interference resulted in a poorer product. Despite this, Maxwell had one victory. He confronted the unions and beat them. He was able to establish a modern printing plant, outside of London, and have it function efficiently, a first for the Fleet Street newspapers.

Maxwell the Man

Maxwell was a most objectionable person. He was rude and insulting to his staff. He swore at them, humiliated them in a multitude of ways, and fired them on a whim. He was equally unpleasant to his wife and children.⁶ Davies, his biographer, said that Maxwell treated his family as if they were his employees and behaved as if he did not care for their feelings at all. Davies found his treatment of his wife in particular "painful." He spent little time with his wife and children, and yet two of his sons worked for his companies⁷, and Betty remained loyal to Maxwell to the end. He was strict with his children, demanded politeness and good manners, and pushed them to excel academically. Four graduated from Oxford University, as did Betty who attended as a "mature student." Maxwell warned his children that he planned to leave them no money -- they would have to make their own way in life. Kevin, the youngest son, born in 1959, stood up to his father more than most, even quitting Pergamon in 1982 when Maxwell insisted that Kevin break his engagement. Maxwell hired him back, after the marriage, because he needed some staff whom he could trust. Although Betty was a Christian, she supported all kinds of Jewish causes on Maxwell's behalf, usually attending functions in

⁶ For example, Maxwell had locks placed on his kitchen in his suite at work to prevent his youngest daughter, Ghislaine, from snacking on the food there.

⁷ He and Betty had nine children. Maxwell was devastated by the death of a daughter at the age of three from leukemia and the death of a son in a car crash.

his place. And, although Maxwell mistreated her consistently, as his empire crumbled at the end, he called for her to come to his London offices to help him.

Although there were many rumors of Maxwell's infidelities, his personal assistants denied this. Davies was able to document only one sexual escapade, with a secretary in 1987, and Davies thought that such escapades were the exception.

Maxwell was paranoid. He appeared to have the telephones in the offices of his staff tapped. On one occasion he found out that Davies was having an affair with Maxwell's personal assistant and hounded the two of them over the affair for months.⁸ He shredded documents and was always concerned with his conversations being overheard. He looked for signs of "industrial espionage" and hired a guard for the editorial floor of the *Mirror*.

Maxwell honored few of the agreements that he made. He would make a verbal or written agreement for something and then simply ignore it or try to renegotiate it, usually successfully. In like manner, he accepted scores of invitations to functions and dinners with no intention of attending. Sometimes he sent family members or staff in his place, but usually he would cancel shortly before the event.

Davies noted that Maxwell was often angry. Indeed, he seemed to like "fuck-ups," as he called them, because they allowed him to vent his rage. Toward the end of his life, Davies noted that Maxwell seemed to find little enjoyment in life. He was restless, agitated and irrationally angry. He longed to be a world-respected statesman and international power-broker, but he never succeeded in this. He seemed happy only when he was on his boat.

Maxwell was vain -- he had his hair colored every two weeks and carried a powder puff for his shiny facial skin. He gambled a little, sometimes winning or losing \$100,000, but this was not a lot of money to Maxwell, a man who drank wine which cost \$250 a bottle. Although he traveled extensively all over the world, he typically stayed in his hotel. He never went sight-seeing or visited operas, plays and museums.

Maxwell indulged himself in material luxuries. He bought himself a helicopter, a jet airplane (with call sign GO-VIP) and a luxury boat. He arranged for his own chef and gourmet foods to accompany him on every foreign trip (of which there were many). Above all, he gorged himself. He required some food or drink almost half-hourly throughout the day. For most of the day, coffee or orange juice would do. But lunch and dinner were gigantic meals, especially toward the last years of his life when his weight grew to over 300 pounds.⁹ His food had to be fresh, and his staff discarded vast amounts of food more than a day old. He would consume \$200-worth of Chinese food for dinner

⁸ The personal assistant eventually quit, but not before Maxwell had tried to rape her and, later, proposed to her.

⁹ He smoked forty cigarettes a day until 1955 when he developed secondary cancer of the lungs and had to have the upper lobe of one lung removed. He switched to cigars, but in moderation. He used an inhaler regularly and carried antibiotics for his colds.

and a whole chicken late at night. When he ate fruit, he might spit the seeds out on the carpet or consume the seeds and stalks. Davies observed him stuffing food into his mouth once so that he could barely chew it, and he said that it "was like watching a starving man, driven mad by hunger, unable to control himself...." (p. 183). This behavior is understandable in the light of his starvation and hunger as a child.

The excess weight exacerbated his back ache, for which he took strong pain-killers and used an osteopath. He rarely had headaches. He had trouble sleeping at night and started taking Halcion in the 1980s, in higher doses and for longer periods than recommended, despite the known risks associated with it.¹⁰

He drank to excess in his last few years -- two bottles of wine with a meal, and port afterwards. Toward the end, he was drinking two bottles of port at a time or a bottle of Chivas Regal.

In his last few years, Maxwell tried very hard to achieve status. He endeavored to meet with every national leader and important statesman, and succeeded with most.¹¹ He set up foundations in several countries, offered to buy into businesses and to start companies, and even offered to take over the management of the foreign debt of some nations, such as Bulgaria. Sometimes the deals went through, sometimes Maxwell welshed on them, and sometimes the nations did not deliver on their promises.

Martha Smilgis, a reporter for *Time*, interviewed Maxwell in 1989 and accompanied him for a week. She was appalled by his obsessive-compulsive eating, suggesting that food was his "turn-on, his sexual kick" (p. 287). She was struck by his "bullshit," such as exaggerating his worth and the extent to which he was "in" with world leaders. She was struck by the way he bullied his senior staff and the way in which employees cringed subserviently before him, "like whipped dogs" (p. 288). She decided that Maxwell was "very lonely, despite being married for so long and having such a large family. And he was extraordinarily vain and he never seemed happy, never happy in himself. I thought he was a genuinely evil man and very mean; mean towards his wife and children and the staff. He seemed to be genuinely wicked, his moods changing for no reason but to crush and humiliate people in public" (p. 288).

Dangerous Involvements

Maxwell was particularly involved in three nations, involvements which might have played some role in his death, if he was murdered as was rumored. Davies believes that Maxwell was not a spy for the USSR, but rather helped the Russian leaders, including the KGB, transfer money out of Russia for political and personal use. The KGB labeled Maxwell as an "agent of influence." Maxwell's status in Russia was highest in the 1970s when Andropov was in charge of the KGB and later the Communist Party. Maxwell was given freedom to publish Russian scientific works abroad, and he ensured

¹⁰ The drug was eventually banned in 1991 by the British Department of Health. Its side effects included depression, memory loss, hallucinations and aggressive behavior.

¹¹ He took his own photographer along to capture these meetings.

that the Russians got the latest scientific journals. In 1983, Maxwell was awarded an honorary doctorate from Moscow State University, and he was a frequent visitor to the Kremlin.

Maxwell "came out" about being Jewish in 1986, and his wife arranged a conference on the Holocaust in Oxford which brought together some 600 survivors. Maxwell broke down and cried at the conference. After that, Maxwell became interested in Israel and tried to push the Soviet Union to help Russian Jews. He assisted the Israelis in establishing a consulate in Moscow, in helping the Israeli consul contact Russian officials¹², and in permitting Jewish refugees to fly directly to Israel from Moscow.

Maxwell also began to invest heavily in Israel, investing in newspaper, pharmaceutical companies, and printing companies. In 1991, an Israeli, Ari Ben Menashe, claimed that Maxwell and Davies worked for Mossad and had been involved in selling Israeli arms to Iran, and Seymour Hersh included these in his book *The Samson Option*. Questions were raised in the House of Commons on October 21, 1991, which allowed British newspapers to publish the allegations without fear of libel suits. However, Maxwell filed suits against Hersh and his publishers, Faber & Faber.

In the United States, his ownership of Pergamon gave him a presence, and his purchase of the *New York Daily News* brought him status. Maxwell also invested in many companies in America, eventually buying the Official Airline Guides from Dun & Bradstreet and Macmillan.

Maxwell was able to take over the *New York Daily News* in 1989. The newspaper never made a profit for Maxwell, partly because of the control over the distribution exerted by the Mafia. Whereas Maxwell had never been accepted by the British establishment -- as a Czech Jew coming from the lower classes and uneducated, he stood no chance of being accepted¹³ -- his rescue of the *New York Daily News* brought him respect and adulation in America but drained his resources.

Financial Ruin

In the last few years of his life, Maxwell made some poor business decisions. He started a 24-hour newspaper, the *London Daily News*, and a European newspaper, the *European*, both of which failed. Many of the investments Maxwell made in other countries failed to bring profits, leaving him with huge debts.

Maxwell had set up a complicated financial arrangement for his companies, registering almost all of them in Liechtenstein which provided secrecy and low taxes. Setting up his companies in Liechtenstein cost Maxwell some credibility in Britain and prevented him taking over many companies. Davies speculated that Maxwell used the

¹² For example, he gave a dinner in which he sat the Israeli Consul next to the secretary-general of Comecon.

¹³ The satirical magazine, *Private Eye*, called him the "bouncing Czech."

secrecy to hide his connection with the KGB. It also permitted him to move moneys without scrutiny.

In the last few months of his life, Maxwell encountered a grave financial situation. Interest payments were huge, and banks were calling in loans. Maxwell plundered over one billion dollars from his companies,¹⁴ including the pension funds of his workers, trying to save the situation. He used this money to buy up shares in his publicly-traded companies to support their share price, to pay off the banks, and in losses of some of his ventures such as the *European* and *New York Daily News*. Maxwell sold Pergamon to Elsevier in 1991, floated 49 percent of Mirror Group Communications, and sold off some of his profitable investments.

The empire was about to collapse.

Maxwell's Death

Perhaps Maxwell was murdered by the KGB or the New York Mafia? One possibility is that Soviet officials, anticipating the worst if the Communist Government fell, transferred money abroad through Maxwell to enable to live well. Perhaps hardline KGB men had Maxwell killed to prevent those officials obtaining these funds?

Maxwell had tried to end the Mafia's hold on the *New York Daily News* by getting the Manhattan District Attorney to investigate their racketeering. Perhaps the Mafia arranged his murder?

In the last few days before his death, Maxwell was still trying to borrow money to tide him over the crisis. Shearson-Lehman told Maxwell on October 29, 1991, that they were going to seize his collateral because of his failure to repay loans. The following day, Goldman Sachs made a similar threat. These actions would have prevented Maxwell selling off companies, such as Berlitz, to give him a breathing-space. Three days later, the half-yearly figures were due to be released for Maxwell Communications Corporation which would reveal lower profits. This would lower the share price and, thence, the value of his collateral. The *Financial Times* had been examining Maxwell's companies and was about to publish an exposé. The Swiss Bank Corporation informed Maxwell that on November 4, they would go to their lawyers if their loan was not repaid.

Maxwell flew back to London, and then, on November 1, to his boat. For the first time, he took no secretary, valet or butler. The captain of his boat said that Maxwell seemed healthy. He ate and drank well, and he did not work at all. They sailed to Madeira. On Saturday November 2, he went gambling in Funchal with \$3000. On November 4, Maxwell arrived at the Canary Islands. He called his sons several times (who probably told him that Goldman Sachs had started selling some of the shares in Maxwell Communications Corporation) and his French lawyer with whom he discussed plans including his nomination for the Légion d'honneur and his upcoming award as Man of the Year from the American Jewish Scientific and Cultural Institute.

¹⁴ He seemed to have had about 400 companies by 1991, held by three umbrella companies.

On November 4, Maxwell dined alone at the Hotel Mencey ashore. He went back to the ship and asked the captain to cruise slowly throughout the night, ending up at Teneriffe where his jet was waiting.

The Spanish authorities traced all boats in the area that night and claimed that all had been accounted for. The captain of the boat said that no one could have sent people aboard Maxwell's boat to assassinate him. The crew were questioned and released with no suspicion. On the morning of November 5, Maxwell was seen walking on deck at 4.25 a.m. He called the bridge at 4.55 a.m. to have the air conditioning turned down. Conditions were good and the sea calm.

Probably, some time after 5 a.m., Maxwell left his suite, locked the door and threw the key overboard. Naked, he slipped into the water and then kept swimming until he suffered a heart attack. His body was recovered -- he did not die from drowning.

His funeral was held on the Mount of Olives in Jerusalem, attended by the President of Israel.

Reference

Davies, N. (1992). *Death of a tycoon*. New York: St Martin's Press.

ABBIE HOFFMAN

David Lester

Abbie's ancestors were Russian Jews, named Shapoznikoff, from an area near Kiev ("The Pale"). Abbie's father arrived in 1906 at the age of one, getting the name Hoffman from an uncle who had obtained papers in that name. John Hoffman worked in his uncle's drugstore, studied at night for a degree in pharmacy and started a wholesale distributorship of medical supplies. Abbie's mother was born in Clinton, Massachusetts, near Worcester; her father was a wrecker, and her mother worked in a sweatshop. She worked as a secretary, met John at a bowling alley and married him in 1935.

Abbie was born on November 30, 1936; a younger brother was born in 1939 and sister in 1941. Abbie liked to be the center of attention (and had asthma attacks when not), and was healthy, active and mischievous. (At the age of thirteen, the police accused him of changing around the license plates of neighborhood cars.) Jews were a tiny minority in Worcester, and Abbie's parents were not strict. They did not participate in the larger Jewish community of America, and Abbie grew up feeling "American" and was never defensive about his Jewish identity. John Hoffman was a civic booster for Worcester, and had high standing in the Worcester community. He died in 1974, shortly after Abbie went underground, feeling that his son had let him down.

Abbie liked sports, both playing and watching, and he and his father supported the Boston Red Sox and Holy Cross College teams. He excelled at tennis and was a champion at yo-yo tricks. Abbie showed no interest in politics or social issues. In his teenage years, perhaps in rebellion, Abbie hung out with the local Irish and Italian youths, playing pool and poker and dating gentile girls. He became a "hood". Nevertheless, he got good grades at school (Seaver Prep, a public junior high school for the gifted, and then Classical High) and read voraciously the books he borrowed from the public library. He also helped his father out in his business and was a good salesman. In June, 1953, a tornado hit the Worcester area, and Abbie worked through the night ordering medical supplies and distributing them to the Red Cross and local authorities.

As a sophomore, he wrote a paper defending atheism, had an argument with the teacher about it, and hit the teacher when he called Abbie a communist bastard. He was suspended, but enrolled at the Worcester Academy, a private boarding school. He graduated in June 1955, and went to Brandeis University.

College and Marriage

In 1955, Brandeis was a university seven years old, founded by Jews. It had attracted many left-wing professors who had escaped Joseph McCarthy's witch hunts, partly because McCarthy did not want to appear to be anti-semitic. Abbie initially planned to become a physician, but a course from Abraham Maslow, a leading humanistic psychologist, led Abbie to major in psychology. Maslow became an idol for Abbie.

At Brandeis, Abbie identified with the bohemian crowd, but did not abandon his love of sports and gambling. He also earned eighty dollars a week selling subs to the other students at night in the dormitories. Abbie graduated in June 1959, and while there he had heard visiting lectures from Martin Luther King, Dorothy Day and Saul Alinsky. But Maslow remained Abbie's hero, and Abbie set out to become self-actualized. Only later did he focus on the political implications of Maslow's ideas (as Betty Friedan did for feminism).

Abbie first studied psychology for a year at the University of California at Berkely, and he continued his undergraduate life-style -- studying, shooting pool, and operating a travel club. However, Abbie's year there did get him involved in political issues (a fight over ROTC on campus, protests against the execution of Caryl Chessman, and a local hearing by the House Committee on Un-American Activities [HUAC]), and these involvements interested him in activism.

Abbie's girlfriend, Sheila Karklin, visited him at Berkeley and got pregnant. They married in the summer of 1960, eventually having two children together. He got a job as a staff psychologist at Worcester State Hospital (though he did not have a master's degree). He quickly began to get involved in activism. The local ACLU chapter hired him to travel around Massachusetts with a film about the HUAC defending the anti-HUAC position. After trying to run a movie theater for "good movies", Abbie got a job in sales for a pharmaceutical company, and helped in H. Stuart Hughes's campaign for the US Senate.

Abbie became friendly with a local priest, Father Bernard Gilgun, and Abbie and Sheila were caught up by his activism. Abbie established regular Friday meetings where speakers led discussions on social issues attended by hundreds. Abbie and Sheila involved themselves in local civil rights activity (they energized the local NAACP chapter). Sheila organized the first peace demonstrations, and Abbie started a newsletters, *The Drum*. Abbie was a whirlwind in the community, involving himself in everything, but he never stayed with any project. Abbie did not want power; he wanted action.

Abbie and Sheila supported the work of black activists in the South, raising money for them, and trying (unsuccessfully) to get the alternative delegation from Mississippi admitted to the Democratic convention in Atlantic City in 1964. In 1965, Abbie and Sheila went to the South to work with the freedom fighters. When he came back north, Abbie helped the southern blacks market and sell their locally-made products in retail outlets in the North. In 1966, he was fired from his job, and his marriage broke up. Abbie decided to move to New York City.

The Yippies

In New York, Abbie devoted himself to social causes, also writing about them which added to his growing reputation. Abbie quickly met and fell in love with a young

woman, a graduate of Goucher College, with a master's degree in psychology, and they moved in together (and were married in 1967). Abbie also got involved in the hippie culture. He smoked marijuana and took acid, and he lived in the East Village with the hippies. Abbie then decided that he could turn the rebellion of the hippies in a political direction.

He began by developing a support network for the hippies -- raising seed money for projects, running a newsletter, providing bail and legal aid, free food, free clothes, etc. Abbie also decided to develop the idea formulated by others of using theater in protests. To protest the traffic on St. Marks Place, Abbie and others transformed the place into a dance stage and pedestrian mall one evening. The next week they "planted" a tree in the road and danced. Abbie took free old clothes to Macy's and "gave them away" and, in one of his most famous exploits, in 1967 threw one dollar bills into the trading floor at the New York Stock Exchange from the visitors' balcony, with the result that the traders on the floor fought over the money.

Starting in 1967, Abbie became more involved in the effort to stop the war in Vietnam. Working with hippies, Abbie devised guerrilla theater. He led a group in a Loyalty Parade, with flowers and "LOVE" signs, and was attacked by the groups supporting the Johnson administration. His group received as much media attention as the "loyal" groups. In late 1967, as part of the protest in Washington, DC, against the war, Abbie led an "exorcism" of the Pentagon and tried to levitate it.

These exploits led up to the Democratic Convention in Chicago in 1968. Abbie and others organized themselves as "Yippies", nominated a pig for President, and planned a series of protests. However, the authoritarian mayor of Chicago, Richard Daley, refused to issue permits for convocations and parades or for the protesters to sleep in the parks. He also called out the National Guard and had them and the Chicago police officers attack and beat the protesters. Many, including Abbie, were arrested. Although, of course, many Americans approved of the acts of the authorities in Chicago, others were outraged. The brutality of the authorities, which the Democratic candidate for President, Hubert Humphrey, supported, contributed to Humphrey's defeat in the election. Abbie, having exposed the brutality of the authorities, considered the events a great victory for the movement.

It was here, in the midst of confrontations with other protesters and the authorities, that his biographer, Jezer (1992) notes that Abbie was, for the first time, occasionally out-of-control and in a manic phase. It was also now that the police, including the FBI, began their continuous surveillance of Abbie. They interrogated him a number of times, tapped his telephone calls and broke into his offices.

Back in New York, Abbie found it hard to keep the movement going. Some of his associates dropped out to start rural communes; others turned to environmental issues. Abbie's book, *Revolution For The Hell Of It*, published in 1968 kept Abbie in the spotlight. MGM bought the movie rights (though the movie was never made), and Abbie gave the money (\$25,000) to the Black Panther bail fund.

One of Abbie's achievements was to end the public hearings of the HUAC. The committee ordered Abbie to Washington, DC, for questioning. Abbie dressed himself in a shirt made out of the American flag. The police tried to arrest him on the Capitol steps but tore the shirt, all of which was captured by television. The committee suspended hearings, tried to resume them a month later, but never again organized a public hearing.

At Woodstock, Abbie failed to organize any Yippie events, but he saw that the volunteer effort needed organizing and took over. For example, he helped organize a medical station and printed survival bulletins. On his return to New York, he wrote *Woodstock Nation*.

On March 20, 1969, Abbie along with seven others, were indicted in a Chicago federal court for their "crimes" during the Democratic convention. Abbie took the lead in creating the public image for the group, though the judge, Julius Hoffman, was so inept that he made it easy for the defendants. For example, when the Black Panther, Bobbye Seale, insisted on defending himself, the judge ordered Seale bound and gagged in court, until finally separating his trial from that of the others. However, Abbie and the rest of the Chicago Seven, also heckled and pulled pranks on the judge, goading him until he lost control. The trial began in late September, 1969, and the jury began its deliberations on February 14, 1970. After four days they were deadlocked, but the judge forced some decisions from them. The judge sentenced the defendants to five years in prison and five thousand dollar fines. They spent two weeks in jail before their appeals led to their release. In 1972, the court of appeals threw out most of the contempt-of-court citations, and later overturned all of the convictions. In 1973, a reduced number of contempt charges were upheld and the defendants sentenced to the time already served.

Abbie was now in demand for public talks at a thousand dollars a time, a celebrity, a symbol of the polarized society, loathed by many and extolled by others. The FBI followed him everywhere, planted hostile stories in the press and tried to prevent his speaking engagements. The capitalists tried to take him over -- to hire him as a youth consultant for their marketing departments or to make Abbie Hoffman dolls. He refused.

However, it proved to be difficult for Abbie to find a focus, and in early 1970 he and Anita were demoralized and talked of going into exile to Cuba. Nixon's invasion of Cambodia in April and the murder of Kent State University students by the National Guard galvanized them. After the New York City police raided a gay bar in Greenwich Village in June 1969 which led to violent protests by the gay community, gay causes were a growing concern, and the feminist movement was also growing.¹ Abbie wrote a book entitled *Steal This Book*, which contained advice on how to get things for free, both legally and illegally. No publisher would accept it, and he was forced to publish it himself. 100,000 copies were sold in the first four months! Nevertheless Abbie began to feel unappreciated and put upon. He lacked a good support network, and he had organized no business. He had no staff, no press agent and little money. He loved fame,

¹ Incidentally, Abbie was supportive to both movements, after seeming both homophobic and sexist in past talks and writing.

while despising himself for loving it. He was good at public theater, but had no desire to go into the legitimate theater. Working in advertising or consultancy would have violated his principles, and public office held no charm. Anita, tired of her identity as Abbie's wife, left him for Long Island, though Abbie visited and stayed with her and their child often. It was on Long Island that Abbie began using cocaine, and that gave him the idea to make some money with a cocaine deal.

Abbie made no secret about his plans, and the arrangements were amateurish. He was arrested during the deal. As his friends and lawyers tried to work on his behalf, raising funds and trying to control the damage to Abbie's reputation, Abbie decided to jump bail and go underground. In February, 1974, after a speech in Atlanta, he disappeared. His support network helped him, and the danger was not that the police would find him, but rather that Abbie himself might be so reckless that he would give away his identity.

In the summer of 1974, he went to Mexico and fell in love with Johanna Lawrenson. He considered going to Israel, gave an interview to Top Value Television (shown on Public Television in May, 1975), and was interviewed for the *Playboy* issue of May, 1976. As the date for this issue grew closer, Abbie had his second manic episode since going underground.² He thought that his friends had betrayed him, and he fled to Montreal where he ran up huge bills at the hotel by calling people in America. (A friend had to go up there to pay his hotel bill.) He developed grandiose plans, was very paranoid, and walked around carrying a hunting knife. A friend in Montreal introduced him to a psychiatrist who, unfortunately, was opposed to medication. Eventually, Johanna got him back to America and settled down on one of the Thousand Islands in the St. Lawrence Seaway.

Life as Barry Freed and Death

Abbie passed himself off as Barry Freed, a free-lance writer, and at first he finished his autobiography for publication. He and Johanna travelled to Europe, Mexico and Los Angeles, and Abbie threw a party for himself at the Felt Forum at Madison Square Garden. In 1980, he was examined by a psychiatrist in Los Angeles who diagnosed Abbie as having a bipolar affective disorder and prescribed lithium. Thereafter, Abbie was much more stable psychologically, as long as he took the medication. However, since it upset his stomach, he often refused to take it which brought back his manic and depressive moods.

He quickly became involved in a community effort to prevent the St. Lawrence Seaway from being kept open all year. Starting in 1978, Abbie helped organize the groups, and this time he attended to all of the tasks that need to be done to accomplish such a goal. He got people involved, set up a sound financial basis, co-opted all kinds of groups even though they might disagree on other issues, lobbied the right people, etc, and he did this behind the scenes since it was still dangerous for Abbie/Barry to become the

² The first was a year earlier when the police found his car in Boston, after which he fled to Las Vegas, where he "freaked out."

center of media attention.

Toward the end of 1980, Abbie began to consider surrendering to the police and, once the decision was made, he turned it into a media event. Barbara Walters was given the story, and she announced it on ABC's national news on September 3, 1980. He pleaded guilty to a lesser charge and was scheduled for sentencing in April 1981. He was sentenced to three years in prison -- he served two months in maximum security and ten months in a New York City drug rehabilitation program.

He was quite active in prison (for example, teaching English to the Spanish-speaking prisoners) and at the center (where he worked as a counselor). After parole, however, Abbie again had difficulty finding a cause on which to focus his energies. A project to combine the myriad community groups to protect the Great Lakes failed, but in December, 1982, Abbie was given the opportunity to help prevent a pumping station being built to siphon off water from the Delaware River to cool a nuclear power plant. In a few days, he devised a strategy to halt the impending construction, and again he organized the local groups to defeat the project -- which they did in a referendum in May, 1983.¹ Abbie stopped taking his lithium during this period of activity, and his mania soon returned. He became paranoid and violent, and his friends could not calm him down. He resigned from the local group (and the St. Lawrence Seaway group too), returned to New York, where his mania crested in April, to be followed by a severe depression. He attempted suicide with 75 Restorils, but survived after being taken to Bellevue Hospital.

This experience motivated him to work on bipolar affective disorder. He attended psychiatric conferences and started self-help groups for people like himself. He continued to take his lithium for two years, but in 1985 he switched to self-medication, using valium to neutralize his mania and antidepressants for the depressions. However, on this regimen, he still suffered from mood swings, though they were not as severe as before.

Abbie spent 1984 to 1989 doing what he had tried to do earlier in his life, foment a youth rebellion, giving some sixty speeches a year. He tried to start a National Student Organization. Abbie himself was unacceptable to many of the students involved, and he worked for this goal through a group of students who respected him at Rutgers University. However, the resulting organization did not achieve much -- there were no galvanizing issues to motivate the students.

He got involved with the Sandinistas in Nicaragua, making five trips there. He was arrested with Amy Carter (President Carter's daughter) at the University of Massachusetts in Amherst protesting CIA recruiters on campus. At this trial, Abbie worked with the system and defended his group successfully -- the jury acquitted them.

In 1987, he returned to Pennsylvania to fight the pumping station project again, but this time his group lost. He decided to stay in the area. On June 16, 1988, he was

¹ The pumping station was, however, approved in 1987.

driving to Newark airport to hand-deliver an article to *Playboy* on the possibility that President Reagan had struck an arms-for-hostages deal with Iran, when his careless driving led to a severe crash in which he lost consciousness. He refused treatment, made his flight to Chicago in order to deliver his article only to find out that *Playboy* objected to some of it. They planned to print only the part that had adequate documentation. He collapsed after returning to New York and was treated for a broken leg, broken rib, punctured kidney and two broken fingers!

The injuries healed slowly, and the pain was quite bad. He also fell into the severest depression since his suicide attempt six years earlier. Although he was planning more college speeches and was exploring the possibility of an academic teaching position, the depression worsened. By February, 1989, he felt he was losing control. He tried Prozac, but it did not seem to help. On April 12, Johanna and other friends telephoned his apartment but could get no answer. They called his landlord who found Abbie dead. He had taken about 150 phenobarbitals and washed them down with alcohol. His first attempt failed because he forgot the alcohol. This time, he remembered.

Abbie Hoffman, who had spent his adult life using the media to promote his causes, died a very private death.

Reference

Jezer, M. (1992). *Abbie Hoffman: American rebel*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

IRIS WILKINSON (ROBIN HYDE)

David Lester

Iris's father, George Wilkinson (born in 1881) grew up in India and went to fight in the Boer War in South Africa in 1899 where he was injured in the leg and head. He spent several months in a hospital there recovering from his wounds. While there he met Adelaide Butler (Nelly, born in 1872) who was raised in Australia and was on a visit to England when her ship stopped in South Africa and she took a job as a nurse. They married (in 1903), and George worked for the Post and Telegraph Department. They had four daughters, with Iris, the second born, born on January 19, 1906. When Iris was one, they decided to move to Wellington, New Zealand, where George continued to work for the post office. George had a steady job, but they were relatively poor.

Iris's childhood and adolescence was without trauma. George was prone to migraine headaches and had an explosive temper. Her parents had different political views, with George a socialist and Nelly more conservative, and there were frequent bitter arguments in the house, leaving Iris divided in her loyalties toward her parents, which caused her distress.

Iris was described as high-strung and sensitive, often tearful, with a vivid imagination. (She firmly believed in the existence of fairies!) She was seen as vulnerable to playground bullies and not physically robust. Iris showed an interest in and ability with poetry from an early age. By the age of eight, she was writing prayers for church and poems. Iris did well at school (except for mathematics) and was awarded a Junior National Scholarship, the first student from her school to win one.

George enlisted in the armed forces when World War One broke out, leaving New Zealand in May 1916. He served for two-and-a-half years, but safely in England in the postal services. He returned in December 1918, after which the family's circumstances improved as a result of the extra benefits George received from his military service, and they moved to a better neighborhood.

At the next level of schooling, Iris continued to perform well except for mathematics and biology. Iris was emotional, hypersensitive and unpopular, but she made a good friend, Gwen Hawthorn, who remained her friend for life. Both were lovers of literature, and both wrote poetry. Iris's poems and stories appeared in the school newspaper and were awarded prizes. Her poetry was even reviewed favorably by a national New Zealand newspaper. She was awarded a National Senior Scholarship for the University of New Zealand, but she never attended college. Her graduation was delayed because she failed mathematics, but she graduated from school in 1922.

Home life continued to be stressful because of the disputes between her parents¹, but Iris also made life difficult. Her sisters described her as rebellious, impulsive, and

¹ Gwen Hawthorn described Iris's father as "a disappointed, railing, whining man, shambling and repulsive." (p. 34)

demanding. As the “star,” she made demands on others, such as requiring silence at home while she wrote.

In April 1922, Iris’s father brought home a young man he worked with, Harry Sweetman, who liked literature, and he and Iris immediately formed a strong bond. They never became lovers,² but they were very close, and Harry may have been the one true love of Iris’s life – “a phantom lover” (p. 38). “He haunted her imagination and her poetry relentlessly for the rest of her life” (p. 38). Iris’s father quickly became concerned about his 16 year-old daughter’s infatuation and banished Harry from the house. But their relationship continued, with voluminous letters after Harry became an itinerate worker and occasional meetings.

Iris left school and began work at the *Dominion*, a daily newspaper which also published other newspapers and magazines. Iris started by writing a children’s page for the *Farmer’s Advocate* and moved on to a woman’s page and reporting from the New Zealand parliament.

The Crises

In the Spring of 1924, Iris injured her knee. The circumstances of the injury are not clear, but she was in a hospital for eight months and on crutches when she returned home. This injury never healed, and her knee bothered her for the rest of her life. But she did return to work at the newspaper. Her work there was good, and her new salary enabled her to find an apartment in town. For the first time, she was free from her parents’ interference.

In October 1925, Harry announced that he was going to England – alone. Her dreams were shattered, and it was a bitter blow. He never wrote to Iris again. He arrived in England in December 1925, got tonsillitis and died from the complications in May 1926.

Iris received a small inheritance from an Australian uncle and, with it, she took a holiday in Rotorua. There she met Frederick de Mulford Hyde, and he was her first lover. Unfortunately, Iris got pregnant. Frederick already had a permanent lover and had had no intention of a serious relationship with Iris. Iris informed her mother, and her mother sent Iris off to Australia to have the baby without telling her husband or her other daughters who never learned the truth.¹ After a difficult time in Australia (Iris had little money and met prejudice as an unmarried pregnant woman), the baby died soon after birth. Iris saw him (but was not allowed to hold him) and decided to name him Christopher Robin Hyde. Her mother came to Australia to take care of Iris after the birth. Iris made the decision to memorialize him by adopting the pen name of Robin Hyde for her writing, but this was a continual reminder for the rest of her life of this traumatic loss.

² There were fierce kisses and passionate declarations.

¹ The pretense was that Iris was going to have her knee examined there.

When Iris returned to New Zealand, she found out that Frederick had married his long-time lover. She had a nervous breakdown. She began to take medicines such as veronal and luminal² and eventually was hospitalized. She refused to eat and was forced fed, and she was kept sedated with morphine. Back in Wellington, a doctor stopped the sedation and had a nurse move into the Wilkinson home to take care of Iris, which helped but which made her sisters angry at this special treatment.³ Iris still failed to recover, and so she was placed in the Queen Mary Hospital in May 1927. Her doctors described her as mildly confused, with insomnia, and diagnosed her with hysteria. The five-month stay there seemed to heal Iris, and she was able to write poetry during this period, and she got a job writing for the New Zealand Publicity Bureau.

In December of 1926, Iris heard from Harry's brother that Harry had died earlier that year, and his brother told her (truthfully or not) that Harry professed his love for Iris and spoke of her on his deathbed. Iris's biographers doubt this, for Harry was very attached to another woman in New Zealand to whom he did write while he was traveling to England and who, herself, spoke of the close bond she had with Harry. Iris, however, was spared knowledge of this.

She continued to submit her poems and other works, and received a great deal of support and encouragement from John Schroder, the literary editor of the Christchurch *Sun*. She moved home and continued to freelance. By 1928, the effects of the Great Depression began to be felt, and jobs were scarce. Her relationship with Schroder grew closer. Eventually she moved to Christchurch, partly to look for a job on a newspaper there (the *Sun*), successfully, and partly to meet Schroder. She began an affair with the *Sun*'s news editor, Mac Vincent and, had this not happened, Schroder would have proposed marriage to Iris, but they remained friends, and Iris moved to work as lady editor for the Wanganui *Chronicle*.

The work on that newspaper was demanding, involving long hours. While there, she met Henry Lawson Smith, a married man on the staff of a nearby newspaper, and began an affair with him which scandalized the community. Iris had no intention of marrying him, but she did intend to get pregnant. Although she wrote less poetry during this period, Schroder worked with Iris to get a book of her poems published, partly at her own expense which would be paid back from the profits from the book. The book (*The Desolate Star*) appeared in November 1929.

To avoid scandal, Iris decided to hide during the pregnancy and birth, and she went to an isolated community, D'Urville Island. Lawson refused to support the child but agreed to cover basic medical and nursing expenses. Finding a boarding place proved difficult. When the landladies found out that Iris was not married, they asked her to leave. Eventually she found a landlady who did not mind, but bad news came when her freelancing opportunities dried up.

² Brand names of the barbiturate phenobarbitone.

³ It added to the lifelong resentment her sisters felt toward Iris.

The baby was born October 29, 1930, and named Derek Challis. Iris returned to Wellington. The next few years were difficult. She found places to board the baby, seeing him only occasionally. She eventually told her mother about Derek. Nelly was angry at the news and kept knowledge of the baby's existence from Iris's father and her sisters. Iris found a job in Auckland at the *Observer* and found a woman to take care of the three-month old baby nearby. Although this woman took good care of Derek, she was poor and illiterate. When Derek was fourteen months old, in the early months of 1932, Iris took him away from this woman and found another family to board him with in Auckland.

Iris became very friendly with a middle-aged pharmacist who was staying in the same boarding home (but they were probably not lovers) who supplied her with drugs. In 1932, she moved to her own one-room flat, but Lawson still refused to make any provision for the care of Derek.

The Psychiatric Breakdown

Iris continued to work diligently at her newspaper, but she grew weary and despondent, and her knee continued to cause her pain. Friends and colleagues observed grow more irritable and eccentric. She was disillusioned with her job and using drugs more heavily (especially morphine). The effects of the Great Depression were hard on New Zealanders, and this created social and political unrest. In May, the weather turned unusually cold and wet, and Iris came down with the flu. On June 1st, 1933, Iris was asked to resign from the *Observer*, so that now she was out of work. On June 2nd, depressed and ill, Iris threw herself into the harbor water, but she was rescued.¹

Iris was placed in a hospital holding cell, charged on June 5th in the magistrate's court (attempting suicide was a crime) and returned to her cell. After two weeks, Iris was transferred to the Auckland Mental Hospital where, with one brief interlude, she stayed for the next three years.² It took her quite a while to accept living there, but she eventually came to trust her psychiatrist, Dr. Tothill. Tothill noted her insomnia, weeping, anxiety and suicidal ideation for the past year. She feared her thoughts being "read" and claimed to hear Harry Sweetman's voice. She was diagnosed with hysteria and schizophrenia.

Acting on Tothill's suggestion, she began a journal (which became an autobiography) and, during her stay in the hospital, Iris wrote a great deal, much of which was published – poems, stories, articles and several books. She wrote most mornings and gardened in the afternoons. She began a friendship with the Rawlinson family whose 15 year-old daughter, Gloria, was already a poet and who later co-authored the biography of Iris with Derek, Iris's son. Iris was soon allowed to go into town at will,

¹ The reason she gave was so that Derek, her son, would be taken care of with the life insurance money.

² She was released on September 28th, and stayed with her mother with the family caring for Derek for two weeks, returned to Auckland where she tried to find freelance work for the government Tourist and Publicity Section. However, on December 5th, she began to scream in the middle of the street and was returned to Tothill's care at the mental hospital.

with the proviso that she back at the hospital by 8 pm.

In 1934, Iris began a book on her journalism experiences which was published that year as *Journalese*.³ In addition to this book and her autobiography, by the end of 1934, Iris had written seventy poems and many articles, all during this period of “deep emotional instability, depression, anorexia, and insomnia persistent enough to totally preclude sleep without the nightly use of hypnotic drugs”(p. 250). One wonders whether today, Iris might be diagnosed with a bipolar affective disorder.

The publication of *Journalese* restored her self-confidence, and she began work on a second book of poems (*The Conquerors*, 1935) and a biography of Baron Charles de Thierry, an early colonizer of New Zealand (*Check to your King*, 1936). By the end of 1934, Iris’s mental state had improved, but her symptoms persisted. In 1935, her literary productivity increased “prodigiously” (p. 258), and one of her stories won a prize. She met James Stark, an adventurer, and wrote a book on his experiences (*Passport to Hell*). Despite this, Tothill found Iris still quite disturbed in June 1935 – emotionally unstable, often depressed, and prone to auditory and visual hallucinations which, however, Iris knew to be imaginary. In December 1935, he felt for sure that she was schizophrenic.

Iris continued to live at the hospital and write,⁴ even though she complained about the noise that the other patients made,⁵ and she also had a busy social life with her friends and with other writers and newspaper people in Auckland or who visited. However, her behavior was very odd at times. She often fell into long silences; she was preoccupied with death; she sometimes talked for hours about other writers (maliciously) and about her own writing; if thwarted in an argument, she would squat on the ground; she waved her walking stick about in a threatening manner and talked of breaking shop windows; and she recited her own poems in a harsh voice with tears streaming down her face.

She was apolitical on the whole,⁶ but she did write a protest poem when Italy invaded Abyssinia, and she did protest the government’s plan to demolish a Maori village. In 1936, New Zealand had its first “Authors Week” and, initially, Iris was not asked to speak. Eventually, she was given an invitation, and she was nervous that her emotional problems might interfere with her talk. Her opening was “uncomfortable,” but she recovered and presented her theme. Some found the talk “overblown,” while critics saw it as embarrassing and ridiculous. Separately, Iris was also criticized for publishing poetry in newspapers, “cheapening” the art form!

She had a ten-day leave in December 1935 at which time she went home to her parents, and she was given other leaves from time to time. She encountered some problems with her book based on James Stark’s experiences in the First World War when some of the people in it objected to what he said about them. Eventually these disputes

³ Iris earned only a five pounds advance for the book and no royalties.

⁴ She wrote twenty substantial articles from April 1935 to September 1937 for magazines and newspapers, as well as poems, short stories and book.

⁵ They complained about the noise of her typing at all hours.

⁶ When Labour formed the its first government in 1935, she said, “I don’t know whether to cheer for Dad, or weep for mother!” (p. 306).

were resolved by published apologies from Iris, without any court proceedings.

In 1936, she took an extended leave to go to Dunedin to work with Downie Stewart at the Hocken Library at the university there. Iris thought she was going to help Stewart on a biography of Sir Francis Bell (New Zealand's first native-born prime minister), but this was a misunderstanding, and Iris worked on her own writing instead. The head of the psychiatric hospital where she had been living wrote a formal application for Iris to have a probationary release, this after more than three years living at the hospital.

Iris found the stay in Dunedin difficult. Her professional relationship with Stewart was tenuous and ill-defined, and the university was possessive about its collection. Her lodgings were noisy and poor for both writing and relaxing. However, she managed to travel around the region and write articles for *New Zealand Railway Magazine*. She returned to Auckland and the mental hospital after the three-month absence, but it was clear now that she could survive away from the hospital.⁷ She left and found a series of shacks and vacation cottages to rent and stay in.

In 1937, Iris was on her own and had no regular job and little income. A legal struggle ensued with Derek's father about the child support which was not resolved until the middle of the year. There were also continual squabbles with fellow writers in New Zealand. Iris decided to visit England in order to advance her literary career, and so she began to write more articles for pay and to save for the journey. A visitor reported that Iris confessed to earning only about one pound a week and using candles for light at night. Her dependence on paraldehyde and other sleeping medications led to some minor overdoses which could have been accidental (especially when combined with alcohol) or as parasuicidal acts, and these were often accompanied by visual hallucinations. A close friend described Iris in late 1937 as erratic in behavior, neglecting her appearance and indifferent to her friends. Another friend tried to get Iris a government pension, but failed.

Iris decided to travel to England via China and the trans-Siberian Railway, a very difficult route especially since Japan had invaded China and a war was ongoing there. Nevertheless, she persisted in her plans and left New Zealand by boat for Australia on January 18, 1938.

China

The boat docked in Australia, and then Iris transferred to a new boat for the Philippines and then Hong Kong. Iris met many interesting people and wrote articles about them, and she particularly enjoyed the Chinese food on the boat to Hong Kong and her Chinese fellow-travelers. In Hong Kong, Iris was, at first, shocked by the poverty and primitive living conditions, which were made worse than usual by those fleeing the war. Iris was quite depressed there until she went to the local newspaper office and met people

⁷ The doctors who had supported her during her long stay there had moved on, and the new psychiatrists were less supportive of her.

who took her around, including an inspector of factories. As her interest in Hong Kong grew, Iris decided to change her itinerary. Rather than taking a boat to Japan and from there to Russia to catch the train, she decided to go to Shanghai and travel through China to meet the train in China. Shanghai was in Japanese hands, and British nationals were free to use the port there. She left Hong Kong by boat for Shanghai on February 17, 1938

Iris's stay in China is quite surprising. She sailed for England from Hong Kong on August 11, 1938, having decided that she was not strong enough to take the trans-Siberian railway. In that time, Iris traveled to Han Kou, visited the war front along with other journalists, stayed in Xuzhou as the Japanese invading army bombed and then occupied the city (soon after slaughtering the residents of Nanking in the now well-documented genocide there), tried to leave by walking along the railway tracks for days at time, eventually being put on a train to Qindao on the second occasion, from where the British consul managed to evacuate her to Shanghai and thence to Hong Kong.

She witnessed the plight of refugees, helped an American doctor in Xuzhou (Dr. Nettie Grier) take care of the victims of bombing and, later, victims of rape and abuse at the hands of the Japanese, frequently observing these war crimes in progress as she walked through the town. Dead bodies were everywhere, left to rot in the streets and by the railway tracks. Her diet was minimal, and she was abused on one occasion, primarily by being hit in the face many times. She also fell off the railway tracks once and had one eye pierced by a thorn.

In Hong Kong, a physician removed the thorn and saved her eyesight, but was found to have developed *sprue*, a disease in which the small intestine loses its ability to digest and absorb fats, minerals and vitamins. The effects include loss of appetite, vomiting, dehydration and behavioral changes such as irritability and timidity and withdrawal. Without treatment, it leads to death. She stayed in a hospital nursing home for three weeks where she recovered a little.

During this period, she managed to keep writing, finished some poems, and had articles published in newspapers and magazines. News of her travels and tribulations occasionally got back to New Zealand where they received great publicity for, after all, she was one of the only New Zealanders in this war zone.

What is surprising is that Iris had lived for three years in a mental hospital, diagnosed with schizophrenia. She is described as a very odd person with whom others found difficult to interact. She had a personal and behavioral style that alienated other people. Yet, she had the mental strength to witness and endure the harsh conditions of a war zone (an incredibly brutal war zone), enlist people of all nationalities (European, Chinese and Japanese) to assist her (with food, clothing, travel, and places to stay and sleep), and turn her experiences into creative output.

It is difficult to reconcile the picture of Iris in New Zealand with the Iris of China. One thing that does stand out is that the diagnosis of schizophrenia was probably erroneous. It is extremely doubtful that a chronic schizophrenic could have been such a

creative writer during her New Zealand years, and even less likely that such a person could have acted as she did (and survived) in China. Her psychiatrist (and biographers) mentioned hallucinations and depressive symptoms, but her ability to write copiously (long letters, articles and poems) suggest a bipolar disorder rather than schizophrenia. This disorder can be accompanied by periods of depression, creative and productive episodes and, in many patients, hallucinations and delusions. Indeed, the content of the hallucinations that Iris seems to have had are not typical of schizophrenic (harsh and abusive voices).¹

England

Iris arrived in Hong Kong, arriving on July 11th. A couple of days later, she collapsed in the hotel and stayed in a nursing home for three weeks before sailing for England.¹ She sailed for England on August 11th on a Dutch cargo-passenger ship which stopped at Manila (in the Philippines) before sailing on to Singapore where it arrived on August 18th. She had difficulty sleeping, was quite ill and got into fights with the other passengers, and so she was removed from the ship in Singapore and admitted to a hospital until a larger ship with an on-board doctor was available. She sailed for England on August 26th on a passenger liner. She arrived in England on September 18th 1938

Iris died by suicide in England on August 23rd, 1939. That year in England was a difficult year. Iris had little money, as usual, and so could afford to rent only miserable places. She stayed at first in a caravan (which today in the America is called a recreational vehicle or RV) in a field in the country which was very primitive, with no water or toilet available, and very little heating possible.² The psychiatrist who ran the mental hospital in New Zealand where Iris lived for three years visited her and persuaded a charity to give Iris some warm winter clothes. When eventually she found a place in London, after staying for brief periods with friends and acquaintances, it was a depressing attic in a boarding house.

Her books were not selling well, and so her income was quite small. She continued to write and publish articles and poems in newspapers and magazines, which brought in a little income, but she was unable to find work as journalist in England. She began a project with Heron Carvic to adapt one of her novels into a play, but disagreements over the contract were still being fought over, quite nastily, at the time of her death, even over how to split the advance of one hundred pounds and despite the fact that Iris was working on the play during much of the year. Her English publishers, however, did give her a contract promising to publish her next three books, and her book on China did appear late in 1939.

¹ She heard voices, but at one point the voice was that of Harry Sweetman, the lost lover. She also had vivid dreams and visual hallucinations.

¹ She was obviously too sick and weak to take the trans-Siberian railway.

² Even today, in 2010, England can be a cold and damp place. In the 1938, the conditions when living in England were much worse.

Here health continued to be quite poor, with frequent bouts of dysentery,³ and problems with pain in her knee. A surgeon in England suggested fusing the bones to make the knee completely stiff, but Iris did not pursue this. She neither liked the idea, nor could she afford the operation. On December 27th, 1938, she was admitted to the Middlesex Hospital, but she left prematurely, only to be admitted a few weeks later to the Hospital for Tropical Diseases in late March or early April. She was discharged on April 14th, somewhat better, but not cured. Her anemia was much better, and opium and chalk had alleviated the dysentery somewhat.

Derek's foster parents in New Zealand had fallen on hard times too, and Derek's biological father continued to fail to pay the child support on time. Iris intended to live with Derek when she returned to New Zealand but, when Derek was asked with whom he wanted to live, he chose his foster parents. This was distressing news for Iris.

Iris longed to visit China on her way back to New Zealand, but her lack of money and poor health made this impossible, another aspect of her life that depressed her. If she had received some money from the proposed play, she would probably have tried to reach China, but the contract negotiations were still in progress at the time of her death.

By May 16th, Iris was living in a small flat in London, and she made a sexual advance to a friend who was concerned about her state and who was helping her. He rejected the advance,⁴ and Iris took a sleeping draught and cut her wrists. Her biographers feel that the suicidal act was a gesture, but Iris's friend described a "huge gash."

The visit to England had been a failure. Iris had not increased her stature as a poet or writer, she had earned only enough to survive, and she had now contracted a serious illness. Her desire to visit China again was seen by her biographers as wanting to be where she had found human companionship despite witnessing human suffering. Those in the closed literary circles of New Zealand seemed to resent her, and many Europeans found her to be eccentric and difficult to deal with. Even in China, other Europeans found her to be a nuisance at best. But the Chinese seemed to accept her despite the difficulties with, and sometimes lack of, verbal communication. They saw Iris as a foreign friend who wanted to help them. There, "she had been treated not as a literary freak or a hospital case, but as a human being" (p. 749).

There were other stressors. The possibility of a European war was also omnipresent. (Many New Zealanders in England set sail for home at this time.) Back in New Zealand, her mother was ageing and could afford a cataract operation on only one eye, but her mother had Iris's bedroom repainted in anticipation of Iris's return. All who visited Iris during these last months noted her deteriorating health and her bouts of depression, and the one friend who had tried to help (the man to whom she had made advances) left for the United States on June 30th. Her friends also noted that she was

³ When living in her caravan, Iris had to go to the toilet in the fields, avoiding the thistles and brambles. Eventually a farm-hand constructed a plank of wood over a bucket for her.

⁴ He said that, "physically she repelled me" (p. 714).

using amphetamines which, at the time, was considered a miracle drug to “clear the head” and reduce anxiety.

Still, her new book (*Dragon Rampart*) about her travels in China received good reviews, and Iris continued to be involved in a China Campaign Committee in London, as a result of which Sylvia Pankhurst befriended Iris and tried to help her, traveling with Iris, inviting her to stay with her and referring Iris to a good doctor. But these interventions did not help. Iris withdrew still further in the days before her death.

On Tuesday, August 22nd, Iris learned that the PEN conference in Sweden, to which she was planning to go, had been cancelled. She also learned that, rather than a one hundred pound advance for her play, she would receive only two-thirds of that less her agent’s fee. The opening of the play was delayed until December 1940, and so she would receive no more money until after that date. On that night, Iris told Carvic that she was going to die by suicide, but he might have dismissed that threat as simply anger over the negotiations.⁵ On Wednesday, August 24th, Iris did not answer her door and, when the door was forced open, she was found dead.

The coroner ruled the death as suicide while of unsound mind. There was a smell of gas in the room, but Iris had also taken a large quantity of Benzedrine, leading to acute pulmonary edema.

Reference

Challis, D., & Rawlinson, G. (2002). *The book of Iris: A life of Robin Hyde*. Auckland, New Zealand: Auckland University Press.

⁵ Her biographers doubt that this happened.

WILLIAM INGE

David Lester

William Inge was born on May 3, 1913, in Independence, Kansas, the fifth and last child of the family (Voss, 1981). His father was a traveling salesman who was absent a good deal, and he was raised primarily by his mother, a neurasthenic woman. He became a momma's boy, was teased as a sissy by boys at school, dated little in high school, and became a homosexual. He never publicly admitted being a homosexual but hinted at it in his writing.

He liked recitation as a child, and at high school he enjoyed acting and cheerleading. He got an undergraduate degree from the University of Kansas in 1935 where he studied drama and continued acting. He spent the summers acting in touring vaudeville shows, and he intended to become an actor when he graduated. However, the uncertainties of the profession and the likelihood of failure in becoming a great actor led him to accept a scholarship for graduate study at George Peabody College.

His regret over his choice led him to quit two weeks before the end of his course of study. He returned home to work as a laborer on a highway crew, as a scriptwriter and announcer for the local radio station, and finally to begin teaching English in a local high school. He found to his surprise that he liked teaching, and so he returned to George Peabody College in the summer of 1938 to finish his Master's degree. He then became an Instructor at Stephens College in Columbia, Missouri.

At Stephens College, one of his colleagues was a former actress, and she renewed his interest in theater. He was depressed, began to drink heavily, and had a nervous breakdown. He began to write both for pleasure and to release his tensions, and this developed his skills and gave him confidence. In 1943, he accepted a job as drama critic for the *St. Louis Star-Times* replacing a friend who had gone off to war. He became friends with Tennessee Williams who encouraged Inge to write plays.

When his friend returned from the war, Inge had to give up his job, and he took a position at Washington University in St. Louis. He hated the work, and in 1947 Tennessee Williams introduced Inge to Margo Jones who produced plays in Dallas. She put on Inge's first play, and the response was encouraging enough that Inge continued to write while teaching at Washington University. He also continued to drink heavily, joining Alcoholics Anonymous in 1948 but never really overcoming the addiction. In 1949, his play *Come Back Little Sheba* was produced on Broadway and was so successful that William never had to teach again.

In the 1950s, all of his plays were both critical and commercial successes. *Picnic* won the Pulitzer Prize, and he earned over a million dollars from his plays and the films that were made from them. Nevertheless, his depressions and alcoholism continued. He entered psychoanalysis which seemed to help him a little, but he never could accept his own homosexuality and certainly never acknowledge it the way Tennessee Williams did.

In the 1960s, Inge used up some of his own money to produce his new plays which were not well received. The criticisms hurt him a great deal, but the films from his earlier plays were successes. He won an Oscar for the screenplay of *Splendor in the Grass* in 1961. Inge had three successive plays fail on Broadway, and he never tried again.

Inge spent the last years of his life in California where he continued to write and to advise the theater workshops at UCLA. He wrote two plays which were performed on the West Coast but never published. He wrote two novels, neither of which was widely acclaimed. He lived his final few years with his widowed sister in Los Angeles who shielded him from interviewers. A few days before his suicide, Inge said that life had always been very ugly to him and that he wanted to write about loneliness and ineffectuality.

Inge attempted to kill himself with barbiturates on June 2nd, 1973. The hospital sent him to the psychiatric unit but he signed himself out the next day. On June 10th, his sister found him dead in the garage at 4.30 am, sitting in his Mercedes-Benz with the engine running.

Reference

Voss, R. F. (1981). William Inge. In J. MacNicholas (Ed.) *Dictionary of Literary Biography*, 7, 325-337. Detroit: Gale Research Company.

RANDALL JARRELL

David Lester

Not everyone believes that Randall Jarrell died by suicide. He was killed by a car on a dark highway in Chapel Hill (North Carolina) on October 14, 1965, and the coroner ruled his death an accident, but suicide has always been suspected. The following essay on Jarrell is based on a biography by Pritchard (1990).

Early Days

Randall was born on May 6, 1914, when his father was twenty-four and his mother twenty. His father was working class with rural origins, his mother from a well-to-do Nashville business family. Soon after his birth, the family moved to California where his father set up a photography business and where a younger brother was born. His parents soon began to have marital problems, and his mother moved back to Nashville with the children and divorced her husband. She took a job teaching English at a secretarial school.

Randall did well at school and came to love reading in the Carnegie library when school was over. In the summer of 1926, Randall went to California to visit his father and his father's family, and he stayed there for a whole school year, not returning to Nashville until June 1927. Randall missed his grandparents in California greatly and vented his anger at having to leave by never writing to them again.

Back in Nashville, he took up tennis and became a fierce competitor. He did well in high school and got involved in both journalism and dramatics there. Even back then Randall wrote literary criticism for the high school newspaper. After high school, Randall first went to a commercial school in Nashville as preparation for entering the family candy business, but he became seriously ill with pleurisy and borderline pneumonia and had to withdraw. He then persuaded his uncle to send him to Vanderbilt University in 1932, while living at home with his mother and her new husband.

College Days

Randall was noticed by his professors in his freshman year, and his class mates were terrorized by his domineering and condescending comments on literature. He ended up majoring in psychology, with a minor in philosophy and graduated in three years (taking summer courses to speed up the process). As an undergraduate, Randall edited the university humor magazine and had poems published in *The American Review*. He started work on a Masters degree in psychology but quickly changed to English.

He became friendly with several families, especially the Breyers whose son Bernard was a close friend and with whose daughter, Amy, Randall seemed to be in love though Randall broke up with her in 1938. He continued to write poems with facility and confidence and had no qualms about publishing them as soon as he wrote them. Before

entering graduate school he was invited to submit a critical review of ten novels for *The Southern Review*, and this magazine also published his poems. Pritchard commented on Randall's precocious ability in having poems published in a national magazine as an undergraduate and writing criticism prior to graduate school.

After two years at Vanderbilt, Randall's mentor John Ransom moved to Kenyon College, and Randall moved with him to be a part-time instructor. Robert Lowell, also a student of Ransom's went along, and Randall and Lowell lived together at first in an attic of Ransom's house. Randall continued to write and publish poems and criticism, but he showed no desire to complete a doctorate. He finished his Master's thesis and obtained a job teaching at the University of Texas in 1939 where he stayed for three years.

The War and After

At the University of Texas, Randall fell in love with Mackie Langham, a colleague in the English department, and they married at the end of his first year there, in June 1940. In November 1940, Randall was of the invited contributors to *Five Young American Poets*. Later, *The New Republic* asked him for an article on poetry criticism, and *The Nation* solicited regular book reviews.

Toward the end of his three-year stay at the University of Texas, Randall completed work on his first book of poems, *Blood For A Stranger*, and was feeling at a dead end in his poetry. He also began to fall ill periodically.

Randall enlisted in the army in 1942. He was cut from a pre-flight program and sent to Sheppard Field in Texas where he was assigned to the mail room. In April 1943, he was sent to a Link trainer school and in November 1943 became an instructor-trainer for navigators for the duration of the war at Davis-Monthan Field in Tucson where his wife joined him.

Military life restored his creativity, and he published almost fifty poems dealing with the war and military life. His work was included in a 1945 volume *The War Poets*.

Randall's second volume of poetry was published in 1945, and after leaving the army he was awarded a Guggenheim fellowship and offered a position as literary editor of *The Nation* for a year. His year there provided further evidence that Randall was a terror as a reviewer as he demolished poor work with piercing wit. After his year at the magazine, Randall was offered a position at the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina where he happily taught for the rest of his life except for leaves of absence.

In the summer of 1948, Randall went to teach at the Salzburg Seminar in American Civilization in Austria where he fell in love with Elisabeth Eisler, a talented Viennese ceramist. They did not become lovers but vowed to remain friends for life.

The 1950s saw more volumes of poems and some of the best literary criticism he

had written. In the summer of 1951 Randall went off to a writer's conference in Colorado where he met and fell in love with a student in his class, Mary von Schrader, a divorced woman with two young daughters, whom Randall married in the November of 1952. Mackie's interests had grown beyond caring for a somewhat selfish and independent husband. She returned to the University of Texas to work on her doctorate.

The End

Mary Jarrell later wrote that to be married to Randall involved being with him all the time. She went to his classes; he went with her on her errands. She watched him play tennis; he picked out her clothes. He did not want children of his own, but he was affectionate to his step-daughters. He remained totally dedicated to art - poetry especially, but also dance and painting.

In 1956, Randall was invited to be the Poetry Consultant to the Library of Congress, and he took a leave from the Woman's College. In 1957, he complained to friends of depression and some illnesses, including a painful sacroiliac injury. He moved back to the Woman's College in 1958 and continued his work. He was awarded a National Book Award in 1961 for a book of poems, *The Woman At The Washington Zoo*. He wrote some brilliant children's stories, delivered a lecture on American poetry at the National Poetry Festival in Washington in 1962, translated Faust and Chekhov, wrote more poetry and criticism, and continued to teach his students at the Woman's College with diligence and skill.

But the 1960s witnessed Randall's deterioration. He was hospitalized with hepatitis in 1962 and began to suffer from manic and depressive episodes. In 1963, Randall and Mary embarked on a five-month trip to Europe, but after their return in November, Randall's biographer notes that Randall had changed. He focused on his physical and psychological condition. He grieved over Kennedy's assassination and often felt fatigued. He turned fifty in May 1964, and a physician diagnosed his condition as a mid-life crisis and prescribed an antidepressant. However, manic phases began to appear. He could not stop talking in his classes which overran their allotted time. He slept only a few hours a night. He tipped a waitress \$1500 on a visit to Nashville and in 1965 went on a flying binge using his American Express card. After one trip, his wife and his department chairman arranged for the chancellor of the university and a campus policeman to meet Randall at the airport and hospitalize him. He described himself as both exhausted and elated. He and Mary considered separation.

Randall was switched to thiorazine, but this made him feel depressed and was discontinued. His depression worsened, and he slashed his left wrist while at home on leave (perhaps triggered by a brutal review of his latest book of poems). He was released in July after four months in the hospital, and he spent the summer at home recuperating. He resumed teaching in the fall, and he agreed to be a writer-in-residence at Smith College the following year (1966-1967).

He arranged to enter a clinic for physical therapy for his injured wrist. A

colleague drove him to the hospital, and he called on Monday evening, October 11, to ask Mary to bring him a jacket and gloves so that he could take walks in the early evening. Three evening later, headed back to the hospital, he was struck and killed by a car.

Comment

Randall's life seems remarkably free from pathology until his last few years. He hardly drank, and he suffered from only minor ailments and depressions until his last year. However, in his last year, Randall seems to have developed a bipolar affective disorder for which adequate medications were not available at the time. His work had been criticized, and his marriage was perhaps failing. But despite these traumata, his early history does not seem to presage a suicidal death, and though Meyers (1982) has argued that it was a suicide, Pritchard felt that Randall's death was an accident.

References

- Meyers, J. (1982). The death of Randall Jarrell. *Virginia Quarterly Review*, Summer, 450-467.
- Pritchard, W. H. (1990). *Randall Jarrell*. New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux.

CHRISTOPHER JENS

David Lester

Chris was born on February 24, 1944, the second of three sons. He killed himself on May 10, 1970, and his mother wrote his biography, including in her book many letters written to him and by him (Jens, 1987). Compared to biographies written by those unrelated to the suicide, the information in this kind of biography is often not as objective and complete as it might be. Chris's mother is intensely involved with popular variants of psychological theory (in particular Jungian ideas) to an obsessive degree. This colors her writing, but nonetheless some clues exist as to the reasons for Chris's suicide.

Chris's Parents

In 1943, the year before Chris was born, his mother sought psychiatric help. She had suicidal and sometimes homicidal thoughts, seemed to be unhappily married, and was trying to free herself from neurosis by reading books such as those by Karen Horney. She describes herself as having phobias and obsessions but does not specify what they were. Her psychiatrist said that it would be fine for her to have another child.

Chris had an uneventful birth and childhood, except for two bouts of pyloric spasm soon after birth and at six months of age which was very painful. He was breast fed at first but sucked the two middle fingers of his right hand till he was five years old. He seems to have been a happy child. He went off to kindergarten quite happily and loved school from the start. His younger brother was born when he was six, and he never showed any jealousy of the new baby.

When Chris was eight, his mother noted that he was crying less and showing less anger. When he was twelve, she noted that his outbursts were improving. He had lots of friends, was enthusiastic about sports, was doing well in school, and starting several collections (butterflies and stamps). In seventh grade, his mother noted that he was becoming a conformist and was sensitive, and she gives an example of having him come home for lunch so as to be able talk away the hurts of the morning.

Thus, in most respects, Chris's childhood seems ordinary. But there are these hints of a rather disturbed mother. Lee Jens appears to be obsessed by self-analysis and psychobabble. She reprints letters in which she lectures everyone, including her husband (whom she refers to as "Dad") and her mother, on what is wrong with them and how healthy she now is. It seems possible that she sensitized Chris so that he too became obsessively concerned with his inner psychological states just as she was. Almost all children manage to endure childhood without having to talk about the hurts twice daily. Chris was unable to endure childhood most likely because of his mother. Lee Jens was not necessarily disturbed herself. Rather she is what we call a schizophrenogenic mother, one who makes her children disturbed.

High School

Chris had no major problems at high school. His grades were good, and he was popular. He worked in a drug store for extra money. However, from his letters to friends, we see the beginning of this obsessive self-analysis. For example, to one girl friend he talked about his effort to stop smoking, yet he continued to smoke when depressed or bored. Then he quit again in disgust and wondered whether he was a phoney.

In junior high school he began to rebel, and in the summer of 1961 he set off hitchhiking to California (from Illinois). His parents worried but felt that it was best to let him go. There are few hints of any trouble. His mother mentions that Chris's only brush with the law was over selling alcohol to minors (when he was a minor himself), checking to make sure that his piece of dessert was larger than anyone else's (it does appear that he was jealous of his brothers), and having talks with his mother about how he has a low opinion of himself. It worries him when others like him. He hates being seen as good or perfect when he is so aware of his faults. He was also embarrassed because he perspired so much under the arms.

College

In 1962, Chris went off to Cornell University. He quickly became involved with a very shy girl named Betty, and his mother thought that they were too dependent on each other. Imitating his mother, Chris had adopted the role of helping Betty with her "problems". His grades were fine, but he was rejected by the only fraternity he tried for. He was somewhat nonconformist, his long hair and beard anticipating the hippies of the later sixties.

During his first summer home, Betty went out with another man, and Chris was devastated. His sophomore year began with pain and loneliness. Interestingly, to reassure him, Lee wrote her son that she wished she had run into someone like him when she was in school. She would have looked past his weaknesses, she says. Lee is aware of the possible incestuous feelings (Oedipal complex) that Chris might have had for her, and she seems to have had similar feelings for her son. (She and her husband had separate bedrooms.) What is also interesting is that she cannot resist emphasizing that Chris has weaknesses. (She says in the same letter that Chris is neurotically in need of a girl. She also sent him a copy of a letter written by the author James Agee saying that he will not kill himself.)

During his sophomore year, he is still smoking (about ten cigarettes a day) and still trying to quit. He also seems to have had a car accident. He broke his fist in a fight with a fellow student and so still had outbursts that were difficult to control. He became interested in the possibility of psychotherapy but seems not to have ever visited a therapist. Lee worried that he might kill himself by throwing himself into the gorge on the Cornell campus. He became enamored of Freudian ideas and began to argue a lot with his mother over their different psychological belief systems. He also began to criticize her for everything, even her cooking, refused to kiss her anymore and switched

his admiration to his father. During the summer, his father bought Chris a motorcycle, which angered Lee, and she imputes an infantile desire on the part of her husband to ride a motorcycle as the motive.

In his junior year, Chris began to get very interested in his psychology courses. He was influenced by Hobart Mowrer and the behaviorists. He classified himself as a cycloid personality, with highs and lows. He saw himself as manic this year rather than manic-depressive as in his sophomore year. In 1965 he became attached to a girl, Karen, whom he saw as superior to himself, so that his relationship with her made him feel so much more inferior. (It is interesting to note that Chris appears to have only two roles with women, that of therapist or that of patient. He obviously learnt these roles from mother.) In journal writings, Chris talks of his anxiety (and his excessive perspiration), his anger over his anxiety, his fear of rejection, and his need to impress people. He decided to resolve this last problem by getting rid of the conflicting images he tried to project and to settle on one consistent image to use in public. (It did not occur to him to be himself.)

His grandfather died in the Spring of 1965, and the relationship between Chris and Karen broke up. (Perhaps Karen grew tired of Chris's continual self-absorption and to being his "guru"?) Chris took the examinations for medical school and set himself a schedule involving classes, guitar and Russian study, and work, leaving six hours for sleep. He reported periods of apathy (rather than depression).

During this third summer, he worked on a Cornell University project in Nova Scotia with the poor. He got involved with another girl while there, Margie. In his senior year, Chris switched to ecology as a major. He had fights with his father now, mainly about financial support, but his father continued to pay his expenses while requesting him to stay away from home. Margie got pregnant but had an abortion, and they did not get married. Chris graduated in the June of 1966 and spent the summer at home making furniture for the family before going off to graduate school at the University of Texas in ecology, still supported to some extent by his father.

Graduate School and Breakdown

By Christmas time, he had come to dislike his professors at the University, and he was depressed. In January 1967, he visited the university counseling center but seemed not to find what he wanted there. Margie and he broke up, and she quickly married someone else. Chris began reading about Scientology.

At the beginning of his second year, Chris came home unexpectedly. He was difficult to live with, arguing about everything with his parents. He went back to Austin, but dropped out of graduate school in November. Over the telephone, he told his mother that he had been reborn and that it wasn't necessary to work because the Lord would provide. He decided to walk home from Austin. He was afraid to ride in airplanes because there were evil messages in the noise, and he was afraid to telephone also. He did walk to Dallas, but then flew the rest of the way. At home, he immediately began

fighting with his parents, even demanding that his father kick him out of the house. He seemed obsessed by the devil and confessed to being very depressed.

As an illustration of his psychotic behavior, he went out one evening with a girl he had met, a former psychiatric patient, stayed up all night with her and told his mother in the morning that great things had happened and that he now had no need to kill her or himself in order to get free. He became excited and made aggressive and sexual remarks to his mother. He was hospitalized for the first time in January 1968.

He made two attempts at suicide in the first hospital, trying to push a broken billiard cue into his brain and by diving headfirst into a bathtub. He was hostile toward his family, had periods of catatonia and periods when he believed he was Christ. He was released after four months, but at home he was still hostile and remote. He tried to stab himself in the abdomen with a penknife. One night the police picked him up and, after he yelled for someone to kill him while he was in the cell, he was hospitalized again.

After another three months in the hospital, he decided to go back to Austin. He rented a room there and got a job dishwashing. He spent most of his money buying mystical and occult books and spent a lot of time reading them. After four months, Chris broke down again and was hospitalized in Austin. He was given electroconvulsive therapy, came out of his depression, became manic and then settled down in his religious frame of mind. After his release in the summer, the kitchen refused to hire him back and so his parents paid for his support. He spent his time reading mystical and religious books, attending church, and playing the organ for the Greek Orthodox Church.

He arrived home without warning in April 1970. He seemed to need his family, but he was still very hostile to them. He was thin from fasting and seemed very unstable. His parents hospitalized him the next day. In the hospital he had asked his mother, "Dad would be relieved, wouldn't he, if I chose suicide as my answer?" And later, he put his arms around both parents and said, "I can never be happy until you and Dad get together." After two months, he came home unexpectedly a day early. Once home, he was restless and agitated. He ran to field nearby, poured gasoline over himself and set it alight. Lee put out the flames by beating him with clumps of grass, but he died two days later.

Discussion

Chris was diagnosed as schizophrenic and as schizoaffective, and clearly he was psychotic. It would seem that there was little evidence of psychological disturbance in his early years, though his mother may not be the best reporter of such information. Apparently, his psychosis came on suddenly while at graduate school, with no apparent precipitating cause.

Chris's involvement with his mother was obvious to both Chris and to Lee. It appears that Lee and her husband had a distant relationship, sleeping apart, making Lee all the more available to her son, at least in his unconscious mind, and leading to anxiety

with which he could not cope. He was clear at the end of his life that his health might depend upon his parents having a healthy marriage. His turning to religion at the end was perhaps a way for him to deal with his unconscious conflicts and his sense of sin.

Chris seems to have been ill served by his mother. Her obsession with mental health and psychology led to his morbid self-absorption and the development of his two roles with others, those of therapist and patient. However, unhealthy though this may have been, it cannot be the sole reason for his psychosis and suicide. (After all, he could have become a therapist.) It is interesting to note that Chris's hostility was a chronic problem from outbursts as a kid to arguments, sometimes with his father but more often with his mother, as a student. It appears that anger and depression/suicide can coexist.

Reference

Jens, L. (1987). *The jewelled flower*. Aurora, CO: National Writers Press.

PAUL KAMMERER

David Lester

Paul Kammerer went for a walk on September 23, 1926, on an Austrian mountain path. He sat down against a rock and shot himself in the head. His suicide note bequeathed his body to a university for dissection and said, in part, "Perhaps my worthy academic colleagues will discover in my brain a trace of the qualities they found absent from the manifestations of my mental activities while I was alive."

Paul had been accused of fraud in his scientific work. And his suicide, in part, seems to have been motivated by the stress of these accusations and by anger at those who had accused him. His suicide had the result, however, of convincing most of those involved that he must have been guilty of the fraud.

Arthur Koestler (1971) has written a fascinating account of Paul Kammerer's life, an account which focuses upon the scientific discoveries and the controversy surrounding them rather than the personal life of Paul. It is story of fascinating power struggles, English Darwinians versus an Austrian Lamarckian.

The Darwinians believed that evolution proceeded through genetic mutations (and of course your genes are fixed at the moment of your conception), while the Lamarckians believed that characteristics that you acquire during your life can be passed on to your offspring. According to Darwinians, if you are very intelligent, it is because your genes predispose you to be intelligent. Your offspring will probably be very intelligent too because they inherit your genes. The Lamarckians believe that, whatever your genes, if you develop your intelligent abilities during your life prior to having children, your children may be high in intelligence because they inherit this acquired intelligence from you. Lamarckians could not propose any mechanism to account for the transmission of the acquired characteristics through the fertilization of eggs by the sperm, and so it was viewed as a superstition rather than a theory.

Of course, the power struggles have an extra layer of complexity, since the free world adopted the Darwinian idea while the Communists, newly in power in Russia, adopted the Lamarckian idea. (When he killed himself, Paul was packed, ready to go to Russia to pursue his research there.) And today, Christians in parts of the USA try to suppress Darwin's ideas in school textbooks because it conflicts with their ideas of the appearance of humans on earth, ideas based on the bible. Darwin's ideas have clearly aroused intense emotions and conflicts between believers and nonbelievers.

Koestler tells us that Paul was, "...one of the most brilliant and unorthodox biologists of his time. He was forty-five when the joint pressures of an inhuman Establishment and his own all-too-human temperament drove him to suicide." Is this true?

Paul's Career

Paul was born on August 17, 1880, of Saxon ancestors who now lived in Austria. His family was prosperous, for his father, Karl, was the founder and co-proprietor of a factory for making optical instruments. After twenty years of marriage, Karl divorced his wife and married a Hungarian widow, Sophie. (It was her third marriage and she had two sons from previous marriages, while Karl had one.) Paul was born with three step-brothers, aged eighteen to twenty, who adored him.

In this setting, Paul developed into a bright child. His childhood seems uneventful, and he began by studying music at the Vienna Academy. He composed songs that were performed in Vienna and counted among his friends Bruno Walter, later a famous conductor, and Gustav Mahler, the composer. Paul then switched to reading zoology at the University, and some biologists always held his interest in music against Paul. They saw him as a dilettante.

Paul had grown up with an interest in and an affinity for animals. His early articles were on reptiles and amphibians and published in naturalist journals. These articles were read by the eminent biologist Hans Przibram who was founding an Institute for Experimental Biology, which was a new branch of research, a break from the theoretical and descriptive zoology currently in vogue.

Paul began by organizing the aquaria and terraria and proved to be very successful in keeping the animals alive in these unnatural conditions. This point is of importance to the story because others could not replicate Paul's experiments to see if they would get the same results as he claimed because none of them could keep the animals alive in the laboratory. (Indeed, Koestler claims that no one had repeated Paul's experiments with proper care even by 1971.)

In 1909, Paul received a scientific prize for his research on salamanders. He also conducted research on the sea-squirt. Koestler argues that this research was much more pertinent to the Lamarckian hypothesis than the research that Paul conducted on the midwife toad. Yet it was this latter research that became the battle-ground. The research in question was published between 1906 and 1919 in three major papers.

(Interestingly, Paul also gave popular lectures on biology in general and on his research in particular which were very popular. These too were frowned upon by leading academics because it an unwritten rule that serious scientists do not seek popular fame.)

The Controversy

The battle over Paul's research was fought in England and published mainly in the scientific journal *Nature*. The major accuser was William Bateson. Interestingly, Bateson had started by believing in the Lamarckian hypothesis. But after a fruitless expedition to Central Asia to search for confirmation, he switched to believing Darwinism. (Bateson named his son after the Russian geneticist Gregor Mendel, whose work contributed an

important element to Darwinian theory.)

Bateson visited Vienna in 1910. He already thought that Paul's work was fraudulent, and his belief was confirmed when Paul could not produce specimens of the midwife toad to show the acquired characteristics. (Koestler explains that these characteristics, pads on the forearms of the toad, appear only in the mating season, and Bateson was not in Vienna during the toads' mating season.)

The problem of verifying Paul's work was made complicated by the First World War, which led to the destruction of many of the specimens in the Institute. Most of the animals died during this period. Paul himself was excused from military service because of a heart condition, but was assigned to military (censoring the letters from Italian prisoners) and so could not continue his research. Following the war, the inflation in Austria led to the ruin of many, including Przibram and Kammerer. The Biological Institute was taken over by the Austrian Academy of Science.

All that remained to show sceptics were some slides and specimens preserved in jars. In 1920, the Institute sent Bateson some slides of the pads on the midwife toad, but he regarded them too as frauds, probably cut from a different species of toad. Once Bateson had made up his mind, Koestler argues, nothing would change it.

In 1923 Paul was invited to visit England to lecture on his research. He did so and brought with him a preserved specimen of the midwife toad showing the pads. Interestingly, Bateson did not attend the first lecture, but did attend the second. At the second lecture he did not examine the specimen. Koestler puzzles over this. Bateson, firmly believing that Kammerer has faked his research, refused to examine the evidence. Is this a true scientist? Clearly not. For Bateson, Darwinism had become a religion, and research is irrelevant to religion.

However, after Paul had returned to Vienna, Bateson wrote requesting that the specimen be sent to him for examination! The Institute refused, for it was the sole remaining specimen and Bateson had declined to view it four months earlier. Bateson saw this refusal as proof of the fraud.

Paul resigned from his post at the Institute in order to support his family by journalism and lecturing. He went twice to the USA for lecture tours (in the Fall of 1923 and the Spring of 1924). One unfortunate consequence of his lectures in England and the USA was that the newspapers wrote up his ideas sensationally. Headlines read *Race Of Supermen* in London and *Scientist Tells Of Success Where Darwin Met Failure* in New York. This publicity further alienated scholars in the field. Paul also gave lecture tours in the Soviet Union which led to his being invited to assume the position of Professor of Genetics at Pavlov's Experimental Institute in Moscow.

The final episode occurred in 1926 when G. Noble from the American Museum of Natural History in New York City, went to Vienna, cut the specimen of the midwife toad and found that the markings were due to injections of ink. He published the finding

in *Nature*, together with a report by Przibram confirming Noble's findings. Paul shot himself six weeks later.

Koestler examines all the possibilities and concludes that the specimen could not have been faked and escaped detection during the lectures at Cambridge in 1923. (Koestler himself persuaded a biologist to fake some similar specimens, but he could not do it convincingly.) Thus, Koestler concludes that the faking was done later, probably just prior to Noble's visit, and that the original specimen was genuine. Secondly, Koestler argues, it was unlikely that it was Paul who faked the specimen, since he had retired from the Institute in 1923 and was preparing to take a post elsewhere at the time of Noble's visit.

Koestler quotes Przibram who claimed that it was a madly jealous colleague of Kammerer's who injected the specimen. Koestler suggests that this suspect might easily have been a fanatical Nazi who knew that Kammerer was a pacifist and socialist.

Paul's Personal Life

Paul joined the Biological Institute in 1903 at the age of twenty-three. He got his doctorate in 1904 and became a lecturer at the university in 1906. In 1905 he met the young Baroness Felicitas Maria Theodore von Wiedersperg, fell in love at once, and after the customary year-long engagement was married in 1906. The Wiederspergs shared Paul's interest in music and animals, and so he fitted in well with his in-laws. Paul had a daughter in 1907, and he named her *Lacerta* after a genus of lizards.

Paul seems to have been a philanderer. Koestler does not tell us much, but we do learn that, after Gustav Mahler's death in 1911, his widow Alma worked as Paul's laboratory assistant and had an affair with Paul.

Soon after this affair, Paul fell in love with a painter, Anna Walt. Felicitas agreed to a divorce on grounds of mutual incompatibility in order to let him marry Anna, but the marriage lasted only a few months. After a row with Anna, Paul swallowed an overdose of sleeping pills but vomited them up. He became depressed, and returned to live with Felicitas. (His marriage to Anna was annulled, and his marriage to Felicitas restored.)

After his return to Vienna from the USA in 1924 he fell in love again. He was attracted to the five Weisenthal sisters and fell in love with most of them before settling on Grete, the oldest. Paul's daughter thinks that at least two of the romances were platonic.

Grete was forty and married and it is not known whether she reciprocated Paul's love. Their liaison was widely talked about in Vienna. However, Grete refused to accompany Paul to Moscow.

The Final Crises

By 1926 Paul's world was in ruin. He had been accused of faking his research. He had popular fame, but scholarly scorn. His collection of specimens had been destroyed. He was poor and unable to support his family (though this was true of many Austrians at the time).

Koestler described Paul in the final years of his life as alternating between depression and mania, but working hard. (In addition to writing and lecturing, he wrote a book on biology based on field trips he took to the Dalmation Isles to study lizards.)

Paul had been offered a position by the Moscow Academy of Sciences as Professor of Genetics and was due to begin his work in Moscow on October 1st. He visited the Soviet legation in Vienna on September 20th with instructions for the packing and transportation of his scientific apparatus. On the day he shot himself, his furniture was being packed for removal to Moscow. In a suicide note addressed to the Moscow Academy of Sciences, he denied participating in the forgery but declined their offer because he no longer felt himself to be qualified for the position. (A newspaper report after Paul's death claimed that he planned to stay in Moscow only a short time and that he hoped that his work there would lead to an offer from a German university. The discovery of the forged specimen made such an invitation extremely unlikely.) Perhaps the final straw was that Grete Weisenthal, with whom he was in love, had refused to accompany him to Moscow. His suicide notes reflect the complexity of the motivations for his suicide, for he wrote notes to the Moscow Academy of Sciences, his wife Felicitas, his lover Grete Weisenthal, and a friend.

Discussion

Koestler's book gives the impression that Paul killed himself primarily because of the controversy over his research. Was it fraudulent and did it support Lamarck? Bateson is portrayed, perhaps legitimately, as a religious crusader, an example of what a scientist should never be. To be sure, for a researcher to be accused of faking his research and to have his life's work denigrated is an extreme stress.

However, there is a suggestion that Paul was, if not mentally ill, at least prone to depression. The one time we hear of a suicide attempt is after the disintegration of his brief second marriage.

Let us grant that Koestler is correct. Paul did not fake his research. Then, at the young age of forty-five, he has a new position, with the facilities to replicate his findings and to move on to new discoveries. If he did not fake the research, he knows it can be replicated. Interestingly, he killed himself, not immediately after the publication of the accusation of forgery, but six weeks later.

It seems more likely, therefore, that it was his personal life that was the most important stress prior to his suicide. If Grete refused him, could he really expect to return to Felicitas once more? And did he want to live without Grete? In this context, the stress over the accusations of forgery may have added to his depression.

If this is possible, then it would be valuable to have more information about Paul's mental history. Koestler alludes to such matters only as an aside to his main thesis, and so we do not learn the details. How severe was Paul's psychological disturbance? What diagnosis would he be given by a modern psychiatrist? How depressed did Paul get and were his periods of excitement really manic? Was there a family history of depression? These are the kinds of questions that we can answer when we study Ernest Hemingway or Marilyn Monroe, but unfortunately not in this case.

A final irony on this case. In 1983, Paul's biographer, Arthur Koestler, died by suicide.

Reference

Koestler, A. (1977). *The case of the midwife toad*. New York: Random House.

WELDON KEES

David Lester

Weldon Kees was born in Beatrice, Nebraska, on February 14, 1914.¹ His family was among the wealthy in Beatrice. His grandfather (originally from Germany) and father developed the F. D. Kees Manufacturing company, which produced hardware, tools and machines for rural communities (including skates). Weldon's father, John, graduated from the University of Nebraska before taking over the company. John married Sarah Green, born in Illinois, who was a school teacher in Beatrice. Sarah had social aspirations and managed to trace her ancestry to the pilgrims on the *Mayflower* and, beyond that, to the British royal family, the Plantagenets, thereby giving the family Anglo-Saxon respectability. Sarah was 34 when Weldon was born, and she was advised to have no more children.

As an only child and the child of a teacher, Weldon received a lot of attention. He was an early reader and learned the piano. His peers considered him a bookworm and a "Momma's boy," but he was not a loner. He had friends with whom he played, drew and wrote (friends remembered that he told the best stories), and he participated in plays that the community put on. He was bought a puppet theater for which he wrote and directed performances, and he loved the cinema.

Despite the Great Depression and a bad investment by his father in a gold mine, the Kees family survived the era well. In his high school years, Weldon's father often took Weldon on business trips and, after seeing his first talking movie in Minneapolis, the local newspaper published Weldon's account of the experience. Although Weldon was expected to take over the family business (which he never did), his parents were proud of his literary and artistic skills and encouraged him in those pursuits. In high school, Weldon wrote essays and stories that were often published locally, he acted in plays, and he played the piano and other instruments. He graduated from high school in 1931 at the age of 17 and went to Doane College in Crete, Nebraska, where he majored in English and psychology. He discovered poetry and the Jazz Age novelists, and he started smoking. He played in a tea-dance trio and wrote tunes for his group to play. A teacher there encouraged him to write and present one-act plays which were performed at the college and in the local cinema between features. But Weldon did not like Doane and transferred to the University of Missouri in 1933.

His mentor at the University of Missouri, Mary Keeley, a journalism teacher, also encouraged his writing, but Weldon struck her as lonely and detached from his fellow students, and he attracted homosexual advances from fellow students, perhaps a result of his impeccable dress, poise, slight build, and carefully combed hair.

After one year there, Weldon transferred to the University of Nebraska where there was a large community of writers. Weldon had a story published while he was there in *Prairie Schooner*, to the envy of his fellow students. He remained aloof from his

¹ He was christened Harry Weldon Kees, but his parents and friends always called him Weldon.

fellow students, but he met a student there, Ann Swan, born in Wyoming, university, and his father enjoyed Weldon's success vicariously. Ann graduated and went to California, while Weldon stayed to finish his degree in summer school and then went to Colorado (to his parents' cabin there) to finish a novel he had started. In the fall of 1935, Weldon enrolled for a Masters in English at the University of Chicago but quickly realized that he did not have the stamina to be a success there. After two weeks, he went back to the University of Nebraska where he took some courses and worked as a salesclerk. In January, he left for Los Angeles, where Ann was, and he looked for a job and worked on his second novel. He found some work as a musician in studio orchestras, which forced him to join a union.²

Although his first novel was rejected by publishing houses, his short stories were successes, even making anthologies. His friends there noted his fascination with those who died by suicide or died in car wrecks. After a fire destroyed the house in which he had a room, along with several manuscripts he had finished, he moved back to Lincoln, Nebraska, where he got a job working on the state guide. There he began writing poetry and also book reviews. For the rest of his life, Weldon earned a little money by writing book reviews and essays on a variety of topics, published in a wide variety of magazines.

In 1937, Weldon enrolled in the library program at the University of Denver and got a job at the public library in town. Ann moved there and got a job as a secretary for a law firm, and they were married on October 3, 1937. A small literary social group developed around the couple, and many literary friends visited them there. Weldon continued to focus on becoming an established novelist, and poetry was a sideshow, even though he was becoming a successful poet, with a *New Directions* collection of his poems published. Yet Weldon also had setbacks. None of his novels were published, and he was rejected for fellowships and a Guggenheim Foundation, but he was invited for the summer to Yaddo, an artists' colony in Saratoga, New York, which he enjoyed.

While he was there, Ann, back home in Denver, began drinking heavily and had a psychiatric crisis. She felt insecure and lonely and developed delusions. Weldon persuaded Ann to agree to a separation. In 1943 Ann went back to her parents in Wyoming, and Weldon went to New York City.

New York City (1943-1948)

Life in New York City developed into a routine of writing and finding employment, frequent moves (often subletting from friends who on vacation) and socializing with literary and artistic friends. He continued to write poetry and review essays, and he continued to have disappointments over his novels which were rejected by many publishers. Ann joined him in July 1943, a surprising to his friends there who did not know that he had a wife. Eventually, they began spending the summers in Provincetown on Cape Cod with many of their friends and acquaintances. Ann did not always join enthusiastically into the cultural scene, especially in Provincetown, and she began to drink heavily again.

² By this time, he had left-wing political views and was an atheist.

Initially, Weldon had a job for *Time* for a while writing for the back pages, and moving on to be the music and then cinema critic. Weldon had developed a liking for jazz, but not modern jazz – only the classic New Orleans-style jazz. After being fired from *Time*, Weldon got a job working on newsreels and documentaries for the Paramount News Service, while Ann got a job as an assistant editor at *Antiques*. He avoided the draft, getting classified 4F. His first book of poetry (*The Last Man*) was published (by Colt Press), and he won a small prize for his poetry (*Poetry's* Oscar Blumenthal Prize).

However, in New York, Weldon's interests began to change. He took up painting, reasonably successfully. Although he sold few, if any, paintings, he did have a couple of galley shows. He was also commissioned to produce record album covers, combining his interest in painting and music. At Provincetown, he began to organize shows and panel discussions, moving into an organization and management role. These changes affected his life in 1950 when he and Ann moved to San Francisco.

San Francisco (1950-1955) and the End

The five years in San Francisco saw several major changes in Weldon's life. First, Ann's drinking got worse and worse, and she eventually had another psychotic breakdown, after which Weldon insisted on a divorce (in 1954). Second, Weldon abandoned the one area in which he had been successful (as a poet)³ and began to scatter his talents into a variety of other projects, including making films, writing and performing music (especially jazz and ragtime music), suggesting ideas for cartoons, putting on reviews and writing plays. All of these projects came to naught as his work was rejected or as he ran into difficulties (such as planning a review in a building which was condemned and for which he could not raise any money to restore). Like most other writers, as well as getting his work published, he also had many rejections, and this was especially the case for his new projects. For much of his time in San Francisco, Weldon had a part-time job with Gregory Bateson and the Langley Port Clinic making films on play and nonverbal communication, projects supported by NIMH and private foundation grants.⁴

He began to sleep less and less, and his behavior resembles that of someone in mild or full mania. He was earning little and dependent on funds from his parents who had now moved to Santa Barbara. In addition, Weldon was still dependent on their approval for his "career path," approval which was not forthcoming from them. Indeed, they were disappointed. Weldon was reasonably healthy except for bouts of sinus headaches and colitis. He began taking amphetamines to help him cope with all of his projects.

His ideas became grandiose – a Broadway show using his music, a movie company, a film school, writing scripts for movies and television. After the break-up

³ He also abandoned his art much to the disappointment of several of his New York City friends.

⁴ Weldon had some scholarly publications with Bateson as a result of this work.

with Ann, Weldon dated a couple of women, the second of whom Virginia Patterson, was a clinical psychologist. She lived in Sausalito and, while driving her home across the Golden Gate Bridge, Weldon used to talk about suicide and told her that he was working on a book about suicides. She began to find Weldon overwhelming, especially his depression.

In July 1955, Weldon continued interest in suicide, stimulated by reading Dostoyevsky's *The Devils*. He met his friends for dinner and visited his parents (leaving with money from them). In the light of his disappearance, it seems, in retrospect, as if he was saying goodbye. He met his friend Michael Grief for dinner on several occasions and talked about his plan to either jump off the Golden Gate Bridge or go to Mexico. He admitted that he had tried to jump off the bridge a week earlier, but he lost his nerve. He could not get his foot over the rail. They had their last dinner together on Sunday July 17, 1955.

Probably, on Monday evening, he drove across the bridge for the last time. His car was found the next morning at the north end, in Marin County. The keys were in the ignition. His lab coat from the Langley Porter Clinic was neatly folded in the back seat. There was no note. No one witnessed his jump, and his body was never found.

Comment

Weldon might have gone to Mexico and not died by suicide. But his apartment was untouched, as if he was still living there. Books were opened, socks were soaking in the sink, and there was congealed milk in a dish for his cat. A move to Mexico might have resulted in some signs of packing and cleaning.

Weldon had long been interested in suicide, and this interest grew in the weeks before his disappearance. Indeed, his talking about suicide to Virginia, a psychologist, may have been an indirect communication. But she was "overwhelmed" with Weldon, which is reminiscent of Alvarez's (1972) concern with his own depression so that he could not respond to Sylvia Plath's indirect suicidal communications to him.

Weldon's career was falling apart. Rather than focusing on what he was good at, writing poetry, he was diffusing his efforts into all kinds of projects for which he had neither the talent nor the funds to pursue effectively. The use of amphetamines, which helped him maintain his manic life style, did not help in this.

He has passed the age of 40, and in his parents eyes, he had failed. Perhaps their opinion mattered to him because it was consistent with his own view of himself. So many of his projects had failed and so much of his work (especially his novels) had been rejected, that perhaps he saw no future for himself in the artistic circles to which he so wanted to belong.

Acquaintances throughout his life had wondered whether Weldon was gay, and he certainly attracted gay men. It would be interesting to know more about the quality of his

relationship with his wife Ann and whether his possibly latent homosexuality played any role in the decisions that he made. There is certainly no evidence that he ever engaged in homosexual activity.

His parents were old, they were ill and they might need his help. He could not continue to rely on them to help him. His wife of some fifteen years had become an alcoholic, and he had not found any replacement.

Weldon's wallet, sleeping bag and bank-book were never found. He had made the final payment on his car. The California Highway Patrol did not believe that he was a suicide. Suicides do not take these things with them, they claimed. Weldon was depressed and discouraged, but his friends and father thought that his mood was no worse than usual. And wouldn't he have left a note?

Did he jump? Or go to Mexico? We do not know for sure, but his final weeks fit the profile of a man who died by suicide off the Golden Gate Bridge rather than fake such a death. And he was never heard from again.

References

- Alvarez, A. (1972). *The Savage God*. New York: Random House.
Reidel, J. (2003). *Vanished act*. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press.

ARTHUR KOESTLER

David Lester

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 (Levene, 1984)..

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 died by 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 die by 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 died by 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 die by 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.

References

- Blue, A. (1983). Who was "Mrs. Arthur Koestler" and why did she kill herself? *Ms Magazine*, 12(1), 110.
- Canetto, S. S. (1992-1993). She died for love and he for glory: Gender myths of suicidal behavior. *Omega*, 26, 1-17.
- Levene, M. (1984). *Arthur Koestler*. New York: Frederick Ungar.
- Mikes, G. (1984). Remembering the Koestlers. *American Scholar*, 53, 219-224.

JERZY KOSINSKI

David Lester

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

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

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

As the war wound down and activists began fighting the Germans, Moses allied himself with the left. When the Russians liberated the region on July 28, 1944, Moses and his family greeted the liberators (while other Poles from the town fled). Moses was soon co-opted into the new government, while Jerzy was befriended by two of the Soviet soldiers. However, in the initial unrest after the war, Moses was targeted by right-wing assassins, and the family fled back to Lodz. Moses, an honored apparatchik, was given a

house in Jelenia Gora and a local company to manage. Jerzy, now twelve, was at first privately tutored and then enrolled in the local gymnasium. Jerzy had survived the war, having been rather unruly as a child (difficult to control and with a mean streak) and with nightmares after liberation, but alive and healthy.

Adolescence

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

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

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

Jerzy was soon expelled from the university party organization for refusing to speak on the Korean War unless he could present both sides. Although never re-admitted, Jerzy was permitted to use the party's facilities (such as the dining room), and he was awarded his Master of Social Science in June, 1953. He then began study for a Master of History. For this, Jerzy wrote two monographs, published in the *Review of Historical and Social Sciences*, and as booklets. The first examined the views of political prisoners in the 19th Century, the second the views of a Ukrainian reformer in the early 19th Century, both metaphorical critiques of the current regime, and he received his second Masters in

June, 1955. He then enrolled as a doctoral student in the Institute of Culture of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw. He continued to photograph, and on student vacations he learned to like skiing. He also had to serve (as a clerk) in the Polish Armed Reserve. Friends noted that he continued his sexual and seductive ways, marvelling that he could produce instant erections on demand and sustain them indefinitely; he could also read books or answer the telephone while making love! He also liked to experiment, with different permutations of the partners, including homosexuality too.

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

Early Days in America

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

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

At Columbia University, Jerzy took courses and performed quite well. Meanwhile, after eight months in America he got a book contract from Doubleday to write a book about Russia, which came to be called *The Future Is Ours, Comrade*, written under a pen name, Joseph Novak.¹ America was interested in promoting awareness of the true state of affairs in Communist Europe. The CIA supported the publication of books such as Jerzy's and had contacts with Radio Free Europe and the

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

Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in New York City. Jerzy had ties with these organizations², and it is possible that these contacts helped Jerzy get the contract. He wrote the book with the aid of a translator (whose name did not appear on the book), the daughter of the Institute's president. The book was condensed for *Reader's Digest* and excerpted in *The Saturday Evening Post*, received fine reviews, and was indeed a remarkable piece of journalism.

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

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

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

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

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

As the publication date for *No Third Path* drew near, Jerzy was still making drastic changes to the text, a practice that was common in his later work. The work again

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

needed a translator, and again Jerzy hid this fact from others. The book appeared in February 1962 and bombed; it was too similar to the earlier book. However, the fact that Joseph Novak was Jerzy began to leak out, and so Jerzy acknowledged the work.

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

The Rise to Fame

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

Jerzy's relationship with Mary was strained by her alcoholism, and her physician considered putting her in an institution. After four years of marriage, Jerzy sought to divorce Mary, and, rumors to the contrary, Jerzy asked for no settlement. Mary obtained the divorce in Mexico in January, 1966. Meanwhile, Jerzy had been introduced to Katherina von Fraunhofer (Kiki), a female account executive at J. Walter Thompson, raised in England but from an aristocratic Bavarian family. They got on well and began a relationship that lasted for the rest of his life, friends and lovers, finally marrying in 1987. Jerzy continued to have affairs, visit the sex clubs in Manhattan and cruise the streets for prostitutes, but Kiki seemed to tolerate this.

The Painted Bird won the French award for the best foreign book of the year, and only the Polish press panned the book, seeing it as an attack on the Polish people who are presented in an unfavorable light in the book. Pocket Books contracted for the paperback version, and Jerzy made many changes for this edition. Still money was scarce, and Jerzy applied for a Guggenheim in the Fall of 1966, which he was awarded. Still, the

possibility of being found out in the lies about his life, that he used translators, and the attacks in Poland made him somewhat paranoid and depressed. As he began working on a new book, this stress, plus his continuing difficulties with English, caused him to lose confidence in himself to the point of occasionally threatening suicide.

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

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

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

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

In 1969, Jerzy accepted a position at Princeton's Council for the Humanities where he enlarged his circle of friends, including Svetlana Alliluyeva, Stalin's daughter. He also met Jean Kilbourne in New York City, a teacher in Cambridge, Massachusetts, with whom he began an intense affair which lasted several years.¹ In 1970, Jerzy taught in the Department of Drama Criticism at Yale University where he was considered a brilliant teacher, and he finished his novel *Being There*, a novel about a simple-minded gardener who impresses the powers in Washington and becomes a candidate for Vice-President, a theme with similarities to Jerzy's life and to the book of *Nikodem Dyzma*. The book was published in April, 1971, to positive reviews; Jerzy appeared on the

¹ Jerzy often took his lovers with him to visit the S&M sex clubs in Manhattan, though most declined to participate.

Tonight Show because of its success and made several more appearances with Johnny Carson.

For his next novel, he stole Jean Kilbourne's diary and his letters to her to use as the basis for his novel. He still needed editors and collaborators in order to craft his novels, and he acquired new editors for each novel, forbidding them to remove any pages from his apartment when they left. He still continued to mix fact and fiction; in one incident, he claimed to be going blind so that Yale University released him from his teaching contract², whereupon he went skiing in Europe and visited Egypt.³ In 1970, he began steps to renounce his Polish citizenship, claiming that he feared being captured by Poles if he should ever visit Eastern Europe. He began to become more noticeably Jewish. Jerzy's mother died in Poland in January, 1972, and his new book, based on Jean's journals, *The Devil Tree*, was published in February, 1973. The reviews were bad, and Jerzy was devastated.

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

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

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

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

² He practiced typing in the dark and walking with a cane like a blind man.

³ Jerzy typically ate very little in restaurants, but compensated by eating before he went out, thus presenting himself as abstemious to his fellow diners.

was invited by Warren Beatty to act in Beatty's film *Reds*, where Jerzy played Lenin's henchman, Zinoviev.

The Fall

By this time, writers, researchers and critics were beginning to explore Jerzy's life. Jerome Klinkowitz who had interviewed Jerzy in 1971 visited Poland in 1979 to check upon the details of Jerzy's stories. He had trouble finding a publisher for the article, but others were more successful. Furthermore, the influential intellectuals in America were moving to the left, and Jerzy was seen as a right-wing figure, with ties to the *New York Times* and rumors of affiliation with the CIA. He continued to plug away at his novels, still using editors, but a favorable portrait in the *New York Times Magazine* on February, 1982, angered some his detractors. *The Nation* had considered doing an exposé on Jerzy¹, and Geoffrey Stokes and Eliot Fremont-Smith eventually collaborated on the article which appeared in the *Village Voice* on June 22, 1982, as "Jerzy Kosinski's Tainted Words." Defenses appeared, but the article had serious consequences -- Jerzy fled to California for a while and his German editors cancelled a publicity tour. However, in November, the *New York Times* published a defense of Jerzy ("A case history: 17 years of ideological attack on a cultural target") which described the Polish attacks on Jerzy, the motivations of his detractors, and the rebuttals of Jerzy's editors who denied having written his works. This article was a mistake for, rather than the intellectual storm simply dying away, it gave the accusations new life as the left-wing magazines attacked the *Times* article. Jerzy decided to hide again, in California and in Switzerland.

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

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

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

¹ Earlier, Chuck Ross had typed up parts of *Steps* and circulated it to publishers who uniformly rejected it, and the editors of *The Nation* knew about this.

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

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

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

Reference

Sloan, J. P. (1996). *Jerzy Kosinski*. New York: Dutton.

VLADIMIR KOVALEVSKII

David Lester

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

Early Days

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

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

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

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

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

The Fictitious Marriage

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Return to Russia

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

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

Their daughter was born in October 1878, after a difficult pregnancy which left Sofia with a weakened heart. Both Sofia and Vladimir adored Fufa, as they called her. Soon thereafter, the real estate venture came crashing down in bankruptcy. Then in February, a revolutionary newspaper resurrected the rumors about Vladimir being a spy and spread other false rumors.

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

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

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

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

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

By the end of 1882, he seemed to have decided on suicide. He tried to tidy up his affairs, and he wrote his brother a farewell letter on February 1 1883, though he did not

mail it. For two months he waited, hoping his concentration would return so that he could resume his scientific work and hoping that there would not be trial of the directors of the oil company. The final blow was that a thesis he had submitted for his Russian doctorate was rejected.

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

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

Discussion

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

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

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

Reference

Koblitz, A. H. (1983). *A convergence of lives*. Boston: Birkhauser.

IVAR KREUGER¹

David Lester

Ivar Kreuger was born in 1880 in Sweden. Ivar's great-grandfather had founded many factories in Sweden during Sweden's Industrial Revolution, and he left a vast fortune to Ivar's father, including some factories that made matches.

(The safety match had been developed in Sweden in 1844 by Gustaf Erik Pasch, and the major manufacturer of the new safety matches was the Jonkoping Trust, established by the Lundstrom brothers.)

Ivar was an unremarkable boy. He was bright but not outgoing. He obtained decent grades and went on to university in Stockholm where he got a degree in civil engineering. He left for New York City, but he had difficulty finding a job in construction. He tried selling real estate to immigrants, but he wasn't good at this. He obtained a surveyor's permit and joined work crews moving down to New Orleans. There he was hired to work on a bridge being built in Veracruz (Mexico), but malaria decimated the workers, and Ivar returned to Sweden to recuperate. He returned to New York City in the Fall of 1901 and got a job for the Fuller Construction Company. For the next seven years, Ivar worked on construction jobs around the world. One job (the stadium at Syracuse University) used reinforced or trussed concrete. Ivar saw its potential and returned to Sweden in 1909 where he borrowed money to set up a construction company, Kreuger & Toll, with an engineering friend, Paul Toll.

The company was successful. Customers were impressed with trussed concrete, and Kreuger & Toll finished their jobs ahead of schedule. Ivar publicly incorporated the company, and then began his financial dealings.

In 1914, the company began trading securities on the Stockholm Exchange. Ivar consolidated eleven factories into the United Match Factories (later called the Kalmar Trust). During World War I, he persuaded the Jonkoping Trust to share the aspen trees in northern Sweden and then made secret deals with Germany to provide the nation with matches. He built companies to eliminate middlemen, and his profits grew. After the war, he persuaded the Jonkoping Trust to merge with his company by inflating the Kalmar Trust's value. Ivar became head of the combined company, the Swedish Match Company.

It is difficult (and perhaps unnecessary here) to understand Ivar's complex financial dealings. He formed several companies, and switched funds from one to another, sometimes in reality and sometimes just on paper. He persuaded banks to lend his companies huge sums of money, often based on fraudulent balance sheets that he made up. He dumped low grade matches in Germany and Russia for huge profits. He offered stock on various stock exchanges for shares in his companies, and he made millions from these sales. When directors of his companies, banks and shareholders

¹ This essay is based on Wells (2000).

demanded accountings, Ivar made up figures and often eliminated discrepancies by stating “Debit it to Ivar Kreuger.”

He built a 23-room house in Stockholm and owned apartments in Berlin, Warsaw, Paris and New York City, and he kept a permanent suite at the London Carlton. His dwellings were extravagantly furnished but not homey. He never married (he said that his company was all he needed), but he had mistresses in most cities. He had only one extended affair, for about ten years, with Inge Hassler which persisted even after her marriage to another man. After Ivar’s suicide in 1932, women in Paris, Stockholm and New York petitioned the executors of Ivar’s will for continued “pensions.”

Ivar and his companies were so wealthy that governments came to him for loans. He lent \$6 million at 7% interest to the Polish Diet (for which Ivar also got leases on ten Polish factories), and he also lent money to Greece (to repatriate refugees), Hungary, Latvia and Estonia (to institute land reforms) and France, Ecuador and Romania (to provide them with economic stability).

All because of matches! At the end of the 1920s, Ivar owned 250 match factories around the world. Of the 40 billion boxes sold each year, 80 percent were made by Ivar’s companies. (Ivar smoked a lot too, but never carried a match with him!)

The stock market crash in 1929 and the Great Depression ended his success. The value of his stocks dropped (though not as much as those of other companies). Some of his government loans were paid back early, but Ivar continued to make loans. He got \$75 million back from France, but then lent \$150 million to Germany. He tried to work with Mussolini’s Italian government, but the deal fell through. Ivar then issued batches of counterfeit Italian bonds, as well as five promissory notes. He then pledged this \$142 million of phoney issues as collateral to borrow money from Swedish banks. Other problems arose. England went off the gold standard, and Germany won a reprieve in paying back its loans to foreign investors. Ivar stockholders began dumping shares, lowering the value of his companies, leading banks to demand more collateral.

The situation deteriorated, and Ivar fell into a depression. He tried one last deal - a merger in 1932 of his Ericsson Telephone Company with ITT in America. But Edwin Chinlund, leading the ITT negotiating team, tried to verify and trace Ivar’s assets. When Chinlund uncovered the frauds, ITT withdrew from the talks.

Ivar returned to Paris, dined with one of his lovers, met his associates, and arranged to meet them for lunch the next day. That day, he sent his assistant off to Stockholm, waited until his housekeeper had gone to the market, and then shot himself with a 9-millimeter revolver. He had scribbled a note: “I’m too tired to continue.”

Reference

Wells, J. T. (2000). *Frankensteins of fraud*. Austin, TX: Obsidian.

ALAN LADD

David Lester

Ina Ladd, a reserved Englishwoman, gave birth to her only child, Alan Ladd, September 3, 1913, in Hot Springs, Arkansas. She was born in 1888 in West Chester, England, had emigrated to the USA in 1907 and had married in 1912. Her husband, Alan Ladd Sr, was American-born of Scottish ancestry and traveled around as a freelance accountant. He died of a heart attack in front of his family in 1917.

Alan and a friend were playing with matches on July 3, 1918, and accidentally burned down the apartment making it easier for Ina to move away. She took Alan first to Oklahoma City where Alan, then seven, was tormented at school and made very few friends. Ina met and married a house painter, James Beaver, there, and they moved to California. It took them three months to drive to Los Angeles in a 1914 Model T Ford, often stopping to work on the way to earn enough money for the trip. In Flagstaff they helped with the harvest, with Alan fetching water and digging tubers. They arrived at a transient auto camp in Pasadena, and Jim Beaver worked as a laborer until he could buy some paint brushes, and he eventually got a job as a painter at a movie studio. They moved first to a tent village, then to a shared house and finally to a garage on a small lot which he and Alan built. They ate simply, often potatoes and cheap mutton, and Alan could never eat lamb again for the rest of his life.

Alan got sick with a stomach ailment when he was twelve, perhaps from the years of struggle and malnutrition, and the family moved to small house in the San Fernando Valley for his health. Alan had fallen behind in his learning so that he was the oldest boy in his classes, and he remained small. His classmates nicknamed him Tiny, a name which stuck with him for the rest of his life.

He started work when he was fourteen for the Piggly Wiggly market chain and enrolled in North Hollywood High School when he was sixteen. He did well at athletics and was so good at swimming that there was talk of trying for the 1932 Olympics. He performed in the high school drama productions and, for the first time, but not the last, a movie company saw him and signed him briefly before letting him go. They told him that he was too short (only five foot four).

Struggling

After graduating from high school in 1934, Alan worked for a local newspaper until he had enough money to open a small hamburger and malt shop. His mother, now middle-aged and drinking too much, helped him with it, but they had to close it after six months. Alan then went to work for Warner Brothers studio as a grip but quit after eight months. Meanwhile, Alan had met a local girl, Midge Harrold, and they secretly married in October, 1936, just after his step-father had died of a heart attack. Midge got pregnant, and so they had to tell her parents. Midge moved into Alan's apartment, and the baby was born on October 20, 1937, Alan Ladd Jr, the future president of Twentieth Century Fox.

Alan was now working for a local radio station as an actor, and his mother, back from a jaunt to San Francisco, moved in with Alan and Midge. She was depressed and drinking heavily, and on November 29, 1937, she poisoned herself with arsenic (in ant paste) and died.

Alan began to gain a reputation as a good radio actor with an extraordinary voice. He performed on the Texaco Star Theater and the Lux Radio Theater and was signed up by an agent, Sue Carol. Sue had been born in 1903, worked as an actress, and married three times, with one daughter. Sue worked hard on Alan's account and soon had him playing small parts in movies, and from 1939 to 1941 Alan had many, mainly unimpressive, roles. She became friendly with Midge and often had the couple over for parties at her house.

The roles kept coming, and Sue persuaded Alan to take all of them. It kept him visible and provided lots of film clips to show directors and producers. Eventually Alan and Sue fell in love, and Alan left Midge in the Spring of 1941. Midge let him go without a struggle and, though she missed him, never impeded him in his career. Sue had got his salary up from \$150 a week to \$750 a week when Paramount was casting for *This Gun For Hire*. He got the part and a long-term contract.

Fame

Alan came down with pneumonia in the middle of the production. Linet notes that this was but one in a long series of illnesses and accidents that afflicted Alan during his life (which seemed to increase in frequency after he left Paramount for Warner Brothers in 1951), so long a series that Linet felt that they were motivated by a self-destructive impulse.

Sue got a divorce in Nevada in March, 1942, and she and Alan were married soon afterwards in Tijuana, Mexico. Alan was twenty-nine and Sue thirty-nine. Once *This Gun For Hire* was released, it became a huge success, and Alan Ladd became a major star. Although somewhat overwhelmed by his fame, Alan, coached by Sue, established good relations with the press so that the movie magazines (which were very important in those days for a star's career) ran lots of stories on the Ladds (sometimes one a month), all favorable. Alan and Sue were also considerate to the fans, replying to letters and signing autographs. Both Louella Parsons and Hedda Hopper loved the Ladds and focussed on positive news about them.

The press ignored the previous marriages of the two and their children. But Sue's daughter lived with the Ladds, and Laddie (Alan's son with Midge) was a frequent visitor, eventually moving in.

Alan was drafted in January, 1943, and, after a send-off party from Paramount, went to Fort McArthur in California where he worked making propaganda and training films. His daughter Alana was born in April, 1943, and, after getting ill several times,

received a medical discharge in November. (Alan and Sue also had a son, David, in February 1947.)

Routine

Alan's life settled into a routine. He made movie and after movie, and on the whole they got worse and worse over time, finally ending up as second features at movie houses. His inability to land good roles in good movies stemmed at first from Paramount's policies which demanded that their stars make the kind of movies they thought that the public wanted and which minimized risk-taking. At Paramount, Alan had no control over scripts or directors, even after he went on strike and refused to work for them for four months, after which they gave in and raised his salary. However, after Alan left Paramount to join Warner Brothers (where he had story approval and freedom to start his own production company), Alan continued to make poor movies. This suggests that either Alan had no sound judgment as far as drama was concerned or that he was so anxious about money that he suspended his judgment and took any role that was offered to him. On the rare occasions in which he found a role he wanted, such as the lead in what was to become *Lawrence of Arabia*, he was passed over for it. But he also turned down potentially good roles such as one offered him in *Giant*. Almost every film he was in was severely criticized by *The New York Times* movie critics (with the exception of *Shane* in 1953). Despite the criticism, however, for many years the public loved him. From 1948 to 1950, he was first in the *Modern Screen* poll.

He accepted contracts to make movies abroad though practically every experience abroad was unpleasant. He would get injured, miss America, and typically end up in third-rate movies.

Despite the gradual decline in his acting reputation, Alan made a great deal of money, and everything he invested in also made money. He bought a ranch in Hidden Valley south of Santa Barbara which appreciated in value. He built a grand house in Hollywood on North Mapleton Drive. He bought a house in Palm Springs, a second ranch, an office building in Hollywood, and a hardware store, invested in modern art, and hit oil on the Hidden Valley ranch, all of which made money for him.

But there was always a feeling of insecurity. Alan never thought that he was a good actor. His biographer felt that this insecurity was greater after he left the protective care of Paramount. His height also bothered him, especially since it bothered the movie studios. Whereas other short actors had no problems with their height (such as James Cagney), Alan Ladd was always cast as the hero/lover, often opposite women who were as tall or taller than him. Thus, "Tiny" had to stand on platforms or the women in ditches when filming. Sometimes others made disparaging remarks about his height. For example, Robert Mitchum was quoted in the press as describing Alan as shrunken up like a dishwasher's hand...so small they could hardly see him.

His personal life with Sue seemed good except for a romantic fling with June Allyson in 1955. There was a row between Sue and June Allyson, and Alan left their

home to be by himself for a few days. The Ladds patched things up, and there were never any extramarital affairs again.

Alan started drinking heavily, but he never seemed to have arrived on the set drunk. His family later said that his tolerance for alcohol was so low that he could get drunk on very little alcohol. He had trouble sleeping and used sleeping pills washed down by a strong drink. His appearance changed, and he often was overweight and his face bloated. The death of his first wife, Midge, in 1957, depressed him. His fellow actors and actresses in the 1950s described him as melancholy.

By the 1960s, he had fewer fans. His movies did not sell, and they were sometimes reduced to second billing. He failed to adapt to the changing tastes of movie goers, and his ventures into productions for television failed. His insomnia and depressions grew worse, though he was still financially secure. Working on the next movie (no matter how bad it might be) seemed to alleviate his depression briefly.

In 1962, a friend, Van Heflin, advised Alan to try psychotherapy, but the idea was too terrifying, though he talked to Heflin about the loss of his good looks, his lack of self-esteem and his fears of diminishing sexual potency. In November of 1962, Alan drove out to the Hidden Valley ranch alone and was found in the morning unconscious from a bullet in the chest. This incident was called an accident, and Alan said he had tripped over his dogs while carrying the gun.

His biographer saw the deaths of Hollywood friends, acquaintances and co-stars (such as Gail Russell, Marilyn Monroe, and Dick Powell) as increasing his melancholy.

His death occurred while he was staying alone at his Palm Springs house. He was sleeping poorly, drinking, watching television and talking to friends on the telephone. He was found at 3.30 in the afternoon on January 29, 1964, by his butler dead from an overdose of sleeping pills and alcohol. The coroner ruled the death an accident.

Discussion

Alan Ladd's career was moving downhill fast, and this fed into his insecurities about himself as an actor. Public failure meant artistic failure. There is a suggestion that his marriage, which once had helped him to success, was no longer a source of satisfaction for him. His childhood experience of poverty led him to do almost anything to make money, despite the money he had accumulated, and he seemed driven in this. Alan was devoted to his children and proud of them, but the balance seemed strongly tilted toward a lack of fulfilment in his life.

His death may have been an accident, but the timing and the circumstances fit a suicide. He isolated himself in Palm Springs so that no one could intervene to save him. His depression was getting worse, and yet he was unwilling to seek professional help. The public adoration was no longer there to bolster his self-esteem. And he had, of course, the memory of his mother taking arsenic in mid-life when her problems seemed

no longer bearable. Thus, his death was probably suicidal rather than accidental.

Reference

Linnet, B. (1979). *Ladd*. New York: Arbor House.

ROBERT LA FOLLETT

David Lester

Robert La Follette, known as *Young Bob*, was born in Wisconsin to Robert Marion La Follette, a lawyer and United States congressman, and his wife Belle on February 6th, 1895, the second of four children, but the first son. La Follette Senior became in 1884 the youngest member of the House, later becoming Governor of the Wisconsin and then a Republican Senator in Washington, DC. Both parents were lawyers and held great expectations for their children.

La Follette Junior had a mostly uneventful first 18 years, despite moves to Madison and then Washington, DC. At age eight, he had the first of many illnesses that plagued him throughout his life, an illness which was never diagnosed but which may have been rheumatic fever. He was confined to bed for several months. La Follette was only an average student, but his parents expected him to attend university, and he started at the University of Wisconsin in 1913. He ran for and became president of the freshman class, but he found classes boring. At the end of his freshman year, he was placed on probation for his poor grades. His parents actively involved themselves with La Follette and his instructors for they saw education as critical for La Follette's political career that they intended for him. However, in his third year, after improving his grades, La Follette fell ill with a viral infection and had to withdraw (in January 1916). La Follette never finished college.

Life Until his Father's Death

After his health recovered, La Follette went to Washington to work in his father's Senate office. Immediately, his father's opposition to America's involvement in the First World War led to political crises, and then La Follette fell ill with streptococcal pneumonia in 1918 and was confined to bed again. He was declared unfit for military service, while his younger brother, Phil, went off to war. In these early years, helping his father, La Follette was clearly more sensitive to criticism and more concerned about the political consequences of actions than was his father, and La Follette developed a sense of failure and inadequacy. As he recovered from his illness, he wondered whether life was worth living.

In 1919, La Follette took the job as his father's chief assistant, a job he intended to hold only until he decided upon a career. However, this determined his career. La Follette enjoyed the job, especially the networking and the political campaigning for his father. Six years later, his father died after an unsuccessful run for the Presidency¹, and in 1925, La Follette ran for his father's office and became the youngest United States senator, a position he had never wanted. Phil wanted a political career², but the parents had set their goals on the older son following in his father's footsteps. La Follette lacked the independence of mind and self-confidence to break away from his father, and the

¹ Coolidge won the 1924 election.

² He did become the Governor of Wisconsin.

father exploited this.

His Years in the Senate

La Follette's years in the Senate, from 1926 to 1946 were eventful politically, but not very eventful psychodynamically. What characterizes these years is that La Follette avoided joining the major parties and became a member of the Progressive Party, of which there were only a handful of Senators.¹ He championed many causes that today would be seen as liberal, fighting for legislation that would benefit the workers in the country (in particular, the rights of labor unions), both urban and rural, but he was very rarely successful. He worked extremely hard as a senator, and he came to enjoy the work despite his failures to get his legislation passed. He worked diligently during the Depression to get government action, and always wanted more than was actually accomplished. On the other hand, while his father had been very unpopular with his colleagues, La Follette became very popular and widely respected in the Senate. Toward the end of his years there, even President Roosevelt consulted with him on many occasions and tried to win his support for his legislative plans.

He suffered from many ailments during his Senate years, including phlebitis and streptococcal infections. He had many treatments and exploratory operations and biopsies, and his poor health led him to postpone marriage. Eventually he did marry his secretary, Rachel Young, in 1930 whom he had dated since 1917. Rachel realized how close the family was when Phil and his wife accompanied them on their honeymoon. Rachel disliked politics, unlike the other members of the family, and never managed to penetrate the family circle. The marriage seems to have been stable, although there were rumors of serious problems in 1944. Rachel hated going back to Wisconsin and campaigning there, while political leaders in Wisconsin kept urging La Follette to go back there more often.

His mother, who had lived with her son in Washington, died in 1931, and she more than his father had understood young Bob and been his main source of counsel and encouragement. Three months later, Rachel gave birth to a girl who died after five hours. They later had two sons, Joseph and Bronson.

The years during the Second World War were difficult for La Follette. At the age of 51, he was tired, physically and emotionally. He opposed America's involvement in the war until Pearl Harbor, after which he voted for war. His brother Phil enlisted and left La Follette to lead the Progressive Party in Wisconsin, a task which La Follette hated. Their relationship deteriorated, and this contributed to La Follette's depressed state. La Follette's reluctance to leave Washington and visit Wisconsin contributed to his defeat in 1946. He did visit the state in 1943, whereupon he came down with bronchopneumonia and was hospitalized for six weeks. More health problem followed, and family members could see that La Follette was in deep depression.²

¹ Officially, he was accepted by the Republican caucus.

² They also felt that many of the health problems were psychosomatic in response to work and personal stress.

In 1945, La Follette considered retiring, but he decided to run again (as a Republican) and was defeated in the primary by a relative unknown, Joseph McCarthy. He was disappointed, feeling that he had let his father down, but he also felt relief.

1947-1953

Private life turned out to be worse than public life, and La Follette killed himself on February 24th, 1953 at the age of 58.

In 1947, he began working as a business consultant, opening an office in Washington. He worked hard, but it was not clear that he enjoyed the work, and friends could see that he missed the Senate.³ By 1952, he and Rachel had a net worth of \$160,000, and so they were able to live comfortably. Surprisingly, he became concerned, almost to the point of obsession, about the Communist menace and wrote an article for *Collier's* on the problem.

His health problems continued, with hospitalized treatment for a heart problem, diverticulitis, bursitis, mild diabetes, and chronic neck and shoulder pains. He also began to have anxiety attacks and seemed more depressed than usual. His birthday was on February 6th. On February 24th, he left the office at 11 am and called Rachel at noon, asking her to come home. When Rachel arrived at 12.30, she found him dead in the bathroom from a bullet from a pistol lodged in his brain.

Comment

The biography of La Follette focuses mainly on his political career. However, we can easily discern that he was under the control of his father and did not choose a political career. Rather he failed to choose an alternative career. Furthermore, in his career, although he had some successes, he failed in most of his aspirations. His belonging to a “third” party did not help him achieve his political goals.

His manner of suicide is interesting. He shot himself and arranged for his wife to discover him. This suggests anger toward his wife and that he chose to die in this manner to punish her. The biography mentions tension in the La Follette household, but a more thorough investigation of this would have been useful.

Finally, what was the source of his anxiety in the last few months. Although La Follette had been anti-Communist, he was not supportive of the tactics used by Senator Joe McCarthy, and perhaps he was anxious about being called to testify before McCarthy's committee about what he knew of Communist infiltration into the Senate staff. Was La Follette becoming convinced of his poor health and imminent death from natural causes? Or was he anxious at the decision that he had made to kill himself? We can only speculate.

³ He turned down offers of positions from President Truman.

Reference

Maney, P. J. (2003). *Young Bob*. Madison, WI: Wisconsin Historical Society.

PRIMO LEVI

David Lester

On April 11, 1987, Primo Levi, a survivor of Auschwitz, jumped to his death in the stairwell of the building where he lived and where he had been born. Of the rarity of suicide in the concentration camps, he said that suicide as a punishment for guilt (real or imagined) was not necessary in the camps since one was being punished daily. Was his suicide later then at the age of 67 a punishment for his presumed sins?

Early Life

Primo was born at home in Turin on July 31, 1919, into a Jewish community that was quite integrated and assimilated into the Italian culture.¹ Primo's father, Cesare, was 40 years old at the time, trained as an electrical engineer.² Cesare had married Ester Luzzati, seventeen years his junior, in 1917. The family did not observe most of the Jewish customs; indeed Cesare even ate ham! Cesare died of stomach cancer in 1942.

As a child, Primo read popular science books, and his favorite subjects were chemistry and astronomy. Primo's childhood and adolescence were uneventful. He was rather shy with girls³, and he had a fear of spiders. The family vacationed in the country every summer, and Primo had a large number of cousins and a few friends for company. He attended a local primary school from the ages of six to eleven, had his bar mitzvah at the age of thirteen and entered the Liceo Massimo d'Azeglio which had recently been purged of teachers who refused to sign the oath of loyalty to Fascism in 1931. Primo did not suffer taunts because he was Jewish, although the circumcised boys were teased for having been "castrated." Primo was shy and studious, and he decided at the age of fourteen to take up chemistry. He graduated in 1937 and entered the Chemical Institute.

After the first five months of study, Primo was one of the twenty students out of eighty first-year students permitted to continue. Although a law was passed in 1938 prohibiting Jewish students from studying in the universities, those already enrolled were permitted to continue. Many thousands of Jews emigrated, a similar number converted to Christianity, while a few died by suicide.⁴

Primo was shunned by many of his fellow students, but he continued his studies. Primo and his friends would often travel to the mountains to climb, braving the hunger and cold, and they had contact with anti-fascist elements. However, despite rumors of Jews being exterminated in Germany, Primo and his circle did not experience much hostility from fellow Italians and did not have the motivation to emigrate.

¹ A younger sister, Anna Maria, was born in 1921.

² Primo's grandfather had also trained as an engineer, and he committed suicide because his wife was unfaithful to him.

³ His shyness was caused in part by his feelings of inferiority for being Jewish. His shyness caused him so much torment that he did think of suicide.

⁴ During this period of racial laws, one Jewish officer, Colonel Segri shot himself in front of his assembled troops when was forced to retire because he was Jewish.

Primo passed his exams easily, but he had trouble finding a professor to sponsor his thesis. Finally, a young professor at the Institute of Experimental Physics agreed to sponsor him, and Primo graduated with his doctorate *summa cum laude* in July 1941. His diploma noted that the holder was a Jew.

Not many people would hire a Jew, but a lieutenant in the army wanted to extract nickel from some discarded mining deposits and hired Primo to work on the project. Primo went to work at the mine, some thirty kilometers from Turin. After a year, they realized that extracting the nickel would not be feasible, and so Primo looked for another job. His father died that year, and Primo got a job with a Swiss manager of a pharmaceutical company in Milan who did not feel bound by the anti-Jewish laws.

In 1942, as the allies landed in Africa and the Soviets launched a counter-offensive, Primo and his friends became more involved with the anti-fascist groups. After the allies landed in Italy in July, 1943, and Mussolini was deposed, Primo and his friends went on holiday in the mountains. They returned in time for the German occupation of Italy. By September 8, the Germans were in Turin and Milan, and Primo and his friends took to the mountains to join the resistance.

They were quickly betrayed and captured, without having fought, on December 13. They were moved to a prison in the Aosta barracks and then moved on January 20, 1944, to a transit camp at Fossoli di Carpi, near Modena, where it was thought at first they would stay until the war ended. After a few weeks, some 650 Italian Jews were in the camp with yellow triangles on their shirts. They were deported to Auschwitz on February 22, a journey taking four days. Of the 650 Jews transported that day, only 23 came home.

Auschwitz and the Journey Home

The journey to Auschwitz was exactly as has been described before -- with the starving and thirsty inmates crowded in unsanitary conditions. At Auschwitz, Primo was one of the 96 men and 29 women chosen for the labor camp, while the remaining Jews were gassed. Primo was sent to Auschwitz III Monowitz, a chemical complex where the plan was to build a factory to produce synthetic rubber, run by I. G. Farben. The life expectancy in this camp had been three to four months, but a recent increase in food rations had raised it to six months.

After acclimatization, Primo was assigned to a group for unskilled laborers. Primo decided that he had to observe the events in the camp with a scientist's eye for detail in case he should survive and could bear witness to the brutality. This goal helped him survive. In addition, an Italian non-Jewish employee of I. G. Farben, Lorenzo Perrone, brought Primo two liters of soup and extra bread every day, a supplement Primo shared with a fellow countryman who worked alongside him. Primo survived a "selection" in October 1944, when many in the labor force were sent to be gassed.

In late 1944, Primo was one of the Jews assigned to a chemical laboratory, so that he was working under a roof in a heated building. On January 11, 1945, Primo caught scarlet fever and was sent to the infirmary. As the Soviet troops advanced, the Germans moved 58,000 prisoners out of Auschwitz for a forced march toward Germany. They probably meant to kill the sick prisoners, but they left without doing so on January 17, 1945, leaving 950 patients and Muselmänner behind.

The prisoners left behind survived for the ten days until the Russians liberated the camp. Primo took a lead in this for his fellow infectious patients, foraging for food and for wood to burn to keep warm. About 500 of the 850 prisoners died in this period, and 200 or so shortly thereafter. Only one of the eleven patients in Primo's group died.

Once the Russians arrived, on January 27, 1945, they set about organizing the camp. The Russians drafted Poles to clean up the camp, and they brought in doctors and nurses. Primo had a high fever that did not break for five days. By the end of February Primo moved to the main camp from where he and a few other prisoners were sent to Cracow. The train broke down before arriving, and so Primo and a Greek prisoner walked into Cracow and stayed together. They decided to move on to Katowice, 70 kilometers away where they found a transit camp. Quartered among the Italians, Primo rested, but he developed "dry pleurisy." On July 1, the Italian prisoners were loaded onto a train for repatriation. Eight hundred Italians crowded on to the train and the train took six days to reach Odessa. After a delay, the Russians loaded the Italians and Romanians and sent them north to Slutsk, 100 kilometers south of Minsk, where some ten thousand foreigners were quartered. On July 20 they moved to Starye Dorogi, 70 kilometers east, where Primo stayed until September 15. Finally, the Russians found a way to get them home. The Italians boarded yet another train, which went through Romania, Hungary, Slovakia and Austria whereupon the Russians handed the Italians over to the Americans. Their new train headed first for Germany and at one stop, as Primo walked around Munich, the idea of testifying as to what the Germans had done in the camps took shape as a duty that he had to perform. The train crossed back into Austria and thence into Italy, stopping near Verona. The journey had taken 34 days.

The next day, Primo got a local train to Turin and arrived on October 19, 1945. He walked to his old home to find that all of his family had survived.

Testifying

At first, Primo was depressed but, as he told his story to relatives and friends, his desire to write it down returned.

He began working for a subsidiary of Dupont in January 1946. He worked diligently and began to set down his story during free moments. While there he met Lucia Morpurgo and fell in love with her. They were engaged that year and married in September 1947. Primo and Lucia had a daughter Lisa (in 1948) and a son Renzo (in 1957), and they moved in with Primo's mother who was still living in the old family apartment. Lucia's mother lived nearby.

Primo tried to find a better job but decided to try to set up an independent company with a good friend. They converted tin into stannous chloride and looked for consulting work, but they could not generate enough income. In December 1947, he met the owner of a small paint business. Primo joined him and went to work developing special varnishes. Primo concentrated on developing wire enamels and rose to be the general manager of the company for the next thirty years.

His first publication on the concentration camps was a ten-page co-authored report in *Minerva Medica*, but Primo had trouble finding a publisher for his book-length account (*If This Is A Man*). A small publisher eventually printed 2,500 copies in the Fall of 1947, but the book was met with indifference. Primo was so disappointed that, apart from a few short stories, he wrote nothing more until 1961.

Primo enjoyed working, but Italy went through a period of worker unrest, with a strong Marxist influence, and eventually Primo's attitude led to hostile reactions from the trade unionists in Turin and Italy. In 1957, Primo joined a lawsuit against I. G. Farben for compensation for their Jewish slave laborers. Primo received 2,500 Deutschmarks in October 1960.

In 1955, the publishing house of Einaudi agreed to bring out a new edition of *If This Is A Man*, but it did not appear until June 1958, with a print run of 2,000 copies. It sold about one thousand copies a year. An English translation appeared in 1960, but it too sold poorly despite receiving good reviews. A German edition appeared in 1962.

In 1961, after conversations with friends, Primo decided to write about his experiences in Russia. Writing after work and on weekends, he finished *The Truce* in November 1962. The book appeared in April 1963 to great success, and this increased the sales of his earlier book. *The Truce* received a minor literary prize, the first Campiello Prize. Einaudi also published textbook editions of both books which became part of the school curriculum in 1973.

Thus, encouraged, Primo began to experiment with writing. He wrote science fiction stories (under a pen name) which won a prize. His books and stories were made into radio plays and theatrical productions, and Primo began at this time to visit schools and colleges to talk about his experiences in Auschwitz. He was shocked to find the degree of ignorance about the concentration camps and that the students were surprised to find that Primo's experiences were recent and not ancient history.

Primo began to contribute to *La Stampa*, the Turinese daily newspaper. He also wrote poems and stories, but his next book of stories was received with indifference. Primo felt that his creative period was past, and his depressions became more frequent and sustained. However, he continued to write. *The Periodic Table*, an autobiographical work, appeared in June 1975, to great success, and Primo felt able to retire from business to devote himself more to writing. Hitherto, he had not been accepted by the literary

community, which viewed him as a chemist who happened to write. Primo wanted greater recognition for his writing abilities.

Retirement and Death

Primo's mother, now 80 years old, fell ill in 1974 and began to be a tiresome patient who insisted that Primo and his wife attend to her needs, despite help from nurses. She had a stroke and was paralyzed down one side. His mother-in-law, 83 years old, was now blind. Primo and his wife had hardly any time to leave Turin. Primo felt that he was under house-arrest with a bed-ridden, demanding mother.

Despite this, Primo continued to write. A book of poems came out in 1975 and a longer collection of poems in 1984, and these showed much greater rage and hatred toward the Nazis than did his prose. His next fictional book (*The Wrench*) was published in 1978 and attacked by left-wing radicals. Literary critics also attack Primo's writing for its clarity. Despite these problems, Primo's books continued to win literary prizes.

By now, he was tiring of giving talks to students about the concentration camps, but in the later 1970s and early 1980s, several writers and speakers began to deny the existence of the Holocaust and to claim that it was a lie invented by the Jews. Primo was outraged by these articles and attacked them in print and in interviews.

These incidents seemed to increase Primo's feelings of guilt for having survived when so many died. He sometimes felt that the "best" had died, for those who survived had not always behaved in the way that one did in a civilized society.

A book of short stories appeared in 1981 and a novel in 1982 (*If Not Now, When?*) about Jewish partisans in Belarus during the war. This book was an immediate success and won two prizes. But the literary world still did not view Primo as a first-class writer.

The Israeli invasion of Palestine in 1982 disturbed Primo, and he spoke out against it, upsetting many Jews. However, when critics compared Israel to the Nazis, he was again outraged -- the two situations were very different. After an attack on the synagogue in Rome in October 1982, killing one person and wounding 34 others, Primo refused all further comment on the situation. He tried to resume his talks to students in 1983 but was so discouraged by their response that he stopped, this time for good.

Primo's fame grew as his works were translated into foreign languages, and many invitations were extended to him. Taking care of the two old ladies day and night forced him to decline almost all of them. He managed a few trips to the mountains with his friends and he did manage a brief but hectic visit to the United States in 1985.⁵

In 1985, his publisher, Einaudi, was ruined financially by ill-conceived projects. This caused him anxiety over his finances. In addition, the situation with his mother

⁵ His sister came to Turin to care for the old ladies.

depressed him, and he felt less able to write than before. Friends tried to convince him to put his mother in a home, but he could not make such a decision.

He managed to find the energy for another book about the camps (*The Drowned And The Saved*) which came out in 1986, and Primo and his wife managed a trip to England that year. But in that year, Primo's depression worsened, and his cousin prescribed antidepressants for him. He managed visits to England and Sweden later that year and was awarded more prizes.

But his depression continued. He permitted a biography to be undertaken (by Giovanni Tesio), and he told Tesio that he felt his entire writing had been useless and that he was deeply affected by the press coverage given to the Holocaust-deniers. He wrote to an American translator of his work two months before his suicide about his sleepless nights and the anguish over his bed-ridden mother. He told her that his current life was worse than Auschwitz because he was no longer young or had the ability to withstand stress.

His memory began to fail him, and he sometimes read his own books to refresh his memory. He thought that he had been awarded his doctorate, not because his work had merit, but because his anti-fascist professors wanted to demonstrate their political views. He thought that he had been a useless partisan.

In March 1987, Primo had to undergo prostate surgery, and there was some post-operation bleeding. At home, he experienced pain and difficulty re-adapting. Friends tried to encourage him to visit them and take a break from his home, but he declined. Despite visits from friends, projects in progress (one friend was considering making a film of *The Truce*), and rumors that he had been nominated for Nobel Prize, he remained depressed.

On the morning of April 10, 1987, Primo called the chief Rabbi of Rome and said that he did not know how to go on and that he could no longer stand life. His mother's illness reminded him of the men lying dead in Auschwitz. A few minutes after 10 am, he fell down the stairwell and died on the floor of the apartment building. He left no suicide note, and several friends could not accept that it was suicide.

Reference

Anissimov, M. (1999). *Primo Levi*. New York: Overlook Press.

VACHEL LINDSAY⁶

David Lester

Vachel Lindsay was a poet known mainly for reciting his poems. He embarked on numerous tours of the USA, so many that he grew tired of reciting the same poems time and time again. Eventually, at the age of fifty-two, he killed himself by drinking a bottle of lysol.

His Early Life

Vachel's family came originally from Scotland, but Vachel's father was born in Kentucky. He earned enough money to pay for his own medical training, became a doctor, and established his practice in Illinois. In 1871, when he was twenty-seven, he returned to Kentucky to marry his long-time sweetheart, but found her dying from tuberculosis. He married her nonetheless, but she died within months after the wedding. He returned to his practice in Illinois. In 1875, he went with his sister and a friend of hers on a trip to Europe. He fell in love with the friend (Kate Frazee) and married her in 1876. Kate was from Scottish and English stock, and her father had worked as a farmer in Indiana.

When Kate was twelve, she was overcome by the sun while picking blackberries. Her sight was injured, and she seems to have developed some unspecified psychological problems after her recovery. She went to college, graduated with perfect grades, and taught mathematics in college for a while.

The Lindsays moved to Springfield and had six children. Olive, Vachel, Isabel, Esther, Eudora and Joy. Vachel (christened Nicholas Vachel) was born on November 10, 1879. When Olive was twelve and Vachel ten, Isabel, Esther and Eudora died within three weeks of one another of scarlet fever. The loss of the children was felt strongly, and the family visited their graves every Saturday.

Vachel came down with milk poisoning when he was four months old and remained ill for over a year. His mother kept him with her all the time, and this set up an especially close bond between them. His father was an intimidating figure. He warned Vachel strongly about the evils of venereal disease, drink and tobacco, and these prohibitions remained powerful edicts in Vachel's mind.

Vachel grew up to be an affectionate and excitable boy. His mother was the dominating parent in the household, but her husband was secure enough not to mind her authority. For punishment, Vachel's mother would whip him with a light pony whip, but on one occasion, after he and some friends had accidentally burnt down some farm buildings, his father flogged him severely.

Vachel's mother was seen by townspeople as eccentric and a social climber. She

⁶ This essay is based on Ruggles (1959).

took lessons in elocution, played the piano and painted. After the death of her three young children, she threw herself into social and religious activities. She taught Bible classes, became president of the Woman's Missionary Society of her church, and much more.

The Lindsays' house was plain and simple, but filled with books. Vachel joined the Disciples Church when he was ten and wrote his first poem on a religious subject soon thereafter. His grandfather had spoken of poets as clever but crazy and told Vachel that writing poems was something you did for fun as a hobby. His mother wanted Vachel to paint, and so she tried to convince him that his talent lay in art. Throughout high school he painted and wrote poems. Vachel always had a girl-friend, though she was needed for artistic inspiration rather than erotic purposes. Indeed Vachel remained a virgin until his marriage at the age of forty-five.

However, it was soon clear that both parents wanted him to become a doctor eventually. His father once gave him a skeleton in pieces and told him to learn how to assemble it. Vachel never succeeded, but he did enjoy sketching the bones.

He won prizes for his essays, enabling him to skip seventh grade. At the end of high school his mother sided with his father over his choice of career. He went off to college to become a doctor, though he wanted to become an artist. Vachel's mother had held Olive back a year so that she and Vachel could start Hiram College together in 1897. Vachel was not quite eighteen, Olive just under twenty.

The Young Adult

During his first year of college, Vachel wrote for the college paper and the college annual and continued writing poetry. His mother, though, continued to stress that writing poetry was at best a recreation. He tried out for basketball, baseball and football and failed at all of them. He failed also at the oratorical contests at the college. In these, his anxiety interfered with his performance, as it did in class and in social situations. However, he became a leader in college pranks.

He did not like his course of study. In his junior year, he skipped almost all his classes. He read literature and pursued his artistic inclinations. He decided that he wanted to become a professional illustrator or designer, with writing as a hobby until he could make his writing pay enough to live on. He dropped out of college after his junior year with the hope of enrolling at the Art Institute in Chicago.

Vachel stayed with his parents for a few months and arrived in Chicago in January 1901 when he was twenty-one. His father had fallen chronically ill with diabetes and had a ulcerous eye. The family remained in financial difficulties for the rest of his life but continued to support Vachel. Vachel attended classes at the Art Institute and earned some money by teaching classes at the local Disciples Church. When funds ran low, he would make do with a ten-cent lunch for the whole day. He wrote poetry every night but all of it was rejected by the editors to whom he submitted it.

Vachel's teachers were not very impressed by his skill, and he made few friends. He searched for a job with a newspaper and then with advertising agencies, but he was turned down by all of them. Finally, he took a job in a toy store as a stock boy but, after two months of working from eight-thirty in the morning till midnight, he quit. In June 1903, Vachel decided to go to New York to study art. His parents reluctantly agreed to support him in this.

While at Hiram College, he had grown attached to another student, Ruth Wheeler, and on the way to New York Vachel stopped in Akron and became unofficially engaged to her. In New York, he enrolled in the New York School of Art and continued to write poetry. He spent a lot of time at the Metropolitan Museum of Art and attended the Disciples Church regularly. Finally, he had two poems accepted in the *Critic*.

Back home in 1904 for Olive's wedding, he began to have visions which he saw as projections of his visual imagination. One night, he saw the prophets of the Old Testament pass through his bedroom. He spent six months in Springfield in a fever of imagination, constructing a cosmic system which he called his "universe", drawing an elaborate map of this imaginary realm and then writing about it in poems. He put all his work together in a book, *Where Is Aladdin's Lamp*, which was never published, but he made one copy to show others. Back in New York, in 1905, he abandoned his art education to concentrate on writing.

It is difficult to know exactly what Vachel experienced during this period. Nowhere does his biographer mention the possibility of schizophrenia, but this period seems to mark the beginning of more serious psychiatric problems than Vachel had ever shown before.

Vachel's Adult Life

Vachel decided to have two of his poems printed at his own expense. He wandered around New York, reciting the poems to shop owners and people he encountered, trying to sell them for two cents, and then trying to give them away. He found few takers.

He broke off his engagement with Ruth. He said that if he had an income he would marry her, an argument he used later when he was in love with Sara Teasdale, but he did nothing to earn any money. Now, and for many years more, he was content to live off the small amounts his parents could give him and the little he earned.

By October 1905, he finally had to take a job, and he began work in a factory. However, soon thereafter the YMCA paid him to teach classes in art, and he quit the factory. In 1906 he decided to go on a walking trip, and in the next six years he went on three such trips. He would have some of his poems printed and perhaps organize one copy of a book with poems and drawings. Then he would set off on a cross-country walk,

staying with farmers and whomever would put him up, entertaining them in the evenings with recitation of his poems and those of others or showing them his book.

On his first trip in March 1906, he began in Florida with a friend, Edward Broderick. But Broderick soon deserted him, and Vachel continued his hike by himself, arriving at his Aunt's house in Kentucky two months later.

In the Fall, Vachel was again in New York, teaching for the YMCA and at settlement houses. In the Spring of 1908, he set out for his second hike, from New York to Springfield. After this hike, he decided to stay in Springfield.

In Springfield, he began to develop the idea that Springfield could become a model city for America and, indeed, the world. He lectured for free at the YMCA and began to formulate plans for a utopian city where culture and godliness would take priority over industry and commerce. He wanted to clean up town politics, build town pride, develop the talents of the gifted children, and build a city that would be an architectural wonder. He got involved in social issues too, speaking in favor of prohibition and socialist ideals. His delivery was crude, but he was acquiring the skills that would make him a fine public orator in later years. He continued to have romantic attachments, but one of his partners commented that Vachel never got beyond stroking her hand.

During this period, he continued to write, and beginning in 1909 he had several small leaflets printed at his own expense. These contained his utopian ideas, stories and poems. Vachel mailed copies of these to everyone he knew of in the literary field. Some of those who received them wrote suggesting other potential recipients.

Eventually, Vachel was noticed. One of his leaflets was reviewed in the *Chicago Evening Post* in 1909. One of his poems appeared in the *Illinois State Register* and was reprinted in papers throughout the Midwest. His work was accepted in *Collier's* and reviewed in *Current Literature*, and Vachel was invited to Chicago to meet the Cliff Dwellers, an association of regional artists and writers.

But for every acceptance, Vachel received many rejections, and he earned very little. His father's practice was not bringing much money, and so his parents rented out rooms in their house. Vachel even took a job as a laborer briefly.

In May 1912, Vachel set out for California on his third hike, but this time he had to take temporary jobs as a farm laborer to get by. The heat and the work were hard on him, and he often collapsed. But did make it to the family's camp on Mount Clinton in Colorado. After staying with them, he continued his walk west, but soon gave it up and wired his father to send him money for the train to Los Angeles.

In California, beginning to head back for home by train, Vachel was depressed, homesick, feeling persecuted by his family for being a poet, and ashamed that he had failed in his life. These feelings were always worse when he lost his inspiration and could

not write. He came home to Springfield in October 1912, on the eve of his thirty-third birthday.

Fame

In 1912, Harriet Monroe, editor of *Poetry* in Chicago, noticed Vachel's poems. Soon, *Poetry* was publishing Vachel's work, and his writing was appearing in all the major publications. In 1913, *Poetry* awarded Vachel a prize of \$100. Macmillan began to publish his books.

Vachel's poems were emotionally stirring with a strong rhythm, and Vachel's recitations of them were well-received. At a Cliff Dwellers' dinner in March 1914 in honor of William Butler Yeats, Vachel recited his poem *The Congo* to a rousing reception. Thus began Vachel's series of recitations of his works that lasted until his death. Vachel recited to all kinds of groups, at most of the major universities, and even to President Wilson and his cabinet. Eventually, Vachel experimented with accompanying the readings of his poems with dance and pantomime.

Vachel loved the response of an enthusiastic audience. Yet he also grew tired of being called upon to recite the same poems time and time again and of the lonely travel from town to town to the engagements his agent had arranged for him. Still, these tours provided his major source of income, and his poor financial position, especially after his marriage and the birth of his children, compelled him to go on more tours.

He continued to write poems and to editorialize on political and social issues (he was a pacifist for the first part of the First World War), and he produced some innovative critical works. For example, his book in 1915, *The Art Of The Moving Picture*, suggested for first time that films might be considered an art form.

Romantic affairs continued to cause problems for Vachel. He had fallen in love with Octavia Roberts in Illinois, but she rejected his proposals of marriage several times. He then began to correspond with Sara Teasdale, eventually met her and fell in love with her. But she too rejected him. Next, in 1917, at the age of thirty-seven, Vachel fell in love with Isadora Bennett who was 17. When she rejected him to marry a soldier, Vachel was very upset.

Decline

After 1920, Vachel's fortunes began to decline. His work which had hitherto been well received seemed to be poorer in quality. A strange book which he had thought would be his masterpiece, *The Golden Book Of Springfield*, was ignored by critics. New poets were coming along, like T. S. Eliot, and they received critical attention. Increasingly, Vachel found it hard to write. The long and exhausting recitation tours that he undertook, partly to satisfy his desire for approval and partly for the money, left him little time to write. But also, his creativity seemed to be drying up. In later years he

would sit for hours trying to create a new poem or write an article for a magazine that might earn him money, but he produced little.

His father died in 1918 and his mother in 1922. Vachel had lived his life dependent upon them. He had depended upon their financial support, and he had returned to live with them after his few years in New York. Their deaths were a great loss to him. (He had felt very ambivalent toward them. He both loved and felt hostility for his mother, yet wanted her recognition for his accomplishments.)

For most of his life Vachel was lonely. He had few friends back in Springfield. Men thought him strange, and women seemed to tolerate him only a little. However, he continually fell in love with them in his eccentric way, only to be rejected by them. His views too often left him without friends. His pacificism during the First World War eventually became an unpopular position. His travels left him alone in hotel rooms in strange cities.

As he grew older, more and more symptoms appeared. After a trip to England with his mother in 1920, he lost his vitality, cried easily and acted silly and excited over nothing. Sometimes his handwriting was sprawling and uncontrolled. Later, his letters became rambling, with misspelled words and aborted sentences. He had spells of depression, vertigo and what his biographer calls 'dazed dullness'. He was often angry. Politically, he turned against the immigrants whose entry into America he had once welcomed. Now he wanted them sent back. He behaved badly toward those hosting him, often shouting abuse at them for which he would have to apologize afterwards. He began to talk about his 'enemies' in America who were glad that he seemed to have written himself out.

In January 1923, after a recital near Gulf Park Junior College for Girls, he broke his tour to rest and recover, staying with the President of the College whom Vachel had known at Hiram College. He began to teach at the college and stayed for eighteen months.

He fell in love with an eighteen year-old student there who, as usual, rejected him. He found the students boring and uninterested in intellectual topics. He began to talk of enemies among the faculty who disapproved of him and spied on him. His brother-in-law came down to see what was wrong with Vachel and found him hallucinating and distraught. Vachel talked continually about his persecutors and argued that America owed him a living. In June, 1924, his brother-in-law took him to the Mayo Clinic where Vachel was diagnosed as having epilepsy. Vachel eventually admitted that, as a child, he had awoken at night on the floor to find his tongue bitten half through. But having the affliction labeled as epilepsy was a shock to Vachel, and he never accepted the label or forgave his brother-in-law for taking him to the Mayo Clinic. Vachel was prescribed luminal sodium by a neurologist.

Vachel's biographer was content with this diagnosis. However, even if we assume that Vachel may have truly had epilepsy, few epileptics develop paranoid delusions or

hallucinate. Today, such symptoms would be viewed as signs of schizophrenia, and once we see these signs as schizophrenic in nature, much of Vachel's strange life makes sense. His inability to finish college or to find and hold a job, his bizarre relationships with women, his obsession with religious-political causes and his unrealistic goals for his home town of Springfield suggest a pre-psychotic personality disorder.

But Vachel was also depressed. After the deaths of his parents, he suffered from insomnia, felt very lonely and wrote to friends that he could find no reason for continuing to live. Friends described him as weary, worn, inexpressibly sad and antagonistic toward his audiences.

Vachel decided to move to Spokane in Washington, where he moved into a hotel, subsidized by an admirer who wanted to improve the cultural life of Spokane but who never let on to Vachel that he was paying part of his hotel bill. In Spokane, his biographer describes him thus:

His swinging, ungainly gait was more marked than ever. He carried a cane, wore his cowboy hat and often dancing pumps.....and he lifted his face as though to taste the universe, then lowered it to note with shrewed eye some sign of the times. (Ruggles, 1959, p. 333)

In February 1925, Vachel met Elizabeth Conner, a twenty-three year old school teacher in Spokane. He still wrote to his girl friend from Gulf Park Junior College and even sent her an engagement ring. When she firmly said no, Vachel proposed to Elizabeth.

Vachel's eccentricity is illustrated by this decision. Elizabeth was teaching on a Tuesday morning in May, when the minister arrived to tell her that Vachel proposed to get married that very day. Elizabeth, who had known nothing of this, acquiesced, and they were married at nine in the evening after Elizabeth returned from an AAUW meeting!

Vachel's biographer reports that the marriage was happy and gives no hint of any sexual difficulties. Elizabeth did not know of Vachel's seizures when she married him. He had a seizure in August while they on a hiking tour, and Elizabeth, who was now pregnant, felt very anxious about what was in store for her.

Vachel decided that he would like to move back to his parents' house in Springfield. His paranoia had spread to include people in Spokane. During a speech to the Spokane AAUW, he began to talk of the businessmen in Spokane who were trying to drive him out of town and crucify him. Vachel managed to move his family back to Springfield and into his family home in April, 1929.

Money was scarce, and Elizabeth could not meet expenses. Vachel continued his recitation tours to bring in money. Despite his tours, from which he sent back less and less money to Elizabeth as time progressed, money remained scarce, and the family ran

up bills with local merchants. A daughter was born in May, 1926, and a son in September, 1927.

His new books received bad reviews, and Vachel was upset by this. Since Vachel had already developed paranoid tendencies, these attacks fed into his delusions of persecution. He complained about his critics and the publishers who were now rejecting his work. He sat at home in Springfield trying to write, but writing little. He began to drink, he who had spoken in favor of prohibition, and he smoked heavily. He was jealous of any man who visited Elizabeth, and accused her of infidelities. He continued to tour, but spent more money during the tours and sent less home to Elizabeth. (In 1929, his income was \$11,628 of which \$1,022 was from royalties and rents from the Lindsay estate. The rest was from recital fees. \$2,387 went to his agent, but after deductions for expenses, only \$3,293 remained.)

Although Vachel still received honors (a prize from *Poetry* and an honorary doctorate from Hiram College), these were based on his past accomplishments, not on present endeavors.

In February, 1931, he was diagnosed as having a mild case of diabetes mellitus, and the additional stress caused Elizabeth to tell Vachel how she felt about him and their life and to declare that she would not sleep with him any more. (Vachel's biographer says she did not keep her vow.) On his tours now, his self-control was gone. He refused to recite the poems his audiences wanted, and he screamed at his hosts. He wrote rude letters to his sisters, and Elizabeth felt that some of his letters indicated madness.

Vachel began to threaten Elizabeth with physical violence, even that he would kill her. Eventually, he did assault her mildly. He accused his father-in-law of trying to murder him. Vachel's brother-in-law considered institutionalizing Vachel and consulted with psychiatrists, but Vachel refused to visit any psychiatrist or neurologist.

In November, 1931, Vachel's debts totaled \$4,000, and he was on the road again. He was fifty-two. In November, he was giving a recital in Washington, DC, when the amplifiers broke down and many in the audience left. Vachel, however, was not aware of the technical difficulties, and the exodus of the audience troubled him greatly. When he arrived home on November 29th, his speech was thickened, he seemed dazed and his hands were shaking. After his first night at home, he asked Elizabeth who she had met in the house during the night. (There had been no visitors.)

On December 4th, Vachel was depressed and crying. Later that day, he attacked Elizabeth, accusing her of taking away his pride. He talked about his life, recalling every hurt and working himself into a tearful fury. After they went to bed, Vachel got up and swallowed a bottle of Lysol. Elizabeth sent for a doctor, but Vachel died soon after the doctor's arrival, at one in the morning.

Discussion

There is no evidence of psychiatric disturbance in Vachel's family, except for the psychological problems his mother experienced after her sunstroke. His childhood seems uneventful except for the death of his sisters when he was ten.

Yet during his college days the first signs of his adult life style began to be evident, a life style that can be characterized by an inability to develop any kind of career, to support himself, or to develop mature interpersonal relationships. It is interesting that his parents supported his aimless life-style despite their own financial difficulties.

As he got older, Vachel began to show more of the symptoms of severe mental disturbance, in particular hallucinations and delusions of persecution. Aside from any possible epilepsy, Vachel seems to have developed schizophrenic symptoms, complicated by depression.

Interestingly, like Ernest Hemingway, Vachel distorted the circumstances of his life. As a child he had wished that he had Indian blood in him, but as an adult he insisted that he did. He denied that he accepted money from his father when in fact he had. After his father's death, he claimed he supported himself and bought his mother everything she wanted, whereas the truth was that he borrowed heavily from her. He implied that he had been fired or forced into resigning from Gulf Park Junior College, whereas he had refused to return.

Toward the end of his life, his psychological state became much worse. His creative life seemed over, critical rejection of his work grew, and the stress of the recitation tours increased. He was unable to relate rationally to anyone, including his wife. He was severely depressed. If he had not killed himself, Vachel would probably have had to be institutionalized.

Since he left no suicide note, we can only speculate about his personal motives for his suicide. But his biographer says that Vachel told Elizabeth after swallowing the lysol: "I got them before they could get me - they can just try to explain this, if they can!" (Ruggles, 1959, p. 432). It appears that Vachel killed himself under the influence of the delusions that people were trying to kill him, and he thwarted them by killing himself first.

Reference

Ruggles, E. (1959). *The west-going heart*. New York: Norton.

GEORG FRIEDRICH LIST

David Lester

Friedrich List was born in Reutlingen in Würtemberg, on August 6, 1789. His father was a prosperous tanner and held public office, first in the old free city and later under the Würtemberg regime. Georg Friedrich List was the second son and youngest child of the large family. At the age of 14, he went to work in the tannery under his older brother, but he hated the work. At the age of 17, his father allowed him to leave the tannery to enter the Würtemberg government bureaucracy where he worked his way up the ranks. At 23 he was posted to Tübingen and, while there, he attended university lectures.

Success in examinations gave List a position in the Chancery. He soon became Secretary to the Minister in Local Government, Chief Examiner of Accounts and a member of the Court of Audit.

His father died in 1813, his mother in 1815 after being publicly insulted by a government official, and his brother in an accident in the same year. In 1816, List was appointed Secretary for a Commission to look into proposals for reforming the bureaucracy, and he annoyed the members by inserting his own ideas.

His Early Ideas

His reformist zeal led to his first article, on local government. There was a movement to instruct civil servants in the theoretical principles of government, and List was made the holder of the first Chair of Administration and Politics at the University of Tübingen. Though ill-trained as a Professor, List worked hard preparing lectures which were full of propaganda, supporting the reforms of his Minister Wangenheim. He published these ideas and, with some friends, founded a paper, *Volksfreund aus Schwaben*, which was suppressed after the fall of Wangenheim who supported List. While teaching at Tübingen, List married a young widow, the daughter of a fellow Professor. Caroline Neidhart had one son by her first husband and four children with List.

List began to develop his ideas at this time. He realized that Germany would prosper if the state tariffs which restricted trade between the different regions were abolished. He urged the formation of a national customs and commercial union, imposing tariffs only against foreign products. Visiting Frankfurt, he met with merchants and manufacturers who were thinking along the same lines, and he helped them form a Union of German Merchants of which he was made Organizer or "Konsulent".

The Würtemberg government disapproved of this activity in a "foreign" state and, after hearing List's defense, dismissed him, leaving him free to pursue the union of Germany.

The Union of Merchants failed at first to move any of the state governments. List founded a new magazine, *The German Industrial and Commercial Magazine*, advocating such ideas as a postal system and patent law for the whole of Germany, ideas which were not put into action until twenty years after List's death. List travelled widely to spread his ideas, including a visit to Austria. However, the members of the Union of Merchants found List to be too caught up in his far-reaching plans for Germany and not enough concerned with their own immediate concerns. At the Commercial Congress in Darmstadt in 1820, his union chose someone else to represent them, and List withdrew from work with the union. Nonetheless, some alliances began to form between the states, until by 1834, most of the states were members of a German Zollverein or commercial union.

List meanwhile had re-involved himself with the politics of Württemberg. He was elected as a deputy to the assembly by the town of Reutlingen, and he joined the opposition. He proposed several reforms which led the government to charge him with sedition. In 1822, he was fined and sentenced to ten months in prison. To avoid the sentence, he and his family left the state. He travelled to Paris, where he met Lafayette who urged List to go to America with him, to England and to Switzerland. In Basle, he got into arguments with the town authorities and was put in prison for twenty-four hours. Hoping that he had been forgiven by Württemberg, he returned, but he was arrested and forced to serve his sentence. He was then expelled (in April, 1825), and he decided to take his family to America. They arrived in New York in June and went immediately to Philadelphia.

List bought some property near Harrisburg, but his zeal could not make up for his lack of expertise in farming, and he soon abandoned the property. He moved to Reading and began a German-American newspaper, *Der Adler*. The debate about tariffs was raging in America at the time, and a Convention was planned at Harrisburg in July, 1827. List was encouraged to write papers in favor of protectionism. His twelve pieces appeared first in the *Philadelphia National Journal* and were reprinted in other newspapers and later collected together in book form under the title *Outlines of a New System of Political Economy*.

List received great acclaim for this work, and the Pennsylvania Society employed him to work on their political agenda. List's plans for a major book on the American Economy never materialized. However, he discovered a coal mine in the Little Schuylkill valley which he bought and which provided him with income for several years. To help move the coal, he and his business partners built a small railroad (which opened in 1831). Soon List was convinced that railways were critical to the future industrial success of nations, and he spent most of the rest of his life trying to persuade governments to build railroads.

Railroads and Germany

List wrote immediately to Germans about his new ideas and published articles on railroads. He had tried and failed to get an academic post in America, but he persuaded

President Jackson to give him a diplomatic post for America in Europe, where he also hoped to create a market for American anthracite. List arrived back in Europe in November 1830. Although the US Senate refused to ratify his diplomatic post in Hamburg, he was given a post in Leipzig in 1831, and his family joined him there.

His time was spent writing articles for a new *Staaats-Lexicon* on political and economic issues and arguing for railroads. His ideas were seen as wild and visionary, but despite these doubts, his proposal for a railroad between Leipzig and Dresden was accepted, and work begun in 1835. The first part of the line opened in 1837.

Soon, one of his magazines (*The Railroad Journal*) was suppressed in Austria, and revenues fell from his coal mine in America. Difficulties arose over his diplomatic post, and the Leipzig-Dresden railroad company failed to pay him the remuneration he thought he deserved. Both Metternich and the Austrians tried to thwart List's progress and, though he was received back in Württemberg warmly, he was refused citizenship.

In 1837, List left for France and Belgium to persuade the Belgians to build a railroad. He wrote a book on his ideas for a prize in France, writing throughout the nights with little sleep, but failed to win the prize. His family joined him in Paris in 1838, and he continued to write prolifically. His only son joined the French army, but died in 1840 of malaria. List was heart-broken. Refusing government employment in France, he returned to Leipzig.

He was given an honorary doctorate from the University of Jena and a gift of money from the Thuringian Railway Company, and he continued to work on the *Staats-Lexicon*. He travelled widely, including England, Austria and Hungary where he was received warmly. Tributes now poured in.

But at this point, his physical problems grew worse, he was constantly attacked by opponents of his ideas, and his depressions were growing more severe. He tried rest cures, though still writing, but friends noted that his irritability had left him. He now complained of pains in his head and insomnia.

In November, 1846, he left his family for a rest in the Tyrol, at Kufstein. He booked into the cheapest room he could find, ate little, and spent much time in bed. He left the inn on November 30th and shot himself outside of the town. In his suicide note he complained of pains in his body and head and talked of his anxiety over his low income. He said that he was on the brink of despair.

Discussion

Hirst's biography of List is not lengthy, and much information that we would like to know is omitted. However, List may have suffered from a bipolar affective disorder or perhaps a cyclothymic personality disorder. He showed both tremendous bursts of energy, in which he accomplished a great deal, and depressions.

He was also a genius, foreseeing future national goals but failing to persuade governments to implement his plans to achieve these goals. Eventually, after List's death, Germany was united commercially and politically. Railroads were indeed tremendously important to commerce. Ironically, the eventual German railroad system was almost identical to that proposed by List years earlier. But, ahead of his time, List was persecuted politically by the governments of his own country.

Interestingly, Americans saw his value, as did the French. A true cosmopolitan, List settled in several nations and could have stayed in all of them. Yet, his manic phases were accompanied by irritability at others who failed to agree with his ideas and implement them, and his abrasiveness and visionary ideas alienated others.

The loss of his son was traumatic for List, but his wife and daughters remained important, and his concerns for their future welfare caused him additional stress. Just as his reputation increased and rewards were beginning to arrive, his depression worsened, and he lost the energy to continue. He killed himself while away from his family, perhaps to spare them pain, but alone, whereas their company might have helped him continue.

Reference

Hirst, M. E. (1909). *Life of Friedrich List*. New York: Scribners.

ROSS LOCKRIDGE

David Lester

Ross Lockridge wrote only one novel, *Raintree County*. Over one thousand pages long, it rose to be top of the best-seller list in 1948. He killed himself just after its publication, at the age of thirty-three. Why?

Early Years¹

Ross was born in Bloomington, Indiana, on April 25, 1914. He was the adored last child in the family, with two older brothers (Bruce and Shockley) and a sister Louise seven years older.

Just as he was about to enter Indiana University in 1919, Bruce, the oldest, drowned in a lake while trying to save a friend. Ross was five. His mother, Elsie, transferred her aspirations for Bruce first to Shockley and then to Ross. She was determined to educate them well, even starting a Montessori primary school in town. Obeying her demands, Ross excelled. From the earliest grades, his report cards praised his work.

Ross' father, Frank, had published several books, mostly biographies of historical figures for school children. He earned his living as a book salesman. His hobby was history, especially Indiana's, and he talked at men's clubs about the state's past, was active in the historical society, and every summer led a three week tour of Indiana's historical sites. When Ross was sixteen, he began to help his father, typing manuscripts, learning historical passages, driving the truck, and setting up the amphitheaters for historical recitals.

Prior to settling down, Frank had graduated from Indiana University, taught at school, been a school principal, gone back to university for a law degree, worked as a public defender and then in personnel, before becoming a salesman for the World Book Company.

While in third grade, Ross found a box of stories in the attic written by his brother Shockley when he had been seven. Ross loved them. This nurtured his desire to write. He wrote his own first story shortly after finding Shockley's and modeled it on his brother's stories. His mother liked it. In high school he wrote stories for the school newspaper and tried his hand at poems.

Ross went off to Indiana University, pledged Phi Gamma Delta as his father and brother had before him. In 1933, Ross began a year of study in Paris with a group of American students organized by the University of Delaware. This year in France was in some ways a shock for this Midwestern boy who had never drunk alcohol and was still a virgin.

¹ This essay is based on the biography by Leggett (1974)

He showed his competitiveness by studying hard and becoming the best of all the foreign students by the end of the academic year. He also learned to drink and, toward the end of the year, lost his virginity to one of his fellow students.

His friends there noticed his competitiveness. He would reminisce about exams he had done well in. He came out of each successive exam complaining that he had done poorly, but eventually getting the top mark.² In the Spring of 1934 in Paris, Ross conceived of writing a novel about America, based upon his family's experiences in Indiana that would be the "great American novel".

In high school, he had met Vernice Baker who was a year behind him, and they fell in love during her freshman year at the Indiana University. After he returned from his junior year abroad, they were "pinned." He graduated in 1935 with the highest grade point average of any student ever at the university.

However, Ross fell ill during the Spring of 1935 and was diagnosed as having scarlet fever. His recovery took eight months, and his mother abandoned her master's study in psychology to care for him. Ross stayed at Indiana for a master's degree and worked as an instructor. He continued to write, even working on a historical pageant to celebrate the history of New Harmony (a former utopian community in Indiana). Ross and Vernice married at the end of the year, in July 1937.

Their first child, Ernest, was born in November 1938. In 1939 Ross was awarded a scholarship which allowed him to drop the instructorship. This gave him more time and, having tried and abandoned the novel in 1938, he began a narrative poem (*The Dream Of The Flesh Of Iron*). Having finished his master's degree, he was accepted at Harvard University for doctoral study, and he moved his family to Cambridge in the summer of 1940.

He worked on his poem and sent the finished manuscript of about four hundred pages to Houghton-Mifflin in February 1941. They did not like it, but he soon overcame his disappointment and went back to his idea of a novel.

His grades at Harvard were not outstanding (only B+) because of the time he devoted to his writing. So, with the help of a friend, he got a teaching position at Simmons College for the Fall of 1941. He spent the summer in Indiana on the novel and, back in Cambridge, he taught mornings and worked on the novel in the afternoons and evenings. He wrote at the typewriter and worked fast. (He had taken courses at typing and won a state championship for speed.)

Ross and Vernice lived frugally, rarely went out, and Ross's work so preoccupied him that he paid little attention to Vernice's needs. He seemed ashamed of his poor achievements and, for example, managed to give the impression that his father was a

² In the summer of 1943, playing chess with a friend whom he beat consistently, he sulked after a single loss.

professor at Indiana University. He would boast of his powerful physical relationship with Vernice.

In the summer of 1942, a second child (Larry) was born, back in Indiana, but Ross and Vernice spent the next summer at the beach in Massachusetts. There he decided he had been a generation off in his novel and saw that he had to set it in Civil War days. Two thousand pages to revise.

In February, 1944, he was ordered to report for a physical examination for military service. He was declared unfit because of an irregular heartbeat, and he was ambivalent about this. He was left out of this patriotic adventure, yet he could finish his novel and care for his family. Vernice gave birth to a daughter (Jeanne) on the day of his physical examination.

By October 1944 the first part of the revision was ready for retyping, a chore Vernice tackled every evening after the children were put to bed. It took her eighteen months. A fourth child (Ross) arrived in February 1945, and Vernice finished the final copy of the book in April. Six hundred thousand words; two thousand pages. Ross took them to Houghton-Mifflin that same month. It was accepted for publication in June.

The Production of *Raintree County*

The rest of Ross's life was taken up with the production of *Raintree County*. He received an advance of thirty-five hundred dollars and so quit his job at Simmons College.³ Houghton-Mifflin wanted revisions and cutting. But, in addition, Ross had lots of ideas for promoting the book and spent a lot of effort trying to persuade others to help. For example, he persuaded a friend who worked for *Life* to suggest various promotional schemes to the editors of the magazine. He wrote many letters to the staff at Houghton-Mifflin, suggesting ideas to them, fighting their editorial and production suggestions, and eventually fighting them over his contract. He saw his book, not only as a best-seller, but as the greatest novel to appear in years.

To work on the revisions, Ross took his family back to Indiana. His return after six years was a victory for him. He boasted of his success to some while patronizing others.

He decided to move to a cottage on Lake Michigan to work on the book, and family arrived in August. The book was scheduled to appear in the Spring of 1947. Ross worked hard on the revisions, but illness affected him and the family, and his energy level was clearly the lowest it had been in years. In January 1947 he traveled to Boston to be closer to the production effort, and by March the book was being proofread.

Ross and Houghton-Mifflin decided to enter the book both for a prize offered by MGM (which would give MGM the movie rights) and for the Book of the Month Club. Back in Michigan, the galleys arrived in May. In July, Ross went to New York to talk to

³ Ross inflated the advance when telling his friends about it.

people from MGM. They would award his book the prize if he cut fifty thousand words of what they thought was superfluous material. Ross agonized over the decision but finally agreed. But he was unhappy with the decision. Had he sacrificed his literary reputation for money? Later, he (and his publisher) had to fight MGM who had thought of having co-winners of the prize, and MGM backed down. Ross was unhappy at the thought of MGM casting and directing the movie without consulting him, but his efforts to insinuate himself into the process alienated Louis Mayer, the head of MGM. He finished the cuts for MGM in August.

He began to worry about his potential tax situation and hired an adviser to counsel him. His children were ill, and he had to cope with typical family distractions. During the summer of 1947, Ross was sleeping poorly. His thoughts raced as he lay in bed. He contemplated his future, building up his expectations, but he was also frustrated by all of the actual events he had to deal with. His work on the book was compulsive. He was happy when working on it and miserable when not. After the MGM revisions were completed in August, he was exhausted. He could not sleep, had lost his appetite, and was constipated. His vision was blurred even with glasses, and he looked unwell.

An excerpt from the book appeared in *Life* in the September 8th issue. He began now to worry seriously about people's reaction to the book. What would the public think? What would the critics think? And the most important issue was what his parents would think. Ross needed to be liked and approved, and the fact that he had compromised the novel for commercial gain worried him.

Ross knew that one solution to his apathy and exhaustion was to leave *Raintree County* behind and start on a new novel. He made notes for himself on the project but could not begin writing. He began to doubt his motivation and to suspect that he would never write again. He was sleeping no more than an hour a night, and he was depressed and moody all day.

In October, he was severely depressed and paranoid. He talked to Vernice about people who were trying to harm him and his book. He felt that people were watching him.

At the end of October, the Book of Month Club accepted the book but wanted cuts. To some extent, this news restored Ross. He now had work to do on his book again, within a week the new cuts had been made. To deal with his fear of his family's reaction, he asked his mother to come up to Michigan to read the galley proofs. She did so and was delighted with the book. She noticed his state of mind, though, and urged him to try Christian Science, which he did.

To help change his mood, Ross and Vernice decided to visit Hollywood. Once there, it soon became clear that the mood had changed at MGM. They no longer saw a prize for the best novel of the year as a sound way to get material for movies. The movie made from the first prizewinner had been a failure. There was no way of telling when

Raintree County might appear or if it would appear at all. At meetings with the studio, Ross felt that he was given a brush-off.

However, the first copy of the book arrived while he was in Hollywood and, though he soon found out that his father liked it, he began to doubt that it was a good book. They heard about a house for sale in Bloomington, and they bought it by telephone. After only three weeks in Hollywood, they left (in December) to return to their new house. But as the train got closer to Indiana, Ross's depression worsened, and he confided to Vernice that he feared he would never get well again.

Ross, Vernice and his family decided he needed treatment. He was admitted to Methodist Hospital in Indianapolis under an assumed name. He was given electroconvulsive therapy (in those days without anesthesia or a muscle relaxant), and he hated the ordeal.⁴ He felt that the convulsions were destroying his mind, and he left before the course of treatments was completed.

The initial reviews of the book were positive, but by mid-January the reviews were very negative. Reviewers in *Newsweek* and *The New Yorker* hated it, and the criticism, of course, hurt Ross badly.

His mother continued to support his involvement in Christian Science. His father took him off to read and memorize inspirational literature. He put on a mask for his parents to hide his continuing depression, but sank lower and lower. (His memory had suffered, perhaps from both the depression and the electroconvulsive therapy so that he was not able to memorize even pieces that he had known well as a child.) Soon, the book was attacked for its moral tone. Friends in town refused to read it. His child was pointed out in school by other kids as the son of the man who wrote the dirty book. A priest in New York City urged that it be banned (which was reported in *The New York Times*). His paranoia continued, and he talked of plots against him and was sometimes incoherent. Vernice once found him opening kitchen closet doors, and he explained to her that he was looking for a way out.

On February 27, 1948, Ross learnt that his book was to be the number one best-seller in the USA on next week's list. His mood seemed to improve. On Saturday, March 6th, he spent time with his father who thought Ross was in a good mood. He talked of an offer from a lecture bureau, read with enthusiasm, and seemed to enjoy the radio broadcast of a high school basketball game. After dinner with Vernice, he worked on his tax return and then said he was going to mail some letters and listen to a basketball game with his father.

At eleven, Vernice called Ross's father and found out that Ross had never arrived. The car was gone, so she went out to the garage where she heard the engine running. She called Ross's father who rushed over and broke in to find Ross dead behind the wheel. Firemen and police arrived and tried to revive him for over an hour. The medical examiner said that he had died at about nine-thirty.

⁴ He never lost consciousness during the convulsions.

Analysis

Ross seems to have led a relatively uneventful and normal life until the year before his death. But there are a few signs of his future problems in those earlier years.

The loss of his brother when he was five is important, not just because of the loss to Ross, but for the pressure Ross's mother placed on her remaining sons to make up for the disappointments over her husband and oldest child. And her husband must have been a disappointment, a book salesman with a law degree. Ross usually gave the impression that his father was a professor, and Ross probably came to share the disappointment about the family status along with his mother.

Ross was very competitive. He could not lose at anything, even chess at which he was not very good. He had to be the best and, therefore, write the best novel. That he wrote a fair novel on his first attempt is impressive. But fair was not good enough; it had to be great. He changed the novel to improve its chances for commercial success, yet even the original version would have been panned by the critics. He had failed. His parents' opinion of the novel was crucial, but not sufficient to save him.

As he worked on the novel, his energy seemed boundless, approaching manic proportions. In the days of revisions, he almost seemed manic-depressive as he worked on the revisions only to subside into apathy when the revisions had been made.

He developed a major depressive disorder, with paranoid overtones. The electroconvulsive therapy failed to help (did it ever help anyone?) and was administered in the barbaric manner customary in those days. Treatment failed.

Interestingly, his mood improved in the few days before his suicide. This is commonly found. It seems likely that he had planned his death and, once the plan was formulated, he felt better. He completed some final tasks, including his tax and some correspondence. He was then ready to escape from the pain. He had set out to become an instant genius. He had done well, but not well enough.

Reference

Leggett, J. (1974). *Ross and Tom*. New York: Simon & Schuster.

JACK LONDON

David Lester

The survivors (and the biographers too) of many suicides often claim that the deceased did not kill himself or herself. Ernest Hemingway's wife claimed that his death was accidental, and many people have speculated that Marilyn Monroe was murdered. In the case of Jack London the evidence for suicide is much less clear. He died after an overdose of morphine, but whether the self-administered overdose was an intentional act of suicide is disputed. The biographer from whose work the information in this chapter was obtained (Sinclair, 1977) does not believe that Jack's death was suicide.

His Early Life

Jack's mother was Flora Wellman, a small woman, partially bald and short-sighted as a result of having had typhoid. When she was sixteen, she ran away from her family in Ohio to California where she survived on the charity of friends and by giving music lessons. When she was thirty, she met William Chaney, in his fifties, a vagabond and astrologer originally from Maine, who had at various times worked as a sailor, editor, politician and attorney. They lived together in a boarding house in San Francisco and gave lectures on astrology and spiritualism

When Flora became pregnant, she refused to have an abortion despite Chaney's insistence. She made two suicide attempts (using an overdose of opium and a revolver), both of which were reported in the local newspapers. Chaney wanted neither Flora nor the responsibility of fatherhood, so he fled to Oregon. Flora continued to give music lessons, séances and lectures on spiritualism and gave birth to John Chaney (Jack) on January 12, 1876.

Eight months after his birth, Flora married John London, a widower in poor health with five children, two of whom, Eliza and Ida, were still living with him. After Jack and Eliza nearly died from diphtheria in San Francisco, John moved the family to West Oakland where he ran a grocery store and a small farm.

As a mother, Flora was usually too busy to bother much with her son. She continued to give lessons and lectures and to try new schemes to get rich. Jack was often left alone, and he received little physical affection or warmth from his mother. Over the years, Flora became more bitter and worn down by the family's lack of success. She began to complain of fictitious heart trouble, especially when she was thwarted, and her moods of anger and depression pervaded the household.

Eliza was six years older than Jack and took care of him (and her younger sister) in his early years. She grew to adore him and later in life left her husband to take care of Jack. Jack also had a black wet-nurse, Virginia Prentiss, who moved with the family to be near to Jack. So Jack, though neglected by his mother, was not unloved.

However, Jack's biographer (Sinclair) sees Jack as profoundly affected by the lack of affection from his mother. Sinclair argued that Jack confused his hunger for his mother's love with hunger for food. In particular he became hungry for meat, even once stealing a schoolmate's lunch. Later in life, Jack would crave and consume underdone and even uncooked meat and fish, a practice which exacerbated his physical illnesses and caused additional infections.

Since Flora resented the family's poverty, she valued education as a way to succeed, and so she taught Jack to read. Jack found school difficult, partly because the other kids teased him about his spooky mother. The family's financial problems also caused Jack to switch schools a good deal. The grocery store failed, and the family moved to a farm in Alameda, then to a larger one on the coast of San Mateo County, and finally to a ranch in the Livermore Valley. As Jack had few friends in these new communities, he withdrew more and more into the world of fiction – dime store novels and romantic history.

On two occasions, when he was five and seven, Jack drank alcohol and each time suffered from nightmares. Jack continued to suffer from nightmares throughout his life, especially toward the end, and Sinclair dates the earliest appearance of them from these intoxications.

When she was sixteen, Eliza married an elderly widower with children of his own, and the ranch soon failed without her to manage it. Defeated, the family returned to Oakland where Flora ran a boarding house and John worked as a night watchman and special constable on the docks.

At school Jack was sometimes aggressive and rebellious, but he worked hard (at his newspaper route, on an ice wagon and at a bowling alley), and he took out two books a week from the library. The family was poor, and Jack could not attend graduation because he had no suit to wear. At thirteen, the financial failure of his parents' boarding house forced him to leave school to go to work at a cannery for fourteen hours a day. The family moved to a ramshackle house by the estuary.

His other step-sister, Ida, soon left to get married, but left her child with Flora to care for. Flora loved and cared for this grandchild as she never had for Jack. Resenting this, Jack abandoned the job and bought a little boat from his saving and spent nearly all his time sailing on the San Francisco Bay. At age fifteen, he joined the gangs in the area, learning to fight and to survive by theft. After he was almost killed by the alcohol and the fighting, Jack joined the Fish Patrol to catch the Oyster bed pirates with whom he had earlier been working.

Interestingly, like many of the other writers I have written about, Jack in later years distorted the truth about his early years. His childhood was painted as more traumatic than it was and his delinquent adventures as more successful.

Soon he was back again as a vagrant and thief, mugging victims and riding the rails. But he realized that he had to escape from this life, and when he was seventeen he signed on as a seaman on a sealing ship. At this time in his life, Jack was physically fit and attractive, and he had a sense that there had to be a better way for him, one which would bring success.¹

The Move to Adulthood

He enjoyed his life on ship and, when he returned to San Francisco, he sent in a piece based on his experiences for a competition in the San Francisco *Morning Call* which won him \$25. Flora now saw her son as the means to her rise in the social scale. If he were a successful writer, maybe her days of poverty would end?

In 1893 Jack went back to work in a jute mill for \$1 a day. This depressed him, and so he went traveling across the country in 1894 with a group of militant men who were out-of-work. He abandoned the trek before it reached Washington, DC, and was arrested for vagrancy in Buffalo. The experience in jail had a profound effect on Jack. Jack was no innocent. He had been a delinquent, a tramp and a sailor, but the squalor and brutality of life in jail shocked him. As soon as he was released, Jack returned to Oakland.

This experience had several effects on Jack. First, it helped foster his socialist beliefs that he later lectured on and which shaped some of his fiction. Second, it made him determined to end his aimless drifting. He went back at the age of nineteen to high school, studying nineteen hours a day to try to graduate in two years.

Jail may also have introduced him to homosexuality. Jack's biographer is reticent on this point. He notes that Jack certainly witnessed homosexual acts but asserts that Jack never slept voluntarily with men, leading to the implication that he had involuntary homosexual relations. Earlier biographers often speculated that Jack was a latent homosexual, but what is noteworthy is Jack's excessive masculine life style. Like Ernest Hemingway later, it is as if Jack had to demonstrate his "masculinity" through his life style. Furthermore, he distorted the accounts of his life, especially in his autobiographical novels, to exaggerate his exploits.

At high school, he was with students three years younger than he was, and he was shy and awkward amongst them. He fled from their company to study. However, he made a couple of friends and wrote stories for the school newspaper. He fell in love with the sister of one of these friends and joined the Socialist Labor Party (in 1896) which provided him with a circle of friends.

Jack believed in socialist ideas, but eventually formed his own political philosophy which deviated considerably from the official one. However, for the rest of

¹ Jack suffered a severe attack of shingles on the ship. In addition, by age seventeen his teeth were rotten (he chewed tobacco to ease the pain), and his step-sister Eliza bought him a toothbrush and paid for dental work.

his life, he continued to support the Socialists, and they in turn used him in their cause no matter how much his ideas and life-style deviated from their ideals. Sinclair notes that Jack was most fervently a socialist when he was depressed and suffering from his physical illnesses.

Jack left high school after a year and crammed for the university entrance examination. After three months of exhausting study, he took the exams in August 1896, at the age of twenty, and was accepted at Berkeley as a special student. But college life disappointed him, and he dropped out after his second semester. Four years at college was too long for a working-class boy who felt that his time was limited. In addition, his family could not support him financially.

At that time he finally found out that he was illegitimate. Jack wrote to his father, but Chaney denied that he was Jack's father. For Jack there remained only three people who had loved him and to whom he would remain loyal: his step-father John London, his step-sister Eliza, and his wet-nurse.

Jack decided to become a writer. (He would have preferred to be a composer, but he had no talent in that area.) He began to write, fifteen hours a day, writing any and all kinds of things – essays, poems, and stories. He found few publishers. In the Spring of 1897, he gave up and took a job in a laundry for \$30 a month plus board. But in July Eliza staked him and her husband to travel up to the newly-discovered Klondike gold strike in Canada. Jack staked some claims, but never struck gold. He soon realized that this was no better a way of making money than working in a laundry. So he stopped digging for gold and stayed in the bars listening to the tales that were told. He came back home in August 1898 with \$4.50 worth of gold dust, broken in health and penniless.¹

His step-father had died while he was away, and his mother had taken in her grandchild permanently. Jack began to write again. Between August 1898 and May 1900, he had 15 pieces accepted and 88 pieces rejected a total of over 400 times. But he persevered. He even wrote jokes for the newspapers for 50 cents and a campaign song for the local Republicans for \$10. Then *Overland Monthly* bought eight Alaskan stories, *Black Cat* paid him \$40 for a science fiction story, and *Atlantic Monthly* paid him \$120 for one story. He had enough money to get his bicycle out of the pawn-shop and enough confidence to turn down a job as a mailman.

In 1900 Houghton Mifflin offered to publish his Alaskan stories as a book, *The Son of the Wolf*. With his fame, he now got all of his rejected work accepted. Hearst newspapers offered to pay him for articles, and he accepted. This began the split in his values. Though he continued to support socialist ideas and to give speeches on them, his desire for wealth and fame led him to accept assignments from groups whose values were opposed to those of the socialists, and he adopted a life style antithetical to socialism, ending up as a wealthy rancher with racist beliefs.

¹ In the Klondike, Jack suffered from scurvy which caused swollen joints and softened gums. The wild game he ate also made him sick.

At this point, Jack began to formalize the distortions about his background. For his publisher he wrote that John London was his father and that his descendants were in America before the revolution. Yet he also built up the myth of himself as a self-made man who had lived through the struggles that he wrote about, which of course he had, though not necessarily with the same actions as his heroic characters or with the same outcomes.

At one of the socialist meetings, Jack met Anna Strunsky with whom he remained in love all his life. She was seventeen, from an intellectual Russian-Jewish family. Jack seemed to make a distinction between the whores of the waterfront and “good girls” whom you dated and married. Jack felt he could not marry Anna because he did not have enough income to support her. An affair was also out of the question in those times. She went off to Stanford, and Jack quickly married the girl friend of a high school friend who had died, Bess Maddern. It was a companionate marriage, yet they came to feel affection for each other during the first few years of the marriage. Jack called Bess “mother-girl”, and she called him “daddy-boy”, and soon Bess was relegated to the role of the mother of his two children (Joan and Becky) and housekeeper. Indeed, just before the marriage, Jack met the woman who fitted him better and who became his second wife, Charmian Kittredge.

Now earning good money, Jack rented a villa for his mother and her grandchild, and Jack and Bess moved in with them. Jack’s first book was well received, and he was compared with Rudyard Kipling and Bret Harte. *McClure’s* put on him a retainer of \$125 a month.

As his success grew, Jack moved away from his mother and rented more expensive houses. His socialist friends were replaced by smart bohemians from San Francisco, called The Crowd, among whom was George Sterling. Sterling can be counted as the third great love of Jack’s life (along with Anna and Charmian), and the attraction between the Wolf (Jack) and the Greek (George), as they called each other, was probably based upon unconscious homosexual desires. Sterling introduced Jack into the world of style and taste, while Jack introduced George to the adventures of the waterfront and its low life.

Success

As Jack’s successes multiplied, he began to disassociate himself from the Crowd. Jack now began to be influenced by social Darwinism, thinking that the fittest race (the Caucasians) had to win the fight for domination and that imperialism had to run its course before all men could have equal opportunities. Despite his heresies, the Social Democratic Party chose him to run for mayor of Oakland several times, though he always lost easily, and he still wrote and lectured for the socialists.

Jack was generous and a spendthrift after his years of poverty. He paid for two households (his own and his mother’s), and he was permanently in debt. His editor at Macmillan urged him to stop his daily writing of all sorts of pieces and to concentrate on

writing less but better. But Jack needed the money from his writing to stay financially afloat. In 1902, he needed cash so urgently that he relinquished royalties and sold *The Call of the Wild* to Macmillan for \$2000 outright. Had he not done so, that one book would have eased his financial worries for the rest of his life. Yet this decision characterized Jack's poor judgment throughout his life where business was concerned. He made bad business decisions one after the other, so that he was never out of debt.

Now that he had fame, Jack was not satisfied. In his late twenties he behaved like a man who has reached his mid-life crisis. In his love life, he first pursued Anna Strunsky, suggesting that they work on a book together (they did) and eventually declaring his love for her in 1902. An offer to report on the Boer War in South Africa enabled Jack to escape from the dilemma and, while he was in England (where he remained rather than going on to South Africa), Anna ended the affair.

Later he flirted with Charmian Kittredge, five years older than Jack (who was twenty seven) but much more his type of playmate. This time Jack separated from Bess (and had his mother move into an apartment with him to take care of him). Bess believed that Anna was the other woman. The scandal helped the sales of Jack's book written with Anna, but the newspapers began to criticize Jack for the first time. Jack felt guilty and, when his daughter Joan was ill with typhoid, he stayed with her and almost reconciled with Bess. He escaped from this situation by going to Korea to report on the Russian-Japanese war. After being expelled from Korea by the Japanese, he returned and persuaded Bess to divorce him for desertion, building her a house in Piedmont. He continued to feel lost and depressed, and he said that he would have killed himself had it not been for his dependents and his socialist ideals.

Although his hunger for Charmian was waning, his physical health was worsening. He was quite lame from leg injuries, and he developed a tumor on his rectum. He feared physical and mental collapse. He had an affair with a woman from the Crowd, but after he had an operation for the tumor, which turned out to be piles, Charmian stayed with him all the time, reassuring his fears of cancer and venereal disease. His love for her revived.

He married Chamiam in November 1905, and she encouraged him in his new plans to buy land and farm successfully as his mother and step-father had tried. Of course, Jack continued to make bad business decisions, buying too much land (incurring too much debt) and trying to improve the land too quickly. The farms became the dominant concern of his life, and he withdrew from political activity.

Although he continued to write (he had to in order to pay his debts), his work was increasingly criticized. He was accused of plagiarism, though he defended himself successfully. He was attacked for being a nature-faker (getting his biological facts wrong) and of incorrectly endowing animals with the ability to reason. Sales of his books fell, and some libraries banned his works. He continued to cultivate the public image of himself. The earthquake and fire in San Francisco in April 1906 destroyed the records of his true background, enabling him to develop this new persona.

Jack next embarked upon building a boat with which to sail around the world. The boat cost much more than a ready-made boat (the final cost was \$30,000 instead of the estimated \$7,000) and was much less sea-worthy. The trip was intended to reinforce the myth of his physical prowess and eternal youth. Instead it almost destroyed him. It was planned to take seven years (though how could he be a good farmer and yet be away for seven years is not clear), but he abandoned the trip after two years. When he reached Tahiti, he returned to California to settle debts, convince people that he had not died at sea, and prevent Bess from remarrying. (Jack feared Bess's attempts to break free of his influence.)

After he resumed his cruise, he had problems with his teeth, a return of piles, an ulcer in his rectum and, once they reached the Solomon Islands, he and Charmian fell ill with malaria and yellow fever. He next developed what seemed to be leprosy of the hands but which may have been pellagra or psoriasis exacerbated by his heavy drinking. Jack became emotionally unstable, and his temper at times grew uncontrollable.

The trip was abandoned, and Jack stayed in Australia to recover. He was hospitalized, after which he remained as an outpatient for five months. He had an operation on his rectum and took quinine for the malaria, and the psoriasis disappeared during the voyage back to California.

While in Australia, the doctors used arsenic to ameliorate Jack's yaws. Jack already had undergone a mercury-cure for gonorrhea (which Bess cited in his first divorce petition), and he now regularly underwent treatments with arsenic. These two chemicals, although accepted treatments at the time, caused tremendous internal damage, and Jack soon suffered from rectal, kidney and nervous disorders as a result of the treatments. He drank heavily and took morphine to kill the pain from his illnesses and treatments. Increasingly too, Jack began to read medical journals and to treat his illnesses himself. (Nonetheless, he continued to abuse his diet, both with drugs and by eating raw meat and fish.)

Decline and Death

Back on the ranch in July 1909, Jack pensioned off the friend who had been mismanaging it, engaged a competent literary agent, and settled down to write more competently in order to get out of debt. He tried to make a success of the ranch, but suffered from his diseases which were compounded by additional injuries, incurred while breaking in horses for example.

Jack became a hypochondriac about his health, though of course his body was truly riddled with disease. His skin, teeth, kidneys and bladder were diseased, but he managed to worry in addition about whether he had tuberculosis and a tumor on the brain. Since he resumed his arsenic treatments, he soon also developed gout and rheumatism. Eye-strain led him to wear a green eye shade. In the next few years, he also suffered from severe colds, sties on his eyes, pyorrhea and an inflamed appendix.

He also began to show symptoms of manic-depressive disease, alternating between elation and melancholy, and he feared that he would go mad and die from syphilis as had Maupassant and Nietzsche.

Jack relied on Charmian to take care of him. When she was sick (she had frequent bouts of malaria), he became depressed. When Charmian became pregnant, Jack invited Eliza, his step-sister, to manage the ranch, and she left her elderly husband to do so. Charmian, however, gave birth to a daughter who died within a few days. Jack responded by going out and getting drunk and then fleeing to Reno to report on a boxing fight there. Jack feared that his diseases had led to the death of the child, and he desperately wanted a son and heir. He continued to drink heavily in 1911 and 1912, and his insomnia and nightmares worsened. Yet he tried to hide how sick he was from Charmian and slept apart from her.

In 1913, his doctors warned Jack that he should stop drinking, give up raw fish and meat, and start exercising. Jack refused. But he began to switch more and more from alcohol to morphine and heroin as analgesics. He also had most of his upper teeth removed to halt the pyorrhea.

He was still fighting with Bess. Bess refused to let the two children visit him at the ranch because Charmian was a bad influence on them. In retaliation Jack cut Bess and his daughter out of his will. His mother took Bess's side, and so she too was excluded.

In 1912 Charmian had a miscarriage, and it looked as if they would have no children. He withdrew from Charmian and began efforts to persuade his twelve year-old daughter, Joan, to leave her mother and come and live with him. She eventually refused, leading Jack to tell her in 1913 that he would never have anything to do with her again.

Jack then made another disastrous business decision. He bought 500 neighboring acres for \$30,000 and decided to build a \$70,000 house for his family. This made writing for money a necessity, and Jack pursued his task with a rigorous routine. He wrote a thousand words every morning, answered his correspondence, and then had lunch. The afternoon was spent with guests and boxing or swimming and the evenings with games. At night he read magazines and made notes, sleeping for no more than five hours.

Despite the need for money, Jack continued to make disastrous decisions. He switched publishers for a while from Macmillan to Century, and then begged Macmillan to take him back. He got a contract from the *Sunday Magazine* for twelve stories at \$1,000 each and then sent them old rejected stories. But in 1912, *Cosmopolitan* offered Jack \$2,000 a month for the rights to serialize his stories, and this eased the pressure on him.

In 1913, the house he had built burned down, probably a result of arson, perhaps by a disgruntled workman who had been fired, by Eliza's deserted husband or by an angry socialist. Jack now owed \$100,000.

On the ranch he pursued his goal to breed livestock, experimenting with pigs, cattle and horses, eventually preferring to work on the land than write. But he lost \$10,000 on a land deal in Mexico, and more money on a grape-juice company whose stockholders eventually sued him. Trying to make money from the new film industry, he ran into copyright problems.

He went to Mexico to cover the Revolution and the American expedition to Vera Cruz, but he caught amoebic dysentery and pleurisy. His articles on the events in Mexico revealed his growing racism which led former friends and supporters to criticize his work. He advocated a proletarian revolution against the landowners, yet he remained one himself. He said he would give up capitalism when socialism took over, but until then, he was a landowner. As a result, people on both sides of the political spectrum distrusted him and saw him as a hypocrite.

After his withdrawal from socialist politics, he distorted the circumstances so as to portray himself as one who was rejected and pushed out by the others. Rather, he had chosen to live as a wealthy man and had cut off his contacts with the working classes.

By 1915, Jack was tiring of writing, and the magazines no longer were interested in his material now that the Great War in progress. As before, when he set sail around the world, Jack fled. He spent twelve of the next eighteen months in Hawaii with Charmian and, as he enjoyed himself, his fortunes improved. His book sales were good, and he sold motion picture rights to his work, enabling him to reduce his debt. He lifted the mortgages on six properties he owned and paid up his life insurance. Eliza ran the ranch efficiently.

Jack's drug use worsened, however. He was now taking injections of atropine and belladonna mixed with opium and morphine, the fatal "uppers and downers" of modern drug abuse. His behavior was also more erratic. He would lash out at friends who offended him and occasionally showed paranoia. However, he began to read Freud and Jung and gained some insight into his problems. He became aware of his need for a mother figure to replace the real mother who had failed him, and he made peace with his daughter Joan.

Nakata, his close servant for over seven years, now left him to set up as a dentist. As his health continued to deteriorate, Jack became more dependent upon Charmian. Since he was impotent, he began to be jealous of her for the first time.

He developed nephritis, which threatened him with uremia, and the pyorrhea was still uncured and poisoning his body. Yet he continued to eat raw fish and meat and to refuse vegetables. Charmian wrote after his death that his behavior seemed to indicate an unconscious desire to die. Back home in California, he was planning to expand the ranch and was fighting neighbors in court over his use of the water supply of the valley. But he was rapidly deteriorating physically and mentally. His anger, irritation and paranoia grew. When the wild duck season opened, he lived on two blood-red ducks a day. On

November 8th he had another kidney attack. On the 10th he had food poisoning which led to dysentery.

Suicide or Accident?

On November 21st he woke up vomiting, but before supper he discussed plans for the ranch with Eliza. After a supper of underdone wild duck and one cocktail he became angry and depressed. He went off to work in his room looking to Charmian for sympathy, but she reminded him that he imposed the schedule on himself. His last words to her were "Thank God, you're not afraid of anything."

Shortly before dawn, Jack injected himself with an overdose, no more than thirteen grains of morphine sulfate mixed with atropine sulfate. He fell into a deep coma and was discovered at seven in the morning. A local doctor said that he found two empty phials of drugs on the floor and a note containing calculation for a lethal dose of morphine.

The doctors tried to pump Jack's stomach and revive him. Charmian felt that he resisted these efforts. He seemed to have no desire to live, and he died in the evening. The doctors signed a death certificate saying that the cause of death was uremic poisoning.

Sinclair argued that the death was natural/accidental. He claims that the calculations could have been about royalties. Only one doctor noticed the empty phials, and he did not voice his suspicions until twenty-one years had passed. Jack had just written to his daughter Joan to arrange a meeting, was planning trips for the following year, discussing the future direction of the ranch, and plotting stories. Jack might have been light-headed from lack of sleep or crazed from too much pain. He left no will, made no attempt to wind up his affairs, and ignored the Colt 44 beside his bed.

On the other hand, Jack supported the right to suicide. He felt that once the body betrayed its owner, it should be scattered as dust. And Sinclair notes as an aside that Jack had once tried to drown himself when he was young and drunk.

Discussion

The significant events in Jack's early life were the lack of affection from his mother (which appeared to have led to a search for maternal substitutes throughout his life) and the family's poverty and mobility. However, these events do not appear to be very traumatic and have significance only in the light of Jack's later life.

Jack adopted his mother's desire for success in life. Jack wanted to succeed, and it is this that seems to have motivated him to escape from a potential life as a criminal. His love of reading adventure fiction led him to try his hand as an author. He lacked the patience to acquire the necessary skills through education, but he capitalized on his rich experiences to provide exciting material for his fiction.

Jack's behavior seems driven in several respects. In his writing, quantity and monetary reward seems to have guided him rather than quality. In a similar manner, his attempts to farm were shaped by a desire to acquire more and more land rapidly and to develop it too quickly. Jack was an alcohol abuser (and later a drug abuser) and would typically go on drinking sprees for days at a time. He ate raw meat and fish ravenously.

It is easy to characterize these behaviors as immature but, truly, Jack seems not to have developed the patience or persistence that would have enabled him to plan and implement rational strategies. Jack was impulsive in many ways. His decisions to begin one activity and then to abandon it (such as the trek across America) and his precipitous marriage illustrate this. Yet in his writing, he was able to discipline himself.

The illnesses that Jack suffered from in his life are legion. From diphtheria as a child to the malaria in his thirties, Jack suffered from all kinds of diseases brought on by accident (such as the malaria and yellow fever), by his life style (such as poisoning from eating raw meat or the scurvy in the Klondike from his poor diet), and by the medical treatments of the time (mercury and arsenic poisoning). His hypochondria and imagined diseases make sense given the poor state of his body, but they added to his anxieties.

Jack seems to have shown his, possibly unconscious, self-destructive tendencies by the choice of his life style, risking death in many of his adventures, and by his preferred diet of raw meat despite his doctors' advice against it. Jack was also a serious drug abuser, first of alcohol and then of morphine, and this too can be seen as a manifestation of his self-destructive tendencies.

His biographer mentions that Jack attempted suicide at least once as a young man but gives no details of the event, nor whether it was an isolated incident. It is noteworthy that Jack's mother made two suicide attempts while she was pregnant, for this suggests that suicide as a solution to life's problems may have been part of the script of this family.

Jack seems to have suffered from depression for much of his life as evidenced by his insomnia and his frequent bouts of melancholy. Later in life, the affective disorder began to resemble manic-depressive disorder more, with periods of elation and depression. Toward the end of his life, Jack also showed irritability, an explosive temper, and suspiciousness bordering on paranoia. However, as far as we can tell from the biography, there were few symptoms of psychiatric disturbance in Jack's childhood save for frequent nightmares.

Despite his biographer's opinion that Jack's death was accidental, it does look suicidal. Jack was probably suffering from a bipolar affective disorder, was heavily addicted to drugs, and was facing imminent death. The image of himself that he had created was of an athletic and handsome man, attractive to women, and an adventurer. By the age of forty, Jack was far from this ideal. In his fortieth year he resembled Ernest Hemingway in his early sixties. Like Hemingway, Jack had little to live for except

increasing pain and suffering and further deviation from the image he desired for himself. His suicide merely hastened his death by a few days or weeks but at least gave him control over his fate.

Reference

Sinclair, A. (1977). *Jack*. New York: Harper & Row.

JEAN LOTT

David Lester

Tim Lott's mother Jean killed herself on a Monday, early in March 1988 in Southall, England. Her son Tim has written a biography, not simply of her, but of the whole family, focusing of course on himself. Tim was born in England some ten years after me, and so his reminiscences struck a particular chord in me, although they gave no great insights into his mother's suicide.

Both Jean's and her husband Jack Lott's parents were upper working class, not lower middle class, an important distinction in England. The upper working class did not aspire to be better; they were content to be working class. Jack was born on January 27, 1926. His father co-owned a grocery store, Wells and Lotts, near Crystal Palace. Jack was offered a place at the local grammar school, but his neighborhood friends would have ostracized him if he had accepted it, and his parents were indifferent. So he turned it down and went to work. Jack had two brothers, one older (Ken) and one younger (Art). A sister died young.

At first the family lived above the shop, but they later moved to a rented house half a mile away. Jack was brought up really by his aunt Rose who lived only a hundred yards away since both of his parents worked in the shop. Jack was chubby as a kid (his nickname was Fatty Lott), but his childhood was unremarkable, except that his mother died in May, 1939, from a "wasting disease," perhaps tuberculosis. Jack's father was beyond consolation and went to bed for several months. His partner had to sell the shop. Tim Lott reckoned that his grandfather had a reactive depression.

Ken had volunteered for the army, Arthur was fifteen and at work for a manufacturer of car parts. Jack was thirteen. The family went to live with Jack's aunt, and Jack eventually roused himself and got a job as a delivery man. Jack went to work on the assembly line at an electrics factory. There were no teenage years in those days. You went from childhood to adulthood.

In 1943, Jack joined the Navy, but was never sent to sea. He worked in England for the duration of the war and was demobbed in 1946. He went back to work, dated a couple of girls seriously and, on his twenty-first birthday, used a gift from his father to buy a motorcycle. He thought of emigrating to Australia, but the plans fell through. In 1948, he quit his job to join a greengrocer for whom he had been working on Saturdays.

Jean Haynes was born on January 17, 1931, in Sheherd's Bush. Jean had two older brothers, Alan who would become mentally ill, and Norman who would become a petty criminal and later drink heavily. Her father was a baker, at first at Lyons in Battersea and then at Southall. He bought a house at Southall in 1934. Jean's childhood was also unremarkable and happy.

In 1945, she was working at a factory in the rag trade, where she met her to-be-best friend, Irene. She survived pneumonia and also dated a couple of boys before she met Jack. By 1951, they were dating, and they were married on July 12, 1952, in a Church of England ceremony. At first they lived with Jack's grand-aunt. Jean seemed somewhat spoilt to their friends -- wouldn't learn cards, wouldn't go for walks because of the flies and threw temper tantrums when she couldn't have her own way.

A son, Jeffrey, was born in March, 1954. And then Tim came along. This second pregnancy was difficult. Jean began losing hair -- eventually it was diagnosed as alopecia. They started her on pills, perhaps unwisely for Tim was born on January 23, 1956, with a hare lip and a cancerous kidney. Jean had to stay in the hospital for three months.

Jean's hair problem worsened, and eventually she took to wearing a wig continuously, except at night when she wore a headscarf. Apart from that, the family was normal, although Jeff resented Tim and there was a great deal of friction between them. They went on holiday each year to holiday camps, not to the real working class ones, but to slightly better ones. They played badminton and then tennis. They bought a house in Southall in 1958 for just over two thousand pounds, part of a six house terrace and, as conditions in England improved, so did the house, as they added the appliances and conveniences of modern life, such as vacuum cleaners, televisions, and longer holidays.

Jean was happy as a housewife and mother. She took classes in upholstery, flower-arrangements, yoga, drawing and music. She and Jack joined clubs and went to Tupperware parties. They had no aspirations, yet Tim noted that his parents and friends were not stupid. Indeed, Jack and his brother became quite good at bridge. They began to go abroad for holidays -- to Majorca and Malta and camping on the continent -- and to musical shows in London. Jean and Jack seemed to be in love, although Jack was not very demonstrative. It was always Jean who initiated any affectionate behavior.

Jean's mother died in 1970 and her father two years later. Jean now became responsible for her mentally ill older brother and for a while this was a great strain. Eventually, Alan went to bed in his parents' house and did nothing. People eventually persuaded Jean to stop helping him. He was sent to mental hospitals and, surprisingly, eventually got his life in better order. He kept the house clean and got a job, easing both the burden on Jean and her guilt.

A third son, James was born in 1970, and the family remained strong and integrated. They had a core group of five couples who did things together. Jeff and Tim made it to grammar school. Tim experimented with drugs, getting picked up by the police once while on LSD. But the boys did not get into much trouble. Jeff did not do well enough to go to college, but Tim passed two A-levels.

Jeff moved away quickly, to Canada and France, eventually marrying in New Orleans without inviting his family for the wedding. When Jean and Jack later visited Jeff in New Orleans, they could see that his marriage was bad, and indeed it soon broke

up. Jeff eventually remarried, again without inviting his family. Tim moved into journalism and, for a while, did very well.

Jean now took a job at the school helping with the meals, she took art lessons, and she and Jack played tennis. But Tim noticed a change. Jean desperately wanted to succeed at something. She took tennis seriously, but never won the club championship. Her paintings were nothing more than ok. Soon, friends and family members began to die, including Jack's brother.

Tim decided to attend the London School of Economics (in 1983) and, although he graduated with a degree (in 1986), the experience shook his self-confidence, and he began to fall into a depression.

In 1986, Jack lost his job at the greengrocers. Two men took it over and closed it, leaving Jack short on his salary. He sued them and eventually was awarded 5 thousand pounds. In 1986 also, James moved in with Tim, and Jean now had lost all of her boys. Tim noticed her crying when he drove James away, but he quickly forgot the incident.

Finally, in the midst of a suicidal crisis, Tim called Jean and, eventually, moved into his parents' house. They offered to mortgage their house (the old mortgage was paid off) to get Tim treatment, but he refused. Jean would sit on his bed, often simply staring into space. She said to him once, "It's like a living death....You're making me depressed, too." However, eventually Tim was persuaded to take antidepressants, and his depression cleared up. He told his parents that his depression was an illness and that now he was fine. Jean told him that he was not.

Jean began to seem depressed. She has failed as a mother, she said. She hated the phone, her paintings were no good, she is no good at gardening, she is no good at cards and she doesn't enjoy things. She drove carelessly and was hit by another car. She seemed to be disappointed that none of her sons had given her grandchildren. She started a painting at one of her art classes and, for the first time, did not take it home with her to finish. She told Tim that she was depressed and that she had been given some pills. He tried to persuade her to take them and that her depression would lift. She told him that she didn't think she could wait that long.

Southall had changed in the 1980s. The white working class had moved out and blacks and Asians had moved in. The place had deteriorated in Jean's eyes. Jack and Jean missed the old neighborhood and would have liked to move. But they were getting old, and a new house somewhere nice would be too expensive.

On that Monday in March, 1988, Jean got up and prepared Jack's breakfast. Jack went off to work, and she went out to buy a few things for dinner. She tidied up the house. She didn't go to the school to help with the meals as usual. Instead she wrote her suicide note.

Then she went upstairs and hung herself.

Jack got home at five and looked for Jean. He panicked and rushed upstairs into their bedroom. Jean had her wig on, her feet were six inches from the floor, the stool had been kicked away.

Tim has a theory about his mother's suicide. Her story, her idea of herself as a successful wife and mother, was no longer sustainable. She had no function now that her sons were gone. She had not protected her sons -- Jeff from his unhappy marriages or Tim from his depression. And everything was her fault. The story of her life no longer stood up. And as Southall decayed, even her pride in being English dissipated.

Jackie.

Please forgive me for this terrible thing I am doing, but at least it is one *brave* thing I am doing.

I cannot keep up this pretense. We have had so many happy year's and I can see the strain this is having on you, in the end you will grow to hate me. So it is time to get out of your life. You have so much to give such a bright mind and I am holding you back.

This will be bad for everybody but I hate Southall, I can see only decay, I feel alone.

I have loved you alway's and this is something you will have to be strong enough to get through, but you will, and then you can start life with somebody who will take you on to better times. Please forgive me. I love you forever.

Tell my dear friends they have been a great pleasure in my life. My darling son's. I love you.

Forgive me. Forgive me.

Jeannie

Reference

Lott, T. *The scent of dried roses*. New York: Viking, 1996.

TONY LUCADELLO

David Lester

Winegardner (1990) has written a strange book about Tony Lucadello. Tony was a scout for the Philadelphia Phillies, and Winegardner followed the seventy-five year old Tony around on his scouting in 1987 and 1988. The following year, Tony shot himself. Since Winegardner ends his book with a brief account of Tony's suicide, one would think that he might have been interested in looking back for the warning signs or for the contributing causes for it. But no. The book remains one about baseball.

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

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

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

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

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

His habits included getting to ball parks far ahead of the game, looking for coins

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

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

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

Reference

Winegardner, M. (1990). *Prophet of the sandlots*. New York: Atlantic Monthly Press.

THE LUXTONS

David Lester

In 1567 Bernard Luxton purchased Holcombe Manor in Devon from Sir Amyas Pawlet, the jailer of Mary Queen of Scots. By the mid-1800s, the head of the Luxton clan was Robert George Luxton who owned 2000 acres and six farms and had ten servants, a pack of fox hounds, thoroughbred race horses and three thousand pounds in the bank. But Robert George decided to finance improvements in his farming (as well as his other extravagant pastimes such as gambling) with bank loans. His farming methods were the most advanced but when, in the late 1800s, cheap food flooded in from the United States, Argentina, Russia, Australia and New Zealand, English farmers could not compete. This competition, combined with a series of bad winters and summers, wiped out thousands of farmers, many of whom sold up and emigrated to the colonies, some 700,000 between 1870 and 1900. Robert George had to sell out, slowly, and he died in 1902 at the age of 84, breaking his neck while hunting. He left an empty and mortgaged house and 30 pounds to pay for his funeral.

His cousin, Lawrence Luxton, farmed 230 acres in West Chapple, and he watched his cousin's choices and behavior with disapproval. Lawrence decided that, if you made your farm self-sufficient, kept your stock until the price was right, and did not borrow any money to make improvements, then you could survive hard times. He raised his son, Robert John, with this philosophy. He raised sheep and cows and produced cider. He paid his workers fairly, but did not socialize with neighbors or relatives. Spare money was saved or used to purchase bonds. When Lawrence died in 1902, Robert John became the master of the farm.

He married a local woman, Wilmot Short, in 1906, and they had a daughter Frances in 1908, much to Robert's disappointment. Robbie came in 1911 and Alan in 1921. They grew up with the harsh discipline of the farm and Robert's brooding disappointment. The children heard tales of lost fortunes and family dissolution, irreligion, crop failures, incest (the other branch of the Luxton had preferred to marry first cousins), and debt. Robert refused to install electricity or mains water, and he refused to communicate with the outside world.

The children had to work alongside Robert and the laborers and, in addition, Frances had to take care of her younger brothers. Frances learned how to make cheese, butter and cream, alongside her mother. Frances had no toys, but her mother taught her to read and write. She went off to the village school, two miles away, and she was a good student, helping teach the younger pupils. Since she had so far to walk to school, she took her lunch and ate it with two cousins (a brother and sister who never married), and later the brother shot his sister and tried to kill himself (but survived).

After the birth of Alan when Frances was thirteen and her mother forty, the mother began to suffer from various ailments -- she eventually stayed in bed in the parlor. Frances raised Alan and became a surrogate wife to Robert, while Robbie became

increasingly attached and devoted to Frances. Robbie went off to a boarding school, but Robert took him out after two years. Robbie never was interested in women or friends outside of the family, and his devotion to Frances was perceived by outsiders as having incestuous overtones.

Frances, however, longer to meet new people, to travel and to marry. Cousins visited occasionally, and one (William) grew friendly with Frances. Frances joined the Devon County Dairy School and even dated one boy. But her father found out and followed them on horseback on their walks. The romance did not survive. Frances saved (it took her three years) for a holiday with a girl-friend in 1938 to Scotland.

Robert then suffered a stroke, and Frances assumed control of the household, and Robbie, now 27, took over running the farm which he did in exactly the same way as his father had. Robert died of pneumonia in 1939 (and Wilmot at the end of the war). The farm was left to both sons, but Alan could not sell any of the property without Robbie's permission. Robbie paid Alan ten shillings a week for six 12-hour days.

During the war, an American Air Base was built nearby, and later the Canadians took it over. Frances met a Canadian airman who may have become her lover. They wrote back and forth after the war until 1965, but then the relationship ended. Alan socialized with the airmen at the local pubs. He joined the Young Farmer's Club and began to think of ways of improving the farm. He wanted to renovate a house on the property for himself, but Robbie resolutely refused him permission.

Frances went off to visit cousin William and met a widowed Dutch sea captain who was looking for a wife. But she did not leave her brothers to explore a relationship with him, although they corresponded for six years. Robbie seemed to realize that he might drive Frances away, and so he started being much more gentle and affectionate toward her. Alan bought a car (a 1920s Austin) and got engaged to a local girl. However, Robbie refused to buy Alan out so that Alan could marry. Robbie would have had to borrow money to do so, and he would not, but he did suggest, finally, renovating the old house on the property for Alan. Alan saw that they could not farm the same land -- he was for modern improvements, Robbie still would not install public utilities or use modern machinery. After a physical fight, Alan gave in. He returned the engagement ring and kept to his bedroom. He dropped to 110 pounds and was filthy. He was diagnosed as severely mentally ill and admitted as a private patient to a mental asylum where he had electroshock therapy. When he returned home, he was still disturbed. Periods of sanity alternated with periods of withdrawal and abusive tirades at Robbie.

In the 1960s, Frances began to travel each year. She went to Israel in 1967, and later to Africa and America. Frances's mood improved greatly during this period -- she put on weight, bought new clothes, cleaned the house and improved the garden. She also began to search the family tree to find cousins who could take over the farm.

But by the early 1970s, the three siblings were reclusives. They still farmed using Victorian methods, without water or electricity or any modern equipment. Their energy

came from a water-wheel; they used scythes to cut the hay; they even made their own paint. The villagers saw them as snobbish and cheap, but they supported church causes and occasionally gave money to old friends for their children. Their anxiety made them economize. Fred Lyne, one of their workers, saw them eating lettuce sandwiches and rock cakes not fit for the farm animals. They were getting old, afflicted with ailments, and depressed. Using Victorian methods, the work was extremely hard for them. Robbie got a skin disease that was painful so that he could not even get boots on. Cousin William thought that Robbie might have had a mental breakdown, perhaps a depression, but had no treatment.

They had decided that they simply could not manage any more¹, and they had decided to sell their farm. They received an offer and got rid of the animals, and they were interested in a little house in a nearby village. Alan did not want them to sell. Robbie and Frances kept changing their minds but, although no papers had been signed, they felt that they could not go back on their promise to sell. The sale was due to go through on Michaelmas. A visitor (cousin William again) found them thin and depressed, hardly eating anything. Robbie and Frances seemed guilty at selling the family farm. At the beginning of September, Frances told Fred Lyne that, "We should have died here. We were born on the farm and we should die here" (Cornwall, 1982, p. 136).

The End

In September 1975, a grocer's roundsman found Alan (aged 53) outside the farmhouse with his head shot off. There was no gun nearby. He went for the police. The death was consistent with a self-inflicted shotgun wound in which the trigger had been operated with a stick which lay nearby. Later, the police found the imprint of the butt of the shotgun in the blood around the body. Some distance away, in a garden, Robbie and Frances lay, both with shotgun wounds to the head. A double-barrelled shotgun and a stick lay beside Robbie. There was no evidence of a struggle. The police concluded that Alan had died by suicide. Later, Robbie had taken the gun, killed Frances, perhaps with her consent, and then died by suicide himself.

They left 350,000 pounds which went to the Church, enough to have kept them in comfort in their old age.

Reference

Cornwall, J (1982). *Earth to earth*. New York: Ecco Press.

¹ They had two workers, a local chap and a Ukrainian refugee, but even this labor was not sufficient.

ELEANOR MARX

David Lester

Karl Marx had only three children, all daughters, survive into adulthood out of the six that were born.² Eleanor was born on January 16, 1855, in London when Marx was 37 and his wife 41.³ She was a popular child, with the nickname Tussy.⁴

The Marx household and life was rather odd. Although the family was frequently in debt and survived mainly from support from Engels but also a few legacies and the little money Marx earned from writing articles, they lived the life of a conventional middle-class family.⁵ Despite making continual use of pawnbrokers, they had a live-in servant, Helen Demuth, and housemaid, sent the girls to school and later for additional lessons, had the girls taught to draw, sing and play the piano, attended the theater, gave balls for the girls, etc. Marx was adamantly against training the two older girls for a profession or sending them out to earn a living so that they might become self-supporting.

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

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

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

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

² Jenny was born in 1844 in Paris and Laura in 1845 in Brussels.

³ They were in London as a result of being expelled from France, Prussia and Belgium.

⁴ Marx later had an illegitimate child

⁵ Marx was a distinguished patron of the Maitland Park Orphan Working School, invited to the Royal Society of Arts, elected a constable of the St. Pancras vestry, etc.

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

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

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

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

In 1874, Jenny's baby died Eleanor had nursed him devotedly.⁶ Eleanor fell ill after his death and went to Carlsbad with her father for a rest cure. While working for socialist causes (especially to advance Lissagaray's interests, such as translating his recent book on the Paris Commune into English⁷), she now also pursued her interest in the theater, joining Furnivall's New Shakespeare Society and later forming her own Shakespeare group which attended the first nights of Henry Irving's plays.

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

⁶ Eleanor's relationship with Laura was, however, quite distant, possibly because of Laura's intense dislike of Lissagaray.

⁷ Marx worked hard to get Lissagaray's *Histoire de la Commune* translated into German, even though he disapproved of him as a son-in-law. Eleanor's English translation was completed around 1880 but not published until 1886.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Life after Marx

Eleanor began living with Aveling in the summer of 1884 and continued to do so until her suicide on March 31, 1898. They never married, but on most occasions they

acted as if they were a married couple. For example, Eleanor presented herself in person and in print as Eleanor Marx Aveling, sometimes with a hyphen and sometimes without. The reason for this arrangement was that Aveling remained married to his first wife, and so was not able to remarry.¹ However, eventually he did marry surreptitiously another woman, while living with Eleanor, and so marriage to Eleanor obviously became a possibility, but one which was never realized.

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

First, until Engels died in 1895 (on August 5), leaving Eleanor (as well as Jenny's children and Laura) legacies, money needed to be earned. Eleanor worked preparing papers and manuscripts for others², giving lessons (on the arts and on politics), writing columns, articles and pamphlets, translating foreign works (including Ibsen's plays³), and editing and publishing some of the papers of her father. Money was often short, but Engels, as before, supported her with many gifts of money. Aveling developed a reputation of borrowing money from friends and acquaintances and rarely paying them back, a habit which contributed to the dislike that many felt toward him. (He may also have used funds from the organizations with which he was associated, such as the National Secular Society in 1884). For the first time, Eleanor lived without servants! After Engels died, leaving Eleanor over five thousand pounds clear, she and Aveling were able to buy a house, in Jews Walk⁴, Sydenham, in 1895.

Eleanor and Aveling also pursued their interests in the arts. They attended plays, Eleanor translated novels⁵ and plays (including Ibsen's) and even wrote parodies (including one with Israel Zangwill -- *A Doll's House Repaired*). Aveling wrote plays and poetry under a pen name (Alec Nelson) which were on the whole unsuccessful. They also arranged concerts for the workers, given during congresses and on other formal occasions.

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

¹ His first wife, Isabel Campbell Frank, died September 12, 1892, aged 43.

² For example, she was paid five shillings by a Miss Zimmerman to write articles for which Miss Zimmerman was paid thirty shillings.

³ She was paid five pounds for translating *An Enemy of Society*, now known as *An Enemy of the People*.

⁴ "Jews" is probably a corruption of Doo, an ancient place name in Kent and not a reference to Jews.

⁵ Including Flaubert's *Madame Bovary*, a translation that remained in print until 1973.

Increasingly, both became involved in the growing union movement, which transformed them both from intellectual bystanders to active organizers. They addressed union meetings, helped organize workers into unions, and became officers in the unions (Eleanor in the Gasworkers Union). Eleanor, in particular, helped integrate women workers into the labor movement and made an effort to bring the Jewish workers and their organizations into the mix.⁶

These brief paragraphs cannot, of course, do justice to the power struggles and political fights involved in this work. The union movement was also under attack from the authorities, so that many of the marches and meetings resulted in attacks by and fights with the police.⁷ The leaders had to fight for the right for free speech and for assembly. These years marked the beginning of the modern labor movement, such as the formation of the Trade Union Congress and the Labor Party, organizations and political parties which are taken for granted in modern Britain.

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

Eleanor seems both to have been happy at times with Aveling and at times distraught. She wrote to a friend (Olive Schreiner) in 1885 on how unhappy she was while Aveling went off to a party without her, "...in the highest of spirits because several ladies are to be there..." However, Kapp does not mention or document any affairs that Aveling had while he was Eleanor, except for his marriage in 1897 a few months before Eleanor's suicide. So there is no evidence of Aveling's infidelity up to that point. Yet Kapp talks of Aveling's extensive lechery, dissolute habits and the lack of emotional security he provided Eleanor. According to Kapp, Eleanor loved Aveling but could not rely on or honor him.⁸ On the other hand, Aveling treated Eleanor as an equal and never expected subservience. Eleanor was never his housekeeper or bedfellow. He encouraged her to become a writer, speaker and organizer in her right.

After Engels' Death

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

⁶ Eleanor took up typing in 1890 to earn money, becoming a worker herself.

⁷ The most notorious of these was Bloody Sunday, November 13, 1887, when police and troops attacked workers trying to meet in Trafalgar Square.

⁸ Since no-one, including his first wife, ever conceived, it is supposed that Aveling was sterile.

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

Eleanor and Aveling moved into their house in December 1895, and Eleanor took some pleasure in setting up her first home. She also had time now to teach at a socialist Sunday school and sing in a local socialist choir. However, she soon fell into a state of exhaustion and suicidal depression, perhaps a result of her fights with Engels' caretakers in his last years, Engels' death followed soon by the death of one of her friends, Stepniak (Sergei Mikhailovich Kravchinsky), and the stress of house-hunting and moving, all the while continuing her socialist activities and editing her father's papers.¹

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

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

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

Comment

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

However, what is most remarkable about this story is the bourgeois life of Marx, living a life with servants, private lessons for his daughters, parties and holidays abroad, all made possible by the generosity of Engels. In addition, Marx and Eleanor resemble

¹ For example, she reported to a friend that in ten months in 1897, she had given 41 lectures and participated in ten meetings as speaker or chair, in addition to a week of lecturing in the Netherlands.

Freud and his daughter Anna -- a famous intellect whose daughter becomes the inheritor of his mantle and follows in his path and who is prevented from marrying by her father.

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

Reference

Kapp, Y. (1972). *Eleanor Marx, Volumes 1 and 2*. London: Lawrence & Wishart.

VLADIMIR MAYAKOVSKY

David Lester

Mayakovsky was born on July 7 (old style, July 19 new style), 1893, in Bagdadi (later called Mayakovsky) in Western Georgia. His father was a forest ranger who died from an infected cut on his finger when Mayakovsky was thirteen. Interestingly, Mayakovsky became a hypochondriac, afraid of infection from knives and forks, drinking glasses and other people's hands, and he compulsively washed his own hands.¹ Mayakovsky had two older sisters.² His sisters studied in Moscow and brought back revolutionary ideas to their younger brother.

The family had never been well-off, but after the father's death the family moved to Moscow where they were quite poor. They let rooms to students to get by. Mayakovsky did not do well at school, but he read Marxist literature and associated with the radical students. He joined the Bolshevik faction of the Russian Social Democratic Party in 1908 and was elected at the age of fourteen to its Moscow Committee. He was soon arrested for carrying illegal proclamations, but he was released into the care of his mother.

He was arrested again in 1909 and released after a month. Five months later he was arrested again and imprisoned for six months, five of it in solitary confinement, on suspicion of being involved in a jailbreak of revolutionaries. In prison, he continued to agitate and succeeded in improving the conditions for the prisoners, particularly their food.

The Birth of the Poet

This last imprisonment led him to break with the party. In prison, he had begun to read, and he realized how uneducated he was. So he threw himself into studying and continued after his release. He was excused from a sentence of three years in exile because of his youth and his mother's connections. He had begun writing poetry while in prison, but he thought so little of it that he took up painting. After a year's preparation, he applied to and was accepted in 1911 into the Moscow Institute for the Study of Painting, Sculpture and Architecture.

He quickly got involved with a group of anti-traditional painters and writers who called themselves the "Futurists." The group so outraged the faculty at the Institute that some, including Mayakovsky, were expelled in 1914. Thus set free, they toured the provinces, reciting their poetry and showing their paintings. They aroused curiosity, amusement and anger, and so, much to their satisfaction, they attracted attention. Mayakovsky produced mainly cubist artworks, and he wrote essays explaining the aims of the movement and poetry.

¹ He was also a compulsive gambler, betting on everything including license plates and how many peanuts would drop from a vending machine.

² An older brother died at an early age.

Mayakovsky also tried writing plays. His first production was entitled *Vladimir Mayakovsky: A tragedy*, and he was the author, producer, director and central character. This play includes suicide as a motif, perhaps occasioned by the suicide of one of the students who had rented a room from the family. At this time, Mayakovsky seems to have been in crisis, either because of a homosexual experience or a case of gonorrhea.

Mayakovsky was caught up in the patriotic and anti-German feelings in Russia when the First World War broke out. He made drawings and wrote patriotic jingles for propaganda posters in 1914. By 1915, his poetry was being published in "New Satirikon," a liberal journal of satire, and he worked on four major poems. A lucky win at gambling enabled him to visit Finland in 1915, and during that summer he may have attempted suicide.

He seems to have fallen in love with a Maria Aleksandra Denisova who quickly married a man who later became a general of the Red Army, but others have claimed that Mayakovsky was in love with a different person. Soon after this crisis, Mayakovsky met Lily and Osip Brik accidentally in the course of dating Lily's sister. The Briks were patrons of young literary men, and Mayakovsky fell in love with Lily. Osip published a major poem by Mayakovsky in September 1915 at his own expense ("A Cloud"). Lily worked on Mayakovsky's appearance, turning him into a respectable bourgeois. In November, 1915, Mayakovsky moved in with the Briks establishing a family that lasted until Mayakovsky's suicide. It is clear that all three liked one another very much and that Mayakovsky loved Lily, but it is not clear whether Lily loved Mayakovsky or became his lover. Possibly not. At this time, the ménage à trois helped Mayakovsky out of his suicidal depression. But he continued to display either manic elation or weeping despair, signs of at least a mild manic-depressive disorder.

Initially in 1914, Mayakovsky tried to enlist so as to fight the Germans, but he was rejected because of his subversive record. He was called up in October 1915, however, and with Maxim Gorky's help, avoided the fighting. He was sent to Petrograd as a draftsman.

The Bolshevik Revolution

Mayakovksy was still in Petrograd at the time of the revolution of February, 1917. He soon involved himself in protecting the interests of artists and was named to the board of a newly formed Provisional Committee for the Union of Art Workers. There was a brief alliance between the Futurists and the Bolsheviks, and Mayakovksy worked furiously, writing poems and scenarios for films, writing and producing plays, and editing magazines.

However, Mayakovsky (and others, including Brik and Marc Chagall) soon found that they were at odds with the proletariat, and even Lenin regarded Mayakovsky's work with distaste. Myaykosky's "Mystery Bouffe" was coolly received in 1918, and his work was increasingly attacked in literary magazines. His poem *150,000,000*, published in

1919, was criticized by Lenin and many others. In short, much of Mayakovsky's writing as a propagandist for the new regime in Russia failed. He started a group called *Lef* -- the Left Front of Art, to institutionalize the alliance between the former futurists and the proletarian state. However, the conservative forces in the Communist Party now turned their fire on *Lef*. The group involved in *Lef* found themselves at odds with the powerful Russian Association of Proletarian Writers, and their magazine folded in 1928. Then Mayakovsky formed a new organization called the Revolutionary Front of Art. He wrote scenarios for thirteen films, only five of which were produced, and he wrote articles on the problems with and prospects for film. He also wrote two plays, both of which were failures.

From 1919 to 1921, Mayakovsky worked on propaganda for the Russian Telegraph Agency. His poems appeared on posters, which he also helped to design, that were placed in the empty store windows in towns. He next wrote jingles for the Moscow Food Stores and other retail trading agencies. He began, therefore, to adjust to an environment hostile to avant-garde artists.

Mayakovsky made several trips abroad on behalf of the Russian government: Berlin and Paris in 1922, Berlin in 1923 and Berlin and Paris again in 1924. In 1925, he visited Mexico and the USA, then towns within Russia in 1926 and 1927, Prague, Berlin and Paris in 1927, and Paris again in 1928 and 1929. The Russian government willingly gave him visas, and his publishers gave him advances to finance his trips. On most of these trips, he suffered from boredom and loneliness, though there is the possibility that he had a love affair while in America and may have fathered a child. He did not like sight-seeing, and he missed Russia.

For the last years of his life, Mayakovsky devoted much of his energy to producing poetry on topical matters for the Soviet press. He subordinated his poetic gift to social purposes, and this alienated other writers, including Gorky and Pasternak. Furthermore, despite his efforts for the regime, other poets, such as Sergei Yesenin, were more admired by the public, whereas Mayakovsky was often not understood or regarded as a buffoon. Nevertheless, though other writers scorned Mayakovsky, he earned a good salary and lived in comparative luxury compared to those writers who refused to write for the regime.

The End

In 1928, Mayakovsky appears to have fallen in love with a Russian emigrée whom he met on one of his trips to Paris, Tatiana Alekseevna Yakovleva. However, she refused to go back to Russia with him. In 1929, back in Russia, Mayakovsky bombarded Tatiana with letters and telegrams. Tatiana eventually married the Vicomte du Plessix when she realized that Mayakovsky would not leave Russia for her.¹ Mayakovsky was depressed for several months afterwards, despite an affair with an actress, Veronika Polonskaya, who reminded him of Tatiana.

¹ It has been suggested that the government refused to issue a visa for Mayakovsky in 1929.

Despite his commitment to writing for the regime, Mayakovsky was frequently in trouble with the proletarian audiences for which he wrote. He was, therefore, not only isolated from his peers, but also the "workers." At recitals, the audiences would shout protests at his coarse language and express puzzlement about the meaning of his poems.

In the Spring of 1930, Mayakovsky was sick with "the grippe." Two months before his suicide, he abandoned the last of his literary colleagues and joined the Russian Association of Proletarian Writers, with whom he had been at odds for most of his life. But *Pravda* had recently given the government's stamp of approval to this association, and Mayakovsky wanted to support the government, even though the members of the association were not thrilled at having their old enemy join them.

In April, 1930, Mayakovsky was still involved with Veronika, and she visited his office on the morning of his death. Veronika noted that Mayakovsky was irritable that morning and demanded that she stay with him rather than going to rehearsal.² She walked out and heard the shot.

Mayakovsky shot himself through the heart in his office on April 14, 1930. Though some considered his death an accident while playing Russian roulette, he left a suicide note which he had written two days earlier in which he said that no one was to blame for his death. He asked his family and friends to forgive him but, "there's no other way out."

Osip and Lily Brik wrote a statement supporting Mayakovsky and complaining of the neglect of his work, and they delivered this personally to Stalin. Stalin accepted this and added that indifference to Mayakovsky's work was a crime. *Pravda* printed this, and immediately editions of his work were published and books and articles on his life and work appeared. Squares and streets were named after him, and statues appeared in parks. As Pasternak scornfully said, he was "propagated compulsorily, like potatoes in the reign of Catherine the Great."

Reference

Brown, E. J. (1973). *Mayakovsky: A poet in the revolution*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

² Mayakovsky wanted her to give up her career.

AIMEE SEMPLE McPHERSON

David Lester

McPherson, a leading evangelist of the time, was rumored to have killed herself in September, 1944, at the age of 53. The coroner's jury ruled the death as due to an accidental overdose of barbiturates. Epstein's (1993) biography of Aimee Semple McPherson is quite poor. Epstein appears to have done little research for this biography, relying primarily on newspaper reports, and many of the crucial people in McPherson's life refused to reveal anything personal about McPherson. Epstein concocts an imagined death scene in which McPherson took some barbiturates as a sleeping aid, became confused as to whether she had taken them, and took more until she overdosed. (Epstein imaginatively constructs her thoughts during that night despite the fact that McPherson was alone.) However, if we take Epstein's construction as possibly correct, then we have a rare case of "drug automatism." Most cases reported in the literature of drug automatism are from physicians or nurses who survived a suicide attempt by overdose and who seem to claim drug automatism in order to deny that they were suicidal. An examination of McPherson's life, however, may give us clues as to whether her life path was one that might have ended in suicide.

Early Years

Aimee Kennedy was born in a farmhouse, near Salford, Ontario (in Canada) on October 9, 1890. Her father, James Kennedy, was a fifty year-old widower who married his fifteen year-old housekeeper, Minnie Pearce, across the border in Michigan. Minnie had come to the house at the age of 14 to help care for James's dying wife and stayed on. Minnie's mother was a "shouting Methodist" who became enamored of the Salvation Army, and Minnie too pledged herself to support the Salvation Army at the age of twelve soon after her mother died. She became ill at the age of thirteen and saw the advertisement for a live-in nurse placed by James.

The family was very religious. James was a Methodist, and Minnie continued to support the Salvation Army. The years seemed to have been happy, although Minnie later told her daughter, Aimee, that they were miserable.

Aimee was born in 1890, and Minnie consecrated her right away to the Salvation Army. Aimee was raised on the farm. She was bright, funny and willful, even subversive. She was ridiculed at first at school for being a Salvation Army brat, but she rose to be their leader. She soon became a nuisance, carrying out pranks such as placing glue on the teacher's chair. At the age of fourteen she entered the Ingersoll Collegiate Institute, and she had already won public speaking contests and become a celebrated public speaker. At the local Methodist church, Aimee received training in speech, music and drama, and she became the star performer in church productions.

At the Institute, she came across books on evolution, and she read Darwin, along with Voltaire and Paine. She began to argue against the religious beliefs of her parents

and the congregation, and she also wrote to a Montreal newspaper in July, 1906, to argue for her position. But in December 1907, she accompanied her father to hear a visiting preacher, Robert Semple, six feet two, handsome and witty. Aimee converted, a conversion that Epstein describes as one part religion and nine parts love. She immediately gave up music, dance and drama and started attending the meetings of the Pentecostal “Holy Rollers.” She cut school and isolated herself for a week to pray and eventually had a fit of trembling and speaking in tongues in the presence of Semple. Six months later, on August 12, 1908, they married.

Two Marriages

Aimee now followed the Pentecostal faith. Semple worked in a locomotive boiler factory to support them and their evangelism. Semple was ordained on January 2, 1909, in Chicago, and they went to Findlay to stay at a mission, where Aimee fell down stairs and broke her ankle and tore ligaments. She took the train back to Chicago using crutches, hobbled to her apartment, and heard a voice telling her that her ankle would be healed. She went to the local mission where the assembly prayed for her. She removed her cast, and the ankle was healed. Epstein takes no position on the veracity of this. Aimee told the story in 1918, and Epstein sought no evidence to enable us to judge the event as true or fraudulent.

Semple was sent to China to preach in 1910. He and Aimee sailed to Liverpool, England, where Aimee preached at the Albert Hall. They sailed for China via the Suez Canal and arrived in Hong Kong in June 1910. Aimee found the heat brutal, the food revolting and habits of the Chinese “demonic.” Epstein describes her state as “hysteria,” sometimes screaming uncontrollably. She and Semple also came down with malaria and dysentery. Semple died on August 17. Aimee gave birth to a daughter, Roberta, on September 17, and six weeks later sailed back to the United States.

Minnie had gained possession of James’s farm (to avoid inheritance taxes) and moved to New York City to work for the Salvation Army. Aimee moved back to Chicago and then back to the farm, where Minnie joined her to nurse Aimee and Roberta back to health. Aimee then moved to New York, where she met and married an accountant, Harold McPherson, six months her senior, in February, 1908. The relationship is “shrouded in mystery,” and Epstein sheds no light on it. Epstein believes that McPherson was in love with Aimee, but Aimee claimed later that she married out of desperation and loneliness. Epstein suggests that this was a lie since Aimee never did anything that she did not want to do. But Aimee claimed to have lived three years filled with tantrums, real and psychosomatic illness and a nervous breakdown. In March, 1913, in Providence, Aimee gave birth to a son, Rolf, after which she had a post-partum depression. Minnie and McPherson’s mother helped the family settle in to a house, and soon Aimee began leading the prayer meetings and services in the Pentecostal churches around Providence.

But Aimee appeared to have another episode of hysteria — neurasthenia, “heart trouble” and stomach hemorrhages. Aimee had several operations, including a

hysterectomy (the standard treatment for hysterical women then) and an appendectomy. Her anxiety and depression did not improve, but one night in the hospital, when the staff thought she was near death, Aimee heard the voice of God commanding her to preach. In two weeks she was well, and in the Spring of 1915, she left McPherson to return to Ontario.

The Early Days of Preaching

Minnie returned to the farm to help with children¹, and Aimee began her career as a preacher and healer. Starting in Ontario, and moving to the States, Aimee travelled across the continent holding revival meetings. She drove in an old car (and eventually by train) and trusted to fate to provide sufficient funds for food and gas.

At first, the meetings led to conversions but soon her ability to heal the sick and the lame was demonstrated, and the infirm flocked to her for cures. Between 1917 and 1923 Aimee preached in more than a hundred cities and towns for one night up to more than a month. Epstein remains ambivalent about the healing. He notes that many of the infirmities of the time were psychogenic in nature, especially those cured by Aimee. However, many of the cases are based on accounts provided by Aimee later, and none were subjected to sound scientific study. Nor are there data on what percentage of the infirm were healed. But Aimee's fame spread as she moved back and forth across the country.

Eventually, McPherson joined her in order to manage her travel and the meetings, and her children joined her too. In June 1917, she started a newsletter, *The Bridal Call*, for 25 cents a year, and she began to incorporate music and drama into her services. Ahead of her time, Aimee also preached to blacks, and many of her meetings were fully integrated. But early in 1918 in Florida, McPherson could no longer tolerate their gypsy life, and Aimee simply drove off and left him. He returned to Providence, and Minnie came down to organize the campaign.²

Minnie brought some order to the campaign. She cared for the two children, managed the subscriptions for *The Bridal Call*, and booked the road show. Minnie scheduled the dates for the meetings, prepared the publicity and arranged for auditoriums, music and workers beforehand. Aimee's first book, *This is That*, appeared in 1919, and the revival meetings in 1919 to 1922 had a mass appeal unequalled to that point in American history (for theater or politics). Minnie's aims were to protect Aimee from her impulsive decisions and to control her commercial exploitation.

As the years passed, Aimee sought to minimize the healing segments of her ministry. She began to schedule them for the final few days of the stay in a city, and in the 1920s began to eliminate them. Her goal was to convert people, not to cure them of infirmities.

¹ Rolf soon moved to Providence to be taken care of by McPherson's mother.

² Although they divorced and both remarried, Aimee continued to send McPherson a monthly check.

In 1918, Aimee had a vision in which God told her to make a home in Los Angeles and, as Aimee's energy lessened, she and Minnie decided to establish a church of their own. They went to Los Angeles in July, 1921, and found a plot of land near Echo Park. For the next few years, Aimee toured primarily to raise money to build the temple, a temple whose plans changed from a simple wooden tabernacle to a stone temple seating 5,000. Both women worked incredibly hard, sleeping only a few hours each night, and Aimee's insomnia grew worse over the years.

In March 1921, Aimee was officially ordained by the First Baptist Church of San Jose, and McPherson was granted a divorce about the same time. Her revival meetings grew even larger. In 1922 in Denver, she preached to half a million in three weeks, laid hands on and prayed for 3,000 and there were more than 12,000 conversions. On later tours, Minnie and others pre-screened those who requested healing, and only those with cards of approval were admitted for healing.

Aimee preached to the Gypsies, and most converted to her church. As did the local Ku Klux Klan! On June 17, 1922, in Denver, after the revival meeting, Aimee and her assistant were kidnapped by Klansmen and asked to preach to them. A month later, the Klansmen delivered a "bag of money" to her.

Aimee toured Australia in 1922 (but did no healing) and then returned to Los Angeles on New Year's Day in 1923 to dedicate the Angelus Temple. Now that she was settled, she started many projects: sewing circles to prepare materials for poor mothers, finding jobs for released prisoners, a commissary to feed the hungry (which evolved into the largest welfare agency during the Great Depression), nurseries to care for infants, and a prayer tower where people prayed for those who requested it and talked to those who called -- one of the first telephone counseling services.

The organ was dedicated in March 1923, and Aimee began to plan for dramatic services to fill the auditorium each night. She used costumes, props, scenery, music and dramatic sermons, often acted out in play form. Aimee recorded canned sermonettes for radio stations and opened her own radio station (KFSG – Kall Four Square Gospel) in February 1924.³ Aimee's services had moved to mainstream fundamentalism. The speaking in tongues and healing was now reserved for small groups meeting in a different room after the services. The church began running classes for all groups, from children to potential ministers, and formalized this as the L.I.F.E. Bible College in December 1925.

Crises and Conflicts

The years from 1925 through to Aimee's death in 1944 were full of personal crises and business and interpersonal conflicts. Because of her celebrity, most of these crises and conflicts were fully reported and commented upon in the press. Rival preachers attacked her, people sued her, and all of this appeared in the newspapers.

³ The Four Square Gospel was based on Regeneration, Baptism in the Spirit, Divine Healing and the Second Coming.

On the business side, the first major conflict was with Minnie. Minnie at first ran the business side of the Temple. However, from the first there were complaints about her autocratic style. The Santa Anna branch of the movement sued in court in 1925 over the mismanagement of the funds, and the suit dragged on for months before the complainants gave up.

Aimee and Minnie lived with Aimee's children in a parsonage next to the Temple. People dropped by at all times, reporters were allowed in, and strangers even abandoned babies on the doorstep. By 1924, Aimee used to check into the Ambassador Hotel once or twice a week for privacy. She did not have any close friends, although she had many aides and supporters, and she frequently complained that she was lonely.

At the radio station, the engineer was Kenneth Ormiston, and rumors soon had them as lovers despite the fact that Ormiston was married. Ormiston disappeared in January 1926, and his wife filed for divorce. Aimee went on a "vacation" to Europe and the Middle East, where she nevertheless continued to preach, and returned in April 1926. Then on May 18 Aimee went swimming at Ocean Park beach and disappeared. The search for her was unsuccessful, and a memorial service for her was held on June 20. On June 23, Aimee walked in from the desert at Agua Prieta in Mexico, saying she had been kidnapped. The press thought, however, that she had been hiding somewhere with Ormiston. Aimee was not dehydrated or sunburned, her shoes were not scuffed but had grass stains on them. There was no perspiration on her dress. She was wearing a watch that Minnie had given her and which she had not taken to the beach. The house she claimed to have been kept in was never located, nor were her abductors. However, Aimee was called before a grand jury investigating the crime, and in September the district attorney issued warrants against Aimee, her mother and others for corruption of public morals, obstruction of justice and conspiracy to manufacture evidence. They were bound over for trial, but the charges were dismissed in January 1927 because of the lack of credibility of the witnesses for the prosecution. Epstein does not know the truth, and he produces no new evidence for or against Aimee.

In 1927, Aimee changed her style, becoming more fashionable, changes which upset her mother and many members of her congregation. Epstein views these changes as evidence that Aimee was trying to broaden her appeal. When she returned, the conflict with her mother intensified. Aimee persuaded the board of the Temple to take her side, and Minnie stormed out. In August 1927, Minnie resigned and insisted on a 50-50 split of all property of the Echo Park Association, as the enterprise was officially called. Although the exact terms were not disclosed, Epstein estimates that Minnie received about \$100,000 in cash and property.

However, with Aimee in charge, her business manager (a chap called Ralph Jordan) started some harebrained schemes that almost bankrupted the Temple, such as building a hotel for out-of-town visitors and a memorial cemetery for Foursquare members. The money given at the services was taken by Jordan's cronies, lawyers and land speculators. Aimee was misled by her managers (Ralph Jordan, Cromwell Ormsby and A. C. Winters) until Giles Knight restored order, after which her son Rolf took over.

In 1935, though, the Temple was still mired in debt and beset by rumors of graft in its operation.

While all the varied lawsuits and investigations were going on, Minnie came back for eight months in 1930 to put some order into the affairs, and Aimee set about composing an oratorio. Minnie's intervention ended with a row about Aimee's lifestyle, morals, theology and choice of advisors. It may have ended with a physical fight – again Epstein is not sure. In August, after the conflict, Aimee had a nervous breakdown. She was still preaching and writing sermons (which, remember, were presented dramatically at the Temple), composing music, writing a new book and taking screen tests for a film of her life. She retreated to a cottage in Malibu with symptoms of insomnia, agitation, acidosis, weight loss and hysterical blindness. As she recovered, she planned for Roberta to take over as pastor and Rolf as manager of the Temple. Aimee never recovered from this illness. She was never again healthy for more than a few months at a time, and she was continually in physical pain and emotional distress.

Roberta and Rolf both married, and this made Aimee even more lonely.¹ She met a singer in one of her productions, David Hutton, in the summer of 1931, and married him in September in Arizona, despite the Fundamentalist prohibition against marrying another while one's former spouse was still alive. A few days after the wedding, a massage nurse sued Hutton for breach of promise. The stress of her work and these conflicts led to another nervous breakdown in March 1932. Aimee took a trip to Central America as part of a rest cure, but she came down with a "tropical fever." She also fell and fractured her skull on her return.² Hutton and others were found to have violated city ordinances in their operation of the welfare operations of the Temple. The marriage was over, and Aimee divorced Hutton formally in January 1934.

Roberta divorced her husband and came back to work at the Temple. But in order that Aimee could continue to tour America, she arranged for another female preacher, Rheba Crawford, to take over while she was away and vice versa. The arrangement worked well for a while, but then Roberta (and her grandmother Minnie) uneasily watched Crawford's influence grow, and they were worried by Crawford's attacks on local public officials upon whose support the Temple had relied.

The crisis came in March 1931, when several Temple staff, including the attorney, Crawford and Roberta got Aimee to sign formal contracts to guarantee the positions of the leading staff at fair wages. Aimee signed, perhaps reluctantly, and six months later claimed that she had been coerced.

Aimee appointed Giles Knight to get the finances of the Temple in order, and Knight instituted strict controls on all transactions. The other staff objected to his rules and regulations, and Minnie and Roberta seemed to line up against Knight. With Rolf's support, Aimee and Knight took over the power and disenfranchised the rest. Roberta then sued Aimee's attorney for malicious slander, and so began the break between Aimee and

¹ Her father had died in October 1927.

² This apparently did not respond to "healing."

her daughter. At the same time, Crawford sued Aimee for slander. After the first case went to trial, Roberta was awarded \$2000 and costs. Crawford settled out of court. By the beginning of 1939, however, the mortgage and debts were paid off, and the Temple on sound financial footing for the first time.

Aimee seems to have given Knight full powers over the Temple, and he even had power to approve or veto decisions made by Aimee. She surrendered her public and personal life to Knight, for reasons which Epstein fails to discover. She was under virtual house arrest. She could not see even her children without Knight's approval. Rolf was an approved person, but Roberta never saw or talked to her mother again. Aimee was even more lonely now than ever. But Aimee's public image improve dramatically, and even former enemies now praised her.

From 1931 to 1944, Aimee worked for two goals, creation of a tradition of religious theater and leading a growing denomination of Fundamentalists into the 20th Century. She worked tirelessly during the Depression to have her Church help the needy, and she continually had to pursue funding and materials for this. When the Second World War started, Aimee sold war bonds, preached sermons for the Blood Bank, and used her radio station to educate the public about wartime conditions, such as rationing. The Army made Aimee an honorary colonel for her services.

In 1943, when Aimee and Rolf decided that Rolf could take over, Knight departed without resistance or hard feelings. Rolf was installed as head of the Temple management in February 1944.

The End

In the 1940s, Aimee was in considerable physical pain from her afflictions, and the arthritis in her legs was very limiting. She had urethral damage and bladder infections which caused fevers and which had been misdiagnosed and mistreated. Her insomnia was as bad as ever, and she took sedatives to sleep. In 1943 in Mexico, she contracted amoebic dysentery which lowered her red corpuscle count, so that she had blood transfusions regularly for the rest of her life. Her gums and tongue were white, and the tropical fever had perforated her intestine. She was continually dehydrated.

Aimee went to Oakland on September 25, 1944. She seemed in good spirits and preached at the Oakland Auditorium. She announced the topic for the next night and retired to her hotel room. She had a new bottle of sleeping pills, which bore no pharmacist label, and her regular doctor claimed not to have supplied them. She took many of the pills, and some were found on the floor the next morning. In the morning, she called her physician in Los Angeles, but he was in surgery. She called another physician who referred her to one in Oakland. She did not make that third call. At ten o'clock, Rolf found his mother unconscious. He summoned medical assistance, but she was pronounced dead at 11:45 a.m. on September 27, 1944. She was 53. These details reported by Epstein come from the *Los Angeles Times* report of the death and from correspondence in 1992 from Rolf.

Comments

There are several suicidal warning signs in Aimee's later life.

(1) Aimee was experiencing increasing physical pain toward in the 1940s from her arthritis, the bladder problems and the "tropical diseases" she contracted.

(2) Her loneliness seems to have increased from the 1930s on, partly as a result of her alienation from her mother Minnie and her daughter Roberta. Although Giles Knight put the Temple on a sound financial foundation for the first time, his rules for Aimee (to prevent her impulsive actions and to improve her public image) increased her isolation and resulting loneliness. Her impulsive decision to marry David Hutton in 1931 attests to her desperation in this regard, and during the 1940s she complained to acquaintances of her loneliness.

(3) Aimee had "nervous breakdowns" in 1926 and 1930, and she seems to have suffered from symptoms of conversion disorder, anxiety and depression throughout her adult life.

(4) Throughout her life, adolescent and adult, she seems to have been searching for a system of values to live by. Choosing Christianity, after a brief fling with Darwinism in adolescence, she changed sects several times, from Pentecostal, to Baptist, to her own form of Fundamentalism (the Foursquare Gospel). The large audiences she preached to in her tours and home at the Temple gave her support for these beliefs. Her life, however, did not follow these beliefs. For example, she married while McPherson was still alive, and she probably had an affair during her "kidnapping" in 1926.

(5) Aimee had been taking sedatives for a long time, and she was used to the procedure. Although the sedative that killed her was "new," there is no reason to assume that she could not have prevented an accidental overdose. Epstein unfortunately fails to produce any facts on the circumstances of her death. He did not find out what the sedative was (apart from being a barbiturate), who prescribed it or how long she had been taking it. He did not check on the telephone calls that Aimee supposedly made on the morning of her death, relying on a newspaper report despite the fact that he argues throughout his biography that the newspapers were often incorrect in the "facts" they reported about Aimee's life.

So what can we conclude? It looks like suicide, and the coroner's verdict doesn't have much relevance for or against. It is what a coroner probably would have concluded, regardless of the facts, in the 1940s. Could it have been drug automatism? Possibly except for the unverified telephone calls to physicians on the morning of her death. Since I have never come across a well-documented case of drug automatism in the literature in the last 50 years, I do not think her death is such a case.

So suicide it is.

Reference

Epstein, D. M. *Sister Aimee*. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1993.

ULRIKE MEINHOF

David Lester

Ulrike Meinhof was one of the leading terrorists in Germany in the 1970s in West Germany who committed numerous bank robberies, assassinations and bomb attacks. She was eventually captured, but she died by suicide in prison before sentencing (Demaris, 1977).

Early Years

Meinhof was born October 7, 1934, in Oldenburg. She lived, of course, through the violence of the Second World War. Her father, a museum director, died of cancer during the war when she was six years old. Her mother was an art teacher, and she attended a Roman Catholic parochial school. Her mother soon died too, and Meinhof was reared by a foster parent, Professor Renate Riemeck, who encouraged her academic studies and guided her toward a liberal political viewpoint.

Meinhof was a good student, and went to the University of Munich. While there, she got involved with the ban-the-bomb movement, one of the leaders of which was her foster-father. She also met Klaus Roehl who was the publisher of the magazine *Konkret* in Hamburg which had become the voice of the left-wing student movement. She started to write for the magazine, became its editor-in-chief and married Roehl. A year later she gave birth to twins. She became a celebrity as the outstanding and left-wing glamorous writer and television polemicist of the 1960s. Meinhof and Roehl had also travelled to East Germany and secured Communist funds to support the magazine, but the Communist Party gave them free rein over the contents of the magazine. Demaris describes the magazine as more *Playboy* than *Pravda*. In 1965, Meinhof developed a brain tumor, and a clamp had to be inserted into her brain to ease the pressure.

Conversion

Meinhof began to tire of the words of protest, but she was still opposed to violence. Her young brother-in-law once pulled out a revolver in the woods and shot it, producing a hysterical fit in Meinhof and a mild nervous breakdown. She did not talk to her brother-in-law for a year. As her disgust with her way of life grew, she divorced Roehl and moved from Hamburg to West Berlin with her daughters. There, she joined the Ausser Parlamentarische Opposition (Extraparliamentary Opposition or APO), led by Rudi Dutschke (Red Rudy). The APO was anti-American, anti-Vietnam War, anti-imperialist, and anti-establishment. When members of the group firebombed two warehouses in April 1968 as a protest against the Vietnam War, Meinhof visited them in prison and was impressed by them, in particular, Andreas Baader, born in May 1943. Baader was a happy-go-lucky type with a criminal history, but he was able to move the group from theory into action. Together with Meinhof, they gradually assumed the leadership of the group which was named after them, the Baader-Meinhof Gang. Of the original twenty-two members, ten were women, and eight of the next twenty members

were women. Baader was sentenced to three years for the fire-bombings but was released after serving nine months, pending final sentencing. He failed to return to the courts and began an underground existence. Meinhoff continued to write and lecture, and her first "violent" act was to take some members of the gang and vandalize her ex-husband's house. She destroyed the furnishings, defaced the walls and urinated on the bed.

Baader was captured on April, 1970, but Meinhof and gang members attacked the guards who were transporting him one day with tear-gas and gunfire and freed him. Two guards and a librarian were injured, but lived. Two weeks later, Meinhof, Baader and a few other members went to Jordan to train at an al-Fatah Palestinian training camp. Returning to Germany, the wave of terror began in earnest -- eighty bombings and arson assaults in West Berlin alone in 1970, including three simultaneous bank robberies on September 29, 1970. A week later, all three banks were bombed. The radical left, including the Baader-Meinhof Gang, was responsible for 555 acts of terrorism in 1971. In one week in May, 1972, fifteen bombs exploded in West Germany, damaging the headquarters of the U.S. Fifth Army, the Augsburg Police Headquarters and the Munich Criminal Investigation Office. Demaris calls the Gang the most successful terrorists in Europe after the Irish Republican Army in Northern Ireland.

Capture and Death

Baader was captured on June 1st, and Meinhof on June 15th after a "friend" gave her away to the authorities. Meinhof was kept in solitary confinement, with the lights permanently on, despite protests by her lawyers that this was cruel and inhuman treatment. She led three hunger strikes, for a month beginning January 1973, for seven weeks beginning May and for five months beginning September 1974 during which one of the prisoners died despite forced feeding. The major trial began in June 1975, despite protests over the fact the defense attorneys had been barred from the court and the new attorneys had no time to prepare. When the trial began, the prisoners refused to participate and were tried in absentia. The imprisonment and hunger strikes had weakened all of them. Meinhof was forgetful and had trouble articulating, concentrating and even perceiving clearly. She felt weak and had headaches, and she had lost twenty-eight pounds. Finally, on May 8, 1976, while the other members of the Gang were exercising, she hung herself with a white prison towel from the bars of her cell. The guards found her on Sunday.

Comments

The critical life events from Meinhof's early life are the death of her father when she was six, and the death of her mother soon after. She also lived through the Second World War, with the persecution of millions of Germans by the Nazis in the years leading up to the war and the destruction wrought by the allied attacks. During the war Meinhof was five to eleven years old. Her life settled down until she suffered brain damage from a tumor at the age of thirty-one. This combination of early loss and possible brain damage is seen by most commentators as the critical factor in Meinhof's terrorist career.

Reference

Demaris, O. (1977). *Brothers in blood*. New York: Scribners.

HUGH MILLER¹

David Lester

Hugh Miller was a Scottish geologist (born: October 10th, 1802; died: December 23rd-24th, 1856). He is known for his writings on various topics, and his specimens are owned by the National Museums of Scotland.

Hugh was born in Cromartie. He was the oldest child of Hugh Miller and Harriet Wright. The father was a 47 year-old widower when he married Harriet aged 21. The father was a seafarer but drowned in 1807 when his trading schooner sank in a storm. Harriet had to raise Hugh and his two younger sisters in small cottage, supported by a small inheritance from her husband and help from her two unmarried brothers.

The brothers had little education, but they had a library of 150 books, and Hugh became an avid reader. He was rather unruly at school, however, and quit at the age of 15 after a brawl with a school master. His two sisters died in 1816, and his mother remarried in 1819. Hugh decided against university and became a stonemason. He apprenticed himself to his uncle with the aim of working in the summer and pursuing his interest in literature and the natural sciences in the winter.

Despite not earning much and despite contracting a lung disease from the work, Hugh was able to travel a lot, read, study the strata and rocks, and collect fossils. However, his health broke down in 1824 and he returned to his mother in Cromartie to recover. He earned a little carving tombstones, built a house for an aunt, and continued to study rocks and fossils. He began to correspond with professional and amateur geologists and zoologists, and he also became more involved with evangelical Presbyterianism. He wrote a book of poems but, after failing to find a publisher, produced it at his own expense in 1829.

The editor of the *Inverness Courier*, who had refused to publish the poems, recognized Hugh's ability and published five articles by Hugh - *Letters on the Herring Fishery*. Published as a pamphlet, they were very popular, and Hugh's name became widely known in Scotland. He also discovered some fossil fishes which made his name in the scientific field.

Lydia Fraser was ten years younger than Hugh, and her mother had moved to Cromartie after the death of her husband. Lydia earned some income by teaching a few pupils. Lydia and Hugh met in 1831 and quickly fell in love, but Lydia's mother disapproved of the match because Hugh was uneducated and earned little. Initially she forbade Lydia to meet Hugh alone, but she eventually permitted an engagement. These difficulties led them to wait several years before they were able to marry - on January 7th, 1837.

Hugh was much impressed by Lydia's intellect and her views. They argued over

¹ This essay is based on Sutherland (2002).

philosophical issues such as predestination, and they would develop a romantic and an intellectual partnership.

Hugh considered emigrating to America, but help came with the offer of a job as an accountant at the Commercial Bank of Cromartie in 1834. Hugh had many poems and articles published in the *Inverness Courier*, and he decided to seek to become editor of a magazine or newspaper in order to support his wife and family. To establish his credentials, he published a small book entitled *Scenes and Legends of the North of Scotland* privately in 1835 after failing to secure a publisher. It was well received.

After their marriage, they set up home in Cromartie with no savings and a slender income. They did, however, have a servant. Lydia supplemented their income by giving lessons to young ladies, and Hugh received some income from his articles in a weekly magazine called *Border Tales*. Hugh also continued his geological and fossil studies.

Their daughter, Elizabeth, was born on November 23rd, 1837. Hugh got smallpox in the summer of 1838 and Elizabeth later became ill and died (on August 25th, 1859). The death of their child coincided with a crisis in the Church.

There were those who wanted to separate the Church from the State, but Hugh saw some value in the connection. However, after much consideration, Hugh came to resent the patronage in the State assignment of ministers to the churches, and he argued against the connection. His letter on this issue was widely disseminated and led to his being offered the editorship of a newspaper which was started to promote these views, *The Witness*. Hugh accepted and moved to Edinburgh, but he hoped to continue his geology and writing of literature.

In the personal sphere, Hugh and Lydia had a daughter Harriet born on November 25th, 1839, (after which Lydia was ill for some time), a son William on October 28th, 1842, and a daughter Bessie on June 19th, 1845. Lydia's health was not good (she developed a "spinal disease"), and she was especially unwell after the births of her children (she took calomel for diarrhea). The children themselves had the usual childhood diseases of whooping cough and measles. Hugh was so busy that he often was not able to get home at nights, and Lydia began to use her time alone to write children's stories (which eventually were published to great success) and a novel. Four books for children were published in 1845 and 1846, and her novel (*Passages in the Life of an English Heiress*), the events of which took place during the Disruption, was published in 1847 (but was not a great success). Between 1847 and 1856, she wrote seven more books for children.

The newspaper kept Hugh busy, but he was an excellent editor and wrote many well-received articles for it. The long hours were bad for his health, and he came down with the flu and other ailments. (His lungs never recovered from his work as a stonemason.) His demeanor began to change. In Cromartie, Hugh had been relaxed, mild in expression and gentle in manner. Now he was tense and under pressure from the work and from the strong feelings aroused by the debate over the Church. He took to carrying

a pistol to protect himself both from criminals and from his enemies. Eventually the Disruption of the Church was accomplished and much credit for this was given to Hugh.

Despite the heavy load of work for the newspaper, Hugh managed to continue his studies of geology and fossils and to publish several books (*The Old Red Sandstone*, *Scenes and Legends*, and *My Schools and Schoolmasters*). His fame in the field grew such that the Swiss zoologist Louis Agassiz named a fossil fish after him.

By 1847, Hugh was a co-proprietor of *The Witness*, and a great deal of effort went into raising money to build new churches (now that state aid was no longer given). Conflicts arose, and there was a move to remove Hugh from the newspaper. At the same time, some colleagues who had been supporters of Hugh died, leaving his enemies with greater influence. Yet, despite all of this stress, his marriage with Lydia remained sound.

Hugh continued to be busy with lecturing, writing letters and reviews for his own and other journals, editing the newspaper, and preparing his own books for publication. In 1854, he bought a better house and moved the family out from the center of Edinburgh. But by 1856, Hugh was showing the effects of overwork and his bouts of recurrent illness. He began to be irritable with his children, and he slept poorly. He sought help from his doctor who later reported that Hugh complained that “his brain was giving way” (p. 106). He could not put thoughts together, had nightmares, and experienced pains (like a stiletto stab or an electrical shock) in his brain. He reported being overcome by giddiness and brief periods of unconsciousness. On the night of December 23rd-24th, 1856, he shot himself in the chest at the age of 54.

According to Taylor and Gostwick (2003), Hugh went to see his doctors the day before his suicide, and they prescribed a haircut and a regular bedtime (before 11 p.m.) after a light supper and warm sponge-bath. They also recommended a complete break from work. The post-mortem ruled his suicide as carried out under the impulse of insanity, that is, a sudden act. Michael Taylor who is writing Hugh’s entry for the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* is of the opinion that Hugh was depressed, perhaps because of a fear that he was going mad and from the stress of overwork and chronic disease.

Hugh Miller has been remembered in many ways. There is a Hugh Miller Glacier in Alaska, the Hugh Miller cliffs in Quebec and a memorial collection at the National Museums of Scotland.

References

- Sutherland, E. (2002). *Lydia, wife of Hugh Miller of Cromartie*. East Lothian, Scotland: Tuckwell Press.
- Taylor, M. A., & Gostwick, M. (2003). Hugh Miller’s collection. *The Edinburgh Geologist*, #40, Spring. Online at www.edinburghgeolsoc.org/z_40_04.html.

YUKIO MISHIMA

David Lester

Yukio Mishima, a Japanese novelist, died by suicide in 1970 by disemboweling himself and then having an assistant behead him, the ancient rite of *seppuku*.

Early Life with Grandmother

Mishima was born as Kimitake Hiraoka, on January 14, 1925, at the home of his grandparents in Tokyo. His mother Shizue had a daughter in 1928, Mitsuko, and a son in 1930, Chiyuki. His grandparents were upper middle class. The grandfather, Jotaro, had been a senior civil servant, and his son, Azusa, Mishima's father, was also a government official. The grandfather had resigned, after taking responsibility for a scandal, and the family fortunes had been declining in recent years.

The dominant person in the household was the grandmother, Natsuko, who despised her husband. She had periodic depressions which might have been a result of having caught syphilis from her husband which had gone untreated. (Untreated syphilis leads to a psychiatric disorder known as general paresis.) Natsuko also had gout.

Natsuko was disappointed by her son's achievements and determined that her grandson would excel, so she kidnapped him from his parents. They lived on the second floor, and Natsuko took Mishima to live with her on the ground floor when he was 49 days old. Mishima's bed was placed in the same room as his sick grandmother, and he was reared almost entirely in that room.

Mishima was fed on a rigid schedule every four hours, with his mother, Shizue, being called downstairs for the feeding. Natsuko raised Mishima as a girl. He was attended by a nursemaid, forbidden to run about the house or go out. Toys were also restricted because his grandmother could not tolerate the noise. Mishima was kept inside, staying in the dark room with his sick grandmother.

When he was four, Mishima was very sick with an illness not known in the West (*jikachudoku*). Thereafter, he had attacks of this illness regularly (almost monthly), and he developed into a frail and delicate child. He was put on a strict diet by his grandmother, and his later fear of poisoning may have developed from her concern about his food.

Because Mishima was allowed out so rarely, outings took on special meaning for him. The experiences had a great impact on him and became vivid memories for him. In addition, because he was raised by his proud old-fashioned grandmother, Mishima heard only about upper-class families from the past. When he was five, his grandmother allowed girls to come and play with him (paper-folding and block-building) and allowed his mother to take him out briefly if the weather was fine. Once when playing with cousins (a rare event), he felt required to play like a boy, and he described this as the

beginning of his masquerade.

He read by the time he was five and liked fairy stories (especially those with princes). In play-acting with his brother and sister he often played the female role, such as Cleopatra. He says that he was in love with any youth in the stories who was killed.

In April 1931, at the age of six, he began attending the Gakushuin, a school for children of the rich and the aristocracy. In 1935, following Japanese tradition, the grandparents and parents moved to separate houses. Mishima lived with his grandparents, but his grandmother's ill- health forced her to let his parents have him for good in March 1937. He visited his grandmother once a week, and she took him to the Kabuki and No theater. As his grandmother's health declined, Mishima's visits became rarer, and Natsuko died in 1939 at the age of sixty-four.

Natsuko had created a bizarre childhood for Mishima. She raised him as a girl. She instilled in him a love of the samurai spirit of her ancestors and an affinity for the upper classes. She also suppressed a great deal of his feelings and behavior and subjected him to her conflict with his parents. Yet Mishima liked the time he spent with his loving (though tyrannical) grandmother.

His Homosexuality

As soon as he began to have erections at the age of twelve, Mishima was attracted to men. Furthermore, he loved to draw pictures of young men, injured and covered in blood. When he first saw a picture of Saint Sebastian, bound to a tree and with arrows piercing his body, Mishima masturbated and had his first ejaculation. Twenty-five years later, Mishima had himself photographed in the same pose. (Mishima later referred to his masturbation practices as a "bad habit.") For the rest of his life, Mishima remained attracted to men, and his partner in his seppuku, Morita, was assumed to be his lover.

The source of this attraction to men can perhaps be seen in his grandmother's bizarre notion to dress and treat Mishima as a girl, but the association of sexuality with injury and death seems to appear quite suddenly without warning in his early teens.

Mishima and His Mother

Mishima went to live with his parents at the beginning of his teenage years. His relationship with his mother, Shizue, appears to have particularly close. Mishima seems to have loved her deeply, while she called him her 'lover.' She supported his writing and tried to get established writers to look at her son's work. (Mishima's father, Azusa, wanted Mishima to go into the Civil Service). Throughout his life, Mishima remained devoted to his mother, taking her to plays, exhibitions, and restaurants and buying her gifts.

This attachment is of interest given his homosexuality. It is possible to see his homosexuality as, not simply an attraction to men, but also a flight from his unconscious

incestuous desires toward Shizue which may have been stimulated by going to live with her when he was twelve.

School

Mishima entered middle school in 1937. His grades improved and, as his health improved, his attendance record became better. His teachers there also liked his writing better than had his elementary school teachers. Shizue encouraged her son's writing. Azusa had to work in Osaka for two years and, when he returned in 1939, he was horrified by his son's interest in writing. He tore up a story Mishima was writing, and thereafter Mishima hid his writing from his father.

At the middle school, his literary ability facilitated his acceptance by the older boys and the inclusion of his work in every issue of the school magazine. His early writings already foretold his later mature works: ironic and elegant, alienation from the lower classes and a focus on cruelty.

By fifteen, Mishima was still pale and puny and suffered from anemia, but his health had improved greatly since his childhood. However, his parents used his ill health to get him excused from the mandatory two years of boarding at the school. He excelled at his schoolwork.

From an early age, Mishima read European literature, and this influenced him greatly. Eventually, he would furnish his house in a European style, and visitors from the West found him to be the most accessible of the Japanese writers. (His teachers at his school did not forbid their students to read European literature even though the official militarist creed at the time was that the Japanese were superior to all other races.)

His mother signed Mishima up for instruction in writing outside of school also, in particular with the renowned poet Ryuko Kawaji. At age sixteen, Mishima published his first work in a literary magazine (edited by one of his teachers). It was at this time, in 1941, that Mishima chose the pen name he would use for his writing.

The War

The war brought little change in Mishima's life at first. Azusa was too old to be drafted. In 1942, he resigned from the civil service and started a law practice. Mishima's grandfather also died that year. Mishima moved up to the senior school, ranked second out of the sixty boys in his class.

Mishima associated with a group of writers who believed that the war was holy and that death in the service of the Emperor was the highest goal in life, especially since self-destruction would lead to reincarnation. This group of Japanese romanticists (the Roman-ha) had the official support of the military leaders.

Mishima passed his army medical in May 1944, and he was drafted into the local

regiment for which he had to work periodically. In September 1944, he graduated at the top of his class and was awarded a gold watch by the Emperor personally.

University

For the first time, Mishima's father exerted his will and Mishima enrolled in the law department at the Tokyo Imperial University where he was to study German law. However, the war interrupted his university education. He was drafted almost immediately to work in a factory making the kamikaze planes, the goal of which was death - a "monstrous nothingness" in Mishima's own words. The danger of death during the bombing of Japan scared Mishima, yet he also looked forward to death "with a sweet expectation." Despite the shortages of materials, Mishima had his first book published in October 1944, a rare achievement.

In February, 1945, Mishima was finally drafted for the national forces, but on the way to report for duty he got a fever. This fever, together with his lies about his health, got him rejected for service. (The army doctors believed Mishima to have tuberculosis.) This experience is perhaps critical to understanding Mishima's death. His failure to actually serve in the army enabled him to romanticize the experience in his imagination. Furthermore, although he never admitted it, his cowardice here perhaps led to his overcompensation later.

The defeat of Japan had a profound effect on the Japanese people. Five hundred military officers, including the Minister of War, died by suicide at the surrender, thereby accepting responsibility for the defeat and apologizing to the emperor. Officers overseas also took their lives, among them a writer and friend of Mishima.

Mishima began post-war life as a student again, living at home and depressed. In October, his sister Mitsuko (only seventeen years old) died of typhoid. Mishima looked after her in the hospital and felt her loss deeply. He took up writing again. He also sought and obtained the sponsorship of Yasunari Kawabata, later the first Japanese writer to win the Nobel Prize (in 1968).

Mishima's writing, however, did not win him immediate fame, and he decided to pursue his studies and sit for the civil service examination. At this time in his life, he was discouraged. His lack of direction after the war, together with his literary struggles, depressed him. He saw himself as a pathetic creature, non-human, incapable of normal social intercourse. He was still a homosexual only in fantasy, and he had no relations with women until his thirties (although he made two marriage proposals during this period in his life).

Mishima passed his examination and entered the Ministry of Finance in 1947. But his writing went so well in the next year that he resigned to pursue his literary career. His father was furious, his mother supportive. Finally, the father gave in saying that Mishima had "better make (him)self the best writer in the land." In 1950 he was still depressed. He was lonely, jealous of others, and not physically well. He thought travel would help his

mood, and so at the end of 1951 set sail for the United States, from where he went to Brazil, France and Greece, returning to Japan after six months in much better spirits.

Writing

His writing went well - novels, plays and criticism. In 1956 he was the leading writer of his generation in Japan, and now he sought the recognition of the world. In 1957 he was invited to the United States by his publisher and by the University of Michigan, and for this visit he worked hard at his command of the English language. He also built up his body, and he looked healthy and suntanned. He stayed away six months, but the trip ended with Mishima lonely in New York and without the public performance of his plays for which he had hoped.

In 1960, Mishima began to fall from grace. His most recent novel (*Kyoko's House*) was judged a failure. His books now sold twenty thousand copies rather than two hundred thousand. He even felt called upon to visit his publishers and make a formal apology. He took a part in a bad gangster movie, and this alienated people of good taste. In a serialized story that year, he satirized a well-known public man who then sued him. He also fell out with the literary club he belonged to. In 1961, he received death-threats from right-wing extremist groups, and for two months Mishima had a bodyguard.

During the 1960s, the trend continued. Mishima had stopped being the golden-boy. Mishima had first hoped to win the Nobel Prize for literature in 1965, and he expected to receive it in 1967 and 1968. In 1968, the Prize was awarded to Kawabata (the first Japanese author to receive it), and Mishima was bitterly disappointed by this.

Suicide had always figured prominently in Mishima's writings and thoughts, and by the mid-1960s he was beginning to seriously consider suicide for himself.

Family

Concerned that his mother had cancer, Mishima arranged a marriage for himself so that his mother would die happy. He married Yoko Sugiyama, a twenty-one year-old daughter of a painter in June 1958. They built two houses in Tokyo, one for himself and one next door for his parents. (Shizue turned out not to have cancer after all.) Mishima modelled his house on Western colonial designs, even though the plot of land was too small to build a large enough house for the design. In the yard he placed a Greek statue of Apollo. To the western eye, the house was a little unusual. To the Japanese it was grotesque, but Mishima liked to shock.

Mishima kept his family from the public eye. No one was allowed to photograph his wife, parents or children. Mishima also departed from tradition by taking his wife with him on trips abroad, as in 1960 when they went to the United States, Europe, Greece, Egypt, and Hong Kong. Mishima had two children, a daughter first and then a son.

Mishima's Suicide

Mishima liked the romantic image of dying as a samurai. He would achieve hero status, and his death would bring together all of the threads in his life. The ideal of the samurai was the pursuit of Literature and the Sword, and Mishima set out to develop both paths.

There are several themes which were portents of Mishima's suicide. For example, in his literary endeavors, he began a long novel in four parts in 1965 that he would finish just prior to his suicide in 1970.

Mishima was concerned about his physical body. He was a small man, about five foot four, and he had loathed his body when he was young. Starting in 1955 he planned a rigorous program of exercise, body building and sun tanning. He specialized in kendo (fencing with a blunt lance), eventually receiving the rank of fifth dan. He believed that it was best to die when your body was still in good shape, rather than as a decayed old man. He viewed his body as beautiful and even had photographs of it placed in a volume about Japanese body builders. However, in 1970, at the age of forty-five, though still in good shape, his body began to decline. He was often too stiff for some of the exercises, and he was not able to keep up with younger men.

Mishima was an exhibitionist. He appeared in movies and on the stage. He wrote for all kinds of magazines and newspapers in addition to his serious writings. He delighted in shocking people with his writings and his possessions. He posed for a book of nude photographs in 1963 and in the pose of Saint Sebastian in 1966.

In this final decade of his life, Mishima also developed a hero worship of the Emperor, together with a nostalgia for Japan's imperial and colonial past, he became a favorite of the right-wing political groups.

In 1968, Mishima created his Tatenokai, a group of young men who functioned much like a private army. Using his connections, Mishima obtained permission for his group to train with the Japanese army and to be inspected on ceremonial occasions by military officers. He recruited right-wing students for the group, and at the first initiation ceremony, Mishima and the others cut their fingers and dripped blood into a cup. Each signed their name in blood on a sheet of paper, and then each sipped the blood.

As his ideas shifted to the right, Mishima fell further out of favor with the literary establishment which leaned left. He broke with the theatrical group who produced his plays. Soon critics began to greet his new works with silence. His biographer (Stokes) felt that Mishima was essentially alone, without intimate friends, even though he was quite sociable. Mishima liked to hurt the object of his love. He found it hard to accept the love of others and could be repelled by and flee from their love. Thus, there was no one to challenge his life style and his goals. His wife would not dare, and his mother was too uncritical of him.

In 1970 he began to plan his seppuku. He recruited four students to help, including the leader of his Tatenokai, Morita, probably his lover and who shared his right-wing views. Mishima changed the plan a number of times, but in the end, on November 25, 1970, the group visited a local military unit, captured General Mashita (the commander of the Eastern Army) and ordered Mashita's officers to gather the troops to hear a speech from Mishima. Mishima tried to get them to rise up and take over the government in the name of the Emperor, but they laughed at him. He went back into the general's room, disemboweled himself, whereupon Morita tried twice to behead him. One of the three assistants, Furu-Koga, took the sword and completed the beheading. Then Morita tried to disembowel himself, but failed, whereupon the Furu-Koga cleanly beheaded him.

The assistants were ordered by Mishima not to engage in seppuku, and they were sentenced to four years for their participation in the seppuku.

Why?

Many have commented on the reasons for Mishima's suicide. His suicide was the completion of his literary work; it was in defense of the Emperor and Japan; it was a sexual act or a manifestation of his exhibitionist desires; he was insane; he sought esthetic beauty in his death; his talent was exhausted; he and his homosexual lover carried out a shinju (double suicide for love); he tried to trigger a coup d'état.

Stokes is convinced that the homosexual relationship with Morita was central to the seppuku, and that Morita in fact suggested it. This is unlikely inasmuch as Mishima had been describing seppuku in graphic detail in his writings for many years. It is more likely that Morita was the one who moved him from fantasy to action.

Mishima's childhood was grossly unhealthy. He was kidnapped by a grandmother and forbidden to be with his parents. He was raised as a girl and developed into a sickly child. Much of his later life can be seen as a result of this. He accepted the feminine identification and became homosexual by preference, but he rejected his frail body and sought to become tough. Stokes suggested that Mishima was impotent, but that seems unlikely. He masturbated as a teenager and fathered two children. What role he took in his homosexual sexual acts is unclear, but he clearly would be able to function in some of the possible acts. His homosexuality can also be seen as motivated by a flight from his incestuous desires toward his mother (and hers toward him).

It is the association of sexuality with blood, death and seppuku that is puzzling. The association appeared at a young age in Mishima, and no source can be identified. Was it simply by chance because he masturbated while looking at the picture of Saint Sebastian, or were there childhood experiences that shaped the theme in his life? We do not know.

Mishima would write anything for publication (for women's magazines, for *Sports Illustrated*, etc.) To be sure, he wrote serious works of literature, but Mishima

liked writing and he liked popularity. His biographer, Stokes, described a lot of Mishima's writing as trash. Yet, Mishima wanted fame and was crushed by his failure to win the Nobel Prize. He wanted fame now and not in the future. He was aware, not that his talent was exhausted, but that his reputation was on the decline. He had alienated too many critics, and he feared for his future in the literary world.

So he killed himself, not at the end of his career, as did Hemingway or Marilyn Monroe, but rather at the peak (or just past the peak). He was almost a Nobel Prize winner (and might still have been if he lived to an old age); he was still in pretty good physical shape; his death right now might establish an image in death that would secure his name in literature.

He was often depressed in his life, and sometimes manic. Yet there is no evidence of breakdowns or severe incapacitating depressions. It is easy to suggest that presence of mental illness in people who are dead and unavailable for interview. But Mishima does not seem to have been mentally ill.

To us in the West, his preoccupation with the Emperor and his right-wing views seem odd, but not all people with extremist views are mentally ill. It is possible to be right-wing or left-wing without being mad. The particular views that Mishima came to adopt were shared by many in Japan. These views clearly shaped his choice of seppuku, whereas Kawabata, Mishima's early sponsor and the first Japanese writer to win the Nobel Prize, simply gassed himself in his apartment a year and a half after Mishima's suicide. Mishima's views may have shaped the method for his suicide rather than the decision to kill himself.

Japanese culture is tolerant toward suicide (though far from having the highest suicide rate in the world). I have already noted the mass seppuku of the military leaders after the defeat in the Second World War. Mishima spent part of the war in a factory making the planes for the kamikaze pilots who sacrificed themselves for their country.

The list of Japanese writers who have killed themselves is long: Bizen Kawakami 1908, Takeo Arishima 1923, Akutagawa 1927, Shinichi Makino 1936, Osamu Dazai 1948, Tamiki Hara 1951, Michio Kato 1953, Sakae Kubo 1958, and Ashihei Hino 1960. Thus, suicide, and even seppuku, is not an unusual event in Japanese society. Mishima had met Dazai and probably was at least aware of the other contemporary writers who had killed themselves. For someone who had developed a fascination with bloody death at a young age, these suicides must have been especially potent events.

Mishima may also have been scared of death. When faced with induction into the army, Mishima faked sickness. The fantasy was exciting, but the reality scary. Perhaps his suicide was a reaction against this fear, just as his body building was a reaction against his childhood sickness.

Thus, the many themes of Mishima's life came together at that point in his life to make his suicide timely.

Reference

Stokes, H. S. (1974). *The life and death of Yukio Mishima*. New York: Farrar Straus & Giroux.

MARILYN MONROE

David Lester

Like Ernest Hemingway, Marilyn Monroe continues to fascinate Americans. Interest in both of them seems to grow with each year. The last few years have seen three major books on Marilyn (by Fred Guiles, Anthony Summers and Gloria Steinem). Most of the facts of her life are as well known as those of Hemingway, but they will be presented here filtered through a psychologist's eyes. I have relied on the biography by Guiles (1984) for details of Marilyn's life.

Marilyn's Background

Biographers have reported very little on her father's relatives. But her maternal grandparents were both psychiatrically disturbed. Her grandmother, Della Hogan, was congenitally melancholic, and her grandfather was mentally unstable. Both died insane. Della was hospitalized at Norwalk State Hospital in August 1927, fourteen months after Marilyn's birth, and died there nineteen days later of a heart attack during a manic seizure.

Marilyn's mother, Gladys Monroe was born in 1900. Gladys was separated from her husband Martin Mortensen when she got pregnant by Stanley Gifford. Gifford's refusal to marry her or take care of her and the baby brought on a profound depression, the first of many in her life.

When Marilyn was seven, Gladys was hospitalized, eventually ending up at Norwalk State Hospital, like her own mother, Della. She remained hospitalized for most of her life and outlived Marilyn. Marilyn perhaps lived in fear of the defective genes that made her mother and grandmother mentally ill. Were those genes passed on to her and would they lead her also to end her days in a mental hospital? (Marilyn believed that her Uncle Marion killed himself, but Marion's daughter said that he simply deserted his family.)

Marilyn's Childhood

Gladys decided not to take care of her baby, whom she named Norma Jeane. Instead, Marilyn was boarded with a family, the Bolenders, across the street from her grandmother. Gladys visited Marilyn regularly on weekends and took care of her intensively once when she got whooping cough. The Bolenders were fundamentalists and very strict. Marilyn was beaten with a strap for misbehavior. They had an adopted son, Lester, and the two kids were quite close. Marilyn used to call Mr. Bolender her father. At this point in her life, Marilyn seems to have been a lively, curious and adventurous child. The major loss was when her dog, Tippy, was run over.

When Marilyn was seven, Gladys decided to take over the care of her daughter. She bought a house, rented it to a British couple and then rented back a couple of rooms

for herself and Marilyn. Marilyn's life became much freer now. She was able to indulge in her love of movies, and she went to them whenever she could. She also fantasized about her missing father a great deal.

After Marilyn had been living with her mother for just over six months, Gladys was hospitalized for depression. (She was taken away while Marilyn was at school.) Marilyn stayed with the British couple for about a year and then, after they left the country, with neighbors, the Giffens. Gladys had a friend, Grace McKee, named as Marilyn's guardian and refused to let the Giffens (who had three kids) adopt Marilyn. When the Giffens moved, Marilyn, now eleven, went to the Los Angeles Orphans' Home Society, where she stayed for twenty one months. Her guardian, Grace, visited her regularly there.

Eventually, Grace married Doc Goddard and rescued Marilyn from the orphanage. However, she placed Marilyn in two foster homes briefly before bringing her home early in 1938. In this home, Marilyn had three other children for companionship and became friendly with one, Beebe, who was two years younger than Marilyn. Here, Marilyn also became close to Grace's Aunt Ana, a widow, and to whom she remained close until Ana's death ten years later. Ana introduced Marilyn to Christian Science.

The Goddards were neighbors to the Doughertys who had a son, Jim, about five years older than Marilyn. The stories about the development of the relationship between Jim and Marilyn conflict. Certainly, Jim picked Marilyn and Beebe up after school and drove them home. He took Marilyn to the high school dance. Certainly the Goddards planned to move to West Virginia, and Gladys would not let her daughter go with them. At this time, Marilyn was living with Aunt Ana who perhaps saw the seductive ways of the young Marilyn and thought it a good idea to get her safely married.

However it was arranged, Jim and Marilyn married on June 19, 1942. Marilyn was sixteen and Jim was twenty-one. The evidence indicates that they loved each other sincerely and had a good marriage for the first few years.

These first sixteen years have several noteworthy features. Clearly, Marilyn's life was unpredictable for her. Who would keep her and for how long? Would she be put in an orphanage? Would her mother take care of her or would Gladys go crazy and leave her? Who was her father and where was he? How much loss would she suffer? First the Bolenders left, then her mother, the British couple, the Giffens, and now the Goddards. As soon as you got close to someone, they left. Even her dog was run over. Was she loved? Was she liked? If she was likable and lovable, maybe her father wouldn't have disappeared, maybe one of those families would have kept her, and maybe she wouldn't have had to go into the orphanage.

The two factors most critical for a child are to have a safe and predictable world and to be loved and liked for yourself. Marilyn had neither, but at least now she had a loving husband.

The First Marriage: Transition Years

Marilyn's marriage to Jim Dougherty was reasonably happy. For the first couple of years Jim worked and, since he didn't want Marilyn to work, she stayed home. Marilyn was happy and came to enjoy love-making. However, she still found the attention of other men rewarding, and this would make Jim jealous. Eventually Jim decided he wanted to join the service, but Marilyn was distraught over this. He joined the Merchant Marine as a compromise and, as his initial posting was to Catalina, they lived together. But then Jim asked to be shipped overseas. His first tour kept him away for one year. Marilyn was probably faithful during this leave.

His first leave was wonderful. Interestingly, just before Jim was due back, Marilyn called her father (Gifford) who hung up on her. Jim's second departure was more upsetting than his first, and Marilyn moved from staying with her in-laws to staying with Aunt Ana. During the two years he was away, Marilyn wrote him about two hundred letters. (Yet years later, she claimed it was marriage of convenience!)

After his first tour, she began work in a factory, and in 1945 an Army photographer, David Conover, noticed her in the plant and encouraged her to begin a career as a model, with Aunt Ana's encouragement too. Marilyn may have slept with Conover. By the time Jim returned from his second tour, Marilyn was busy with her career as a model and had disengaged from Jim sexually and emotionally. He refused to leave the service, and she refused to stop her modelling career.

This episode is interesting. Jim must have known that he would lose his attractive and flirtatious wife if he went off to sea. Yet he went. Marilyn was abandoned by her first love and lover. She was described as distraught by his first departure and even more by his second. The loss must have recapitulated all of the other losses and leave-takings she had experienced as a child. One wonders. If Jim hadn't left and if he had encouraged her career, would her life course have been different?

Marilyn's Career

Marilyn was successful as a model and set out to break into movies. She began by divorcing Jim in Nevada (in May 1946) since movie studios did not like married women. She started with Twentieth Century Fox (where she chose the name Marilyn Monroe) and began the stress of trying to build a career in movies.

She was cut by Twentieth Century Fox after two six-month contracts and by Columbia after one. She, like others, called her agent all the time, hoping for a part or an engagement, dealing with the disappointments of having nothing to do or getting only minor assignments. She was poor. In 1948 she fell in love with Freddie Karger, but he would not marry her. However, she did remain close to him and his family. In that year Aunt Ana died. Marilyn lost an important mother figure, but found another in Natasha Lytess, the head drama coach at Columbia. Marilyn lived with Natasha for a while and developed her acting skills with Natasha's guidance.

Marilyn was taken over by Johnny Hyde, a good agent, who devoted the last few years of his life to establishing Marilyn's career. Marilyn moved from Natasha's to Johnny's house and become his lover. He wanted to marry her, but she told him that, though she loved him, she was not in love with him.

By the time he died in 1950, Johnny had persuaded Twentieth Century Fox to give Marilyn a seven-year contract, and she had two good roles (in *The Asphalt Jungle* and *All About Eve*). However, when he died, his family ordered her out of his house, and she went back to Natasha's. She was very depressed and took thirty Nembutal tablets, but she was discovered and rescued by Natasha.

Twentieth Century Fox wanted Marilyn to be a sexual object in movies. Natasha saw greater acting ability and wanted Marilyn to search for better roles. Yet Marilyn doubted her ability. Marilyn continually took lessons to improve her skills, with Natasha, with Lotte Goslar to learn mime, and with Michael Chekhov and Lee Strasberg to improve her acting. Yet she needed her coach with her all the time, especially on the movie set. First Natasha and then Paula Strasberg accompanied her all the time, continually coaching and reassuring her.

In 1950, Marilyn had plastic surgery on her nose and chin. (She had previously used a retainer to pull in her front teeth a little and had switched from dirty to light blonde.)

By the end of 1951, Marilyn was becoming well known. She had met and become attracted to Arthur Miller (who was married and lived on the East Coast). Again, she tracked down her father and tried to visit him, and again he refused to see her. In 1951 too, Marilyn's lateness began to become a problem. She became increasingly concerned about her looks and would take two hours or more in front of her dressing room mirror trying to perfect her appearance before coming out. Natasha had destroyed Marilyn's trust by tricking her on two occasions financially, but Marilyn continued to be dependent upon her presence as a coach.

In 1952, Marilyn met Joe DiMaggio. They had little in common and had a stormy relationship. She was doubtful about marrying him, but finally did so in January 1954. The marriage was over by September 1954. He opposed her career, objected to her public sexuality, and was violent on occasion. But nonetheless, she was very upset at the break-up.

However, Marilyn remained committed to her career. If marriage to Jim and now to Joe meant that she would have to leave her career, then marriage was out. Her career would go on. She started an independent company (Marilyn Monroe Productions) to purchase and produce films for her.

By the end of 1954, Marilyn had made other changes in addition to her break with Joe. Natasha was replaced by Paula Strasberg as her coach on location. She decided

to leave Hollywood and move to New York City (which facilitated her relationship with Arthur Miller), began to study with Lee Strasberg and entered psychoanalysis with Marianne Kris.

She was also well established as a star (appearing in *The Seven Year Itch*), and becoming much more assertive about the films she made. Her new contract with Twentieth Century Fox greatly increased her pay and gave her control over the choice of directors.

She moved back to Hollywood, living with Milton Greene and his wife. (Milton Greene was her business partner in Marilyn Monroe Productions). Miller divorced his wife in 1956 and married Marilyn.

Marriage to Miller and the Decline

Soon after her marriage to Arthur Miller, Marilyn and Miller went to Great Britain to make a film directed by Lawrence Olivier. Miller was in conflict with Milton Greene (Marilyn's business partner) and Paula Strasberg (her coach). He wrote critical things about Marilyn in his journal which she found. After Marilyn read Miller's comments on her, she was distraught, and her psychoanalyst flew over from New York to help calm her down. Marilyn had severe conflicts with Olivier, but the film was made.

In the years of marriage to Miller, Marilyn had two miscarriages and made several suicide attempts. The first was in the autumn of 1957 with barbiturates, though while Miller was at home. He got medical assistance for her.

She made two movies (*Some Like It Hot* and *Let's Make Love*), but she was becoming increasingly difficult to direct in movies. She was anxious about being on camera and angry with people connected with the movie. She was often late to the set and temperamental as are many stars. However, in 1959 she received minor awards for acting (from France and Italy) and performed with the classes at Lee Strasberg's Acting Studio. But by 1960, Miller had virtually stopped writing and was spending his time trying to keep Marilyn together.

During the making of *Let's Make Love*, Marilyn had an affair with her co-star Yves Montand. For much of the time Miller and Simone Signoret (Montand's wife) were away, giving Marilyn and Montand freedom. When Miller eventually flew back to Los Angeles, it was clear that the marriage was over. But Marilyn and Miller agreed to stay together while his screenplay, *The Misfits*, was filmed with Marilyn in the lead.

During the shooting of the movie, Marilyn was taking uppers (Benzedrine) and downers (Nembutal). She spent sleepless nights, screaming at Miller, or drugged. Her lateness on the set continued. At one point, she was flown to Los Angeles under the supervision of her psychiatrist Ralph Greenson to withdraw from Nembutal and to switch to a milder drug.

As soon as the movie was finished, Miller moved out of Marilyn's Los Angeles house, and they disentangled their possessions in New York and Connecticut too. Clark Gable, Marilyn's co-star in *The Misfits*, died soon after the shooting was over, and his wife blamed his heart attack on the stress of working with Marilyn.

Back in New York, Marilyn was emotionally and physically ill. She tried to persuade herself to jump out of the window of her apartment (but failed), and her analyst in New York hospitalized her in the Payne Whitney Clinic. The clinic horrified Marilyn, especially her status as a suicide risk and the presence of other disturbed patients. She eventually managed to call Joe DiMaggio who checked her out and moved her to Columbia Presbyterian Hospital.

Returning to Los Angeles in 1961, she began to rely on her psychoanalyst there, Ralph Greenson. Greenson invited Marilyn to come and live with his family and, when she declined, had a friend of his, Eunice Murray, become her housekeeper. In May and June she had minor surgery (to remove her gall bladder and part of her pancreas). She was befriended by the "Rat Pack", a group including Frank Sinatra and Peter Lawford, and they moved Marilyn into the social life of the Kennedy's. She had an affair with John Kennedy and later became involved with and very attached to Robert Kennedy.

In 1962, she bought a small house, similar in style to Greenson's and moved in. She continued to visit New York (where she saw her New York psychoanalyst and John Kennedy). In April shooting began on *Something's Got To Give*, and Marilyn became Robert Kennedy's lover. However, her inability to work on the set led to her being fired by Twentieth Century Fox.

In July, Marilyn had an abortion and was very depressed. She began to see Greenson daily. In July, too, Robert Kennedy began to disengage himself from his relationship with her.

Marilyn killed herself early on Sunday morning, August 5th, with an overdose of Nembutal and chloral hydrate. Greenson had visited her on Saturday night, and Eunice Murray had stayed over. Robert Kennedy was visiting San Francisco with his family that weekend.

There is speculation that Robert Kennedy visited her that Saturday, that the Kennedys had Marilyn killed and that the Mafia had her killed. But perhaps it doesn't matter what really happened in her final weekend. Marilyn was disintegrating rapidly. It is hard to imagine that she could have survived much longer.

Analysis

Family Disturbance

The mental illness in Marilyn's mother and maternal grandparents suggests that Marilyn may have had an affective psychiatric illness with a genetic basis. Of course, the

existence of psychiatrically disturbed parents does not prove a genetic cause for the disturbance. Crazy parents create a disturbed childhood experience for their children as well as passing on their genes.

However, Gladys seems to have done both. The childhood she created for Marilyn was the worst possible kind for someone with a genetic predisposition to depression.

What is especially noteworthy is that Marilyn lived with the fear that she would end up disturbed like her mother and grandmother. So the fear of becoming crazy may have been as potent a factor in her eventual disintegration as the actual genes that she may have inherited.

Marilyn's Disturbance

Interestingly, Marilyn appears to have few psychiatric symptoms in her early years. Only a mild stutter and painful menstrual periods are noted. In adulthood, there is evidence of headaches, excessive alcohol intake and drug abuse (especially uppers and downers). There is a history of depressive episodes, most of them occurring soon after the loss of a love or lover, and attempts at suicide. (Interestingly, the two attempts documented in detail by Guiles both occurred with someone close at hand.) There are three psychiatric hospitalizations, one for drug abuse and two for depression.

Back in the 1950s and 1960s, there were few good psychiatric treatments for depression. Antidepressants were not readily available, and Marilyn was spared electroconvulsive therapy. Marilyn's depression remained untreated. (We do not know what type of psychotherapy was conducted by her analysts Kris and Greenson and whether it was appropriate.)

Mother and Father Figures

Marilyn had two major types of figures in her social network. To substitute for the mother she never had, Marilyn usually had a close relationship with a female, usually a coach or mentor, first Natasha Lytess and then Paula Strasberg. In childhood, there were a succession of mother figures, but only Aunt Ana seemed to have provided the basis for a good relationship (in particular, with no rejection).

Marilyn's missing father seriously affected her life choices. Her two attempts to contact her father, rejected by him each time, only fueled her feeling of deprivation. She would look for and be attracted to father figures, and there were a succession of them in her life: from Johnny Hyde her agent to Arthur Miller. But men, especially confronted with a woman whose sexuality is so prominent, can hardly be expected to fulfil the role of a father.

The Search for Approval

Because the little girl Marilyn was shuttled around from family to family and abandoned by most of them, Marilyn probably concluded that she was not very likable or lovable. Thus, she entered into the common pattern of suppressing her real self and adopting a false social self that would get her approval.

For Marilyn, who developed physically quite early and who was very pretty, sexuality was an easy choice. Aunt Ana noted the tight clothes and seductive behavior in Marilyn's early teens. After her first marriage at age sixteen, Marilyn still needed the attention of men. If men responded to her, then perhaps she was all right, a likable and lovable person.

Unfortunately, if you attract the attention of men, you also stimulate their sexual desires. So many of the men eventually became her lovers. Toward the end of her life, especially with the Kennedys, we have to wonder whether John or Robert really cared about Marilyn. By then, she was disintegrating, chronically depressed and taking drugs heavily. Their relationship with her must have been based primarily upon her fame and availability for sexual intercourse.

Not only, therefore, would the men in her life disappoint her, by abusing her and abandoning her, but they would not provide the unconditional love that she needed immediately and had needed even more urgently as a child.

Marilyn adopted, therefore, the tactic of getting attention by her looks and sexual style. Her lateness may have been caused in part by her depression and drug abuse, but it was also a result of her insecurity (will people really like *me*?) and her reliance on her looks for attention.

She had her teeth straightened and minor plastic surgery and took incredible care getting ready for a social appearance. Marilyn's looks had to be perfect because the little girl she once was, the real Marilyn, was far from perfect as proved by all of those adults who abandoned her.

Marilyn's Emotional States

We have discussed Marilyn's depression and hinted at her insecurities. In all likelihood, she soon developed a fear of abandonment and the loss of love. She attempted suicide after losing Johnny Hyde and killed herself when Robert Kennedy was about to discard her. She could never trust people, and unfortunately her life experiences appeared to prove that she was right to distrust others.

Socially, she often appeared to be shy, especially in groups. She had a fear of meeting strangers (perhaps they would see her inadequacies?), and her directors and co-stars were aware of her insecurities as an actress. (It is interesting that she never appeared in a play on stage. She performed in only one or two scenes from plays at the Actor's Studio.)

Guiles also noted her anger. There appears to have been strong inner anger that led to angry outbursts and displays of bad temper. At the end of her marriage with Arthur Miller, she spent nights screaming curses at him.

Clearly this inner anger stemmed from the anger at her mother and father for abandoning her. Every betrayal and desertion thereafter would feed into this anger, and it would be felt toward the new rejecting person and also be renewed toward her parents.

Distorting The Past

One habit of Marilyn is of particular interest because she shares it with Ernest Hemingway who also killed himself. Marilyn distorted the past. She claimed that her dog was killed by a neighbor. (It was run over accidentally). She claimed horrible mistreatments at the orphanage that appear to be false. When she was young she claimed that Clark Gable was her father. She claimed to have been smothered by her grandmother (but at an age when she could hardly have remembered) and raped by a boarder (except that she never lived with anyone who took in boarders).

Like Hemingway, Marilyn moved on, abandoning old friends and locales, and like him she distorted the past, making it usually worse than it was. Is it that she wanted to arouse sympathy or that she thought that Marilyn's real life was boring and needed embellishing?

Intelligence

Marilyn is described as being intelligent, but she was poorly educated, leaving school at sixteen. She seemed to have been bothered by this. She tried to read good literature, but Miller noted that she dipped into books and rarely finished them. She was shaky about the names of the authors and their characters.

Her lack of education may have added to her doubts about her worth. Having decided (consciously or unconsciously) to get attention by means of her looks and sexuality, she feared perhaps being seen as a dumb blonde. Yet her intellect was not developed.

Related to this, she had never received training as an actor. Here, however, she was willing to take classes, though she would become over-dependent upon her coach because of her self-doubt over her acting ability.

Social Resources

It is worth noting that Marilyn usually lived with or was very close to families, most of which gave her affection. (The list includes the Bollenders, Goddards, Doughertys, Kargers, DiMaggios, Greenes, Strasbergs, Millers, and Greensons.) She always had friends and affection. But none of these families and friends was enough. Because none of them could take the place of mom and dad.

Final Stresses

At the end of her life, Marilyn had lost her job. She had been fired from a movie for the first time. She was about to lose her current lover, Robert Kennedy. Her addiction to drugs was greater than ever and her depression as bad. She had analysts in Los Angeles and New York to respond to her needs daily. (She seems to have been terrified to be without a therapist close at hand.)

What was in store for her? The decline of her fame as a movie star. Abandonment by her lovers. Aging was making it more difficult to appear in public as beautiful as she once thought she was. Marilyn was nothing but a beautiful women on screen and an attractive sexual object in bed. Age changes that.

Like Hemingway, Marilyn was close to the end of her life as she defined it, just as Ernest was at the end of his life as he defined it. Both, in fact, had arrived at an existential choice point. To create a new existence or to end the old one. Both chose to end the old one.

Reference

Guiles, F. L. (1984). *Legend*. New York: Stein & Day.

O. HOBART MOWRER

David Lester

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

Hobart's Early And Professional Life

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

him as President anyway.

So let us turn to his personal life.

Hobart's Depressions

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

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

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

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

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

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

Hobart sees six factors as leading to his depressions. First, there was a genetic component. His mother and some of her relatives had suffered from depressions. In fact,

he remembered that his mother was sick a lot with what he later found out was labelled "nerves" and "depression", and that his parents quarrelled occasionally. Furthermore, he responded well to antidepressant drugs when they were developed, and this further convinced him of the biochemical basis for depression.

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

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

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

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

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

He saw his confession as good, but eventually came to realize that a meaningful

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

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

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

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

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

The Final Years

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

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

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

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

He also talked of despair over the conditions in the world, in particular the

pollution of the environment and the loss of many rare species of animals. Soon after writing this essay, before the book appeared in print, Hobart killed himself.

Discussion

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

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

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

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

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

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

Despite Hobart's neat listing of the sources of his pathology, I think that he missed an important fact. It is clear that Hobart learned to be mentally ill and depressed.

Let me document this.

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

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

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

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

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

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

References

Hunt, J. M. Orval Hobart Mowrer (1907-1982). (1984). *American Psychologist*, 39, 912-

914.

Mowrer, O. H. (1966). *Abnormal reactions or actions?* Dubuque: W. C. Brown.

Mowrer, O. H. O. Hobart Mowrer. In G. Lindzey (Ed.) *A history of psychology in autobiography, volume 4*, pp. 327-364. Engelwood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1974.

Mowrer, O. H. (1983). *Leaves from many seasons*. New York: Praeger.

PHILIP MUSICA²

David Lester

Philip Musica was born on May 12th, 1884, at home on the lower East Side of Manhattan. He was the first-born for his mother, Assunta Musica, who then had three more boys and four girls. Assunta was just over four feet tall and weighed 300 pounds. In Naples, Italy, she had married Antonio, twelve years older, a barber by trade, and insisted they emigrate to America.

Philip grew up in the slums of “Mulberry Bend,” known for its vicious criminal gangs. After working for a while at his barbershop, Philip’s father had enough to open a small shop selling pasta and sausages. Philip dropped out of school at the age 14 to run the shop while his father continued to cut hair.

As the family fortunes improved, Assunta moved the family to Bay Ridge in Brooklyn, and she pushed Philip into the wholesale business while his younger brothers ran the grocery store. In 1909, Philip was caught bribing the cheese inspectors on the docks, and he claimed sole responsibility and served five months in the Elmira Reformatory, before being pardoned by President Taft, perhaps as a favor to the Italian ambassador to the United States!

The family then entered the hair products business. Assunta went to Italy where she raised \$1 million to set up U.S. Hair which traded on the New York Stock Exchange. Soon, the company was profitable with offices in London, Berlin, St Petersburg, Hong Kong and Yokohama. The family bought an estate in Bay Ridge. The company was, in fact, a fake. Its main business was laundering money. The family fled New York City before they could be arrested, but they were caught trying to flee the country on a ship sailing from New Orleans to Panama.

Philip again claimed sole responsibility. His father had a heart attack as he was being led into prison, but Philip won the release of the rest of his family by offering to serve as an informant in The Tombs, which he did dutifully for three years.

During and after the First World War, Philip may have assumed the name William Johnson and worked in the New York Attorney General’s Office chasing gangsters, with a promotion to the U.S. Attorney’s office in 1917 chasing draft dodgers and seditionists. Thompson tried to bring down William Randolph Hearst, the newspaper owner, but Hearst used his connections in the U.S. Senate to have Thompson investigated, and the possibility that Thompson was the convicted criminal, Philip Musica, came out in Senate hearings. Philip had to take on a new identity.

With the aid of a younger brother (who went by the name of Ben Simon) Philip adopted a new identity, Frank Costa. Frank claimed to have a PhD in chemistry from the University of Heidelberg and he was also an MD. He set up a pharmaceutical company

² Based on Wells (2000).

(Adelphia) to sell hair tonics and colognes as well as furniture polish. In fact, the company took the government-supplied denatured alcohol legally destined for their products (this was the era of prohibition) and removed the alcohol before selling the products. They then turned the alcohol into bootleg liquor. Frank was recognised by Guiseppe Brandino who had met him in the Tombs while he was still known by his real name, Philip Musica, and Guiseppe and his wife blackmailed Frank. Frank dealt with this by informing the Treasury Department that the Brandinos ran Adelphia. The company was raided, and the Brandinos sentenced to prison. Frank then changed his name to Frank Coster and set up another pharmaceutical company, Girard & Company, to continue the same business.

Frank had met Carol who was married to an old colleague from the U.S. Attorney's Office (Edward Hubbard) and, after her divorce from Hubbard, Carol (ten years younger than the 42-year-old Frank) married Frank (in 1926). She spent his money and furnished his 18-room mansion in Fairfield, Connecticut. Frank had ruined Hubbard and broken up his marriage in order to get Carol by getting hired to investigate Hubbard's brokerage firm and manufacturing evidence that Hubbard's partner was defrauding him and by spreading rumors that Hubbard had defrauded a customer and that he was having affair with a teenage girl.

In 1926, Girard took over a 100-year-old firm, McKesson & Robbins, that had fallen on hard times. Frank (and his brothers, all working under fake identities) built McKesson & Robbins into a leading wholesale pharmaceuticals distributor and "took over" hundreds of independent drug stores who exchanged their family-owned stock for stock in McKesson & Robbins.

But the treasurer of the company, Julian Thompson, after doing business with Frank for twelve years, began to have suspicions about the company and to investigate. Was the company selling securities without having any assets? \$20 million of raw pharmaceuticals were missing, and Frank could not explain why. Thompson went to the authorities and Frank and the other officers of the company were charged with fraud. Company offices were found to be empty buildings; inventories of raw materials were found to be inventions. Frank was arrested on December 14th, 1938, and released on bail.

On December 16th, Frank was desperate. Although alcohol inflamed his ulcer, he drank highballs all day. Only a year before, business colleagues had wanted him to run for President of the United States as the Republican candidate. Now, his family had removed all the guns and kitchen knives from the house. At about noon, some FBI agents arrived at the house, along with the assistant treasurer of McKesson & Robbins (George Dietrich - actually Frank's younger brother, George Musica) with orders to revoke Frank's bail. As they rang the door-bell, Frank shot himself with a .38 revolver.³

Reference

Wells, J. T. (2000). *Frankensteins of fraud*. Austin, TX: Obsidian Press.

³ His brothers got sentences ranging from 18 months to three years.

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 marquees. 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 playing 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.⁴ 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 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.

⁴ Castro was a guest on *The Tonight Show*!

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 Bleecker 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 Bleecker 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 Bleecker 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.⁵

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.

⁵ Phil and Alice had agreed to never finalize their divorce, thereby preventing either of them from being free to marry again.

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 Turner 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 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.

Reference

Eliot, M. (1989). *Death of a rebel*. New York: Franklin Watts.

EUGENE O'NEILL, Jr

David Lester

Eugene O'Neill, the American playwright, was born October 16, 1888, and died November 27, 1953. He had won three Pulitzer prizes and the Nobel Prize for literature. As a young man, O'Neill had dropped out of Princeton University in his first year and moved to New York City where he fell in love with Kathleen Jenkins. Both sets of parents disapproved of their marrying, but they went across to New Jersey in 1909 and married anyway. O'Neill was packed off to Honduras on a gold-mining expedition after a couple of months, but Kathleen bore him a son on May 5, 1910, named Eugene O'Neill Jr. O'Neill returned to New York soon afterwards but never went to see Kathleen. He seems to have gone to see his son while Kathleen was out and then taken an overdose of Veronal. Friends found him and took him to the emergency department at Bellvue Hospital. Kathleen divorced O'Neill in June, 1912. O'Neill provided no child support, and Kathleen did not ask for alimony.

In 1915, Kathleen married George Pitt-Smith, an accountant, and moved to Douglaston on Long Island. Her son Eugene was raised as if George was his father, called Richard Pitt-Smith, and he grew to be devoted to his step-brother, George's child by a previous marriage.

Eugene had been enrolled in a military school from which he had run away twice. Kathleen's lawyer felt that it was time that O'Neill, whose plays were now quite successful, contributed to his son's education. O'Neill was agreeable to meeting his son and paying for his education. At the age of eleven, Kathleen took Richard/Eugene to his father's apartment building, told him that he was not really George's son and left him to go upstairs to meet his real father. Eugene seemed delighted by his new father, and O'Neill and his wife Agnes liked Eugene. On his return Eugene told his mother that he was lucky to have two fathers.

O'Neill paid for Eugene to go to the Horace Mann School, a preparatory school in the Bronx, and his work there was excellent, though his masters described him as insecure and highly sensitive. He acted as if he was unwanted and illegitimate.

Eugene continued to visit O'Neill regularly and seemed to deify him. He got on well with O'Neill's two later children (Shane and Oona) during the visits. Eugene had a serious accident on his bike when he was fourteen which left him unconscious, but he recovered well. Eugene was soon writing poetry, and his father was rather proud of him. Eugene went to Yale University, was on the freshman rowing crew and did well in his studies. He published poetry in the student literary magazine, but he was rejected by the fraternities.

Meanwhile, his step-father had become an invalid, unable to work, and so his mother had taken a job on a newspaper on Long Island. His younger brother had fallen or had jumped from a doctor's office in Manhattan, and he took his death very hard. In the

summer of 1930, O'Neill paid for Eugene to visit him in France and encouraged him to study the classics.

As a junior, Eugene won the Winthrop Prize for his knowledge of Greek and Latin poetry and was accepted into Skull and Bones, the exclusive club for seniors. He also got permission from the university to marry, Elizabeth Green. As a senior Eugene won the Noyes Cutter Prize for translating the Greek New Testament into English as well as several other prizes. He decided to study for his doctorate at Yale and teach there. In 1932, he visited O'Neill in Georgia with his wife before going off to the University of Freiburg for a while. Eugene was very articulate and could discuss the classics with his father as an equal.

By age 33, Eugene had his doctorate in Greek, was an authority on Homer, and was teaching at Yale University. Random House had brought out two volumes of Greek plays translated by him. However, he had also been married and divorced three times.

In 1944, Eugene was living in Greenwich Village. The Navy rejected him because of his allergies and the Army because of the injuries from his childhood bicycle accident. He took a leave from Yale to work at a cable factory in New Haven and began to drink heavily.

At the end of the war, not wanting to return to Yale, he got a job as a radio announcer at WTIC in Hartford. He then moved back to Greenwich Village where he lived with Shane O'Neill, his half-brother.

Eugene did not get on well with O'Neill's third wife, Carlotta, and eventually decided to leave the city. He moved to Woodstock (New York) where he bought a piece of land with help from his father. Eugene's step-father died in February 1947 and his grandmother a year later, and these deaths seemed to upset him greatly. He worried about how his mother would support herself if he died (she still worked for the Long Island newspaper), and he took out a life insurance policy for \$25,000 payable to her.

He stayed busy teaching, working in radio and television (he was a panel member on CBS's "Invitation to Learning" among other activities), but he was generally broke. In March 1947, he arrived slightly drunk, dressed in a frayed shirt and ill with the flu for a television broadcast. That ended his television career. He failed to arrive for lectures at Princeton University during his second term there and, when he did, he was unwashed, unshaven, drunk or with a hang-over. He was not asked to return.

For the next two years, living in Woodstock with a female friend (Ruth Lander), he tried to write regularly, made money from teaching and lecturing at small colleges (Fairleigh Dickinson College in New Jersey and the New School for Social Research in Manhattan). His drinking worsened, and he began to be violent to Ruth who decided to leave him. In 1950, he began to see other women and talked of marrying one (Flora Schriber, who thought he was looking for mother and father figures). He felt isolated from his father because of Carlotta's hostility toward him. The note for his house was

coming due, and he feared losing the house.

That summer, though, he did act in the amateur theatricals in Woodstock. On Monday, September 18, 1950, he arranged to meet Flora the following Monday. However, he then called Ruth and tried to get her to marry him. That weekend, he drank a lot and looked somewhat crazed. On Monday morning, a neighbor saw his jeep in the yard. Surprised but scared, for he should have been driving to New York for his class at the New School, she waited until the afternoon before entering the house accompanied by friends. They found Eugene inside the door, his hand stretched out as if for the doorknob, dead from cuts on his wrists and ankles. He had cut himself in the bathroom, stepped into the bath, gone to the telephone which had been cut off and then to the front door. A suicide note found under an empty whiskey bottle said: Never let it be said of an O'Neill that he failed to empty a bottle. *Ave Atque Vale*.

Discussion

Bowen (1959) is writing a biography of O'Neill rather than his children, and so the information on Eugene is sparse. The discovery of his real father at the age of eleven must have been a great shock to Eugene, and his school masters noted the effect on him. He felt illegitimate, they said.

Bowen also skips over the period during which he began teaching at Yale University, went through three marriages and quit Yale. A great deal must have happened during this period which might throw light on his suicide.

His alcohol abuse seems similar to that of his father, but less extreme than the substance abuse of his half-brother, Shane. Eugene also seemed to adjust better to having a famous father than did Shane. However, Eugene was in crisis in 1950 with home, lover and work stress, and at the age of forty he was unable to cope. He injured himself lethally, and then appears to have sought help unsuccessfully. What would have happened to him had he been able to call for help or had that neighbor found him earlier in the day alive?

Reference

Bowen, C. (1959). *The curse of the misbegotten*. New York: McGraw-Hill.

BILLY PAPKE

David Lester

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.

Reference

Walsh, P. (1993). *Men of Steel*. London: Robson Books.

CESARE PAVESE

David Lester

Cesare Pavese was born in Italy in 1908, and he killed himself at the age of 42 in 1950. During that time, he became a leading intellectual, editor, translator, poet and novelist.

His Early Life

Cesare was born on a farm in Santo Stefano Belbo in the Piedmont province of North Western Italy (which borders on Switzerland and France). He often returned to his home town in later years, and Pinolo Saglione, a carpenter there, remained a friend and confidante.

Cesare was born on September 9, 1908, and it was by chance he was born on the farm since his parents lived in Turin and visited the Pavese family farm only in the summers. Cesare's father, Eugenio, worked in Turin at the Court of Justice. Cesare's mother, Consolina, was the daughter of wealthy merchants. Cesare had a sister, Maria, six years his elder. (Consolina had lost three children before Maria and Cesare, the first dying of diphtheria at the age of six.)

Cesare's childhood was spent in Turin during the Winter and Spring and at the farm in Summer and Autumn. Cesare developed an affinity and a liking for the country and, although he lived most of his adult life in cities, he was really a country boy. He longed for the summers when he could escape Turin for the farm.

When he was six, the family was about to return to Turin when Maria caught an infectious illness that forced the family to stay on the farm. Cesare attended first grade in the country school, but the next year began attending a private school in Turin. More importantly, when Cesare was six his father died from a brain tumor that he had suffered from since before Cesare's birth. Cesare felt a great sense of loss, but he was ashamed of his tears and choked them back.

Cesare's mother, long tried by tragedy, was not warm or tender but rather showed her love by working hard for the family. She was thrifty and kept a tight rein on her children. She forbade talk over meals and forced the children to eat everything she served. Cesare began to withdraw from her, and their relationship became increasingly cold. He began a lifestyle of being alone, even when among others, and of feeling sad. He was more attracted by misfortunes than by celebrations. His father was a dreamer and an avid reader of books, and soon Cesare began to follow his father's interests. He hated his school books but loved literature. Yet Cesare was not alone. He had playmates at the farm and a small circle of friends at school.

Though he loved literature, his report cards usually described him as intelligent but lazy. After elementary school, he attended a Jesuit junior high school for a year but could not fit in with the spoiled and snobbish children of the wealthy. After three years,

he switched to a public junior high school. His eyesight was poor, and he needed to wear glasses. He was tall, slender and frail, and walked with a slouch. He usually had a bad cough in the Winter, and he developed asthma.

High School and College

Cesare's life was inextricably interwoven with the rise of fascism in Italy. In 1922, fascist groups burned the trade union headquarters and two socialist clubs in Turin. Communists and trade unionists were arrested and assassinated. Fascism exalted arrogance, boldness, action and a political philosophy that Cesare could not accept. He detached himself from fascism and withdrew more into himself and his studies.

As a consequence, he began to pay attention to his teachers, to study, to write and to enjoy his school. He studied Greek by himself, and visited the public library frequently with his friend, Mario Sturani, reading all he could.

Cesare entered the lyceum (high school) in 1923 at the age of fifteen. He developed group of friends, and he came under the influence of a teacher of literature and Latin, Augusto Monti, a teacher whose students became his disciples and life-long friends, who disliked the fascists and whose students tended also to become anti-fascist.

Cesare passed the hard entrance exam to college, and his college years were filled much as the lyceum years with literature, discussions, and writing. The group of students from the lyceum stayed together and still met with their old teacher, Monti. In this environment, Cesare seemed happier than ever before. He began to appreciate films and to translate American authors into Italian. His thesis was on Walt Whitman, and initially it was rejected because his professor viewed it as a political attack on fascism. Cesare managed to change professors and graduate.

His Career

The fascists rose to power, led Italy into the Second World War on Germany's side, and were overthrown. The Germans then attacked the Italians. After the war, there was much political fighting between the various groups, especially the communists. Cesare's friends and colleagues were involved. They joined the resistance, became political, and fought for what they believed was right. Where was Cesare in all of this?

Sitting in on the discussions to be sure, but rarely saying anything. He did not join the resistance. He lived out the war in the countryside, away from the fighting. He finally joined the communist party, but was never active. He did *nothing*.

Lajolo, his biographer, characterizes Cesare's novels well. They are about vagabonds, drunks and idle people. The characters spend their lives in taverns, drinking and talking. They have no occupation, are without love, addicted to drinking and smoking, satisfied to wander the streets aimlessly all night, and in the end they sink into melancholy. This is Cesare.

It is perhaps not true to say the Cesare did nothing. He wrote, poems, novels and essays that intellectually supported left-wing ideas. Even his translations of American literature can be seen as challenges to the fascist regime by introducing Italians to the American ideals of freedom of thought and speech. He worked tirelessly in these endeavors, and he was exiled for ten months by the fascists and was under surveillance for much of the time. But even Cesare knew that he was avoiding the real fight. At the end of the war, when he learned that friends had died fighting for the ideals he supposedly supported, his feelings of being a failure were amplified.

A few months after receiving his degree, Cesare's mother died. Although they had not been close, she had represented his roots and given him a sense of security. To replace her, he moved in with his sister and her family, where he lived for the rest of his life.

In order to earn some money, he worked at translating, mainly American novels, but a few English ones also. He chose books with subtle (rather than obvious) political significance. He was not allowed to teach in the public schools because he refused to join the fascist party. He could teach only in temporary and substitute positions, in private schools and as a private tutor.

In 1933, he began to work for a new publishing company, the Einaudi Publishing House, started by a former student of Augusto Monti. Cesare helped to decide which foreign works to translate into Italian and worked at getting the appropriate permissions. The publishing house was under suspicion by the authorities, and on May 13, 1935, Cesare's home was raided. He had at home a letter from a left-wing prisoner which he refused to explain. He was tried and sentenced to three years exile, though he was released after ten months.

His exile was spent in Brancaleone Calabro, in Southern Italy (at the toe). He was dependent on money sent to him by his sister, and he spent the time there lonely and bored. His asthma was bad, and he hated the sea and the winds. Eventually, his letters became angry and bitter, full of complaints.

He was released after only ten months, but was crushed upon his return to Turin to find out that a woman he loved had just married someone else. He fell into a severe depression. His first book of poems had not been received with any enthusiasm, and he no longer saw writing as worthwhile. What got him out of this mood was taking on a student for lessons in Greek and Latin literature. They met at 7.30 every morning for an hour, and eventually Cesare regained his enthusiasm for literature. He began work again at Einaudi, eventually helping to set up their office in Rome.

From 1928 to 1932, Cesare had been occupied primarily with translations, from 1932 to 1937 with poetry, but from 1937 until his death he wrote short stories and novels. He continued his writing during the war.

He was drafted into the army in March, 1943, having been previously excused because he was the son of a widow. However, when they discovered his asthma, he was sent to a hospital and for six months convalescence. The fall of the fascist regime saved him from service. When he returned to Turin, most of his friends had left to join the partisans in the Resistance War against the Germans. Cesare went to stay with his sister in the country, where he once more immersed himself in literature. His diaries from this period contain no mention of political events or the war.

After the war, he returned to Turin and began work again at Einaudi's. He found that many of his friends had died in the fighting. He finally joined the Communist Party, perhaps as a way of redeeming himself.

In 1947, he seemed serene and happy. He was working, dictating his novels to a colleague at Einaudi, Maria Livia Serini. But after each novel was completed, Cesare would become physically weak, asthmatic, and bitter and depressed again. He soon lost Mari Livia who was transferred to Rome.

In 1948, Cesare became nervous and anxious. He could not tolerate solitude in the city, so he hurried off to Santo Stefano Belbo, his old home, to visit with Pinolo Scaglione. He returned to Turin, went to Rome, returned to Turin. His sister became accustomed to him disappearing every week end. Suicide had been a constant theme in his writing. In his novel *Among Women Only* published in 1949, he described the way in which he would later kill himself. He began to worry about headaches and whether he had a brain tumor like his father. He smoked medicinal cigars to ease his asthma. He talked of his agitation, palpitation, sense of decay, and insomnia.

In June, 1950, he was awarded the Stega Prize for his new novel, *The Beautiful Summer*, but by late August he was dead.

Women

After the poor relationship he developed with his mother, it is not surprising that Cesare had problems with women in his life, problems which became the major sources for his depression.

Let us look at his first school-time crush, Olga. He tried to speak to her but felt too shy and inhibited. So he watched her from afar. He felt inferior to her, a simple country boy with big hands and poor vision, while his friends socialized with ease with their girl friends. One day he was walking by the river and saw a boat with the name Olga written on it. He turned white and fainted.

A second revealing incident happened while he was at the lyceum. One day, Cesare found the courage to ask a singer at a cabaret out. They set a date for six in the evening, meeting at the front of the club. Cesare arrived punctually at six. He waited and waited. At eleven, the rain began, but still he waited. At midnight he returned home, sad, humiliated and freezing. He learned the next day that she had left via the back door with

another admirer. The depression and fever led to pleurisy which put him in bed for three months.

Later he would write much about his philosophy of life, in his letters, his diary, and his novels. Writing to a friend, he once asked, "Don't you agree that no joy surpasses the joy of suffering?" We can see this clearly in his stubborn wait outside the night club for six hours.

Lajolo is rather coy about Cesare's love life. Perhaps he visited prostitutes. It seems as if Cesare was impotent, probably ejaculating prematurely and so rarely satisfying his lovers. It may also be that his penis was overly small.

There were three major loves in his life, all of whom rejected him. The first is described by Lajolo as "the woman with the hoarse voice." She was studying mathematics at the university and was firm, cool, strong-willed and good at sports. While he was with her, Cesare was more natural, human, tender, and confidant than ever before. But she betrayed him, leaving him bitter and never again trusting women. Lajolo does not tell us whether Cesare and his friend were lovers.

Lajolo tells us, without giving examples, that Cesare rejected maternal or submissive women, as well as those that loved him. Rather he fell in love with and pursued those who did not love him, strong women with minds of their own, perverse and unfaithful. Cesare wrote, "The only women worth the trouble of marrying are those a man cannot trust enough to marry."

When Cesare was in exile, the woman with the hoarse voice rarely wrote to him. On the day he returned from exile, he was met at the train station by his friend, Sturani. He asked after her. Sturani told him that she had been married the previous day. Cesare fainted. Although she married another, it is important to note that before Cesare's exile, her lover was in prison and they communicated by letters sent via Cesare. (It was one of these letters that he was tried and exiled for.) She had never been faithful to him, and Cesare had been willing to accept this! From the train station he went to his room in his sister's house and stayed there for days. He refused to eat, he did not read, and he thought of suicide. But he lived on.

In 1940, Cesare met Fernanda Pivano and was in love with her for five years. They met almost daily, and he would read her poems and novels. He asked her to marry him one day, but she did not reply. In all of those five years, Cesare never kissed Fernanda! Eventually she married someone else.

In Rome in 1945, Cesare met a woman who aroused his passion. Lajolo is again coy, and we learn nothing save that Cesare made "an attempt to prove his virility. Once again he was dissatisfied and returned to his silence and to self-destructive thoughts." Back in Turin he wrote, "Again alone...you make your house in an office, in a cinema, keeping your jaws clenched."

The final woman in his life was an American actress visiting Italy, Constance Dowling. As soon as he met her, he began to fear her desertion, and he recognized that she was a flirt (she did go to bed with a fellow actor). In July 1950 he was with her in Milan and appeared "blissful." Constance went back to America, and Cesare awaited a telephone call from her saying she would marry him. It never came.

Depression and Suicide

Cesare began to be depressed early in his life. His failures with women exacerbated these feelings and precipitated the most severe depressions. Depression would also develop after he had completed a novel.

Throughout his life he talked about feeling worthless. This idea focused on his failures with women. No matter how much he wrote or how enthusiastically it was received, he would compare himself with those who were married and had children and consider himself a failure. And his impotence! He wrote, "...a man who ejaculates prematurely should never have been born....it is a defect that makes suicide worthwhile."

He described his life as a fight with depression that he had to fight "every day, every hour, against inertia, dejection, and fear." In 1927, he wrote to his friend Mario Sturani saying that he was incompetent, timid, lazy, weak and half mad. Should he kill himself or not? But he didn't have the courage to kill himself. He was a child, a cretin, a "poseur." More probably, he said, he would masturbate himself to death. Don't cheer me up, he wrote. Let me enjoy my depression in peace.

While he was at the lyceum, a friend, Baraldi, and his girl friend went to the mountains where they shot themselves. Baraldi died; his girl friend lived. Within a few days, Cesare decided to imitate Baraldi. He took a gun to the same town, Bardonecchia, but could not kill himself. He fired the shots into a tree instead. Cesare does not seem to have attempted suicide at all before his death.

In August 1950, his sister, staying in the country, was worried about her brother, so she returned to Turin. She found him frighteningly thin, his eyes hollow and red. For two days he burned letters, documents and photographs. He left his light on all night, but he was calm, patient and even kind. On the morning of Saturday August 26th, he asked Maria to pack him a suitcase as if he was going away for one of his weekend trips. He went to the Hotel Roma in town. On Sunday evening, a hotel employee was worried because the guest had not been seen all day. He forced the door open and found Cesare lying on the bed dead, dressed except for his shoes. On the nightstand were sixteen empty packets of sleeping pills. His last words in his diary read, "All this is sickening. Not words. An act. I shall write no more." On the cover of one of his books by his bed in the hotel room, he had written, "I forgive everyone and ask forgiveness of everyone. O.K.? Not too much gossip, please."

An Absurd Vice

Lajolo called his biography of Cesare *An Absurd Vice*, which is how Cesare described his obsession with suicide. Cesare's life is easily summed up. An intellectual, enthusiastically concerned with issues in literature, but aware that such issues take second place to the common needs of all people - finding love and a place in the world.

Cesare's disposition and childhood experiences (the death of his father and his unaffectionate mother) prevented him from becoming mature. He never left home, moving from mother to sister, living all forty-two years with them. He never developed the social skills necessary for relating to women. He knew Fernanda for five years, proposed marriage, but never kissed her. She would have been foolish to marry such a man unless she was as immature as he was.

Cesare had friends, but listen to what he said, "As soon as I am aware that a friend is getting too close, I abandon him. I abandon women, those whom you call maternal, as soon I deceive myself into thinking they love me." Cesare could not stand closeness. It scared him. At another time he wrote, "(Cesare) wants to be alone - and he is alone - yet, at the same time, he yearns to be in the center of a group which is conscious of his solitude." He was alone, even when with friends. Indeed, his intellectual concerns about literature, which formed the topics for his conversations and his many essays, were ideal ways for having with contact with others while remaining distant.

His fears over his impotence were probably unfounded. With the little sexual contact he had, no wonder he ejaculated prematurely. If he had made love to Fernanda (or someone else) every day instead of reading poems to her, his sexual behavior may have developed normally. But the initial failures led to shame and to anxiety that he would always fail, and the shame and anxiety probably made him fail in the future. It became a self-fulfilling prophecy, a prophecy made more likely by falling in love with women who rejected him. It is hard to make love to a woman who hurts you and towards whom you feel anger.

Cesare suffered from depression all of his life. He frequently thought of suicide and eventually killed himself. It is a wonder that he lived so long and was as creative and productive as he was. Lajolo gives us no hints of a history of depression in Cesare's family. Though Cesare lost his father when he was six, his father had been ill all along, and so the death may not have been unexpected. His mother was cold, but she clearly cared for her family. Cesare's childhood was not ideal, but far from being as traumatic as some childhoods. It is amazing that such moderately disturbed settings lead to such misery.

Of all of the lives and deaths, perhaps Cesare's can serve as a warning. It would not be too hard for any of us to fall into Cesare's depressive lifestyle, and it is a style which, once begun, is hard to change.

Reference

Lajolo, D. (1983). *An absurd vice*. New York: New Directions.

SYLVIA PLATH

David Lester

Sylvia Plath was an American poet who died at the age of thirty in 1963 in England by putting her head in the gas oven. Today, she might not have died in this way because during the 1960s the British detoxified domestic gas, removing the carbon monoxide from it, and eventually switching to natural gas which contains no carbon monoxide (Clarke and Lester, 1989). But Sylvia Plath had already died and, even if she could not have used gas, she might have switched to another method, such as the medications she used in an earlier attempt when she was twenty one.

What brought Sylvia to this crisis? For the details of her life, I have relied on the biography by Butscher (1976).

Her Parents

Sylvia's father, Otto Plath, was born in 1885 in the German town of Grabow. He emigrated to the United States when he was fifteen to join his father in North Dakota. After college, he pursued his interest in entomology, going to Harvard in his 30s to study for his doctorate, leaving his first wife behind in Oregon. Otto got his doctorate in 1928, at the age of forty three, specializing in the study of bees. He began teaching at Boston University where he met a student called Aurelia Schober, twenty one years his junior.

Aurelia was born in Boston to Roman Catholic parents who were from Austria. Early in 1932, Otto and Aurelia travelled to Nevada so that Otto could divorce his first wife and marry Aurelia. They set up house in Jamaica Plain, near the university and near the Arboretum where Otto conducted his research.

Sylvia was born on October 27, 1932. She was somewhat frail because of a sinus condition that plagued her for the rest of her life. Two and a half years later, her brother Warren was born.

Early Years

The family bought a house in Winthrop in 1937, near the sea and Aurelia's parents. The early years were uneventful. Sylvia apparently was quite bright and used her intelligence to please her father, as many first-borns do. She learnt the Latin names for insects, and Otto would show off her skill to visitors. From the beginning, she earned straight A's in school, impressing teachers with her intelligence and dedication.

Otto was diabetic and neglected his condition. His leg became gangrenous and was amputated, and the complications of broncho-pneumonia killed him on November 5, 1940, eight days after Sylvia's birthday. Aurelia left both children at home during the funeral, which Sylvia eventually listed as one of her grievances against her mother.

The family was now in financial difficulty. Aurelia took a teaching position at Boston University's school for secretarial studies and had her parents and brother move in with her to share expenses. Eventually, she decided to move to Wellesley where she could raise her children in an educated and middle class community and help Sylvia's sinus condition and Warren's asthma. Thereafter, Aurelia strove to give her children high achievement experiences. In addition to school, she provided extracurricular activities in scouting, sailing, piano and viola lessons, dancing, painting and summer camps.

Sylvia's first poem appeared in the *Boston Sunday Herald* when she was eight and a half, and she won a prize with a drawing in another contest. As she progressed through school, her work continued to be outstanding, receiving many awards. She quickly developed an interest in literature and in writing. At junior high school she received straight A's and a perfect record of punctuality. Her poems and drawings continued to win prizes. Her IQ was about 160. Socially she was a bit of a loner, though she had many good friends, she did not date much, and she spent long hours studying, reading and writing.

High school continued in the same vein. She took the advanced literature courses and edited the school magazine in her senior year. Her stories and poems appeared in magazines such as *Seventeen* and the *Christian Science Monitor*. She was also active in the local Unitarian church and the community. She was admitted to Smith College and awarded a scholarship.

Her menstruation began with cramps and an irregular and copious flow. She did not date much until her senior year. But this was 1950 when sexual behavior was quite inhibited and heavy petting as far as people went.

Her biographer does not mention much at all about psychological problems at this time in Sylvia's life. Knowing that she eventually killed herself, Butscher sees all kinds of portents of this later fate, but the only symptoms he mentions are severe depressions whenever her sinuses or menstrual cramps bothered her. The frequency and severity of the depressions is unclear.

Smith College and the First Suicide Attempt

Sylvia's career at Smith was outstanding. From the first, she obtained A's, and her literary achievements steadily grew. She made many friends there, some staying close to her for the rest of her life. It was considered crucial at Smith to date and to date the right kind of men. Since Sylvia had no relationships with appropriate men from her school days, she went on many blind dates, until a friend from high school days, the Buddy Willard of her novel *The Bell Jar*, took her to the Yale senior prom. Thereafter, Sylvia managed always to have a 'boy friend' available. Her relationship with Buddy had some friction, and eventually other boy-friends would come along. But her biographer, Butscher, feels that Sylvia saw marriage as an inevitable and desirable goal and needed always to have a man in her life who could be viewed as a potential husband. Periods of unattachment were hard for her. Buddy was admitted to Harvard Medical School but had

to drop out with tuberculosis. Sylvia wrote to him and maintained the illusion that he was her boyfriend, but she gradually began to get involved with others.

Sylvia's stay at Smith was, of course, the first separation from her mother. Aurelia used to write to Sylvia every day, which suggests that the separation was harder on Aurelia than on Sylvia. In addition, the status of being a scholarship student did carry an inferior status in those days. But there were few other traumas for Sylvia.

Her scholarship patron was a popular novelist, Mrs. Olive Prouty (Higgins), and Sylvia was encouraged by the college to keep in contact with her. This relationship proved to be useful to Sylvia later during her breakdown. When Sylvia decided that a successful college career involved extracurricular activities, she participated in all kinds, successfully building up a record of involvement.

In summers at Wellesley Sylvia had worked, and she also found work at Smith. Her first summer was spent working as a mother's helper for a family in Swampscott, an exclusive resort on the coast, and her second summer as a waitress and mother's helper.

In her junior year she broke-up with Buddy, but he had already been replaced by Myron Lotz. She broke her leg while skiing during the Christmas recess, but this did not impede her college work. The year ended with Sylvia winning a position as guest editor for *Mademoiselle* for June.

This is the summer of 1953 which is the focus of Sylvia's later novel *The Bell Jar*, written mostly during 1961 and 1962. For this month, Sylvia worked for Cyril Abels, reading and judging manuscripts, and participating in all of the social activities planned for the group of guest editors. Abels noticed Sylvia's distancing manner and tried to break through and relate to the real Sylvia, but she failed to penetrate Sylvia's social mask.

Back in Wellesley, Sylvia was rejected for a course on creative writing at Harvard summer school which left her with two months to fill. She fell into an increasingly severe depression. Aurelia eventually became concerned enough to take her to a local psychiatrist, the 'Dr. Gordon' of the novel, who after a few sessions of psychotherapy recommended electroconvulsive therapy at his clinic. (We must also remember that in the 1950s, effective anti-depressant medications had not yet been developed.)

The idea of suicide grew. She contemplated using a razor blade and drowning. But eventually, on a Monday morning in August, she took forty-eight sleeping pills from where her mother had locked them up, went into the basement of the house after leaving a note saying that she was going for a hike and would be back the next day, and crawled behind some wood that was stacked there. Her mother called the police that evening, and search parties were organized. But Sylvia was not found until Wednesday afternoon when her grandmother went into the basement to do the laundry and heard Sylvia moaning.

After a week in the hospital, Sylvia was transferred to the locked psychiatric ward at Massachusetts General Hospital. Sylvia's patron at Smith College, Mrs. Prouty, paid for her to be transferred to McLean's Hospital. There Sylvia received insulin shock therapy at first and then electroshock therapy again, but this was supplemented by psychotherapy from a female psychiatrist, the Dr. Jones of *The Bell Jar*. She was released just before Christmas 1953.

Sylvia spent another year and a half at Smith, graduating in June 1955. This period saw a more extraverted Sylvia, one who now also took pains to be beautiful and fashionably dressed, still the campus literary star and with a romantic aura from being an attempted suicide. Her virginity was lost (and she developed the reputation of being rather loose.¹) There were minor upsets, such as the rejection by Myron Lotz, whom Sylvia had seen as a potential husband. She continued to see Dr. Jones occasionally.

In the summer of 1954, Sylvia was accepted at summer school at Harvard University to study German. It was there she met Edwin, a married man with a wife in St Louis where he was a professor, who may or may not have raped her. However, her night with him precipitated severe hemorrhaging.

Sylvia quietened down a little in her senior year and worked hard at her studies. She was awarded a Fulbright scholarship upon graduation in 1955 and decided to go to Cambridge University in England to study.

Cambridge University and Ted Hughes

Sylvia spent two years at Cambridge University, at Newnham College, where she eventually obtained her second BA. Her stay there was filled with course work, writing, and dating. At Christmas, she visited France and a former lover who was now there. But in February 1956, she met Ted Hughes whom she would soon marry.

Ted, an aspiring poet and writer like Sylvia, had graduated from Cambridge in 1954 and had worked in various odd jobs. He was now living in London. Sylvia planned to visit Germany in the Spring where her current 'potential husband' was living, but they argued and broke off their relationship. Sylvia also saw her ex-lover in France for the last time. On her return to England in April 1956, Sylvia and Ted got engaged.² They married in June, with Sylvia's mother in attendance, and went to Spain for their honeymoon.

Their first year of marriage was made difficult by the fact that undergraduates could not marry without permission at Cambridge University. Eventually, Sylvia was pardoned and moved out from Newnham College into an apartment with Ted. Sylvia's Fulbright award was renewed, and Ted got a teaching job at a boy's secondary school.

¹ On a boat trip to England in 1955, the joke was that Sylvia never got a decent meal because she was always sleeping with someone! Butscher notes that Sylvia remained faithful to her husband, Ted Hughes, and so her quest for lovers ended with her marriage.

² Sylvia's grandmother died from cancer that April after a painful illness.

Sylvia began to work with dedication on their literary careers, typing up and sending off submissions of both her work and Ted's. Their publications grew more and more numerous, and Ted had his first collection of poems accepted for publication in 1957.

They decided to move to the United States in 1957, and Sylvia got a teaching job at Smith College. Ted remained unemployed till 1958 when he got a teaching job at the University of Massachusetts. Sylvia found that an instructor's position teaching freshman English left little time for writing, and so she decided to quit teaching at the end of the year in 1958.

The marriage seemed quite happy. In these initial phases, Ted was the more successful poet. He soon had a second book of poems completed and a book of children's stories. His poems appeared in *The New Yorker*. They decided to return to England, especially as Ted was not happy in the United States. But first they spent a year in Boston, supported by Sylvia working at odd jobs for a while and then by a Guggenheim fellowship won by Ted. They were trying to have children (though Sylvia was more motivated to have a family than was Ted) and sought medical advice when conception did not occur soon enough. They spent three months touring the United States during the summer of 1959, and during this trip Sylvia became pregnant.

After a stay at Yaddoo, the artists' colony near Saratoga Springs in New York, Sylvia and Ted left for England in December 1959. Sylvia was twenty-seven, pregnant, and headed for permanent residence in a foreign country.

England and the End

They first rented an apartment in London. Sylvia gave birth to Frieda in April 1960 and, after a miscarriage in February 1961 to a son Nicholas in January 1962.³ Their literary careers continued to progress, and Sylvia had her first book of poems published in 1960. They won prize after prize and by 1961 were successful enough as writers that their finances were thereafter in good shape. In 1961, Sylvia was awarded a Saxton Foundation grant to work on *The Bell Jar*.

In 1961, they bought a house in Croton, Devon, with the help of loans from both of their families. Life was full and busy with writing and the children and a new house to fix up, yet Butscher describes Sylvia in early 1962 as tense and tired and subject to fits of depression. Visitors, however, saw no marital trouble and viewed the life there as 'idyllic'.

Butscher says little about Ted. Perhaps Ted was not enthusiastic about having children? Perhaps after being the more successful writer in the family at first, he was threatened by Sylvia's growing skill and success? But he had had his way in the decision to move back to England and to live in Devon. However, by the summer of 1962 another woman had entered his life.

³ The miscarriage was followed three weeks later by acute appendicitis.

Butscher calls her Olga, married to a Canadian poet (after a failed first marriage). Olga seems to have pursued Ted, flirting with him even in his own home in Croton. But he too fell in love with her. The affair was in earnest by the summer of 1962. (Olga appears to have quite unstable herself, later identifying with Sylvia and believing herself to be almost Sylvia's reincarnation. She later died by suicide with gas, killing her young daughter too, possibly Ted's child though Butscher is not explicit about this.)

In August, Olga telephoned Ted, trying to disguise her voice. Sylvia ripped the telephone off the wall and fled to friends.⁴ She returned the next day and asked Ted to leave as soon as her mother had departed for the United States. Sylvia kept hoping that Ted would come back to her. She came down with a severe bout of influenza, and Ted did come back to help out. In September, Sylvia thought she and Ted were to have a holiday together in Ireland, but Ted left her after one day for Olga in London.

Her thirtieth birthday came in October 1962, with Sylvia alone in Devon with two children, deserted by her husband, writing poems furiously every morning. Sylvia decided to find an apartment in London and rent the house in Devon to others. She moved in the middle of December.

Sylvia was safe financially, though, of course, she worried a lot about money. However, in London she found that many of 'their' friends were now 'his' friends. Both she and Ted also worked for the BBC which was sometimes awkward. Sylvia was alone with the children that Christmas. Ted visited the children regularly, but these meetings were hard on Sylvia.

The last few weeks of her life were difficult. She had corrected the galley proofs for *The Bell Jar* and was awaiting publication and comment. She was working feverishly, smoking heavily, hardly sleeping and eating little. She had lost twenty pounds since the summer. She had influenza, after which the children came down with it. The winter was one of the worst ever, with frozen plumbing, strikes by the electrical workers, and snow and ice everywhere. Sylvia endured a bathtub that would not empty and dripping pipes in the ceiling. The weather did not break until the end of January.

The reviews of her book appeared at the end of January, and they were luke warm. (She had published it under a pseudonym which meant that reviewers would be less likely to give the work close attention and praise the Sylvia Plath whom they knew.) Her recent poems were being rejected.

Sylvia had plans for the future though. The Devon house was to be rented to an Australian couple, and she was to return there in the summer. Nicholas needed treatment for his eye, and Frieda was enrolled in a nursery school.

In the last week of her life, from February 4th 1963 to February 11th, Sylvia had a fever and wild fluctuations in her moods. She had lost her *au pair* girl and the weather

⁴ Sylvia's mother was staying with them at this time.

was still bad. Her physician recognized her depression and had arranged for Sylvia to see a therapist (whose letter to her was delivered to the wrong address). By Friday the 8th he had tried to get three clinics to admit her, but all refused. He arranged for a nurse to come on Monday morning. Sylvia went away for the weekend to visit friends, returning on Sunday evening.

At 6am on Monday February 11th, Sylvia took milk and bread up the children's rooms and went to the kitchen where she sealed the door. She put her head in the gas oven and was found there later in the morning when the nurse finally broke in with the aid of some workmen.

Discussion

The loss of her father when she was eight looms large as a factor in Sylvia's life, especially because of the way she wrote about him. However, after reading of her anger toward him in her novel and poems, it is a shock to find that he was a mild mannered academic, the age of a grandfather more than a father, who died of natural causes. His greatest fault seems to be that he spent too much time with his bees and his research.

Nonetheless, Sylvia was full of anger for his rejection of her, both while he was alive and in his death. Her poem written in the months prior to her suicide casts him as a devil, a concentration camp guard with her as a victim. She sees Ted as a father substitute. And yet she loves her father too and casts her suicide attempt years earlier as an attempt to be reunited with him. (Interestingly, Sylvia eventually kept bees, as did her father, and she studied German the language of her father. Her identification with him was strong.)

Though her depressions are not documented well at all, it is likely that she had an affective disorder (a psychotic depression). She had her first breakdown as an undergraduate, and she lived in fear that it would occur again. Might her suicide have been motivated in part also by a fear of becoming psychotic again?

On top of this, there is the loss of her husband, whom she loved, and who provided her with the environment to flourish as a mother and author. He rejected her for another. (Interestingly, Sylvia was upset in her marriage by the very close relationship between Ted and his sister Olwyn, which she saw as incestuous. In a memorable row when Sylvia was eight months pregnant with Nicholas, Olwyn told Sylvia how much she resented Sylvia. Ted did not take Sylvia's side at all in this, which hurt her deeply.)

In her novel about her psychiatric breakdown in 1953, Sylvia shows a distrust of her ability. She had worked hard to get good grades and to publish, but she feared that the success was temporary. Curiously enough though, Sylvia was quite resilient in her writing career, sending off poems and stories despite rejections.

Butscher makes much of the facade Sylvia put on. Sylvia seems, more than the average person, to have suppressed the real Sylvia, assuming a mask that would gain

approval from others. Good grades (reinforced by her father's admiration for her academic skills), desirable boy friends (and eventually lovers), and awards and honors all served to bolster her self-esteem. But eventually you have to come to like yourself for what you are, regardless of the reactions of others, and this perhaps comes in middle age, too late for Sylvia.

There are few other symptoms to be noted about Sylvia. A possessiveness about her belongings, especially her books. Her chronic sinus condition. Nothing more.

Thus, her suicide makes sense only in the light of a chronic depressive condition, a condition that colored her world view and made the loss of her father so much harder to adjust to. Then, at the peak of her creative life but hopeless, she chose to leave the living, her children, and return to the dead, her father.

Reference

Burscher, E. ((1976). *Sylvia Plath*. New York: Seabury.

ELVIS PRESLEY

David Lester

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Elvis discovered gospel singing through his church and was enrolled in Sunday schools with family members of the groups. He used to go to the shows, eventually selling Cokes to the audience, and he decided to become a gospel singer. After high school he got a job driving a truck and tried singing in the various clubs around Memphis. He went to a local studio just to see how he sounded and recorded two songs by the Ink Spots. The recording engineer remembered a colleague wishing he could find a white who could sing like a black, and he thought Elvis fitted. So in July 1954, Elvis went back to the studio singing in a country style jazzed up by the rhythm and blues style. This first record rose to number three on Memphis's country and western charts two weeks after release. He sang in public at the end of the month, and his musicians told him that the way he shook his leg had the audience screaming. The style was beginning to take shape.

Early Years

There quickly followed an appearance at the *Grand Ole Opry* where he flopped and then on *Louisiana Hayride* where he was a success. He was given a one-year contract, and Elvis worked every small town in the region. These shows and his records on radio developed his fame in the south. In November 1954, Elvis quit his job as a truck driver and got a personal manager, Bob Neal, who ran shows in school houses and on radio. Elvis bought his first Cadillac, pink and black, and a house for his family. Vernon retired (at the age of thirty-eight) and never worked again.

Colonel Tom Parker, though no Colonel, met Elvis in 1955. Parker managed one performer at a time and had recently managed Eddie Arnold for nine years. He was

raised on the circus and fair ground circuits and approached managing performers in the same style. He saw great potential in Elvis and had managed to sign on as his personal manager by August 1955.

Parker's influence of Elvis was great and not altogether good. He did help Elvis become the star that he was. However, on the negative side, because his own fear of investments and the government, he avoided investing Elvis's money or setting up tax shelters so that Elvis did not build up a fortune, paid enormous sums to the Internal Revenue Service and was severely short of money in his later years.

Parker was also not interested in developing Elvis's talents. Rather he wanted to exploit what Elvis could do. So Parker signed him up (at relatively low pay) to do an interminable series of poor movies. Elvis himself at first had hopes of becoming a good movie actor, but the films that Parker had him make killed those desires. After the movie career was over, he had Elvis give an endless round of stage performances (again at less than Elvis could have earned).

Parker also took an incredible percentage of Elvis's income, so that after Elvis's death Parker was sued by the Presley estate. (At the date of Goldman's book, the suits had not been settled.)

But, back in 1956, Elvis recorded his first records for RCA and soon was at the top of the charts. By the end of the year he had been acclaimed as the King of Rock and Roll. He stopped touring in 1957 to concentrate on movies. Only in the 1970s when these were no longer marketable did he resume touring.

Induction and Trauma

In December 1957, Elvis received his notice for induction into the army. He probably could have got out of this or, at least, served as an entertainer for the troops. He was at the peak of his fame and had everything to lose by joining. Goldman thinks that Parker was afraid that Elvis was becoming independent of him and wanted to cut him down to size and prevent a break. So he persuaded Elvis that it would create a wonderful image for him to serve and seriously hurt his career if he did not.

The army was a severe trauma for Elvis who had spent his life with his mother and surrounded by a close group of friends. He would now be alone. The army was a nightmare. He was lucky to find a sergeant who befriended him and helped him through the pain, but there was a lot of pain.

Gladys grieved at her son going into the army. Elvis did well in basic training, after which he was sent to Fort Hood in Texas. Family and friends moved there so that Elvis could be with them during off hours. Elvis did suffer a perforated ear drum on the firing range, and this affected his performances in the 1970s. Gladys got sick during this stay and returned to Memphis. Elvis was posted to Germany, but just before he left Gladys died. Elvis did not simply grieve over her death, he fell to pieces. He wailed and

he cried, and he kept patting his mother as she lay in her bed and coffin. He talked in his baby talk as he fondled her hands and feet. He could not be persuaded to leave the casket and, at the cemetery, tried to leap into the grave.

Gladys had been the major source of support and guidance for Elvis and, without her, he grew dependent upon those who were less wise and who had less concern for him, such as his manager, Tom Parker.

Elements of Elvis

Talent

Goldman is convinced that Elvis had a natural talent. Though in his early work he mimicked other people's styles, he was good, and he created exciting new combinations. But his basic lack of education and musical skills led him to become dependent on others. Elvis could not write his own material, and he was not focussed enough to know what he ought to have performed. So he let his manager and the record company feed him a steady stream of songs which they thought would be successful, songs which after his spell in the army led him away from rhythm and blues towards crooning.¹

Similarly in his movies, he was clear about his goal of becoming a good screen actor (James Dean was his idol), but he was not focussed enough to reject the shoddy scripts he was presented with. He went along with them, while recognizing that they were shoddy, completing twenty nine in all.

The result was that, though audience response still pleased him, his work depressed him. For example, in 1964, Parker decreed that Elvis would only record the movie soundtrack albums. Elvis thought that these songs were terrible and often exploded in anger and frustration in the studios. But his dejection led him to relinquish even more control over the recording sessions. Elvis always gave in to the crass commercialism of his handlers, becoming more bitter, cynical and estranged all the while.

In 1968, the fortunes of Elvis continued their decline, especially in the face of the Beatles, the British Invasion and psychedelic music. Parker signed Elvis to perform in a special on television which happened to be directed and arranged by some very talented people. Elvis, now thirty-three, looked great. In front of a live audience for the first time since he was twenty-two in the late 1950s, Elvis felt terror, but the music was good. Elvis began a new stage in his career, recording much better songs with vastly improved musicians and appearing on stage mostly in Las Vegas. But soon, the exploitation turned into a treadmill, seven years of four-week appearances every February and August at the International Hotel in Las Vegas.

¹ Elvis's managers eventually began having singers record the songs on demonstration discs, and Elvis simply copied these.

Social Life

Early on, Gladys feared that Elvis's nightmares and sleepwalking might get him into trouble. So she encouraged him to take along friends as guardians.¹ At first, his two cousins accompanied him, but soon the entourage grew. These aides would, for very meager wages, and occasional large presents, orchestrate Elvis's life for him, from procuring girls to guarding his life from potential death threats. They were with him constantly and were his friends, though never equals. They were at his mercy, and toward the end of his life Elvis fired or was left by almost all of those who had accompanied him for the twenty or so years of his stardom. Elvis replaced them with his kid step-brothers and hired bodyguards. In many ways, Elvis was a recluse, but he was a recluse in the midst of these men. Their marriages broke up because of the demands Elvis made on them, and one (Alan Fortas) attempted suicide when his wife left him.

After his army service, Elvis lost a great deal of self-confidence. From being confident and strong, he became delicate and vulnerable. Instead of partying with his peers, he locked himself up in Graceland and other venues with his aides. Instead of courting film stars, he had anonymous groupies trooped through his bedroom. (And he gave up all remaining control over career to his manager, Tom Parker.)

Sexual Life

In Hollywood, making his first film, he dated his co-star and then Natalie Wood. Elvis did not drink, smoke or swear, and he was genuinely religious. He would take Natalie to have hot fudge sundae's, and they ate burgers and Cokes.

Soon, Elvis developed a stable sexual pattern. He liked virgins, particularly teenagers. He liked to chat for hours, wrestle, have pillow fights, tickle and sleep (literally) with them. But he did not like to have sex with them. The majority of the girls stayed virgins.

Eventually, he particularly liked to watch the girls interact. From being sexually excited by their pubic hairs peeking through their white panties of small kittenish girls, he moved to enjoying them interacting sexually. Eventually he made home videos of these scenes. (He also liked to watch his aides have sex with women.) He would masturbate while watching the women, and occasionally would be able to quickly have sexual intercourse with one of them once stimulated. (He claimed his foreskin tore during intercourse.) He abhorred married women and those who had given birth.

On the other hand, he did like to have a steady girl friend, and he managed to have a succession of such women who pandered to his needs. The first few were eventually replaced by a fourteen year-old whom he met in August 1959 when serving in the army in Germany, Priscilla, whom he promised to marry if her parents would let her go to live with him (which she did in May 1962), and whom he was forced into marrying

¹ During the filming of his first movie, Elvis was upset at being rejected by his female star and was caught about to sleepwalk out his bedroom window on the eleventh floor.

(on May 1 1967) but whom, as soon as she gave birth to a daughter in February 1968, became sexually unexciting to him. She was replaced by a new series of girl friends.

Elvis's pattern with women moved from romantic courtship, to play in which the woman was supposed to take more initiative, ending with Elvis as the baby and the woman as the adoring care-taking mother.

Spending Habits

Early in his career, Elvis developed into a spendthrift. He would rent a roller skating rink at midnight for a party and movie theaters for his own private showings of movies; or have the state police shut down a stretch of Highway 51 for motor bike racing.

By the age of forty, Elvis had earned a hundred million dollars and was broke. Spending sprees such as buying fourteen Cadillacs one night in Memphis (and giving one away to a black woman who was passing by), setting up favorites in new houses, buying four aircraft, giving away jewelry during his performances, all of which quickly ate up his money. One night in 1975, in Graceland, Elvis and his aides remembered the peanut butter and jelly sandwiches they had once in Denver. They flew down to get them, picked them up at the airport and flew back to Graceland. Sixteen thousand dollars for sandwiches. To pay for all of this, Elvis had to work. In 1974, he played 152 shows, two-thirds of which were one-night stands.

Drug Abuse and Depression

Prior to the 1960s, Elvis took amphetamine drugs, pep pills, but not to excess. After his army service he began to consume a whole range of drugs, including stimulants, narcotics and hypnotics. Elvis always had trouble sleeping, so it was natural to him to start taking downers. He (and his aides) took Dexamil, Quaaludes, Percodan, Demerol, Seconal, Tuinal, Valium, Nembutal and Placidyl. As he entered the years in which he made three depressing movies a year in Hollywood, Elvis's consumption of drugs increased. Eventually he added Dilaudid. In the last two and a half years of his life, Elvis received 19,000 doses of drugs from one physician alone, and he used many physicians.

Interestingly, Elvis never saw himself as a drug addict. For Elvis, addicts used heroin and injected it into their veins. He did not do this. (He had others skin-pop drugs into him on occasions.) Indeed, he presented himself as a friend of law enforcement, opposed to hippies and drug abusers, collecting police badges and trying to get the President and the FBI to use him to fight drug abuse.

The serious depressions began now. In the Spring of 1964, Elvis locked himself in the bedroom at Graceland and refused to speak with anyone. This first serious depression was broken by the arrival of a hairdresser (Larry Geller) who was into spiritualism and got Elvis interested in the occult. Goldman sums up the change as a switch from hillbilly faith healers to yoghurt yogis, but from 1964 to 1967 Elvis was

hooked. (In 1967, Elvis's manager managed to get Elvis married to Priscilla and rid of Larry Geller in the same stroke.)

Elvis also began to overeat when depressed, a diet of especially fattening proportions, including corn pone, mashed potatoes, and cheeseburgers. At times his weight rose to over 255 pounds.

Fears and Anger

Elvis feared growing old. Happiness was possible only in youth, he believed. He watched the mirrors constantly for signs of aging. His hair turned grey, but it was of course dyed. He had a face-lift, and he hid his 'chicken' neck with high collars.

The first threats on his life led Elvis to buy guns for himself and for his aides. After the Sharon Tate murders in 1969, Elvis bought over 250 guns, he armed his aides, and he kept a gun with him at all times. And in August 1970 there was a serious threat on Elvis's life made during a Las Vegas appearance.

Elvis was also angry and violent. He liked games where people fought and hurt each other. In his early days, he would organize mass roller derbies at skating rinks. Later he organized fights with fireworks. He often exploded and threatened people with violence but rarely released it.

The Final Trauma

Soon after the birth of her daughter, Priscilla fell in love with a karate performer, Mike Stone. They concealed their affair for over three years which was easy since Elvis no longer had any sexual involvement with Priscilla and was absent most of the time. She told Elvis in February 1972 and left him. Elvis fell into a deep depression, and his drug consumption soared. His aides tried to entice him with new women to replace Priscilla, but he called Priscilla every night and threatened to have her lover killed, threats he continued to make for the next year and a half. His anger eventually dissipated somewhat when he met Linda Thompson, Miss Tennessee of 1972, a virgin, and willing to adapt to Elvis's life style for the next four years. He was even faithful for a year, and Linda accepted his infidelities after that. He regressed back to infancy with Linda. She called him Baby Buntin while he called her Mommy. She would feed him by hand, read to him while he lay in bed in diapers, and administer his drugs. During this period he finally became a hopelessly addicted junkie and a bloated dysfunctional man. The only activities which could reverse this state were his public performances which inspired him to cut down on the drugs and lose weight.¹

In 1973, Priscilla went to court to change the ridiculously low settlement she had obtained. Elvis began to behave even more crazily than ever. His behavior became more

¹ During the 1970s, Elvis suffered from secondary glaucoma and disorders of the upper respiratory system. The drug abuse also led to constipation so that he had to use laxatives which often caused him to lose control, soiling the bed

erratic, even during his performances. After his August shows in Las Vegas, he and a teenage fan were found comatose after an overdose of a narcotic cough syrup.

All of Elvis's intimates agree that the fatal decline which ended with his death began during the break up with Priscilla when his wife rejected him for another man. In 1976, some of his aides whom he had fired negotiated to write a book about Elvis, and Linda finally called it quits. Although Elvis found a replacement (Ginger Alden), she refused to move in with him or travel with him on his tours. The book (*Elvis- What Happened*) appeared in July 1977, detailing his reckless drug abuse.

On August 15 1977, Elvis was about to leave for a twelve-day concert tour. He awoke at four in the afternoon and drank coffee (he was fasting). He planned to watch movies at midnight, but no projectionist could be found. He went for a dental appointment at ten in the evening, and at two-thirty on the morning called his doctor's nurse for some Dilaudid. He sat up talking with Ginger, planning their wedding, and at four in the morning called up an aide to play racquetball. At six thirty he took more drugs and again at eight. Fifteen minutes later he called his doctor's nurse for more pills which were sent over.

Ginger went to sleep and woke up at two in the afternoon. She found Elvis dead in the bathroom. The autopsy identified eleven drugs in his body: Quaalude, Valium, Valmid, an antihistamine, Demerol, Hycodan, Dilaudid, three kinds of barbiturates, and Placidyl.

The New Evidence

In his 1990 article, Goldman adds that Elavil and Aventyl were identified during the autopsy, antidepressants which suggest that Elvis was depressed at the time of his death. Secondly, Elvis was thoroughly familiar with the safe dosages of medications. He had studied the *Physician's Desk Reference* thoroughly. There is evidence that, rather than taking his pills at the three separate times on the day of his death as he usually did, he may have saved them up for a single lethal dose. It appears that no one witnessed him taking the pills at any time that morning.

Goldman comments on the timing of Elvis's death. It was just before he was to begin a tour in which he had to face the public after the revelations of his drug abuse and sexual habits. There was a good chance that the audience and press would be quite negative. He was also close to bankruptcy.

Finally, Goldman was told of many instances of suicidal communications in the days prior to Elvis's death. After watching an old television show of his, Elvis said, "I may not look good now, but I'll look good in my coffin." After seeing Priscilla, a step-brother told Elvis, "You'll see her again," but Elvis replied, "We'll see." Elvis was observed praying, "God, help me! I can't go on." When his step-brother left two days before Elvis died, Elvis told him that that they would never meet again. Finally, there is evidence that Elvis attempted suicide with barbiturates in 1967 after an argument with

Priscilla, seriously enough to lose consciousness.

Discussion

There are many interesting features of Elvis's life, but what seems most important is Elvis's arrested development. His early dependence on his mother, made stronger by the death of his twin and the absences of his father, created an immaturity that Elvis never overcame. His wealth and power enabled him to perpetuate this dependency on a woman, so that he could recreate a infantile dependency in his relations with young women.

Toward the end of his life he became less able to do this. Priscilla left him, followed four years later by Linda. Ginger refused to play the role of mother, and so Elvis faced what was to him isolation. His aides could not fulfil his dependency needs.

There were other stresses too. A chronic life of dissatisfaction with his career being forced to star in shoddy movies, sing bad songs, and tour unendingly because he lacked the assertiveness and goal-directedness (and perhaps talent) to give his artistic career the direction it needed. His impulsive overspending was leading him toward bankruptcy, and his hostility toward his aides led to their revelations of his drug and sexual habits. He would no longer be able to maintain the public image he once had enjoyed.

Finally, we have his depressions which the chronic drug abuse, spending sprees and adulation of teenage fans had served to mask. The depressions were worsening as women and aides deserted him (or were dismissed), as was the drug abuse.

Goldman presents Elvis as a man who never liked himself. He had little self-confidence, and his performance in life did little to change his low self-esteem. His mother's and lovers' admiration and attention bolstered his esteem, but with the loss of these he was left with his own opinion of himself. All the trends converged in 1977 to make his suicide most likely.

References

- Goldman, A. (1981). *Elvis*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
Goldman, A. (1990). Down at the end of lonely street. *Life*, 13(8), 96-104.

FREDDIE PRINZE

David Lester

Freddie Prinze, a successful comedian, was only twenty-two when he shot himself. He had performed at the pre-inaugural ball for President Carter only ten days earlier. He was not someone who had been successful and who was now facing a decline. Rather he was a star on the way up. How did he come to kill himself?

The information used here to make some sense of his suicide is taken from the book by his mother, Maria Pruetzel (1978).

Parents and Childhood

Frederick Karl Pruetzel was born on June 22, 1954 in New York City. His mother, Maria, was an immigrant from Puerto Rico and his father, Karl, was Hungarian and an immigrant from Germany. (Karl emigrated in 1934 at the age of 19.) Karl, had been married before and had had three children. (Both Karl and his son Freddie were only children of second marriages and unusually close to their mothers.) During his first marriage, Karl was painting his house one day, and his five year old daughter drowned in the swimming pool. He was too late to save her, and he blamed himself for her death. He drank heavily, though the drinking did not affect his work. His second wife, Maria, felt that this experience reinforced his fear of taking responsibility for his son Freddie. Since Karl also worked nights, he spent little time with his son. Karl and Freddie did things together on weekends and holidays (such as horseback riding). However, Maria writes that she raised Freddie by herself. "Life was not easy for me, but I needed to be strong because Freddie needed me then.....(p. xii)". Maria lived near to her family (her sisters even had an apartment in the same building, and her brother and then her father lived with her for a time), and so all of the relatives helped take care of Freddie and showered him with love. Freddie was the only baby in the extended family, and there is the suggestion that Freddie was pampered.

Maria was younger than her husband. She was devoutly religious. When Freddie was ill in first grade, she prayed. As he lay dying from a gunshot wound, she prayed. Oral Roberts was the focus of her religious faith.

Freddie was also religious, though less so. He carried a bible with him and frequently asked his mother to pray for him. He had a fantasy of becoming a minister in a small town. (He had never lived in a small town!) Later, his mother-in-law was a devout Southern Baptist.

Childhood

Maria notes that Freddie had large numbers of relatives (though Maria mentions mainly the Puerto Rican relatives), but no one in the family was a child. Thus, Freddie had few peers to play with.

In first grade, Freddie became very ill, and his illness was initially misdiagnosed as tuberculosis. Later he was rediagnosed as asthmatic, but the medications did not prevent visits to the emergency room. Eventually, a third doctor diagnosed the problem as an allergy to the medications that Freddie was being given and switched him to natural medicines. Freddie got well.

Initially, Freddie went to the public schools and suffered from the bullying and extortion. He was fat as a child which may have helped make him a victim. He often cried over the stress of attending the school. Maria describes him as a misfit there, often alone, crying because of his loneliness.

He took four years of piano lessons and then switched to the guitar. Maria bought him a guitar for \$150 when he was fourteen, and he worked hard at learning it. (He sold one song for \$200.) Interestingly, the pampering is evident in the circumstances surrounding the purchase of the guitar. His mother bought him it in exchange for him painting the apartment. He painted a little and then persuaded his mother to do the rest. She acquiesced.

Toward the end of his stay at the public school, he became the class clown. He skipped classes, and his academic grades declined. However, he lost his childhood pudginess, and he received school awards for his music and dramatic abilities (in June 1970).

In 1968, Freddie's uncle Mango (who was thirty six) was living with them and had just got engaged. He died unexpectedly, and Freddie was very upset. (He was fourteen years old.) Maria describes him as withdrawn and confused, and he cut school for a month. Three months later, Freddie's grandmother died in Puerto Rico, but his mother did not take him to the funeral there.

High School

After he graduated from junior high school, Maria took him to Puerto Rico for a holiday, and he was sociable and happy, dating girls and had fun. In the Fall, he was accepted at the High School of the Performing Arts in New York City, but Maria was anxious at her son becoming independent from her.

Freddie persuaded Maria to give him seventy dollars a week so that he could take a taxi to school. He liked being driven in style to the school in front of the students and teachers. To get more money, he took an ushering job at a movie theater.

In the summer of 1971, he performed in musical shows for the Alliance of Latin Art. He also decided to join a rock band at the school. So he persuaded his mother to get him a job at her factory, where he worked hard and earned enough to buy some drums. (He paid half and, his mother paid half.) In the Fall of 1971, he joined the band as drummer.

(Maria frequently helped Freddie out with bills. For example, she found out in 1973 that Freddie owed a restaurant near his high school \$1400. Maria paid it in three installments.)

In his second year at the school, he met his first love, Ann Sadlier. She was a year behind him. Freddie is described as being very domineering with her, yet generous. They broke up in January, 1973, when Freddie was eighteen, because Ann was upset by his flirting with other girls. Freddie tried to get her to change her mind many times in the next couple of years, but she refused, though they did remain friends. Ann also admitted that she was afraid of Freddie going into show business because then he would not have time for her.

Also in his second year, his friends suggested that he develop his comic skills, and so he began performing at the comedy clubs in the city. In the summer of 1972, he decided to quit the Alliance musical shows and the rock band, and to focus on comedy. (He still worked as an usher at the movie house.) He went from club to club, moving up in status as a comedian. Maria reports, though, that when his act did not go over well with the audience he would feel depressed, and when she saw him he seemed to have been crying.

Academically, Freddie performed badly, failing English, history, economics and Spanish. He refused to go to summer school, and he dropped out of school in 1973.

Career

In 1973, Freddie changed his name from Pruetzel to Prinze and began to focus on developing his career as a comic. His talent enabled him to move up to better clubs, and he acquired a manager, David Jonas. By July, 1973, Freddie was appearing at hotels and clubs

A two-week engagement in Puerto Rico did not go well. He was lonely and sent for his girl friend. The Puerto Ricans felt that his humor was insulting to them, though the vacationing hotel audiences liked him. When he came back from Puerto Rico, he decided to move out from his parents' apartment, but after three days he moved back in with them.

By the end of 1973, Freddie was appearing on television shows (Jack Paar and eventually the Tonight Show). In 1974 he auditioned for and was given a part in *Chico And The Man* on NBC television. He liked Los Angeles and decided to stay there, but he missed Ann, who still refused to be with him, and he described himself as lonely and depressed. He had developed the habit of using the telephone to keep in touch with people, running up bills of \$800 a month. In his diary, he wrote that there was no one there to protect him. He called home nightly.

Success and Disintegration

While in Los Angeles, his producer, Jimmy Komack, found out that Freddie was using cocaine (in addition to valium and quaaludes). He sent him to a physician, Edward Ablon, who continued to prescribe him quaaludes until his suicide.

After *Chico And The Man* aired, though it was a success, Freddie got anonymous death threats. (Chicanos were upset that Freddie was depicting one of their ethnic group.) In October, 1974, he fired his manager, David Jonas, who then filed a law suit against Freddie. In December 1974, he sent his mother the fare to go to Puerto Rico and, in February 1975, the fare to come to Los Angeles. During that trip, Maria picked out the house that Freddie would buy for her and Karl.

In March 1975, while performing at Lake Tahoe, Freddie met Kathy Barber, a divorced woman, whom he eventually married. Kathy got pregnant in June, and they were married in October. His secretary Diane quit, and Maria concluded that Diane was romantically attached to Freddie and saw his marriage as a rejection. A friend of Kathy's became his secretary. During this time, Maria thought that Freddie was withdrawn and not as open to her as in the past. Freddie seemed to be drifting away from her.

Kathy went to a hypnotherapist, William Kroger, for help in natural childbirth, and Freddie began to see him to cure his drug addiction. In March 1976, Freddie's son, also called Freddie, was born. He said to his mother, "I don't have to feel lonely any more." But by April he was having problems with his marriage. Kathy did not like his drug abuse. There may have been other problems, but neither of them discussed it with Maria.

By November, Maria describes Freddie as distressed, depressed, confused, and exhausted. Also angry - he fired his gun recklessly at times and dislocated his wrist by hitting a wall with it. The legal battle with his manager continued (his contract was upheld by the court for three years), and he separated from Kathy, who filed for divorce. He was arrested for driving while on drugs.

A Psychiatric Evaluation

He described his state as a nervous breakdown. In October 1976, Dr. Kroger gave Freddie the MMPI, and the computer report described Freddie as possibly schizophrenic. It concluded by saying that his responses suggested a major emotional disorder and recommended professional evaluation. His fantasies were almost delusional. He was suspicious and paranoid, avoided close interpersonal relationships and was unable to express his emotions in modulated ways. The report described him as disoriented, perplexed, hostile, negativistic and suspicious. He was described as sensitive to criticism, ready to blame others, and likely to misinterpret the actions of others.

Interestingly, the report described him as alienated from his family and that he perceived little love in his home. He found home life unpleasant. This is in contrast with

the picture presented by his mother. The report also described him as excitable, volatile, full of energy, high-strung and unpredictable.

The End

During December and January, Freddie's condition worsened. At various times, his producer, Jimmy Komack, and his hypnotherapist, William Kroger, removed his drugs and his gun. Each time he demanded them back. His secretary describes him as sinking deeper into depression. Off quaaludes he was manic; on them he was depressed.

His weight had dropped from 204 pounds to 165 pounds, and he had chronic diarrhea. He told his father he was bleeding internally. On January 19, 1977, Freddie performed at the pre-inaugural ball for President Jimmy Carter. On the way back, he stopped for a break at Las Vegas and obtained more quaaludes.

During the final few days, his friends kept visiting him, and he kept calling them. He received the divorce agreement from Kathy's lawyers. During the early hours of January 29th, matters came to a head. He called Kathy at 12.15 am on the 29th (it was her birthday) and spoke to her for a few minutes. His secretary was there, and at 1.15 am Dr. Kroger arrived. Carol left. Dr. Kroger left. He called his financial manager, Dusty Snyder, who went to be with Freddie. Freddie shot himself in the head in front of Dusty. Thirty-three hours later he was declared dead.

Discussion

Freddie Prinze was addicted to drugs. He took valium, marihuana, cocaine and quaaludes. He tried to end his drug abuse by visiting a hypnotherapist, but with how much motivation we do not know. Apart from his drug abuse, he appears to have had virtually no criminal involvement outside of traffic violations. (For example, he was in trouble for driving without a licence when he was sixteen and for driving under the influence of drugs prior to his suicide.) Maria gives us little idea of how Freddie got into drugs or when his drug abuse escalated.

Freddie seems to have had many friends once he got to high school. And thereafter he had many acquaintances, girl friends and friends. Yet he appears to have been lonely much of the time. This suggests two things. First, perhaps his social relationships were superficial and not gratifying? He may fit the hysterical personality (or pattern of vicarious living as described by Andras Angyal). In the pattern of vicarious living, the child grows up unliked for himself. Therefore, he assumes a personality that he thinks will get him approval, and he suppresses his real personality. Once this tactic has been adopted, the person needs continual attention and approval from others to support his assumed personality. It also leads to feelings of emptiness because of the suppression of the real self.

This makes sense given Freddie's eventual desire for entertaining audiences and his distress when they did not like his act. The audiences rewarded his act, and his friends

were necessary for supporting his personal style.

Since Freddie's mother seems to have loved and liked him, what is the source of Freddie's problems with self-esteem? The answer must lie with his father, the father who feared responsibility for his child, who worked nights, and who is the missing figure in the biography by Maria. It is interesting that his MMPI profile was that of someone who was alienated from his family, in contrast to the impression given by Maria.

Maria describes Freddie as quite domineering. His requests sounded like orders. When he wanted money, he had no qualms about taking it from her without telling her. However, he never denied taking it. Interestingly, in his brief life, he paid her back, as he promised he would, by sending her money for trips and buying her a house in California. Although self-centered, he does not appear to have been selfish, and in fact he was quite generous.

His love relationships were failures. The first woman he loved left him because of his flirting (and possibly because of his domineering ways). His marriage was a brief affair, lasting only a year and a half from the first meeting of the couple to the filing for divorce. His wife mentioned the drug abuse as a problem, but Freddie's interpersonal style probably contributed to the disintegration of the marriage.

Freddie's mother appears to have pampered Freddie. He was her only child. She sees herself as having raised him by herself and at great personal cost. She allowed him to have whatever he wanted and bailed him out of difficulties. She also seems to have bound Freddie to her, a bond that Freddie himself seems to have had difficulty breaking. As her child, he functioned adequately. Away from her, he disintegrated.

Conclusion

An overweight child, rejected by his peers, chooses a career that will win him the adulation of audiences, alienates those whom he loves and who might love him, and becomes a drug addict. In the last few weeks of his life, the stress increases. His manager wins a law suit against him, his wife files for an expensive divorce, his drug addiction remains uncured, and his success as a comedian is always only as good as the last audience. He sees himself as having a nervous breakdown.

As he comes to the decision to kill himself, which as far as we can tell from his mother's biography was not a long-standing preoccupation, his religious beliefs were not strong enough to deter him and the methods for suicide were close at hand, a gun and pills. He shot himself in front of his financial manager, which suggests anger. However, nothing in the biography explains the anger that Freddie might have felt, unless it was rooted in anger felt toward his rejecting father.

References

Angyal, A. (1965). *Neurosis and treatment*. New York: Wiley.

Pruetzel, M. (1978). *The Freddie Prinze story*. Kalamazoo: Master's Press.

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, and 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 died by 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.

Reference

Puller, L. B. (1991). *Fortunate son*. New York: Grove Weidenfeld.

IDA ROLLIN

David Lester

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

were over by January, 1982, and Ida recovered well, gaining weight and growing her hair back.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Reference

Rollin, B. (1985). *Last wish*. New York: Simon & Schuster.

MARK ROTHKO

David Lester

Mark Rothko was born as Marcus Rothkovich on September 25, 1903, in the city of Dvinsk in what would later be called Latvia.¹ His father, Jacob was a wealthy pharmacist. Marcus had a sister Sonya fourteen years older, a brother Moise eleven years older and a brother Albert eight years older. Perhaps he was unplanned?

After his birth, his father became more religious, and, whereas the older children had gone to the public schools, Marcus was sent to the Jewish school. Dvinsk was spared the pogroms against the Jews in Russia, but the fear of persecution led the family to plan emigrating to America. Jacob arrived at Ellis Island in 1910 and went to Oregon to join his brother there. His two older sons escaped to America through the underground (to avoid serving in the Czar's army), and in 1913 Jacob sent the money for his wife and Marcus to come.

They settled in Portland, Oregon, as the Rothkowitz's, but Jacob died after seven months. Sonya had a degree in dentistry but could find work only as a cashier. The older sons worked for their uncle until they learnt English well enough to pass the examinations in pharmacy. Marcus went to the public schools and worked hard selling newspapers before and after school.

Mark later recalled that he never had time for play, and his brother Albert remembered him as a tense and sensitive boy who was perpetually hungry. Mark grew to be the giant in the family, five foot eleven tall. He finished high school by the time he was seventeen and developed an early reputation as a defender of labor and radical causes.

In 1921, Mark set off for Yale University on a full scholarship. Mark studied hard and worked, first as a waiter and then in a laundry, to meet expenses. However, after six months, Yale took away his scholarship. (Seldes points out that Yale University discriminated against Jews.) Mark was told that he must borrow the money from Yale if he wanted to attend, and Yale dunned Mark for many years for the money he owed.

After two years, Mark decided that he had had enough of Yale, and he quit. He moved to New York City and got various jobs to get by. He happened to find himself at a drawing class one day when he went to meet a friend there, and he was intrigued. In January 1924, he had joined the Art Students League, and he sampled classes there for the next two years.

During the late twenties, Mark illustrated maps for books but ended up suing the publisher for royalties he had been promised. He lost in court. In 1929, Mark taught part-time at the Center Academy in Brooklyn, and he continued to teach on and off for the

¹ The information on which this chapter is based comes from the biography of Mark Rothko by Seldes (1978).

next thirty years to supplement his income from painting, much as he disliked teaching.

At the Catskills for a holiday he met Edith Sacher, also from Brooklyn. They fell in love and married. It was a mismatch. Mark was a melancholic romantic Russian with the desire to be a painter. Edith was pragmatic and built up a business as a jewelry designer.

The Depression brought rewards, for Roosevelt's programs included the Federal Art Project. Mark had had exhibitions of his work in Portland and New York in 1933, and in 1935 he was hired by the Project. One result of the Project was to bring artists together in a collective group. Mark was part of a group of dissidents who attacked the establishment. They got attention but sold few paintings.

Mark became a citizen in 1938 and in the 1940s changed his name to Marcus Rothko. (He later changed to Mark Rothko.)

Mark had begun painting representational paintings of city scenes and then switched to surrealistic seascapes in watercolor. This early work was successful but sold poorly and was barely noticed by the major art critics. During the Second World War, he and Edith divorced, and in 1944 he met Mary Alice Beistle (known as Mell), an illustrator of children's books, Protestant and from Cleveland. They married in 1945.

The Rise to Fame

After the war, the artist's community in New York City remained tightly knit, with Mark belonging to the uptown group. Their life was consumed by art, producing it and discussing it. In 1946, Mark had his surrealistic seascapes on show in San Francisco and Santa Barbara. He also taught at the California School of Fine Arts for two summers.

In 1947, he began to explore new directions for his paintings and produced misty forms of color suspended in space. Eventually, his style of paintings, along with the works of other contemporaries, became known as the New York School of Abstract Expressionism. They opened a school of art and published periodicals. Mark sold his pictures to the Whitney Museum and to the San Francisco and Brooklyn museums. However, his total income from painting and teaching in 1949 was \$3935, leaving him \$1387 after paying for materials.

In 1950, Mark and Mell went on their first trip abroad (to England, France, and Italy) and Mell got pregnant. Kathy (Kate) was born at the end of the year. At this time, the marriage was happy. Mark's moodiness and cynicism appealed to Mell. To support the family, Mark gave up part-time teaching and joined the faculty full-time at Brooklyn College.

Mark's fame continued to grow. Still angry at the Whitney Museum for their lack of support of contemporary artists in the past, he refused to have his works exhibited there (though he had sold them some paintings), but he was included in a show at the

Museum of Modern Art. However, he refused to let his works be shown abroad where he would have no control over how they were hung.

In the 1950s, dissension grew among the artists, and the group broke up, often with bitter feelings between the rising stars jealous of one another's success. In 1954, Mark had more shows and signed up with Sidney Janis as his dealer, yet his biographer notes that he had a take-home pay of only \$2433. Mark was thrown into reliance on sales of his paintings when Brooklyn College denied him tenure. (Mark accepted visiting lectureships at the University of Colorado and Tulane for the following year.)

In the late 1950s, art collecting took off. Millionaires discovered art as an investment and tax shelter. Dealers proliferated, and prices soared. Works by Mark (as well as Willem de Kooning and Jackson Pollock) were mentioned by *Fortune* as good investments. (This led to jealousy and broken friendships with painters whose names were omitted from the article.)

But at this time too, just when poverty was ending for Mark, his psychological state began to deteriorate. He had always been an insomniac and moody. But now his melancholic moods turned into depressions, and his moods ranged from one extreme to another. His friends described him as a volcano. Money became a worry to him now that he had some after years of poverty. On one occasion, the theft of his bank statements led to a bout of depression.

His drinking increased, and he developed hypochondria combined with a distrust of doctors. In 1956, he developed a fever and painful swollen joints. After three months in bed, he allowed a doctor to see him (but not take a blood sample). He had gout. When he finally permitted treatment, his doctor also discovered hypertension. But Mark declined to have regular medical checkups.

As his fame as a painter grew, Mark became increasingly concerned about what was written about him. He disliked being identified with the New York School. He disliked the comments made about his work by critics. He began to worry intensely about how his work should best be exhibited, both during his life and after his death.

However, his years of poverty were over. Mark and Mell bought a little cottage in Provincetown and were eventually able to move into better apartments and better studios. Bernard Reis became his financial advisor and worries focussed on taxes and how to avoid them. Mark was very frustrated over the structure of the art profession. Universities, museums and the art dealers all frustrated and angered him. Although some of his anger seemed excessive, abuses were widespread. Favoritism was common, art dealers wrote contracts that exploited the artists, and financial advisers mismanaged their clients. (For example, Franz Kline lived with difficulty on \$5000 a year until his death in 1962, although his dealer/adviser had \$200,000 in account for him.)

Despite the abuses of the system, Mark's income increased dramatically during the 1960s. He bought a house for \$75,000 on East Fifty-Ninth Street. He found a good

studio (in the East Sixties). And he sold paintings both through dealers (eventually working with Frank Lloyd and Marlborough Galleries) and independently. In 1961, he was invited to the Kennedy inaugural. His paintings were fetching \$20,000. And he had a retrospective at the Museum of Modern Art: fifty seven paintings.

In 1962, Mark became acutely depressed. His brother Albert had cancer, and the art world was turning to "Pop" art as the new fad. In late 1962, at the age of fifty-nine (Mell was forty-one), he had a son, Christopher.

In 1964, John and Dominique de Menil commissioned Mark to paint murals for a new chapel in Houston. This project occupied him for the next few years. When he finished in 1966, he had painted fourteen murals and eight experimental studies. The project dominated his life and drained him emotionally and physically. Visitors to his studio described him as pompous, self-centered, and hostile. He banished friends who failed to praise him sufficiently. One visitor recalls being criticized by Mark for conversing with him rather than immediately going to view the new paintings.

Mark continued to be successful financially. He limited sales of his paintings to keep their prices high, and for those he sold personally he demanded cash. In 1968, his murals for the Houston Chapel were ready, and the Tate Gallery in London had purchased an earlier set of murals he had painted. But then one day he felt a pain in his back, and his legs went numb. He had suffered an aneurysm of the aorta, brought on by arteriosclerosis and hypertension. He stayed in the hospital for three weeks, and, though he recovered physically, he remained psychologically upset by this illness.

His depression intensified, his health became an obsession. His egotism turned into self-pity, guilt and doubt. The mistrust he had for the art world became paranoid. His alcohol abuse worsened. His anger began to focus more on Mell, and the marriage deteriorated. (Although he loved flirting with other women, his biographer reports that he had only three serious affairs during his marriage. Unfortunately, one of his lovers told Mell about her affair with Mark. Thus, the marriage had seen problems all along.) Mell was tiring of tending to this self-centered, drunken genius, and she too turned to alcohol. Mark began to think of separation.

He also began to plan for the Mark Rothko Foundation, the focus of which was primarily to preserve his work and to arrange for its display and prominence after his death. Mark wanted to ensure his fame and prominence in the future, and the foundation was the center of his plan for immortality in the art world. The foundation would keep the works together and arrange exhibits in proper groupings in suitable lighting. However, this work on the Foundation also depressed him since it brought home the imminence of his death.

As his drinking (and cigarette smoking) increased, his depression worsened. Bernard Reis took him to see Dr. Nathan Kline who specialized in tranquilizers and antidepressants. Kline gave him Valium and a new antidepressant in addition to the pills Mark was taking for hypertension, gout and insomnia.

By the end of 1968, Mark had a rebellious teenage daughter (Kate was seventeen), a rambunctious five-year old and an unhappy, alcoholic wife. Mark moved out on New Year's Day, 1969, to his studio. He still supported the family financially, returned for laundry and occasional meals, and checked on his family all the time. He began seeing a widow, Rita Reinhardt, who entertained hopes of marrying him, but it appears that he was impotent in the later years of his life. It appeared also that he feared being finished (impotent) as an artist. Although now a millionaire, he lived frugally, like a pauper.

However, he began painting again, a series of paintings of blacks on grays that many visitors saw as signs of impending doom. He became more dependent on his friends, needing their approval of his paintings, fearing abandonment. He needed people for lunch and to talk to at odd hours. Friends were forced to disconnect their telephones at night to avoid being awakened. At meals with the family, there would be fights over Rita and the food Mell served him. His daughter found him usually depressed and uncommunicative.

Still successes continued. In June, 1969, there was a Rothko room at an exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art. The price for his paintings reached over \$50,000. In October, 1969, the Metropolitan Museum had a show of modern artists including ten of Mark's paintings, but the show angered Mark and exacerbated his self-doubt and fears for his stature in the art world.

During the summer of 1969, his mood worsened. During a visit to a doctor (Alan Mead) he was totally disoriented, disturbed and dazed. Mead cut his dosage of Valium and Mellaril, sent a report of this to Kline, and persuaded Mark to see a psychotherapist. But Mark would not enter therapy. His drunkenness worsened, even to the point of losing control of his bodily functions.

By November, Mark was desperate. He called his regular physician (Dr. Albert Grokest). Kline had given him new pills. Grokest was upset by this treatment that was independent of his own and told Mark not to take Kline's medication. Kline requested a meeting with Grokest, but Grokest refused to meet with him.

On January 27, 1970, Mark visited Mead because Grokest had gone to Mexico. He was taking large amounts of Valium. He couldn't work and felt pressured by his family and girl friend. He was impotent. He could sleep only with the use of chloral hydrate. He had a hernia, gout, and emphysema from chain-smoking. He was worried about his hypertension, but his blood pressure was normal. He was also getting medication from Kline. By February, his worsening eyesight added an extra stress. He seemed to be painting again, though he was demanding friends visit him. They noticed that his memory was deteriorating.

He had agreed to let the Marlborough Gallery enter his storehouse on Wednesday February 25th to select paintings to purchase. He had never allowed people into his

storehouse. Mark had always made the selections himself. On Thursday February 19th he dined and fought with his family. Over the weekend, he seemed withdrawn and was seen sitting alone in Central Park.

On Tuesday he kept his appointment with Dr. Mead. His condition seemed a little better, but he was still agitated and depressed. He had an appointment with Kline on Friday. On Tuesday night he dined with Rita. She judged him to be full of rage and frustration over the selecting of his paintings the next day. Rita reassured him that he could refuse to let the gallery representatives see his storehouse.

At 9am on Wednesday, Mark's assistant (Oliver Steindecker) let himself into the studio. In the kitchen, he saw Mark stretched out on the floor. He had slashed his arms in the crooks of the elbows. It was suspected that he had taken barbiturates too.

Analysis

Mark's biographer, Seldes, suggests many motives for his suicide. He had deep self-hatred and rage against the world, his father had abandoned him to go to America when he was seven, and his son was now approaching seven (as was the child of close friend). Perhaps Mark could not accept the good news about his health? Perhaps he was trying to get attention? He was torn between Rita and his family. His memory and eyesight were failing him. He was scared about his position in the art world.

However, what is noteworthy is his chronic depression. He had been melancholic all of his life, and his depression became severe toward the end. Apparently, the antidepressants were not effective in ameliorating it. His alcoholism made this problem much worse.

Second, Mark's insecurity about his prestige as an artist seems central to his state. Despite his fame and wealth from sales of his paintings and exhibitions all over the world, he seemed to fear that after his death his work would be ignored and forgotten. He seemed determined to prevent this, partly by building up his prestige before he died and by setting up a foundation to preserve his reputation after his death.

His deteriorating health, especially given his hypochondria, must have played a part in his suicidal depression. The fact that his psychological state worsened so much after his aneurism supports this hypothesis. Mark must have expected to die soon.

His interpersonal life was in shambles - a lover with whom he was impotent, a family with whom he fought, friends who avoided him, and former friends whom he had cut off or who had cut him off because of competitive jealousies.

In many ways, he resembles the aging and suicidal Ernest Hemingway, save that Hemingway was still married at the time of his suicide. Both were psychotically depressed, in failing health, and facing the end of their creative life. Both chose to escape rather than continue on to an imminent, painful and miserable dying.

Reference

Seldes, L. (1978). *The legacy of Mark Rothko*. New York: Holt, Rinehart, & Winston

CROWN PRINCE RUDOLPH

David Lester

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

Childhood and Adolescence

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Coming of Age

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

He began his military duties on August 1, 1878, and initially found the experience enjoyable. He liked the company of his fellow officers, and from then on he identified

strongly with the military. The matter-of-fact acceptance of suicide among the officers may have had an important influence on him.

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

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

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

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

As a consequence Rudolph courted the press who printed his views and ideas anonymously, ideas which included letting the religious and national minorities have the vote, fairer pay, land reform, and reducing the religious influence in the schools. (He started a secular training institute for nurses which still bears his name.) As time went on,

Rudolph felt more frustrated at the failure of his efforts, and at the same time he felt a failure as the son of his father, the Emperor. He could neither follow in his father's footsteps and thereby win his approval, but neither could he change Austrian policy. In time, Rudolph showed frustration, irritability and resentment. These emotional states served only to further convince his father's staff that Rudolph was unreliable.

Marriage

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

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

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

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

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

Stephanie locked him out of the bedroom, and Rudolph became close with an upper class call girl, Mizzi Caspar, with whom he maintained a relationship until his

suicide. Thereafter, Rudolph and Stephanie began to go their separate ways. Rudolph began to drink heavily, staying up most nights till past midnight. He was also taking morphine for the symptoms of his gonorrhea.

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

Suicide

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

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

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

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

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

Rudolph attended the final meeting for his ethnography of the monarchy in January. He approached his personal secretary about dying by suicide with him. He met his father on January 26th to discuss obtaining a divorce from Stephanie, and they had a row, with the Emperor of course refusing him permission. On January 28 he told Mizzi that he was going to shoot himself at his country lodge at Mayerling the following day.

Rudolph avoided a family dinner on January 29, 1889, during which Valerie's engagement was to be announced.

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

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

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

Discussion

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

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

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

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

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

Reference

Salvendy, J. T. (1988). *Royal rebel*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America.

GABRIELLE RUSSIER

David Lester

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

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

The Facts

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Affair

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Comments

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

intellectual equals.² Instead, she chooses her teenage students as friends, companions and lovers. Interestingly, in prison, she befriended an eighteen year-old narcotics addict, Muriel. She tried to educate Muriel in literature and became very attached to her. Gallant says, "...she had a great desire to be loved and needed by someone young." Gabrielle could relate only to teenagers. Perhaps because she herself was mentally only a teenager.

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

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

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

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

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

The affair of Gabrielle is complicated. A woman prefers the company of youth. But she is thirty. Adults cannot always behave like children and be excused. Yet the reaction of the French criminal justice system was overly harsh and sexist. Christian's parents over-reacted and persuaded the legal and mental health systems to support them.

² Gabrielle had many adult friends who helped her through her ordeal. She was, therefore, able to relate to her peers.

And Gabrielle is dead.

Reference

Gallant, M. (1971). *The affair of Gabrielle Russier*. New York: Knopf, 1971.

ANNE SEXTON

David Lester

Anne Sexton was born as Anne Harvey on November 9, 1928, in Newton, Massachusetts. She was the third of three daughters. Her father, Ralph, born in 1900, worked in the wool business and eventually established his own firm, and his father was a banker who suffered a psychiatric breakdown under the stress of his business. Anne's father had a younger sister who attempted suicide in her twenties and eventually shot herself to death in 1975 (Middlebrook, 1991).

Anne's mother, Mary Gray, born in 1901, was the only child of the editor and publisher of the *Lewiston Evening Journal*. After her junior year at Wellesley College, she met Ralph Harvey and quit college to marry him.

Of the three children, the eldest, Jane, became Daddy's girl, and she died by suicide in 1983 with sleeping pills. Blanche was seen as the clever child, while Anne was the baby of the family. A nurse helped with the family, and she stayed until Ralph Harvey's death, becoming like an aunt to the three girls. The parents were very close, and the children used to think up ways to gain their parents' attention such as writing them notes or leaving drawings on their parents' pillows.

Anne's father drank heavily, and when drunk he was often irascible. In particular, he used to insult Anne, saying for example that her acne disgusted him and that he could not eat his food with her at the table. Later, in therapy, Anne said that her father sexually molested her. However, her therapist (Martin Orne) noted that her account varied each time she recalled it, and he concluded that it probably had not happened. Orne suggested that the incident was a metaphor for Anne's experience of her father during this period. Anne's mother also drank, but regarded herself as a drunk rather than an alcoholic like her husband. Ralph Harvey finally sought treatment and gave up drinking in 1950.

When Anne was eleven, she was hospitalized for constipation, and her mother showed great anxiety over Anne's bowel movements, threatening her with a colostomy if she was not regular. Her father's aunt, Nana, moved in at this time, and Anne spent almost all of her spare time with Nana. However, after a couple of years, Nana suddenly lost her hearing and became quite child-like in her behavior. After some episodes of violence, Nana was given electroconvulsive therapy at a psychiatric hospital and eventually placed in a clinic. Around this time too, Anne's paternal grandfather had his second breakdown and was hospitalized. Later Anne came to think that maybe she had caused Nana's breakdown and that, one day, she would break down too.

In junior high school, Anne had many friends and began to take an interest in her appearance. Anne had a steady boy friend, Jack, from eighth grade into high school, and even at sixteen Anne and her friends went to bars and dances. Their favorite drink was Singapore slings. To calm Anne down, her parents sent her to girl's boarding school. Nevertheless, Anne got engaged to Jack, but he broke off the engagement soon

afterwards, leaving Anne heartbroken. Anne's time at high school was full of activities - swimming, basketball, cheerleading, theater and poetry. Her father liked her poems but always told Anne that she was not as brilliant as her mother. Anne's mother was jealous of her daughter, and her attitude led Anne to stop writing for ten years.

After the private high school, Anne went to the Garland School in Boston. She quickly became engaged again, but in the summer she met Alfred Sexton, known as Kayo, fell in love with him, slept with him, broke her engagement, and, thinking that she was pregnant and with the consent of her mother, eloped to get married in North Carolina in August, 1948. Kayo went back to Colgate where he was an undergraduate, but he dropped out at Thanksgiving, and the Sextons moved in with Kayo's parents. Kayo got a job in the wool business, while Anne did some modelling. They found an apartment in Cohasset (Massachusetts), and soon Anne fell in love with husband of a couple with whom they were friendly. Nothing developed from this, but Anne did consider divorce at the time and took an overdose of sleeping pills while others were around who could save her. Her mother suggested she seek counseling with Dr. Martha Brunner-Orne, the psychiatrist who had treated Anne's father for alcoholism.

At the start of the Korean War in 1950, Kayo joined the naval reserve and was shipped overseas. Anne soon began dating other men, but her mother found out and persuaded Anne to join Kayo in San Francisco. Once there, she became pregnant and came back to Massachusetts to give birth. Linda was born July 21, 1953. Kayo returned three days later to take up civilian life again. He joined Ralph Harvey's business as a road salesman. A second daughter, Joy, was born August 4, 1955.

Anne felt very constrained by the geographic closeness of her parents and her in-laws and by having Kayo work for her father. Anne was sensitive to the criticism from both sets of parents, and she and Kayo dreamed of leaving the area but never did.

Psychiatric Problems

Soon after the birth of Joy, Anne had what appears to be a post-partum depression. She consulted with Dr. Brunner-Orne who gave her medications and counseling. A few months later, Anne began to fear that she might harm the children. She suffered anxiety attacks, especially when Kayo was away on business, and was physically abusive to her daughters.

Eventually, Dr. Brunner-Orne recommended hospitalization at a private clinic. Anne was released in August, 1956, after a stay of three weeks. It was decided that Anne would see Dr. Brunner-Orne's son for psychotherapy, and Anne saw Dr. Martin Orne for the next eight years. Linda, now three, went to stay with Anne's sister, Blanche, for five months. Joy went to stay with Anne's mother-in-law, Billie, for the next three years.

Anne did not improve quickly. In November, she overdosed with barbiturates during Kayo's absence but called Billie to rescue her. Orne put her in a psychiatric hospital for five weeks, and Anne called this a psychotic breakdown and thought that she

was possibly insane. Orne, then and later, did not consider Anne psychotic. He eventually diagnosed her as hysterical neurotic. One problem in therapy was that Anne forgot much of what transpired in each session, and she seemed to have a tendency to fall into "trances" easily. Eventually Orne had her make notes after sessions and listen to tapes of the sessions.

Early in treatment, Orne suggested that Anne write about her experiences in treatment, and Anne began to write poetry again. After another suicide attempt in May 1957 (following her mother's mastectomy for cancer which her mother blamed on the stress created by Anne), Orne strongly urged that her poems might help others who had similar problems, and Anne began to seriously consider poetry as a vocation. In 1957, she brought over sixty poems to Orne for him to read. She decided then to enrol in a poetry workshop held at the Boston Center for Adult Education taught by John Holmes, a professor at Tufts University (whose first wife had died by suicide). Anne, timid at first, soon felt at home there and stayed two years. Her first poem was published in a local magazine in April, 1958. Thereafter, with surprising persistence, Anne submitted her poems for publication, recording the rejections, but never giving up.

Anne requested a third meeting each week with Orne, and he agreed provided that she paid for it (instead of her father-in-law). Anne did so by getting a job selling cosmetics door-to-door. Billie was now even more involved with Anne's life, taking care of Anne's family whenever Anne was too upset to do so.

Anne met a fellow writer, Maxine Kumin, at the poetry workshop, and they soon became close friends, calling each other every day to discuss their writing. They went to poetry readings together and socialized with their families. Anne also soon found a lover among her classmates.

By mid-1958, Anne had sixty poems in circulation, seeking publication, and the *Christian Science Monitor* accepted two for their July issues. Soon she had acceptances from the *Antioch Review*, *Harper's*, and *The New Yorker*. Anne was now taking antidepressants, and Joy came home for longer and longer periods. But at the same time, Kayo became increasingly upset by Anne's devotion to her poetry and her accompanying neglect of her family. The arguments often turned into physical fights, followed by remorse on Kayo's part. Anne eventually came to see that she wanted the physical attacks in part as punishment for her poor behavior. (In 1960 at Anne's insistence, Kayo began therapy for almost two years and got his anger under better control for a while.) Later that year (1958), Anne's father had a stroke, and her mother's cancer metastasized. In November, Anne went to her therapist's clinic for several days.

Anne went off to Ohio for a one-week poetry conference where she met W. D. Snodgrass with whom Anne corresponded for a year. In September, 1958, Anne joined Robert Lowell's poetry class at Boston University. At the end of 1958, the *Hudson Review* accepted a 240-line poem, and Anne began planning her first book. Anne showed great professionalism as a poet. She worked hard on redrafting poems, courting the editors of journals, and publishing poems serially in journals before they appeared in

book form, in short, actively promoting herself. She also began to develop a public image which led to her becoming one of the most memorable performers on the poetry circuit.

The Mature Poet

Anne's life pattern now crystalized into several themes. First, she continued to write productively and receive acclaim for her work. Poems and books appeared regularly, and prizes and honors were awarded to her, including a fellowship at the Radcliffe Institute, the Levinson prize from *Poetry* in 1962, a traveling fellowship from the American Academy of Arts and Letters in 1963 (for which she went to Europe with a female companion in 1963 and with Kayo in 1964), a travel grant from the International Congress of Cultural Freedom in 1964 (for which she took Kayo on a safari to Kenya), fellowship in the Royal Society of Literature in 1964, the Shelley Memorial Prize from the Poetry Society of America and a Pulitzer Prize in 1967, a Guggenheim Foundation grant in 1969, an honorary doctorate from Tufts University in 1970, and a visiting professorship at Colgate University in 1972. Her poetry readings increased in popularity until she was demanding \$1000 for each reading.

Not all was successful. Anne tried to publish short stories and a novel, but failed in this. She tried several plays, but only one was performed, *Mercy Street* in 1968 (though she was more successful with a musical ensemble which set her poetry readings to music). In addition, the British reception for her poetry and her readings was not anywhere near as positive as the American response.

Anne became poet in residence at a public high school in 1967 and the next year led a writing workshop at McLean's Hospital. In 1970, she began teaching part-time at Boston University and did so for the remainder of her life. Though she read at a few anti-Vietnam War rallies, Anne stayed out of involvement in the social and political issues of the day.

Writing continued to dominate her life, and she neglected chores, so that Kayo and her daughters, as well as her mother-in-law, all helped keep the household running while Anne wrote, traveled or stayed in psychiatric clinics. Eventually Anne's self-centeredness led her to parentalize her daughters so that they had to take care of her, and she used them for her comfort even to the point of sexually molesting them. She slept with and masturbated while lying in bed with Linda when Linda was eleven, and she kissed and masturbated by rubbing against Linda when Linda was fifteen, after which Linda began psychotherapy too.

Anne continued to take lovers to the point that her behavior seems promiscuous since none of them developed into an alternative relationship for that with Kayo. In 1960, she had an abortion because she was not certain that the child was Kayo's. She also had a brief homosexual encounter with a friend in 1965.

By 1966, Joy was in psychotherapy, and Anne was thinking of divorcing Kayo.

Anne realized that she was dependent upon Kayo for her stable home life, but she also resented his lack of support for her career as a poet. By 1969, Kayo was becoming violent again. His wife was brazen about her affairs, talking to lovers on the telephone when Kayo was home, and they were drunk by dinner-time most evenings. She moved out in January, 1973, but, after a court hearing in March, Kayo moved out of their house, leaving it to Anne. Anne found a live-in couple to help with the household, but they fled from her after a few months. Her daughters were growing up and away from her, and Anne found fewer available men for lovers.

Although Anne developed a public persona, witty and extraverted, she was tremendously insecure about meeting others and suffered great anxiety before public talks and parties. Eventually, she took to drinking alcohol to calm herself before public appearances. However, soon after her breakdown in the early 1950s, Anne had panicked whenever she had to leave the house, and so her development as a poet certainly eased the level of her anxiety. Anne always needed someone with her when she went to sleep, Kayo or some lover, even after she started taking sleeping pills regularly which knocked her out in minutes. One lover described her taking an indiscriminate mix of major and minor tranquilizers, antidepressants and barbiturates before bedtime. By the 1970s, Anne was clearly abusing both alcohol and medications.

Anne always needed, and was lucky to have, a series of colleagues or mentors, other poets, with whom she would correspond voluminously about work, as well as close-neighbors like Maxine Kumin and, later, Lois Ames with whom to share ideas and trips. After she fell and broke her hip in 1966, a neighbor, Joan Smith, helped nurse Anne and continued to help Anne for the rest of her life.

She continued to attempt suicide, seek frequent stays at clinics (which she also used as writing retreats), and to remain in psychotherapy. In 1974, after seven years of working with Anne, Orne moved to Philadelphia, and he was replaced by a therapist who committed professional misconduct by becoming Anne's lover. (He rejected Anne as a lover later when his wife found out about the affair.) When this therapeutic relationship ended in 1969, Anne transferred to a third therapist, this time a woman, who demanded that Anne break off her occasional sessions with Orne whenever he returned to Boston. However, in late 1973, this third therapist, angered at Anne, ended the relationship. Anne began to visit a social worker until a replacement therapist could be found, but in October 1974 she died by suicide.

In 1964, after a severe breakdown, Anne stayed in Massachusetts General Hospital, where she was given an antidepressant (imipramine) but switched to a phenothiazine (Thorazine). She took this for the rest of her life, but she felt that it destroyed her creativity (and prevented her from sunbathing), and so she often went for periods without taking it so that she could write. However, during those periods she would then become quite manic.

Suicide continued to fascinate Anne. She attempted suicide many times herself and for many years carried barbiturates in her purse with everywhere in case the mood to

die came on her suddenly. She talked to Sylvia Plath in the late Fifties about their earlier suicide attempts, and she was moved by Plath's suicide in 1963. A friend, Ruth Soter, possibly killed herself in 1964.

Anne suffered several losses in adulthood. Her mother died in March, 1959, and her father in June, 1959. Her father-in-law was killed in a car crash in 1960. Her sister-in-law was killed in a car accident on her honeymoon in 1969. But most important of all, in 1970, she met a man who claimed to be her real father and persuaded Anne that his affair with her mother had indeed resulted in Anne's conception. Anne's psychological state deteriorated after this disclosure - the first suicide attempt since 1966 and the first clinic stay since 1964.

The End

By the end of 1973, Anne was divorced but regretting it. She was living alone, abusing alcohol and drugs, having difficulty writing, and deserted by her friends who were bored by her problems and who disliked her drunken behavior. She took to phoning friends at all hours. In late 1973, her therapist refused to continue in therapy with her, and she began seeing a social worker for counseling. In December 1973, Philip Rahv, an old friend, died by suicide. Anne made two suicide attempts with medications in September, 1973, and two more over the Winter, but she told a friend that car exhaust was the way to die. Sexually lonely, she put personal ads in the local newspaper. She also took religious instruction and contemplated being baptized as an Episcopalian. Nothing seemed to work or to help her. On October 4th, she went into her garage, turned the radio on and started the car. She was soon dead.

Comments

For Anne Sexton, suicide was almost a way of life. A rough listing of her attempts (all with medications) is 1949, November 1956, May 1957, November 1961, July 1966, August 1970, September 1973 (two), Winter 1973-1974 (two), February 1974, and Spring 1974. Interestingly, she switched methods for her final successful suicidal act.

Anne remained in psychotherapy from 1956 until her death in 1974, and she was hospitalized on many occasions (at least seven times between 1956 and 1964 and at least four more times between 1971 and 1974). She took antidepressants and Thorazine (and suffered from some of the side effects, including tardive dyskinesia), but never received electroconvulsive therapy.

Anne fits well with her first therapist's diagnosis of hysteric. She was critically dependent upon attention, help and love from others. Alone, she panicked and fell into depressions. Like some of R. D. Laing's case examples Anne seemed only to exist when there were others to notice her. Her promiscuity fits well into this pattern. Her decision to divorce Mayo, coming as it did with her daughters growing independence and her mother-in-law's remarriage, was perhaps a mistake. Although her final decline began

some time before the divorce, it increased afterwards.

Anne was in psychotherapy from 1956 to 1974, and it is remarkable that it failed to save her or even modify her behavior much at all. Anne was depressed, a substance abuser, promiscuous and prone to trances right to the end. The therapist misconduct is also striking. One therapist used her for sexual intercourse; another demanded that she break with her first therapist (Orne) and then eventually abandoned her.

Her first therapist, Orne, seems to have hit upon the right vocation for Anne in encouraging her to write poetry, much of which was based on her experiences as a psychiatric patient. Anne, along with Robert Lowell and Sylvia Plath, encouraged poets to deal with subject matter long avoided, such as madness and the everyday concerns of normal people, including pregnancy and menstruation. It has been argued that writing poetry enabled Anne to survive longer than she might otherwise have done.

However, Anne remained developmentally immature, perhaps hampered by her parents ignoring her, except for harsh criticism, and her father's drunkenness and abuse. She never grew into a mature person, capable of taking care of herself or others, preferring the role of a dependent child. Finally, having rejected some and having been abandoned by others, she killed herself. Without the attention of others, Anne did not feel as if she really existed. Left alone, death could hardly be worse.

Reference

Middlebrook, D. W. (1991). *Anne Sexton*. Boston: Houghton-Mifflin.

LIZZIE SIDDAL

David Lester

Lizzie's parents, Charles Siddall and Elizabeth Evans, married on December 13, 1824. They lived in London for a while, moved back to Sheffield where Charles had lived, but soon moved back to London. His family had owned an inn in Derbyshire, and Charles spent a great deal of effort and money trying to prove he was the rightful owner of the inn, and this resulted in his family being much less well-off financially than it might have been. He was forced to earn a living as a cutler, and the family had become lower class as a result of Charles's legal battles, but they had aspirations of owning a home and employing a servant. Charles ran his business out of the home, and they did not live in anything approaching a slum.

Charles and Elizabeth's first children were Annie and Charles, and then Lizzie was born July 25, 1829, in Hatton Garden in London. The family moved to Southwark in 1831 in south London, where more siblings were born: Lydia, Mary, Clara, James and Henry. Henry, born in 1843, seems to have had learning difficulties but nonetheless entered the family business.

The parents had aspirations for their children. Although Lizzie does not appear to have attended school, Lizzie could read and write and developed a love of poetry. From an early age, she wrote her own poetry. The parents also taught the children middle-class manners. To support the family, because Mr. Siddall ran through the profits from the business in his legal battles, all the children had to go to work. Lizzie went to work for a hat maker, Mrs. Tozer, for about 24 pounds a year (about 1,500 pounds today).

Lizzie was 20 in 1849, tall, slender, with long red (copper-colored) hair, which in those days was considered unlucky and associated with witches, but she was striking. One of her co-workers, Jeanette, had a friend, William Allingham who had published a volume of poetry and who was friends with the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood. Allingham met Lizzie through Jeannette and saw that would make a great model for his friend Walter Deverall who needed a model for his painting of Viola from *Twelfth Night*. Deverall went to meet Lizzie, was impressed and prevailed upon his mother to get permission for Lizzie to be his model, both from Lizzie's mother and from Mrs. Tozer.

Lizzie was paid for the modeling and allowed to keep her job at the hat shop. Her respectability was preserved since Deverall's mother and sisters kept her company in the studio. As a result of this experience, Lizzie met the rest of the Brotherhood.

The Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood consisted of seven idealistic young artists who rejected the conventional style in art and set out to challenge conventions. Among them was Dante Gabriel Rossetti whose parents had come to London from Italy as political refugees. Dante's father was a university lecturer which gave the family status, but not a large salary.

When Deverall's painting was finished, the rest of the group all felt that Lizzie would make an ideal model. She sat for Holman Hunt and then for Dante, and so Lizzie found a new lucrative career that changed her life. Perhaps the most famous painting of Lizzie is *Ophelia* by John Everett Millais (1852). These young men made her feel idolized, and this was one of the happiest times of her life.

Lizzie and Dante

Dante was born May 12, 1828, the second of four children. Lizzie was very different from his two conventional sisters. In his and his family's eyes, Lizzie was from a lower social class, yet she saw herself as superior to him. Just as Dante felt his family would disapprove of Lizzie (and his sister Christina did disapprove when they met in 1854), Lizzie held off introducing Dante to her family because they would not have approved of him.

Dante fell in love with her and soon made sure that she modeled only for him. He tried to improve her, suggesting she change her name from "Siddall" to "Siddal," teaching her and encouraging her to be an artist too. Once Lizzie became his exclusive model, the other painters had to find other models and one, Annie Miller, became her rival, with much friction between them.

Once she became Dante's exclusive model and possibly lover, Lizzie gave up working for Mrs. Tozer which placed her in a vulnerable position financially since Dante was not responsible as far as money was concerned. Lizzie moved out from her parents in 1854 and into rooms, apparently paid for by Dante. There are rumors that they became engaged in 1851 and 1854, but Dante probably did not propose until Lizzie was near death in 1860.

Dante moved into an apartment paid for by his brother William and, although Lizzie did not move in with him, she was there with him constantly. (Had she moved in, Lizzie's reputation would have been ruined, and Dante would not have been able to marry her.) At this time too, in the early 1850s, Lizzie's health began to worsen. In 1852, Lizzie went to Hastings for a rest cure. Lizzie's artistic talent developed, and Dante was very excited by her work. However, now no longer a supermodel, Lizzie had become a mistress, a status that felt like a "living death."

Lovers

Hawksley could find no concrete information of when Dante and Lizzie became lovers and, indeed, whether they did become lovers before their marriage. Hawksley noted that Dante slept with other women during this period, and so he was not against sex outside of marriage. Hawksley considers the possibility that Lizzie refused to have sex with Dante, and there are no indications that Lizzie was ever pregnant before their marriage (nor that she had a miscarriage or abortion). Yet, on the other hand, the two spent so much time together, including in Dante's rooms.

Marriage

Hawksley discusses at length why Dante did not marry Lizzie. Did Dante ever propose and, if so, when? There is little information on this issue. Dante's family would have disapproved of the marriage. Lizzie was seen as socially inferior to the Rosettis, and Dante's brother and sisters did not particularly like Lizzie. However, other painters in the group did marry their models. Furthermore, Dante's father died in 1854.

In 1856, after Dante had an affair with Anne Miller, he did talk of marriage to Lizzie with his family and friends and planned a honeymoon in Algeria (where he planned to paint). But the plans never materialized. Everyone noted that Dante and Lizzie were in love with each other, and their love survived their arguments and Dante's affairs. In fact, Dante's friends thought that he was obsessed with Lizzie, to the point that it impaired his creative work.

Hawksley concludes that Dante was averse to marriage. After Lizzie's death, he never married again despite having passionate relationships. Hawksley observed that only one of the four Rosetti children did marry – neither of Dante's sisters married.

Lizzie's Health

Lizzie's health has puzzled commentators. It seems to have dated from the time when she lay in cold water, modeling for the painting of Ophelia. She often fell ill and took rest cures at the beaches. Hawksley rejects the suggestion that Lizzie had tuberculosis, but she did seem to have a digestive disorder – maybe irritable bowel syndrome, chronic indigestion or an eating disorder. To deal with this, Lizzie took laudanum (a mixture of alcohol and opium that was a commonly used medication in those days) and became addicted to it. Many of her symptoms (nausea, lack of appetite, a nagging cough, vomiting, breathlessness, weakness and dizzy spells) are symptoms of such an addiction. In 1855, Dr. Henry Acland at Oxford could find nothing wrong with her, and he concluded that her poor health was largely in her mind.

Lizzie also suffered from chronic depression, which could have led to her taking laudanum or resulted from the laudanum. Lizzie also used her illness to get attention and love, and she manipulated Dante by means of her illness. He would rush to her side when she was ill, whereupon she would recover in a few days. Hawksley noted also that Lizzie invented a story of an unhappy childhood with undertones of abuse, possibly also to gain the attention and sympathy of others. It appears that Dante liked his role of being Lizzie's chivalrous knight who protected and healed her. Indeed, the two months he spent with Lizzie in Hastings (where she was recuperating from a spell of ill health) after the death of his father were among the happiest times of their life together.

Lizzie's Creative Work

During her time with Dante, Lizzie developed her skills as an artist, both sketches and paintings, under the tutelage of Dante. She also continued to write poems. In a plan

devised by Dante, John Ruskin, a leading art critic, was introduced to Lizzie, liked her work, purchased some of it, and eventually became her patron, giving her 150 pounds each year. In 1855, Ford Madox Brown took Lizzie to buy her own artist materials for the first time.

1854-1860

The years passed with little change. Dante had affairs with other models (usually mistresses of his friends), Lizzie's health continued to ebb and flow, yet getting steadily worse, and the pair argued, separated, and came back together. Her addiction grew, fueled in part by Dante's affairs and her guilt that, now she had a patron in John Ruskin, she should produce more artworks. After an exhibition in May 1857 of Pre-Raphaelite paintings in London, in which Lizzie was the only female painter included, she decided to give up her allowance from Ruskin, and she moved north to cousins in Sheffield and to Derbyshire in order to break with Dante.

Ruskin put pressure on Dante to marry Lizzie, and from time to time, Dante considered it. His failure to go through with it led Lizzie to stop eating on occasions and attempts to break with him permanently. In 1860, Lizzie's health worsened, and her family, convinced that she was near to death, informed Dante who rushed to her side. This crisis led Dante to propose marriage, and they were married on May 23, 1860, in Hastings. They honeymooned in France and rented a cottage on their return in London. Lizzie's health improved, and she became pregnant. Rates of infant and mother mortality were high in those days, and Lizzie's addiction made prospects even worse. Her age (31) made the birth even riskier. Although there was anxiety, Lizzie was also happy and artistically creative.

The year of 1860 was a year of friendship and sociability. Several couples joined the Rosettis (including Janey and William Morris and Georgie and Ned Burnes), and even Dante's family became more accepting of Lizzie now that she was pregnant. However, Lizzie's health worsened in 1861, and in April Lizzie sensed that the baby had died (since it had stopped moving inside her). The baby was still-born in May 1861. Lizzie was depressed by the death of the baby and guilty over the fact that her addiction to laudanum had probably caused this. Added to this was a postpartum depression. Lizzie barely ate and sat staring into space for hours on end. Although Dante did not seem to have any affairs during this period, Lizzie was probably suspicious that he would do so. By the end of 1861, Lizzie had not recovered. By January, Lizzie was pregnant again but still taking large amounts of laudanum.

On Monday, February 10, 1862, Dante and Lizzie ate out (as was their custom) with their friend, Algernon Swinburne. They went back home, and Dante left to teach at the Working Men's College at 9 pm. Perhaps Lizzie was worried that he was having an affair. She took a huge overdose of laudanum. Dante returned home at 11.30 pm to find her comatose. A suicide note was pinned to her nightgown (which Dante later burned, but which asked him to take care of Harry, Lizzie's handicapped younger brother [Angeli, 1977]). Doctor's were called, to no avail, and she was pronounced dead at 7.20

am the next morning. At the inquest on February 13th, her death was classified as accidental, and Dante was able to bury Lizzie in a cemetery.

There were many rumors after her death, even that Dante had murdered her. Dante had put a book of new poems he had written in her coffin, and in 1869 permission was given by the Home Secretary to exhume the coffin (buried in the Rosetti family grave) to recover the poems. Charles Howell arranged this and was present at the exhumation, and he declared that Lizzie's body was perfectly preserved and that her hair had continued to grow, filling the coffin with her copper-colored hair. This became a well-known myth which is still current today.

References

- Angeli, H. R. (1977). *Dante Gabriel Rossetti*. New York: Arno Press.
Hawksley, L. (2004). *Lizzie Siddal*. New York: Walker & Co.

SOCRATES

David Lester

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

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

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

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

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

The Trial

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

Socrates' Views

Athens was a fully participatory democracy with freedom of speech as one its main tenets. Stone (1988) identified four words to describe freedom of speech in Athens and concludes that this freedom must have been truly a cornerstone of the society. As a

result, Athens attracted thinkers from all over who came there to exchange ideas and to debate one another.

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

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

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

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

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

The rule of the Four Hundred lasted only four months and the rule of Thirty only eight months, but there were many horrors committed during those brief periods. The possibility of new horrors must have scared the Athenians so that now Socrates' ideas were seen as very dangerous. In both coups, the aristocracy joined with the middle classes to disfranchise the lower classes, and then the aristocracy turned against the middle class. The aristocracy proved to be cruel, rapacious and bloody. The Thirty killed

more than fifteen hundred Athenians in eight months, more than died in the last decade of the Peloponnesian War.

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

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

The Verdict

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

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

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

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

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

References

- Anon. (1962). Socrates. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, pp. 915-920. Chicago: Encyclopaedia Britannica.
- Guthrie, W. K. C. (1971). *Socrates*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Stone, I. F. (1988). *The trial of Socrates*. Boston: Little Brown.

ELIZABETH CADY STANTON

David Lester

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

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

Childhood and Early Years

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Beginning of Her Activism

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Elizabeth as Activist

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

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

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

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

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

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

Death

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

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

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

Reference

Banner, L. W. (1980). *Elizabeth Cady Stanton*. Boston: Little Brown.

WILHELM STEKEL

David Lester

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

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

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

Wilhelm soon had disagreements with Freud. For example, Wilhelm preferred brief psychoanalytic therapy. He was also hurt when Freud chose Jung to preside over the new Psychoanalytic Society. He decided to join Alfred Adler in publishing an independent journal and to break with Freud.

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

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

ridiculed it.

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

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

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

Reference

Packer, V. (1964). *Sudden endings*. Greenwich, CT: Fawcett.

VICTOR TAUSK

David Lester

Victor Tausk was a psychoanalyst and pupil of Sigmund Freud. He killed himself in 1919 at the age of forty. Paul Roazen (1969) wrote a biography of Victor in which he accused Freud of causing Victor's suicide. Roazen thinks that Freud wished Victor dead and that Victor killed himself in response to this death wish.

(This phenomenon has been called *psychic homicide* by Joost Meerloo [1962]. In psychic homicide, a person murders another by getting him to die by suicide. The desire to have the person dead must be unconscious and so the psychic murderer denies any murderous intent.)

Eissler (1983) wrote a second biography of Victor in order to refute Roazen's claim. Eissler's aim is to free Freud from any responsibility for Victor's suicide. The facts presented may, therefore, be biased. Eissler is a psychoanalyst. Since psychoanalysts are trained to explore the motives behind behavior, both conscious and unconscious, the study of Victor, therefore, may be especially thorough.

Victor's Life

Victor was born on March 12, 1879, in Sillein, Hungary. He was the oldest child and had five sisters and three brothers. Victor's father had been a school teacher and an internationally famous journalist, before being given a government position. He was restless, frequently away from home, tyrannical with his family and unfaithful to his wife. He failed to provide for his family, and his wife had to borrow money from her mother to get by. Victor's mother was beautiful, self-sacrificing and lenient with her children.

The family moved to what is now Yugoslavia, ending up in Sarajevo, the capital of Bosnia which was occupied by Austria. Victor grew up, then, in a town in which he was doubly a minority, a Jew and German-speaking. In 1897, the family moved to Vienna.

Victor was antagonistic toward his father and in school rebelled against his religious teacher. Victor moved to Varazdin in Hungary where he passed his *Matura* with honors in 1897. He wanted to study medicine but could not afford it, and so he studied law which was less expensive. After flunking his first exam, Victor passed all his exams, was awarded a Doctorate of Law, and became a successful lawyer.

Back in Vienna, Victor had a romance with a Protestant, and eventually she became pregnant. They married in 1900, when Martha was nineteen, and moved to Sarajevo. The baby died at birth, but they had two sons in the next four years. (Incidentally, Victor hated his father-in-law, who hated him in return.) In 1905, Victor

and Martha returned to Vienna where Martha longed to live, and they decided to separate. Martha worked for her father, while Victor went to Berlin.

Victor decided to give up law to be writer. But his plays and poems were not very successful, and he was forced to work as a journalist, an occupation which he found degrading. His lack of success led to financial difficulties for him. He was lonely in Berlin and his self-confidence was low. In 1907 he had an unhappy love affair, soon after which he entered a private hospital with nervous and physical illnesses. Eissler suggests that Victor was depressed and may have possibly had a pulmonary disease. Victor stayed for three weeks. A trip to Italy improved his morale.

Victor read some of Freud's work and wrote to him. Freud encouraged him to come to Vienna to study psychoanalysis. Victor arrived in the Fall of 1908 and began to study medicine. Victor's divorce from his wife on grounds of mutual culpability was granted at this time.

During his studies, Victor was supported by Freud and four members of the Vienna Psychoanalytic Association. He became an MD in January, 1914. Victor was invited to be a member of the psychoanalytic group in 1909 and read his first paper there in November of that year. Interestingly, he had to abandon his talk before finishing it because of confusion and fatigue.

Victor's career as a psychoanalyst was quite successful. He gave regular lectures on psychoanalysis in Vienna, the only other member of the group to do so apart from Freud. He presented nine full-length papers to the group, without ever suffering from fatigue again.

During the First World War, from August 1915 to November 1918, Victor served as a chief physician of a psychiatry ward and as a neurologist in Belgrade.

Eissler summarizes Victor's professional achievements. He authored twenty eight psychoanalytic papers. He had poems published in German newspapers, and he had published a verse dialogue with Spinoza and many essays. Victor seems to have been good-looking, witty, and possessor of a brilliant mind. Woman found him irresistible.

Victor's Psychological Problems

Eissler sees Victor's problems with woman as central to his pathology. First, Victor seems to have felt a lot of anger toward his mother. For example, he remembered piercing a picture of his mother through the heart with a needle, which to Eissler suggests strong murderous desires. The source of this anger is not at all clear. All Eissler can suggest is that Victor was born on the same day as his mother, March 12, which may have led him to think of himself as having a special relationship with her. (Eissler notes that, as an adult, Victor felt himself to be privileged and unique.) The birth of eight children must have deprived him of his mother's attention, and it was perhaps this sibling rivalry which provided the basis for his anger at his mother. (Victor was twenty months

old when his first rival was born.) However, Eissler cannot account for Victor's anger at his mother. Rather, Eissler notes that Victor eventually showed a great deal of anger toward women, and from this he infers that this anger was first felt toward his mother. If Victor had not been angry at his mother, his relationships with women would have been less disturbed.

Victor also felt strong hatred toward his father, and this seems to have generalized to any authority figure (his religious teacher, his father-in-law, and perhaps even Freud). As a lawyer, he put this dislike of authority to good use in defending the poor and the downtrodden against the government, including for example those arrested wrongly and those who deserted the military.

Eissler goes on to speculate about other important symptoms. Because Victor wrote about the orgasm as not being fully satisfactory for many men, and in particular anesthesia of the penis, Eissler suggests that Victor might have had an anesthetic penis. This would have made him a great lover (since he could have prolonged his love-making beyond that possible for the average man) but would have made intercourse less satisfying for him. (Victor's son, Marius, was invited by Eissler to comment on the biography and rejects this suggestion. Furthermore, Eissler does not speculate on the cause of this symptom if indeed Victor suffered from it.)

Victor might also have felt depersonalized, that is, feeling strange and not being himself. Estrangement was combined with guilt too. If I recognize myself, then I must kill myself. Indeed, in a poem, Victor wrote: I know about myself, therefore I must feel contempt for myself, when I am conscious of myself under me.

Eissler notes that, despite his hatred of his father, Victor identified with him. Like his father he became a journalist, abandoned his family, was a poor provider, and was a philanderer.

Victor's difficulties with Freud took a surprising turn. Victor respected Freud and was able to fulfill his desire to study medicine. But Victor repeatedly claimed that Freud stole his ideas. He felt that the ideas he presented at meetings of the psychoanalytic group were later used by Freud without acknowledging their source.

Victor's Relationships with Women

Victor's first major relationship we know of was with his wife, Martha. Eissler presents a brief biography of Martha to show how strong, self-sufficient and healthy she was. (She eventually served as a member of Parliament and was a fine organizer and orator.) Eissler believes that Victor was dependent upon her. He stayed in contact with her after their separation, and his letters to her seem to be attempts to arouse her pity for him.

With other women subsequently, Victor had strong sexual desires and much anger. Roazen lists ten women with whom Victor had affairs. There were three or four

broken engagements. Victor seems to have been quite unethical too. A fellow-student of his has claimed that, when he gave a private course on hypnosis, he used the trances to find out which women would sleep with him. At a public clinic, he stimulated a woman's genitals with electricity to see if she could be sexually excited after removal of her ovaries.

For Eissler, this sexual promiscuity results from Victor's anesthetic penis. Rather than blaming himself for it, Victor was looking for the perfect lover who would finally give him a good orgasm. However, his anger was also apparent. He would tell lovers without warning that the relationship was over and that he could see them no more. The pattern seems to have been that the women became helplessly attracted and dependent on Victor resulting in an abrupt and unexpected separation. One of Victor's lovers told of how he boasted to her of his intimacies with other lovers and of the pleasure he got from humiliating them.

Interestingly, though, many of Victor's cast-off lovers remained attached to him. Eissler notes that Kosa Lazarevic, a Serbian aristocrat whom Victor rescued, loved and rejected, continued to care for his grave after his death.

On two occasions, the pattern was broken. His breakdown in Berlin in 1907 seems to have been brought about by a woman rejecting him. And during the war in Poland, he was depressed and told as friend that it was because his fiancé had slept with one of his patients. This episode too led to a stay in a sanatorium.

A person who fears rejection by others sometimes rejects them before they can reject him. It is less painful for him to hurt others than to be hurt. Thus, Victor's cruel treatment of women may well have been motivated by his fear of cruel treatment at their hands. He had to abandon them before they abandoned him. And on the two occasions on which they were too quick for him, he broke down. This pattern may have been a result of his mother abandoning him to take care of and love her later children.

Victor's sexual behavior also seems uncontrolled. Paul Federn was one of the psychoanalysts who helped Victor pay for medical school, but that did not stop Victor from trying to seduce Federn's wife. And as we will see, it was Victor's uncontrollable sexual desires that perhaps precipitated his suicide.

Precipitating Events

On returning in Vienna in 1919, Victor had to build up his career for the fourth time. He had already been a lawyer, a journalist and an analyst once before. Austria in 1919 was in financial ruin. Victor had to find an income in these circumstances.

He was able to acquire a few patients, some referred to him by Freud. Eissler analyzes Victor's income in detail and concludes that he had sufficient money. He also received parcels of food from time to time which supplemented the meager rations people were allowed (such as one loaf of bread a week). Eissler concludes that Victor

was better off than many intellectuals (such as teachers and government employees). He had a private practice, and he would eventually have probably obtained a university position. Though Victor was worried about his financial state, so were all Austrians. Victor made no mention of financial concerns in his farewell messages.

Freud and Victor

In December 1918, Victor asked Freud to see him as a patient. Freud declined but arranged for Victor to be analyzed by Helene Deutsch. Eissler notes, quite correctly, that this request by Victor reflects very poor judgment. Freud would have been a completely inappropriate analyst for Victor for they already had a complex relationship based upon their membership in the psychoanalytic group.

Victor accused Freud of plagiarizing his ideas. Eissler could find no evidence that this ever occurred, suggesting that Victor's claims were an illusion, or a delusion.

Later, Victor requested that Freud take his son, Marius, into treatment. Eissler points out that this implies that Victor did not harbor resentment toward Freud and that he probably realized how inappropriate his own request for treatment was. This request was also inappropriate, however. Marius felt neglected by his mother and had become closer to his father, but Victor's relationship to his son was not healthy. Victor was trying to probe his son's unconscious mind though Marius was only seventeen and global interpretations of a person's unconscious are not appropriate at any time outside of psychoanalytic treatment. Victor described his son to Freud as an 'eminently endowed psychoanalyst'! Victor tried to get Marius to leave Graz just before taking his university entrance exams and move to Vienna. Freud rejected Victor's suggestion, as did Marius himself.

Victor did visit Helene Deutsch for a few months before terminating the treatment. Deutsch was in analysis with Freud, and Victor refused all other analysts except Deutsch. It seems clear that Victor consented to see Deutsch *because* she was in analysis with Freud. It is as if Victor wanted to go into analysis with Freud simply to air his grievances about the alleged plagiarism, and he hoped that Deutsch would tell Freud about them. Deutsch has confirmed that Victor talked mainly about these grievances during his sessions with her. It was soon apparent that Victor's treatment was hopeless and that it was impeding Deutsch's treatment with Freud. Freud and Deutsch decided to end Victor's analysis.

Since Victor did not complain or argue against the termination, it appears that he did not seriously want to be analyzed and that his desire to air his grievances to Freud had been satisfied.

In all of this, Victor's relationships with Freud, with Helene Deutsch and with his son seem greatly distorted by Victor's needs. He cannot get what he desires, and so he thrashes around trying to satisfy his desires in these bizarre ways. Victor seems to have respected and admired Freud, but also felt hostility and rivalry with him. Yet Freud

seems to have behaved quite appropriately and maturely in dealing with Victor. (Freud was sixty-three at this time, and Victor's problems occupied only a very small part of Freud's life.)¹

The Final Events

Soon after his return from the war, Victor acquired a patient, Hilde Loewi. After the first treatment session, Victor became so enamored with her that he seduced her, even though he was engaged at the time to Kosa Lazarevic. (Hilde claimed she was a virgin at the time, and Victor admitted to one friend that he liked young girls and, if possible, virgins. Eissler notes how sexually titillating deflowering a virgin was in those days, and it was preferable not to use a condom in doing so.) Such behavior is totally unethical under any circumstances. Hilde became pregnant, and they went to a medical colleague, presenting Hilde as his sister-in-law and requested an abortion (which was illegal at the time). His colleague tried to induce an abortion but was unsuccessful. Victor proposed marriage only when efforts to abort the pregnancy failed. (After his suicide, Hilde developed a tumor, and the pregnancy was terminated. Eissler suggests that Victor's colleagues decided to provide an abortion and faked the medical justification for one.) Victor killed himself, therefore, knowing he was leaving his fiancé pregnant.

The Final Hours

One of the last people to see Victor before his death was his son Marius. They had supper in Vienna on July 2. Marius perceived nothing unusual in his father's behavior. Victor did not tell his son that he was due to marry the next day (nor did Marius ever meet Hilde). He did mention that he was attending his fiance's concert that evening. (Hilde was an accomplished pianist.)

Victor wrote three letters and a will in the twenty-four hours before killing himself. In a letter mailed on July 2 to his sister, he announced his engagement to Hilde and his marriage the next day. He hoped he was going to be happier in this second marriage than in his first.

He next wrote to Freud to apologise for missing the psychoanalytic meeting on the following day. He told Freud that he was trying to solve an important problem, that he didn't want to ask Freud for help and that he hoped to meet Freud soon, free from neurosis. He did not mention his forthcoming marriage.

At about one-thirty in the morning of July 3, Victor again wrote to Freud. He thanked him and said that Freud's work was authentic and great. He denied suffering from melancholia and said that his suicide was the healthiest, most decent act of his derailed life.

¹ . It has been suggested that Victor treated some patients inappropriately simply to show that psychoanalysis was ineffectual.

Victor then wrote his will. He said that his life has lost his meaning and he could no longer live with pleasure. He repudiated his talent, saying it was minor. He could not marry Hilde with any joy because he knew he would bring conflict and torment to them both. He asked people to forget him quickly. "I have deceived all of you with a life role to which I was not equal."

Eissler notes that his suicide was *not* the only decent act of his life and that his life had *not* been a lie. In both statements, he exaggerated. Eissler sees a last-hour collapse rather than a last-hour enlargement of self-knowledge.

Why didn't Victor just abandon Hilde as he had abandoned other women? Eissler argues that the pregnancy was a critical factor. To abandon a pregnant woman meant that Victor could have been sued and that he would have been humiliated in the eyes of his sons. The scandal would have forced him to leave Vienna. Victor had no alternative to marriage except death.

Eissler also notes that the punishment he inflicted on Hilde by killing himself and abandoning her in this way was an extremely cruel act. His suicide was an act of revenge for being trapped into marriage against his wishes. If had he waited twenty-four hours, the child would have borne his name and not been illegitimate.² The rumor was that when Hilde went to Victor's apartment for the marriage ceremony, she found him dead. Letting Hilde discover the body added to the cruelty of his actions.

Eissler proposes one final precipitating event for which he has little evidence. Freud, in commenting on Victor's suicide, mentions impotence as a cause. Eissler reckons that Victor went back to Hilde's apartment after her concert and was impotent for the first time in his life. For Victor to be impotent would have had drastic consequences for his self-esteem which was probably already quite low. This impotence may have been caused by his anger toward Hilde over the forthcoming marriage.³ Victor drank some alcohol, and then hung and shot himself.

Comments

The analysis of Victor's suicide provided by Eissler's biography is wonderfully rich and full. Although some parts of it are wild guesses based on very little evidence, we get a good feeling for the kind of man Victor was and how he came to kill himself.

Victor was not severely disturbed, for he was able to relate well to others and to build a successful career. However, at the very least, Victor had what we now call a personality disturbance, that is, a chronic maladaptive lifestyle. Victor's accusations against Freud, his rejection of others before they could reject him, and his treatment of

² According to some accounts, the marriage was to be one week later, but Victor and Hilde may have had to appear at the marriage office twice, on July 3 and on the following week for the final ceremony.

³ Hilde reported that Victor was very jealous and objected to her accompanying other artists in her concerts. This jealousy suggests an insecurity that would have been exacerbated by his impotence, especially if he saw his impotence as a chronic problem, bound to reappear.

his lovers all led to great unhappiness for Victor. He was hospitalized twice for depression after broken romances.

Eissler shows how Victor had created a situation in his final few weeks in which he felt trapped and for which he saw only one solution, death. He abandoned a fiancé for a passionate affair with a patient whom he got pregnant. He was being forced into a marriage he did not want for, if he did not marry Hilde, his career would be severely damaged. Victor chose death.

There is one major omission in the information we have about Victor. All first-born children have to deal with the birth of younger rivals. Very few end up hating their mother and relating to women the way Victor did. There must have been events in Victor's childhood which facilitated the development of these feelings and began the development of Victor's maladaptive lifestyle, but none have come to light.

References

- Eissler, K. R. (1983). *Victor Tausk's suicide*. New York: International Universities Press.
 Meerloo, J. A. M. (1962). *Suicide and mass suicide*. New York: Grune & Stratton.
 Roazen, P. (1969). *Brother animal*. New York: Knopf.

SARA TEASDALE

David Lester

Sara Teasdale was born on August 8, 1884 in St. Louis, Missouri. She was the fourth born, with a brother George aged twenty, a sister Mary (Mamie) seventeen, and a brother John fourteen. She was christened Sarah Trevor Teasdale, but later dropped the final "h". At home she was known as Sadie.⁴

Sara's father had intended to study law but went into business at the age of seventeen after his father died suddenly. He had been successful, ending up as a wholesaler in dried fruits, beans and nuts. He met his wife at the Third Baptist Church, where they were married in 1863, and they remained devoutly religious. At Sara's birth, her mother was forty and her father forty-five. Sara was almost like a grandchild in the family, only five years older than the first grandchild.

The dominant parent was her mother. Like her daughter, she too had a sickly childhood but became transformed upon marriage. Now she was an energetic and domineering mother. Sara's biographer speculates that to have had a daughter at the age of forty was unseemly in Victorian times. It advertised the fact that she and her husband still engaged in sexual intercourse. Her determination to bring her daughter up as the model of gentility was possibly an attempt to compensate for this shadow on her virtue.

Sara was watched over anxiously from birth and had an early tendency to frailness. She was never strong, got colds easily and was easily exhausted. When she caught a cold, she was treated as if she had pneumonia and put to bed. For much of her life, her family hired a nurse to be with her to ease the burden of daily tasks and see that Sara did not overtax her strength. Drake suggested that this concern for her led to Sara's life-long anxiety about her health. Her mother crippled Sara by her kindness and lavish concern. Sara's sickliness was not a *cause* of her lack of energy; rather it was a *result* of Sara trying to suppress her energy.

Sara was not exceptionally beautiful, and she always regretted this. She was indulged, surrounded by luxuries, given whatever she needed, and excused from household responsibilities. Sara never cooked, mended, or cleaned house. Sara was a placid, sweet-tempered and obedient child who learned to inhibit her hostile impulses. Drake reprints a photograph of Sara at age five, looking cute for the photographer, but clenching her right fist by her side, perhaps to help her suppress her inner feelings.

Sara was taught at home until she was nine. Thereafter, she attended private schools. Her parents discouraged her from playing with other children because of her frailty, and she became rather shy. At school, Sara did not go to parties, engage in athletics or have typical teenage fun. She was asked to be on the commencement program, but she declined the honor.

⁴ This essay is based on Drake (1979).

Although her parents were not especially interested in literature, Sara soon developed a passion for it, and her older brothers and sisters encouraged her poetic gift. The schools she attended gave her an excellent education in literature and the arts so that, even without a college education, Sara was well-read and informed.

The Young Adult

At school, Sara made several close friends and, after graduation, this group formed the nucleus of a group of women interested in the arts. They called themselves the Potters, and they decided to produce an artistic monthly magazine containing their literary and artistic efforts. Each month they produced just a single copy of *The Potter's Wheel*, from November 1904 until October 1907, thirty-six issues in all. The group also wanted to improve their skills, and so criticism was encouraged. Sara's poems first appeared in print in this magazine, and her first published book of poems contained many of these poems. From the beginning, Sara was very conscientious about her writing and distressed by flaws in her poems. She worked hard to improve them and relied on her associates for constructive criticism.

In this phase of her life, Sara was involved with a group of women, and friendship with women continued to play a major role for the rest of her life. In the Potters, Williamina Parrish played a prominent role in Sara's life, helping her organize the poems for her first collection. The women in these years played a nurturing and guiding role, taking the place of her mother in supporting her, and Sara always seemed to need one of them to help her complete a book of poems. (After Williamina Parrish, there was Marion Stanley, Jessie Rittenhouse, Marguerite Wilkinson, and finally Margaret Conklin) Later, however, she became less dependent upon them, and her final friend (Margaret Conklin) was more like a servant/daughter to Sara. In Sara's early years her heroes were women - Sappho, Guenevere and the modern Eleonora Duse. Nonetheless, she also needed fantasy male figures for her love poems. Until she was twenty-eight, though, the lovers about whom she wrote poems were almost entirely imaginary.

In 1905, Sara and her mother took a trip abroad for three months. By the time the boat reached Greece, which for a long time had fascinated Sara, she was ill with a fever. But she managed a little sight-seeing and recovered enough to visit the Holy Lands, Egypt, Italy, Paris and London. Sara enjoyed the trip immensely and took many trips abroad during the rest of her life.

The fame of *The Potter's Wheel* spread through the literary circles of St Louis, eventually reaching the attention of William Reedy who ran the *St Louis Mirror*. He included a piece by Sara for the first time in May 1906, and her pieces in the *Mirror* soon began to establish her reputation as a lyric poet.

In 1907, *Poet Lore* accepted one of her sonnets and later that year produced a book of poems for her which her family had to subsidize. Reviews of the book, in *The Saturday Review* of London for example, were favorable. In 1908, she had a poem

accepted in *Atlantic Monthly*, and Putnams brought out a book of her poems in 1911. Reviews in *The New York Times* and *Current Literature* praised it, and she became a member of the recently founded Poetry Society Of America. From the first, Sara had the tenacity to submit her work again and again to periodicals until it was accepted. She shrewdly sent copies of her books to supportive reviewers, and she cultivated friends in the literary field.

Sara continued to live at home, in a suite of rooms on the second floor, with a door isolating her from the rest of the house. Friends did not drop in on her casually. Rather, close friends had fixed, scheduled meetings, and their visits were kept brief so as not to overtax Sara's health. There were two main sides to Sara: this distraught, sickly person who withdrew into isolation, and a witty, intelligent and candid companion. However, this social side appeared only with those whom she knew well, and Sara preferred to develop new relationships through exchanges of letters.

There is no evidence that Sara was especially sickly. She had illnesses and fevers to be sure, but perhaps no more than the average person. Sara would get involved in social activities, and these seemed to arouse desires in her that she could not cope with. At this point, she would retreat into exhaustion and sickness and withdraw to a clinic or a hotel away from everyone to reorganize herself. Sara herself once wondered whether, had she been born into a poor family, she would have had better health! More likely, if she had not been so suppressed as a child and so repressed as an adult, she would have had no need for retreating into sickness.

In both 1908 and 1909, Sara's health continued to be poor⁵, and so she spent some time in San Antonio and at a hospital in Connecticut hoping to recover. Thereafter, when life became too much for her to handle, she escaped to this hospital under the guise of being sick. In San Antonio, she made the acquaintance of another poet, Marion Stanley, with whom she developed a close friendship. Marion tried to get Sara to see herself honestly and to get out of the path of sickness she had entered. However, even though every visit back home to her parents and St Louis brought on depression (and a desire for death) and a retreat into the patient role, Sara did not appear to have the strength to leave home and try to build a healthy life for herself. Sara was overwhelmed by the aggressive vitality of her mother, and the patient role was how she and her mother had learned to relate to each other in a semblance of a loving relationship.

In 1909, though, Sara decided that she did not want to live at home with her parents for ever, especially with her domineering and suffocating mother, but neither did she want to be independent and support herself. (If she ever had to do that, she said, she would kill herself.) She decided that she needed a husband to support her. So she began to look around.

In 1908, Sara had begun a correspondence with a poet in New York City, John

⁵ Sara's illnesses during her life consisted mainly of colds, sore throats, influenza, stomach pains, bladder inflammations, fever blisters, indigestion, flatulence, facial neuralgia, headaches, bronchitis, and back and neck pains.

O'Hara, which developed into a life-long friendship. However, Sara developed an infatuation with O'Hara which was fueled by her fantasies about him made possible by the fact that she had never met him face-to-face. Indeed, she was scared by the prospect of real love and avoided meeting O'Hara on several occasions. She eventually met him in the January of 1911, and this meeting introduced reality into her relationship with him.

In 1911, Sara persuaded her parents to let her go to New York (at twenty-seven, she still needed their permission), and she began visiting New York for meetings of the Poetry Society, building up close relationships with writers there. When away from New York, she kept in touch with friends there by letter. Interestingly, when she was in New York, Sara showed little of the exhaustion and illness that plagued her in St Louis.

In the summer of 1912, Sara and Jessie Rittenhouse took a trip to Europe, and on the boat back Sara met Stafford Hatfield, an Englishman, with whom she became infatuated. It is not clear whether he wanted Sara to become his lover or return to England with him. But Sara could not cope with her anxiety, and she fled back to St Louis. From afar, Hatfield no longer was as interested in Sara as he had once seemed, and eventually he ended the relationship. This episode persuaded Sara that she had to plan more purposefully to get married or else she would remain a spinster. Since erotic emotions scared her, perhaps rationality could find her a husband?

The next romantic figure was John Wheelock, also a poet. But though Sara fell in love with him and gave him every opportunity to declare his love for her, he never did. In 1913, Sara began a correspondence Vachel Lindsay, also a poet, and they finally met in 1914 in St. Louis. After this meeting, they wrote to each other more often, and eventually Vachel fell in love with her. However, in 1914 Sara was introduced to Ernst Filsinger, who was running a shoe business in St Louis. He too was attracted to Sara, and soon Sara had to choose which one to marry. John Wheeler was still the man she loved, she thought, but he did not want her. So she had to choose from two men, neither of whom she loved, but who seemed to love her.

In 1914, Sara's father had suffered a stroke and her mother's health was also poor. These events happened at a critical point for Sara. The poor health of her parents made the question of what would happen to her once they died more urgent. Vachel was poor, too full of energy and too egocentric to be a caring husband for Sara. Ernst appeared to fit the role much better. Their interests and natures seemed harmonious, and he appeared to worship her. He would make a good husband and father for her children. Despite Sara's misgivings, which she did not tell anyone till many years later, they married in December 1914 in St Louis.

The marriage was a disaster from the beginning. Sara could not abide sleeping with a man, and so they always had separate bedrooms, at home, in hotels, and even on board boats. Sex too, apparently, was a disaster. Sara developed a bladder problem that caused excruciating pain soon after the wedding which lasted for two years. That probably limited their sexual relationship. (Sara would probably have had difficulty

having a sexual relationship even with a man she loved passionately given the way she was raised.) More importantly, Sara never could feel passionately in love with Ernst.

Life must have been difficult for Sara at this point. She had chosen the conventional life of marriage partly to get away from her parents, partly for security, and partly because it she was a conventional person who expected to live conventionally. But since love was missing, and passion too, she had failed. She was faced with a difficult interpersonal relationship, an absence of love, but probable future unhappiness.⁶ Sara had one solution open to her. She retreated into illness again.

They made their home first in St Louis and then in New York City, and they chose to live in hotel apartments to spare Sara the strain of running a house and staff. Ernst was proud of Sara's poetic talent and encouraged her in every way he could. Her third book of poems appeared in 1915 from Macmillan, again receiving excellent reviews. And her next book of poems in 1918 received a prize that was the forerunner of the Pulitzer Prize.

Married life soon developed a clear pattern. Sara continued to write poems and edit collections. Ernst became involved in international trade and was called upon to travel the world widely, but at a pace that would strain Sara too much. So she stayed in New York and took trips to secluded spots around America. Sara continued to be frail, so that even socializing was restricted. She would send Ernst in her place occasionally to read her poems and to important meetings, and even to social events with her friends for company. Ernst screened her mail when she was away and occasionally handled her business affairs. Sara even turned down honors because they would involve evening dinners or travel.

Very soon a conflict developed in their relationship. Ernst's new job, after his shoe business went bankrupt, was in international trade. He became an expert on the topic. He gave talks all over America and traveled all over the world. Sara encouraged him in this, since she wanted him to be successful and she also wanted financial security. But she also resented the fact that he threw himself so energetically into his work. She was continually telling him to take it easy. (Ernst probably threw himself into his work because of the frustrations arising out of his marriage!)

Then again, she missed him a lot at first when he began to travel though, after he came back, she seemed unable to cope with him in their apartment. She would become depressed, fall ill and take herself off to her hospital in Connecticut or to a favorite vacation spot. In fact she seemed most content off by herself in hospital or resort hotel as long as Ernst stayed in New York City.

However, much as she found life with Ernst difficult, at least his presence kept her depression at bay and took her mind off self-destructive thoughts. Ernst's absences brought Sara closest to feelings of love for him.

⁶ Sara did respect Ernst and was grateful to him for the love he felt for her and for the care and respect with which he always treated her.

Surprisingly, in 1917 Sara became pregnant. Although she had thought she wanted to be a mother, the reality of it now threatened to interfere with her career. More importantly, it threatened her role as patient. How could Sara cope with taking care of someone else? So she had an abortion. Of course, she could justify an abortion on the grounds of her frail health, but she must also have felt a great deal of guilt over her decision.

For much of their life, their financial position was not secure. Though they could afford a comfortable life style, especially supplemented by Sara's earnings from her writings, in early years they had to borrow from Ernst's family to get by. Sara considered ways of increasing her contribution to their income, but she never did much about it.

The absences caused by Ernst's traveling grew. In 1920 and 1921, they were together just six weeks in a period of a year and a half. Sarcasm grew more common between them, they brought up old annoyances, and they readily got hurt over new trifles. Ernst grew more defensive, moody and irritable, and his explosive temper showed itself more.

The Divorce and Final Years

Sara's decision to divorce Ernst in 1929 came as a surprise to her friends. Sara feared abandonment, and this fear had been made worse by his absences. (In a letter Sara wrote to Ernst just before he sailed on the trip during which she would divorce him, she listed his previous trips in 1919, 1919-1920, 1923, 1925, 1928, and now the present one.) Eventually she began to fear that he would be attracted to another woman. (This was likely, of course, since she would not be his lover and since he was away a lot. However, there is no evidence that Ernst ever behaved in any way as to reinforce these fears.)

She had discussed divorce with Ernst before, but he had protested. So she planned the divorce in Nevada while he was away. She divorced him for mental cruelty and begged him not to contest it. Although she expressed euphoria at being free when she was back in New York, she soon sank into a depression. After the divorce, Sara lived in hotel apartments by herself, just as her marriage had consisted of living in hotel apartments mainly by herself while Ernst was away. Her life changed little, except that Ernst no longer made occasional visits!

Sara met a young student, Margaret Conklin, who became her close friend in her final years. Margaret would visit daily, and they went to Europe together. However, interestingly, Sara showed little concern for Margaret. She ate meals sent up to her from the hotel in front of Margaret without ever worrying whether Margaret had eaten. Sara had been in the patient role all of her life, with others taking care of her, so that she had never learned that sometimes one has to take care of others. If Margaret upset Sara in some trivial way, she would even be banished for days at a time.

Sara grew more inflexible. She still gave friends specific appointment times for their visits, and now she kept them waiting if they arrived a few minutes early. These latter years illustrated quite clearly her egocentricity, her lack of caring for others, and her selfishness.

In the final years of her marriage, Sara had experienced periods during which she could not write. She went from the summer of 1920 till November without writing one poem. These long barren spells became quite common. Five months in 1925. More during the period leading up to her divorce. But even after the divorce, writing was not easy.

Sara had experienced depressions throughout her life. In later years she lost weight. She suffered from insomnia, though in her creative periods she would work on her poems during the night, and she also had trouble getting up in the mornings, typical symptoms of depression. She took Veronal as a sleeping tablet. Her moods varied with the seasons. Her depressions were worse in winter, and she hated the cold weather since it brought on her respiratory illnesses. As she grew older, external events led to an intensification of her depression (such as the marital problems of her friends, the Untermeyers, and the suicide of their son).

Sara's father died in 1921 at the age of eighty-two, and this was a severe loss for Sara. Her mother died in 1924, as did her older brother George. In 1928, a friend, Marguerite Wilkinson, drowned after recovering from a nervous breakdown. Later that year, Sara was injured in taxicab accident. In September of the year, Ernst's father died.

Sara's concerns over her finances grew. After her parents' death, the inheritance was not as great as had been expected. The stock market crash in 1929 also increased her anxiety. After the divorce, though she had asked for no alimony, Sara tried to get Ernst to set up a trust fund for her. She worried whether she could afford to renew the lease in her hotel and decided to move a cheaper apartment. Her concerns became almost a nightmarish obsession. However, she left almost eighty-four thousand dollars, and so it appears that her financial concerns were irrational.

After her divorce in 1929, many of Sara's friends moved away from New York City, and she was often lonely. Despite craving company, she often rejected offers from friends to visit her, pleading illness. In 1931 Vachel Lindsay killed himself by drinking Lysol, and Sara was distraught over this. For many months after Lindsay's suicide, Sara feared that she was about to have a complete physical breakdown or die in an accident.

Sara was no longer able to write productively, but John Wheelock suggested she write a biography of Christina Rossetti. Macmillan gave her advance on the project, and she had written about a hundred pages at the time of her death.

In August 1932, Sara went to England to gather material for the biography but got pneumonia. She came back to America in September, 1932, still sick, and recovery was slow. She was very weak and deeply depressed. She had failed to build a fruitful life

after the divorce, and now only ill health seem to lay ahead for her. She worried that her heart had weakened and that her blood pressure was fluctuating too much. Her friends were very concerned over her despondency. She was taking sleeping pills regularly and seemed severely depressed.

During the Fall, the deaths of some friends deepened her despondency, and in December she began to accumulate a supply of sleeping pills. She began to fear having a stroke, like her father and her brother John (who had lived for twenty years after a paralytic stroke, dying in 1917 at the age of forty-seven).

In December, she went to Florida to stay with Jessie Rittenhouse but lay in bed all day with the drapes closed. Jessie discussed the situation with Sara's doctor and nurse and they all felt she should return to New York and seek psychiatric help. She developed an obsessive but unfounded fear that her blood vessels were beginning to rupture, increasing her fear of a stroke. On January 27, 1933, a blood vessel did break in her hand, making her frantic with the idea that her long-awaited stroke was imminent.

On the evening of January 29, 1933, Margaret Conklin visited her. They read and listened to Beethoven's *Fifth Symphony*. Sara was found the next morning at 9 am by her nurse, dead in her bath after taking an overdose of sedatives. The water was still warm, and perhaps the nurse could have saved her had she checked earlier.

Discussion

Drake (1979) points out that four major women poets of the Nineteenth Century (Emily Bronte, Christina Rossetti, Emily Dickinson and Elizabeth Barrett Browning until she was forty) were all recluses like Sara. All four belonged to very close family units which fulfilled their desires for affection and intellectual stimulation. Sara ventured out more than some of her predecessors but continually retreated into seclusion because of her "illnesses", becoming almost a total recluse by the end of her life.

The Victorian era encouraged women in the creative arts but undermined their self-confidence. They were allowed to dabble, but they were not supposed to achieve. When they did write poetry, they wrote mostly about love, protective love and the desire to submit to the ideal lover. However, it was not always easy to find this in their own lives. They often ended up renouncing love for men and substituting an attraction to death. They frequently had mysterious physical weaknesses and chronic ill health, a neurotic way of resolving the conflict between their personal desires and the conventions imposed upon them by the society.

Sara was a chronically depressed woman whose depression worsened as she grew older. In her middle age, concerns that were mild as a young adult grew to be irrational obsessions. She feared poverty and an imminent death, though neither was very likely. It is unfortunate that Sara would contract a real illness (pneumonia) at this time and that a blood vessel did break in her hand. Her irrational concerns no longer seemed so irrational to her.

She had struggled to lead a conventional life but failed. Sara never learned to form and maintain healthy interpersonal relationships. The patient role she learned as a child was of no use to her in marriage. Simply put, she failed to mature. She remained a child, as evidenced by her failed marriage and the self-centeredness she displayed in her friendships.

Her childhood experiences led her to repress her basic emotions. Anger, curiosity of the world, sexuality were all suppressed by her aged parents, and in particular by her mother. She married at thirty with no realistic idea of the responsibilities of a person involved in adult relationships.

The prospect of having a child frightened her so much that she had an abortion. In looking for an event that could have turned her life around, this might have been it. The easiest change for a person to make in life is to switch to a role that is complementary to one that she has already had. Perhaps Sara could have become the nurse (mother) taking care of the patient (her baby) after her years of experience as the patient? But maybe not. Anyway, Sara panicked and avoided the experience.

By the end of her life, she was finding it hard to write creatively, she was lonely and isolated, and her irrational fears and depressions were getting worse. Sara had often contemplated death, and now she planned it. She had long used sleeping pills and knew the peace they brought her. And so she sought the ultimate peace, not in bed, but in a warm bath, as if seeking the womb from which she may have wished that she had never emerged.

References

Drake, W. (1979). *Sara Teasdale*. New York: Harper & Row.

ERNST TOLLER

David Lester

Toller was born at Samotschin in Prussia, near the Polish border, on December 1, 1893. His father was a town councillor, and his mother looked after a shopkeeping-agricultural establishment. Both supported the Imperial regime. His great-grandparents had come from Spain and Poland to Prussia and retained their Orthodox lifestyle. His grandfather studied the Talmud day and night.

The Prussian Jews of the region were nationalistic and enthusiastic about German culture. From an early age Toller began to dislike both Poles and Catholics and wanted to become a fully-accepted German. He despised Slavs and rejected Judaism. He was pleased when he was able to attend a boy's Latin school run by a Christian pastor rather than the separate school for Jewish children.

He went on to the Bromberg Realgymnasium which aimed to produce obedient servants of the state, and Toller became an ardent nationalist. He thought of becoming a writer, an actor or a farmer, but he also wanted wealth, comfort and fame. He enrolled at the University of Grenoble in 1913, joining many other German students there, and attended lectures on law, literature and philosophy. When Austria declared war on Serbia in 1914, he hurried home and joined the military. He was sent to the barracks in Munich, and in March 1915 he volunteered for the front-lines. He was sent to the artillery at Pont-à-Mousson and then to a machine-gun section at Bois-le-Prêtre. His service ended in May 1916 partly because of a nervous breakdown and partly because of heart and stomach trouble and, as happened to many others, the horror of the First World War changed his views from militarism to pacificism.

He enrolled at the University of Munich and studied art, law and literature, picked up his writing again, and led a comfortable life -- visiting galleries, attending concerts and vacationing with an unnamed sweetheart. But he soon fell under the influence of the young Expressionist generation. As an intellectual leader at the university, he was invited to a congress of culture at the Thuringian Castle of Lauenstein in 1916, but the remoteness of the discourse from the reality of the trenches angered Toller.

Toller moved to Heidelberg for the winter semester and joined a group agitating for international conciliation and the abolition of poverty. The group was attacked by right-wing newspapers and professors and called traitors and pacifists. The government deported the foreign members and put the German men into the military. Toller escaped to Berlin but then returned to Munich with Kurt Eisner, the Independent Socialist leader. Eisner aroused the workers and organized a strike, whereupon he was arrested. Right-wing socialists took over the organization, and the strike collapsed.

During this time, Toller made his first political speech and wrote an appeal to the people of Munich which brought 50,000 workers to a public protest. As a punishment, Toller was put back into uniform and sent to a military prison. In prison, Toller had time

to write and he finished his first play (*Die Wandlung*), and he now became a socialist. Conflicts with the authorities and illness led to a transfer to a reserve battalion. His mother took legal steps to have him declared insane, and he was sent to a psychiatric clinic. He was released back into service after four days, and he served until the summer of 1918.

He now decided to become active in politics. He went back to Munich to join Eisner who was now the Prime Minister of the Free State of Bavaria, appointed by the Workmen's and Soldiers' Council, and Toller became president of the Central Council of Workmen's, Peasants', and Soldiers' Soviets, representing Bavaria in the National Congress of Soviets held in Berlin in December, 1918, after the Armistice.

After attending the Congress of the Second International in Berne in February 1919, Eisner was assassinated in Munich on February 21. The deputies fled, and Bavaria was left without a government. The Communists refused to participate in a new government, and soon rival governments were established. On April 6, the Socialists and other groups, led by Toller and others, set up a Bavarian Soviet Republic without Communist support, whereupon the Communists tried to overthrow it. Eventually White troops entered Munich on May 1 and defeated both the Socialists and the Communists.

Toller went into hiding but was caught and sent to prison. The court acknowledged that Toller's motives in the political conflicts were honorable and sentenced him to only five years of imprisonment. He began his sentence in the summer of 1919. He had time for political discussions with the other prisoners and for writing, and he fought the authorities for the rights of the prisoners. Between 1919 and 1924, he wrote his best works, plays, poems and essays. As his sentence drew to a close, Toller began to fear freedom -- could he take care of himself and could he meet others' expectations for him? He longed for death instead. He was released out of state (in Saxony) on July 15, 1924.

At the age of 31, he resolved to fight for a better world, but free from involvement in the political parties. First, he worked to get left-wing political prisoners released. He visited Russia in 1926 and again in 1934 and the United States in 1929. He continued to write, but Willibrand (1940) considered his creativity to be in decline during these years. However, his works were translated widely and continued to appear in print during the 1930s.

He visited France and England and went to the United States in 1936 with his young wife, the nineteen-year-old actress, Lili Christiane Grautoff. He went to Hollywood where he wrote scripts and his wife acted. In 1937, he wrote *No More Peace!*, a pro-pacifist anti-Nazi satire, translated by W. H. Auden. During the Spanish Civil War, he worked to feed the starving on both sides of the conflict, eventually turning over the proceeds of his efforts to the Quakers.

He was working on *Pastor Hall* in 1939 along with other projects, but he was plagued by melancholia, insomnia and doubts over the quality of his current writing. He

gave a talk on May 21 to the International P.E.N. Club convention in New York City and that night spoke out against suicide. The next afternoon he hung himself in his hotel bathroom.

His suicide created a sensation in literary circles throughout the Western world. Commentators wondered what role was played in his decision by his disillusionment with war and revolution and his opposition to violence, the burden of his fame, his financial difficulties, and his declining creativity. Others focused on his disappointments in love, frictions with colleagues⁷ and residual psychological problems from his imprisonment. His suicide seems to have motivated by many possible desires, yet it remains a puzzle.

References

- Liptzin, S. (1971). *Germany's stepchildren*. Freeport, NY: Books for Libraries Press.
 Toller, E. (1934). *I was a German*. New York: William Morrow.
 Willibrand, W. A. (1940). Ernst Toller and his ideology. *Iowa Humanistic Studies*, 7, No. 412.

⁷ He was facing litigation over material he had purchased for his last play Pastor Hall.

NICK TRAINA

David Lester

I must apologize. My dislike of Danielle Steel is clear in this essay. I have never met her, nor read her books. I admit that her son, Nick, may well have killed himself whatever Steel may have done for him during his nineteen years. What annoyed me was the tone of the book, the complete absence of consideration of the role that she may have played in his life course.

I dislike the medical model of human behavior, the assumption that all of our behavior can be put accounted for by genes and neurophysiology. If that is so, then our life experiences are unimportant. Therefore, we could abuse our children, sexually molest them, whatever, and it would have no impact because the genes determine everything. The stupidity of this conclusion makes it clear that genetic factors play only a role in determining our behavior and that our experiences play an important role.

As someone who believes in the psychodynamic explanations of human behavior, Steel's attribution of Nick's suicide to a genetically-caused bipolar affective disorder and attention-deficit disorder, passed on presumably through his biological father's genes, offends me.

Nick's Story

Danielle Steel was twice a divorced woman when she met Bill and got pregnant by him (probably in 1978). They had no intention of being married, but they did marry so as to legitimize the child. When Steel was six months into the pregnancy, Bill moved in, but he went back to drugs and was barely around the home. Nick was born in May, 1978.

During Nick's birth, a labor that lasted twelve hours, the baby became stuck in the birth canal, and Steel had to have a cesarean section. Bill disappeared soon after the birth, leaving Steel and her daughter, Beatrix, nine years old, to raise Nick. As an infant and toddler, Nick was healthy and happy. The only problem was his adverse reactions to medications -- Dramamine made him hyperactive, while coffee put him to sleep. But several problems quickly appeared.

First he was voracious. Steel had to feed him a lot, and this continued all his life, although he was fat only as a baby.¹ Eventually, his high activity level "burned off" the calories. Steel and her housekeeper spoke to him in Spanish, Beatrix in English, and Nick was soon bilingual. He took his first steps and spoke his first words at 8 months, and could talk in sentences at one year. He soon developed strong opinions, about such things as clothes, activities and favorite music, and Steel describes him as precocious. However, he still wet the bed at two-and-a-half, and he very stubborn and belligerent at this time. Other parents might have seen such a child as gifted.

¹ Suggesting strong unresolved oral needs.

Nick did not sleep a lot and made it clear he wanted to sleep with his mother. Steel says that she lost the battle. She would put him to sleep in his room, but he would get into her bed once he was asleep. And Steel did not really mind:

I loved having him with me. I loved being with him, and near him, and cuddling him, blowing raspberries on his stomach, and feeling the silk of his blond bowl cut on my cheek. (p. 18)

At first, Steel's dating and love life was nonexistent. Tom Traina came into her life when Nick was two, and Steel and he were engaged after six weeks of dating.² Before the honeymoon, Nick came into their bedroom and said "Mr. Twaina, what you don't understand is that I want her to myself" (p. 34). Steel was quickly pregnant, and Nick's father came back to request visitation rights. He visited a few times and then disappeared again. Nick also was furious about the baby (born just after Nick turned 4) and persecuted her, Samantha, for the first twelve years of her life.³

Steel lost the next baby after two-and-a-half months of pregnancy, but then soon got pregnant with Victoria. Nick's father surfaced again. Nick began wetting the bed and defecating in the bath. The visits with his father upset him, both when they happened but also when Bill failed to show. Nick would feel that he had done something to upset Bill. Soon, these visits stopped.

Victoria arrived when Nick was five-and-a-half. Nick has an asthma attack that night (not his first), but so severe he had to be rushed to the hospital. Nick ignored Victoria, focusing his hatred on Samantha. Vanessa arrived when Nick was six-and-a-half, Maxx when he was eight-and-a-half and Zara when he was eleven.

When Nick was seven, Steel and Tom went to court to terminate Bill's rights, and Tom adopted Nick. Nick said he did not want the younger children to know he was not Tom's son, and Steel and Tom agreed to this!

Although the bed-wetting stopped when Nick was six, and his behavior at school was fine, he was destructive with his toys, still stubborn and oppositional, liked to play war and draw black and bloody drawings, and was rough with his siblings, although he "never physically attacked or injured them" (p. 47). He was on the honor roll at school, and his intelligence test score was very high.

At eleven, skateboarding was his hobby and music became his passion. But he was self-centered, uninterested in other people's needs or problems. He also gave up sports, at which he had been quite good. Steel had worried about him from birth on, but now she became very worried. She says that she had no idea of what was wrong with Nick.⁴ She did not even discuss her concerns with her husband. She did notice that the Tylenol was disappearing and realized that Nick was "self-medicating." Nick then turned

² Tom had two older children, Trevor 12 and Todd 11 to go with Beatrix who was now 13.

³ After which, according to Steel, they adored each other.

to Sudafed once Steel locked up the Tylenol. Steel had Nick see her therapist, but the therapist did not see anything direly wrong with Nick.

Decline

In seventh grade, Nick began to be a problem at school, and Steel was often called by the administrators. The school recommended a therapist who focused on the family, an orientation that Steel did not welcome. Nick began to use drugs -- alcohol, marihuana and LSD -- although Steel found out about this only when reading Nick's diaries after his suicide. Nick also became sexually active which Steel knew about, and she authorized the pharmacist to sell Nick condoms.

Toward the end of the school, one of his best friends, Sarah, was killed while crossing a highway. The loss devastated Nick, and he never got over it -- he continued to refer to Sarah in his diaries for the rest of his life.

In summers, Steel would put Nick in camps, but he hated them. He was bored staying at their summer home in the Napa Valley, but he liked the holidays in Hawaii. There, he drank, smoked marihuana and picked up women, for as a teenager he appeared to be much older.

In eighth grade, Nick remained sad over the loss of Sarah, and he continued to see the therapist. His behavior at school was still a problem and he was often on probation and threatened with expulsion. He began to stay in his room a lot, and he wrote about his depression in his diary -- he even wondered whether he was manic-depressive.

Meanwhile, Steel was becoming famous, and the tabloids began to pry into her life. The details were published -- her first marriage, her second to man who was later convicted of rape, and her marriage to Bill and Nick's birth. Bill appeared on television, and Nick wrote him and apparently contacted him.

The school expelled Nick two weeks before graduation. After much bargaining, they let him study at home and receive his diploma, but they would not let him attend graduation. After this, the high schools that had accepted Nick withdrew their offers, except one boarding school which allowed him to enrol. Nick was now fourteen.

After ten days of the new school year, the school called Steel and told her to pick him up. A counselor whom Steel had found told them that no school would take Nick. Steel put him in a wilderness program for a few weeks without warning him, she says, because she was advised not to. The man from the program arrived at 6 a.m. to pick up Nick. During this time, a doctor whom Steel knew found a small boarding school for disturbed kids

While Nick was at the wilderness program, Steel wrote him a letter

⁴ And she made little effort to find out, for example, by taking a course on abnormal psychology or buying a textbook.

Sweet darling Nicky, The words tumble all over my head, my heart, my tongue...I am dying to see you!!! A thousand million bzillion times I've thought all kinds of thoughts and messages, and silly things to you, since you've been gone.....I love you. I love you so much. Oh how I have missed you!!!! I have been in your room a thousand times a day... (p. 87)

Other parts of the letter were more motherly, but the letter is not the kind of letter than mothers write sons. It is more the kind of letter lovers write each other.

Unfortunately, the new school proved to be bad, and so she withdrew him after five days. Steel found Nick a new psychiatrist and a school in a neighboring county. Steel also took him to a local drug program where they met a counselor named Julie who they both liked very much. Gradually Julie became more and more involved with Nick and Steel, eventually becoming his second "mother."

Nick continued to stay in his room a lot, and Steel later found out that he was using marihuana, LSD, ecstasy and speed. However, the psychiatrist saw Nick as a bright spoiled boy having problems with adolescence. Steel's own therapist suggested that Nick was mentally ill, schizophrenic or manic-depressive. Steel says that this news shocked her! Nick knew he was disturbed, and Steel seems to have suspected it all along. Why was she surprised? And surely her therapist at this time could have suggested an appropriate referral? Instead, Julie, an untrained counselor, started coming to Steel's home every day to see Nick. Steel tried behavioral contracts with Nick, but he could not keep them. At the end of the school year, Nick's school insisted he receive psychiatric treatment before being allowed to return for the next year. Nick was now fifteen.

Julie found a psychiatric hospital in another state for Nick, and Nick's psychiatrist approved of the place. Nick was difficult to control there, and he decided he hated his family and was never coming home. The hospital suggested that he make himself a ward of the court. Steel got a lawyer, and the hospital agreed to let Nick come home. So after two weeks, Julie went with a bodyguard to pick Nick up.

Two things stand out here. First, Steel did not go -- she sent Julie to collect Nick. Second, Nick became angry at his family. Rather than seeing this as a possibly appropriate development and therapeutic progress, it is seen as a sign that the hospital is not good for Nick. How could Nick be angry at his family?

However, Steel did not want Nick at home. She could not find a psychiatric hospital for him, so she turned again to drug programs, despite knowing that they were not suitable. She put him in another residential drug treatment program, and again she pulled him out. Back at the summer home in Napa, Nick was depressed. Nick's psychiatrist suggested a complete psychological evaluation before prescribing any medication, so Steel took him to a psychologist. The psychologist needed several sessions, and after the first suggested that Nick was manic-depressive. He then went away for a month before returning to complete the evaluation, and then took two weeks

to write his report. Remember, this is California in the 1990s, and yet Steel, by now extremely wealthy, can find only incompetent mental health professionals!

Nick refused to go back to the psychiatrist, but agreed to see the psychologist who had decided that Nick had attention-deficit disorder and atypical manic-depressive disorder. "They" put him on Prozac.¹ Nick improved a little, but was still clearly depressed.

At this time, a biography was coming out on Steel with details of Nick's adoption. Nick was upset about this since his half-siblings still had not been told the truth. Steel went to court, but lost. Nick's behavior at school continued to be poor -- he still showed little impulse control, and the school expelled him at Thanksgiving, after just one year.

They found a new school, luckily, and Julie visited Nick every day. Julie (again) explored mental hospitals which might be suitable for Nick. They thought of a "famous" one in Kansas (could it be the Menninger Clinic?), but decided that it was too far away. Julie even spent three months touring the country trying to find resources, finally finding one not too far away. They sent Nick there in February for a week, and they found no evidence of manic-depressive disorder or attention-deficit disorder, although they agree he was quite disturbed. Julie had also found a new psychiatrist for Nick.

At fifteen, Steel described Nick as being unable to do things -- he could not close the refrigerator door, feed his pet, make his bed, flush the toilet. He also lacked awareness and had poor impulse control. She could not take him traveling with the family any more. He could not cope with stimulation and confusion.

The new psychiatrist, who remained Nick's therapist until his suicide, diagnosed manic-depressive disorder, attention-deficit disorder and suspected neurological damage. Lithium is the preferred medication, but can cause kidney damage. So Dr. Seifried prescribed Prozac again. Nick seemed to improve.

That Spring, Steel hired attendants for Nick, and after many had stayed for a while found two who stayed with Nick until his suicide. They left him alone to sleep at night but took it in turns to accompany him for the rest of the day. Nick also sometimes attended twelve-step programs in order to stay away from drugs. Steel also had Nick take daily urine samples, and Nick managed to stay drug free, most of the time.

That summer (1994, when Nick was sixteen), Steel took the family to France, leaving Nick in a camp. He called upset saying that they would not let him have his medication and that he wanted to come home. He walked out, and Julie had to rescue him. Julie and the housekeeper found him in a motel (from where he had called Steel), having ordered 480 dollars of pizza. Julie took Nick to the hospital which had evaluated him in February until Steel could get back.

¹ Steel seems to confuse psychologists and psychiatrists, using the terms interchangeably for the same person. Obviously, the psychologist could not prescribe Prozac.

The hospital recommended long-term residential treatment, but Nick was miserable about the idea. The staff seemed to have given him Thorazine and put him in a quiet room to sleep for much of the time. Steel took him out after 39 days.

He went to join the family in Napa, but soon got bored. He had also started a band, Link 80, for which he sang and wrote songs, and he played with them that summer. He visited Julie but ran away. Nick's psychiatrist recommended a small hospital in the East Bay and, resentfully, Nick went there. Meanwhile, Steel notes that her marriage to Tom was falling apart, a not surprising turn of events.

Julie had a husband and two children, Serena eight and Chris four. Julie and her husband offered to let Nick stay with them, and Steel agreed. Thereafter, Steel and Julie became "tag-team" mothers for Nick. He stayed with both, and they consulted continually about him. Eventually, Julie and her husband moved to a house with a separate cottage so that Nick could stay in the cottage or in Julie's house.

Steel says that she regrets agreeing to this, even though Nick was happy there. It really begins to seem that anything which might work for Nick upsets Steel, but she does not want Nick at home and she does not want to have to handle the problem herself. Julie finds programs for Nick. Julie picks him up when he can't stand the programs. To be sure, Steel has five younger children and a busy career as a writer. But in that case, why hang on to Nick. Steel appears to be in great conflict, very ambivalent about Nick. She loves him, but cannot tolerate him. She wants him helped, but cannot find a suitable place for him. She frets, but will not simplify her life so that she can deal with Nick and his problems herself. Yet she also claims she tried everything. It really does appear that the famous place in Kansas could not have been worse than what Steel managed to concoct.

Soon after Nick moved in with Julie's family, Steel found a doctor at UCLA who specialized in manic-depression. After an evaluation, Nick was put on lithium in November, along with Prozac. Nick threatened suicide the day he was given the prescription, but he eventually calmed down and began taking lithium and submitting to the regular blood tests to check the levels in his system. Three weeks later, Nick was vastly improved, and he continued to take lithium for two years. Soon after beginning lithium, Nick managed to visit his father, Bill, unbeknownst to Steel.

During this period, Nick tried to attend high school, but was allowed to study independently for the last few weeks. He then tried junior college, but quickly dropped out. Instead, he devoted himself to his band Link 80. He wrote lyrics, rehearsed, performed, and managed the band, handling bookings, ordering merchandize, etc. The first single came out when Nick was seventeen, and a CD when he was eighteen. This from a teenager who supposedly could not remember to flush the toilet!

Meanwhile, Steel's marriage broke up in 1995 when Nick was seventeen. Nick had trouble coping with this and was hospitalized for two weeks. Nick still had two attendants to guard him, Julie to monitor him, visits with his psychiatrist and his

medications. However, after he turned 18, he threatened to move out of Julie's, and in September he stopped taking his lithium. As an adult, posing no threat to others, there was nothing Steel or others could do to force him to take lithium.

Meanwhile Steel had a new lover, Tom, and they went off to Los Angeles for a weekend. On the Monday morning, Julie found Nick overdosed on heroin and other drugs. He stayed in the trauma unit for eight days, and his mind and most bodily functions recovered. There was some liver dysfunction, and his legs were partially numb. Nick was transferred to a psychiatric ward at another hospital where he tried suicide again with drugs his friends had brought him. This stress caused Tom to leave Steel, although he returned at Thanksgiving.

Nick started taking the lithium again, and now Steel could suspend his rights if he stopped because he was a danger to himself. However, by Christmas, Nick was immersed with his band again, and they went on a short tour to Los Angeles. After their return, Nick overdosed again at Julie's house. Steel threatened Nick -- if he missed one lithium pill in the future, she would hospitalize him.

That summer, Nick seemed fine. He went to Hawaii with the family. They tested his lithium levels weekly, and he went to twelve-step meetings to stay off drugs. Beatrix got married in May, 1997, and then Steel and Tom took the kids to Europe for six weeks. Nick went on a long tour with the band.

The End

The tour was a disaster. The van had to hold their equipment and nine guys, touring is tiring, and friction grew between the band members. Nick had not told the band members about his manic-depression (more truth-hiding), and when they criticized him he quit. Julie flew out and patched things up for while. But Nick realized that touring was too stressful him. He would never be able to tour Europe or Japan. This realization depressed him, for if he could not tour, he could not play and so he could not live. One night Nick drank and smoked marihuana, the band members told the attendant, and Nick came home. The band had toured for nine and a half weeks, and had two weeks left. Julie miscarried after flying home.

Back home, Nick went to bed for three weeks. He threatened to move out of Julie's again, and in August tried to start a new band. after one month, "Knowledge" played a concert and started taping a new CD. By mid-September, the band had bookings.

Steel was supposed to have lunch with Nick on September 19, but he cancelled because he had a date. That night he killed himself with morphine.

Discussion

Biographies by mothers or fathers about the suicides of their children are difficult to use for insights into suicide. Too often, the information is incomplete and severely

prejudiced by the parent's need to deny responsibility. This is especially true for Steel's biography of her son.

In her view, Nick had defective genes which caused manic-depressive illness and attention-deficit disorder. Since her side of the family is psychiatrically healthy, it must have been the genes passed on to Nick by his father Bill, especially since Nick was the only child she had who was fathered by Bill.¹ The other six children, with different biological fathers, all are normal.

On the other hand, anyone with a psychodynamic leaning would note:

- a difficult birth
- no father present to act as a role model
- episodic visits from drug-addicted father
- spoiled by two older females (mother and older sister), with no effort to teach him impulse control
- allowed to sleep with mother as child
 - excessively close relationship with mother, in which he is promoted to "lover" and confidante
- mother collaborates with him to hide the "truth"
- loss by death of one of his best friends
- possible extreme anger toward those close to him, suppressed or repressed toward mother and step-father, but not at first to sister who "dethroned" him until he is able later to repress his anger toward her too

There is much omitted from Steel's account of her son's life. There is no information about the man she married who later adopted Nick. There is nothing about herself, except that she does imply that she was in psychotherapy for most of the time Nick was alive, although we do not know what problems she discussed with her therapist.² Her marriage breaks up when Nick is 17, but she gives us no details of what the problems were in the marriage and how these problems might have impacted Nick and the other children. We learn nothing about the other children. We are led to assume that they are all psychologically healthy and have no problems, but that seems very unlikely.

Of the three previous biographies by parents of sons who killed themselves (all reviewed in previous issues of these pages), only one (Susan White-Bowden) accepted any responsibility for her child's suicide.

It is a puzzle why this mother, who seems to be enormously wealthy from the description of her life style, could not find adequate help for her son. Nick lived in California in the 1980s and 1990s, not North Dakota in the 1930s. Her account would

¹ Steel admits that there is no evidence of mental illness in Bill's family aside from his own drug-addiction.

² Interestingly, the students in my class on "Abnormal Psychology" commented that they thought it would be most traumatic to have Danielle Steel as a mother.

have us believe that there were no good facilities for disturbed adolescents and no good mental health professionals to recognize his disturbance.

Steel had one older child, five younger children and two step-children. She also lists 44 books published, mostly written during Nick's lifetime one supposes.³ This woman was very busy. She had a housekeeper, eventually hired two full-time assistants to watch over Nick, and recruited another married women with children to act as a "tag-team" mother. Perhaps Steel could have cut back on her work and on her child-bearing to devote a little more time to Nick herself. We read that his other "mother," Julie, although not trained in dealing with disturbed adolescents (her only training was in drug-abusing adolescents) did much of the work locating facilities and therapists for Nick, not Steel. On several occasions, Steel parks Nick in some residential facility and then departs, only to find out days or weeks later that the facility did not fit Nick's needs. On several of these occasions, it is not Steel, but others who have to drop everything and "rescue" Nick from the facility.

Of course, Steel could have behaved differently, completely differently, and Nick may still have killed himself sooner or later. This is not the issue here. The issue is that Steel shows little or no self-insight into the role she played in Nick's life and death, given that he may have had a genetic predisposition to manic-depressive disorder.

After all, Kay Jamison has a manic-depressive disorder, but she has become a leading psychiatrist in the field rather than a suicide. Being humans, and not lower animals, our genes do not completely determine our behavior.

Reference

Steel, D. *His bright light*. New York: Delacort, 1998.

³ Steel says that only two books had been published prior to Nick's birth.

MARINA TSVETAeva

David Lester

Marina's father, Ivan Tsvetaev, was a scholar and academic, and worked much of his life establishing the museum now known as the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, which opened in 1912. He had two children, Valeria and Andrey, by his first wife who died young and then married Maria Aleksandrovna Meyn, and had two daughters, Marina and Anastasia (Asya).

Marina was born on September 26 (old style⁴), 1892, and Asya two years later. Her mother was reserved and unaffectionate and subjected the family to a Spartan existence, but she was devoted to her daughters whom she hoped would realize the dreams she had not been able to. They were given governesses, books, and toys. They learned three languages, were given music lessons and were taken to the theater. However, they rarely visited other families and hardly ever played with other children. Summers were spent in the country, at Tarusa, a semi-rural town in Kaluga Province.

Marina grew up proud but shy, stubborn and headstrong, and possessive. Early in life, she came to love literature, and she read every book she could find. Although her mother wanted Marina to become a pianist, Marina soon was drawn to verse, which her mother saw as an "infantile illness."

In 1902, Marina's mother became ill with tuberculosis. The family moved to Italy for her health, and Valeria took over the task of running the family. Marina, free for the first time, played with other children and behaved more like a typical child. Marina and Asya were sent for a year to a boarding school in Lausanne, where Marina was captivated by Catholicism. The next summer was spent in Germany with their mother, followed by a year in a German boarding school. The family then moved back to Russia, to Yalta on the Black Sea, where Marina's mother died in July, 1906. Marina was thirteen. Two months later her father had a stroke, though he lived until 1913.

Back in Moscow, the family survived with a succession of housekeepers. Marina was expelled from school after a year because of her "revolutionary" ideas, and she "retired" from school after the seventh grade. She came to know Lev Lvovich Kobylinsky (Ellis), a young poet who introduced her to contemporary poetry (and proposed to her when she was seventeen) and to Moscow literary circles. She brought out her first book of poems privately in 1910 with his encouragement, which proved to be a great success and which was reviewed warmly, and she was included in an anthology of Russian poets in 1911. At seventeen, she started smoking and drinking, hiding this from her father.

Toward the end of 1910, Marina may have tried to die by suicide. The memoirs of her sister Asya imply that Marina was lonely and had just been hurt from a romance with Vladimir Nilender, a poet. She seems to have written a suicide note and perhaps

⁴ which was 12 days behind the Gregorian calendar at the time.

thought of shooting herself during a performance of *L'Aiglon*, starring Sarah Bernhardt in Moscow, a play which Marina had translated into Russian.

Marriage and the Civil War

In 1911, while staying at Koktebel, a village in the Crimea which many artists visited, Marina met Seryozha (Sergey) Efron, a year younger than herself. Although she came from a conservative and loyalist family and he from a revolutionary family¹, they fell in love. He was a writer too (a book of stories by Sergey was published in 1912) and suffered intermittently from tuberculosis. They married in January, 1912.

That same year, Marina won a prize in the Pushkin competition of the Society for Free Aesthetics, and she published her second collection of poems. Her father's museum opened that year with the Emperor Nicholas II in attendance, and Marina had a daughter, Ariadna (Alya) in September.

The Efrons were living in a house in Moscow bought with money given to them as wedding gift. Marina liked it because it resembled the Tsvetaev house she had lived in up until that time. Marina brought her daughter Alya up in much the same way as her own mother had raised her, and Alya was writing poetry by the age of seven and exchanging letters with adult friends. Like Marina, Alya had no children as friends.

The first three years after their marriage were serene. Sergey studied further as external student and worked with local theaters. He had a brief spell of sickness, and then the First World War began. At first, the war did not affect the Efrons (Sergey was still studying at the university). The crisis in their life came from Marina's affair with a poet, Sofia Parnok who was a lesbian, which lasted eighteen months. This affair seems to have taught Marina that nothing was forbidden, that she was a sinner who would sin again. For the rest of her life she had numerous affairs with men, all of which fueled her poetry, and some of which threatened her marriage with Sergey, though they never broke up. Sergey had been working in a hospital for part of the time of Marina's lesbian affair, and in 1917 he was called up despite his poor health. Marina gave birth to her second daughter, Irina, in April, 1917, and soon Efron was fighting to defend the Kremlin against the Bolsheviks. Defeated, the Efrons fled to the Crimea, but Marina returned to Moscow in November, 1917, while Sergey went to fight for the White army.

Back in Moscow, life was hard. Marina gradually sold her possessions in order to buy the necessities of life, and the family grew poorer by the day. She managed to write, she got involved with the theater, writing a number of plays, and she had affairs. But gradually the difficulty of day-to-day existence grew enormously. By the end of 1919, Marina had sold everything she could, and the struggle to find food consumed her every moment. She worked for six months in the "Information Department of the Commissariat for Affairs of the Nationalities," which paid a small wage and provided her with a ration

¹ His mother was arrested in 1880 and 1906, escaped abroad with her son, Kostya, who was two years younger than Sergey. Kostya hung himself in Paris in 1910, and, in despair, his mother hung herself the same night.

card, but she could not stand the job. Marina's upbringing had not prepared her for compromise. (Indeed, even her writings and conversations clearly showed her support for the Whites. Such an uncompromizing attitude was rare.) She quit, telling her sister that she would rather hang herself than work at the mind-numbing senseless work of the department.² In desperation, she placed both daughters in an orphanage.

Irina had always been a sickly child, and the deprivations after the civil war had not helped. She could hardly walk and barely talk. Marina was indifferent to her, in contrast to her crushing love of Alya (and later her son Mur). When she and Alya went out, Marina tied Irina to a chair so that she would not fall. The orphanage was supplied with food from the American Relief Administration, and so it seemed a good idea to place both her daughters there. After a month, Marina found Alya severely ill, and she took her away to recover. She left Irina there, and she died in February, 1920. Although, Sergey's sisters had offered to take Irina home, Marina eventually displaced the blame for Irina's death from herself to them. Shocked by events, some of Marina's friends with connections obtained a ration card for her, and Alya slowly recovered.

In 1921, after their defeat, much of the White army was evacuated to Turkey. Marina had received no news of Sergey until late in 1920 when she heard rumors that he was alive. Still fearing that he had died, Marina told friends that she had no desire to continue living if he was dead, but then, in July, 1921, she received a letter from him. Sergey was in Constantinople. She began to seek permission to leave Russia to go Prague where Sergey had relocated. After many delays and frustrations, Marina and Alya left Russia in May, 1922, arriving in Berlin on May 17th.

Life as an Emigré

Marina lived in Berlin for only two and a half months, but she was immediately part of the emigré literary scene and had a passionate affair with Boris Bugaev (Andrey Bely), a poet, so that, when Sergey came from Prague to see his wife, he had to deal with her extramarital passion. Typically, the affair lasted only six weeks, and then Marina left for Prague where Sergey had obtained a grant to study at Charles University. Marina arrived in August, and the Efrons moved to a small village outside of Prague. Czechoslovakia gave Russian scholars a monthly grant, and the Efrons survived for the most part on this during their stay in Czechoslovakia.

The life of the Efrons in Czechoslovakia 1922 to 1925 and France from 1925 to 1937 was taken up with literary activity, with Marina writing, translating and editing, and with Efron editing and managing emigré literary magazines and journals. They were always short of money, and their marriage was always troubled by Marina's affairs. Their marriage survived, however, though an affair in 1923 with Konstantin Rodzevich seriously threatened it. Marina was tempted to leave Sergey, and he was tempted to leave her. However, Rodzevich seems to have been overwhelmed by the intensity of Marina's passion and ended the relationship. Marina and Efron seem to have decided that they were bound together, that each could not live (or survive) without the other.

² The work involved summarizing newspaper articles, summaries that no-one ever read.

A third child, the son Marina longed for, was born in February, 1925. Georgy (Mur) was spoiled by his mother and, though she adored him, most of her friends considered him a "monster." He grew to be handsome, intelligent and well-educated. Despite the fact that his mother idolized him (or because of this), Mur grew much closer to his father in his adolescence.

The Efron's life in Paris eventually became unpleasant and then impossible. Marina was not an easy person to get along with, and the number of her enemies grew yearly. Her poetry was criticized and, though most of her work was published, she published only one book during her fourteen years in France (in 1928 with the help of a rich patron). She turned to writing essays, and the ideas expressed in them increased the number of her critics. Money was always a problem, and Marina tried translations as a way of supplementing the family's income and running literary evenings at which she read her works. Sergey was never a major source of income. The family survived mainly by monthly grants from a rich patron (Saloneya Andronikova) who sent Marina 300 francs a month of her own money and tried to raise more from her friends. The Efrons moved to cheaper and cheaper apartments, and Marina economized on everything except her children's education.

Alya eventually came to resent the domination of her mother over her life, and family arguments grew more frequent. Furthermore, Sergey and both children became more supportive of the Soviet government, and in the 1930s, the family began to discuss the possibility of moving back to the Soviet Union. Sergey first applied for a Soviet passport in 1932 but was refused. He then began working for the Soviet government as an agent. Alya was able to leave for the Soviet Union in 1937. Soon after this, Sergey was implicated in the murder of Ignaty Reyss, a Soviet agent in Switzerland. After interrogation by the French police, Sergey managed to escape to the Soviet Union.

Marina was now alone with Mur in France. She still hated the communist government in the Soviet Union and had no strong desire to return. But her daughter and husband were now there. Marina's romantic affairs were becoming rare, for men were no longer attracted to her as before, even for brief affairs. And now that her husband had been exposed as a Soviet agent, she was an outcast in the emigré community. Former friends shunned her, and she could get nothing published. The growing preparations for the Second World War also made life in free Europe less attractive. She returned to the Soviet Union on June 18, 1939, after seventeen years abroad.

Home and Death

Marina returned with no celebration -- she was merely the wife of a Soviet agent who had been exposed. Some friends from the old days were too afraid to have anything to do with her. She had no formal papers and no work. At first, Marina, Sergey, Alya and Mur lived in a dacha provided by the government.

Nine weeks after Marina returned, Alya was arrested, and Marina joined the women who spent hours in lines waiting to hand parcels to loved ones in prison. Six weeks later Sergey was arrested. Marina never saw them again.¹ Marina and Mur were ordered to leave the dacha and, with the help of Boris Pasternak, Marina was assigned to a village with a writers' colony. She was permitted food, but had to pay for rooms. Mur was able to go to school.

Marina quickly found that hardly anyone liked her poetry. Her style was not in line with the current trends, and her former work was too often anti-Soviet. However, for five months she earned some money doing translations and editing. Again with Pasternak's help, she was given a permit and a room in Moscow. She continued to work on translations, and her parcels for Alya and Sergey were accepted -- which meant they were still alive. She tried to publish a book, but it was rejected for being of poor quality and anti-Soviet.

She wrote almost nothing new during her final years in the Soviet Union. Her biographer sees this as a stage in her eventual suicide, for she had told a friend in France that, if she could not write in the Soviet Union, she would kill herself. Then, in 1941, the war began to encroach upon her life. The German army was invading the Soviet Union, and Marina became desperate to be evacuated. They managed to find places in Elabuga, but Marina tried to get a permit to go on to Christopol.

Even though her permit for Christopol was granted, and she was offered a job as a washer-up in the writer's canteen there, there was little for Marina to live for. She did not want to wash dishes for a living. Her relationship with Mur was deteriorating, and she felt that he would be better off in the Soviet Union on his own. On August 31, 1941, fourteen days after arriving in Elabuga, Marina hung herself in the home of her landlords.

Reference

Schweitzer, V. (1993). *Tsvetaeva*. New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux.

¹ Though Sergey was executed in 1941, Alya survived. In the 1960s after seventeen years in Stalin's prisons, Alya went home to her mother's manuscripts and devoted the rest of her life to her mother's cause. Mur returned to Moscow and entered the literary institute there. He was drafted into the army, and there are no records of him after 1944.

KURT TUCHOLSKY

David Lester

On the night of May 10, 1933, books of thirty four authors were burned in front of Berlin University -- books by such writers as Sigmund Freud and Bertolt Brecht. Among them were the books of Kurt Tucholsky -- satirist, song writer and cultural critic.

Because of insolence and arrogance! With honor and respect for the immortal German folk spirit! Consume also, flames, the writings of Tucholsky...(Poor, 1935, p. 3).

Tucholsky was the oldest of three children born to Alex Tucholsky, a Jewish businessman and banker. He was born in Berlin on January 9, 1890. A brother (Fritz) was born in 1895 and a sister (Ellen) in 1897. Tucholsky was loved by his father and grew up feeling very close to him. His mother, Doris, was a cold and rigid woman, and Tucholsky had little contact with her after he reached the age of fifteen.

When Tucholsky was three, the family moved to Stettin, near the Baltic coast, and he started school in 1896. His father was made director of a bank in 1899, and so the family moved back to Berlin. Tucholsky was sent to the prestigious French Gymnasium founded in 1689 by French Huguenots expelled from France -- it was the preferred school for children of prominent Jews. However, Tucholsky left the Jewish faith early (he says in 1911) and formally became a Protestant in 1917.

Tucholsky's father died suddenly in 1905, and Tucholsky's performance at school deteriorated, and he quit. However, he decided to take the school leaving certificate (Abitur) in 1909 and after passing the exam, entered Berlin University to study law. He studied at Geneva, and submitted his dissertation in 1914 to the University of Jena. The dissertation was rejected but, after revision, it was accepted, and Tucholsky was awarded his Doctor of Jurisprudence in February, 1915.

Meanwhile, his interest in writing had already developed. He published his first work in Ulk, a humor supplement, when he was seventeen, a satire on William III and his Empire. He wrote his first novel (*Rheinsberg*) in 1912 which was a critical success and sold 50,000 copies in a brief time. He opened a book bar with a friend where alcohol was served while customers browsed through the books for sale. His reputation grew quickly, and he was invited by Siegfried Jacobsohn to write for the magazine Schaubühne. Tucholsky and Jacobsohn grew very close, so that Jacobsohn, nine years older than Tucholsky, became his mentor. His editing helped Tucholsky improve his writing, and Tucholsky wrote Jacobsohn hundreds of letters. He numbered them, and the one received by Jacobsohn on the day before his death on December 3 1926 was number 244.

While he was a student, Tucholsky fell in love and became engaged to Kitty Frankfurter, but he also dated Else Weil, a medical student. The First World War interrupted both of these romances, but Tucholsky's pattern was clear. He liked women

but was unable to settle down with any one. His devotion to writing, his poor relationship with his mother, and his general restlessness made such relationships difficult for him. In addition, he was a difficult person to live with. His work often drove him to nervous exhaustion, he found it difficult to live in one place, and he was impulsive. He had odd aversions, particularly to dogs. This last eccentricity led him to change residences frequently in order to avoid them. He loved good food, fine surroundings and beautiful women, yet at the same time wanted simplicity and despised the obsessive search for possessions in the society. He was an idealist who wanted social justice, but he was also self-indulgent.

Tucholsky was twenty-four when the First World War began, and he did not share the enthusiasm with which people all over Europe welcomed the outbreak of hostilities. He saw war as a stupidity and a horror. After getting his law degree, he was inducted into the army in April 1915 and luckily sent to the less-deadly Eastern front. He was placed in an equipment supply unit backing up the troops fighting the Russians, but the senseless slaughter drove him to despair and dimmed his hopes for the future. He contemplated emigrating.

In late 1917, as part of his duties, he was sent to Courland (to direct the military library) where he met and wooed Mary Gerold. He was transferred to the German occupation of Rumania in early 1918, and he and Mary did not meet again until she went to Berlin in 1920, although Tucholsky wrote to her several times each week. After the armistice in November, 1918, Tucholsky returned to Berlin where he resumed his writing.

Mary arrived in Berlin in January 1920, fleeing the political struggles in Latvia, and the relationship soured immediately. Tucholsky was quite poor at the time (though a few months later, he was secure), and Mary was aloof and reluctant to force herself upon him¹. After a few months, he broke off with her and married Else Weil in May, 1920, now a physician.

As soon as he had done this, he realized that he had made a mistake. He re-established contact with Mary in October, 1920, and in the next year confessed that he loved her and had been a fool. He proposed to her in March, 1923, and she accepted. He was, however, still married to Else.

Compounding their problems, there was a sudden inflationary crisis.² Tucholsky had to work for bank in late 1923 for a brief period in order to survive, and his writing output declined. He made no mention of the occupation of the Ruhr (by the French) or Hitler's putsch. He also became more restless, and his desire to leave Germany grew. At the end of 1923, he went to Paris as the foreign correspondent for *Weltbühne* (formerly *Schaubühne*), and he fell in love with the city and the country. France had the kind of society which he had wanted for Germany.

¹ She never told him that she loved him!

² By August 1923, the US dollar was worth four trillion German marks.

He returned to Germany briefly in July 1924 to help found a new magazine *Uhu*, and he and Mary married in August 1924 after he had divorced his first wife. They then returned to Paris.

Tucholsky the Writer

Tucholsky began with *Weltbühne* as a drama critic but soon was writing satiric poems and critical essays. Between January 1913 and June 1914 he wrote 113 pieces. After the war, he wrote between 100 and 150 pieces a year for the magazine between 1919 and 1932. To give himself freedom to write all this, Tucholsky used four pseudonyms, each for a different style of article, a device which shielded him from the public and allowed him a private life. At times, he even used one pseudonym to criticize what he had written under another.

His political satire made him enemies (on the right) and friends (on the left). He became a pacifist and, after witnessing the struggles between the political parties after the war, a socialist although his dislike of the tactics and personalities involved in the left-wing parties led him to never join any political party.³ Rather than becoming a political activist and seeking office, he remained a commentator on the sidelines. He exposed the horrors of war and tried to discredit Prussian authoritarianism and bring about a true revolution -- but as a writer. He wanted a democratic government, equality, and a pluralistic society.

Cabarets played an important part in German cultural life, attracting the best talents and savagely commenting on social issues. Tucholsky wrote for the Nelson Theater, and his chansons achieved notoriety and were interpreted by the most famous singers of the era.

Weltbühne was not a magazine with a large readership (its circulation never exceeded 15,000), but it was one of the most influential. It was available abroad and read by left and right-wing intellectuals. The right-wingers, though, hated that many of the writers were Jewish, and academics despised it because the writers were not academics -- indeed they called the writing *Asphaltliteratur*.

Tucholsky was in Paris when Germany elected Hindenburg as President in 1925, and Tucholsky believed that, for Germany, all was lost. He foresaw the prospect of a war in ten to twenty years, although he did not yet see the role that Hitler would play in it, and he foresaw the foreign policy which would precipitate the war.

Decline and Fall

From 1926 to 1932, Tucholsky achieved the greatest public success, while his personal life disintegrated. In December, 1926, his mentor, Jacobsohn died. Tucholsky returned to Berlin to keep *Weltbühne* going, but he found Berlin depressing and hired

³ He never forgave the Social Democratic Party for allying themselves with the military to crush the Communists.

Carl von Ossietzky as editor so that he could return to Paris. Although Tucholsky continued to write for *Weltbühne*, he had lost the mentor he had valued so much.

Mary noticed his restless and suspected that he was also having affairs. She returned to Berlin in 1928 and, once she was lost, Tucholsky realized how much he loved her. He never married again, though he had many affairs, and it was to Mary that he wrote the day before he killed himself. He divorced Mary in 1933, when it was no longer safe for her to remain in Germany with his name, and made her his heir. Mary, as the guardian of his works, had his works republished after the Second World War and, by the time that Poor (1968) wrote a biography of Tucholsky, Tucholsky's books had sold four million copies and there were more than forty records of Tucholsky's songs.

In 1930, government by decree was instituted in Germany, and by 1932, the clashes between the Nazis and Communists were bringing chaos to Germany. In 1929, Tucholsky published *Deutschland, Deutschland über Alles*, a bitter attack on everything he disliked about Germany. The book's success made him one of the most controversial writers of the time and a celebrity. On a lecture tour of Germany that year, his talk in Wiesbaden caused a riot when the Nazis protested his presence.

Weltbühne and Ossietzky were sued many times in the courts, Ossietzky imprisoned on one occasion (for revealing military secrets), and he and Tucholsky fined on others. Tucholsky declined to go to Germany to give Ossietzky moral support for he feared being stripped of his passport and even assassination by the Nazis.

Thereafter he avoided the larger issues and wrote only on peripheral matters. His idealism had gone, and he saw no hope of change. He supported Sacco and Vanzetti in America, he campaigned for better treatment of prisoners, he defended homosexuals and Erich Maria Remarque. But after Ossietzky's trial and guilty verdict in November, 1931, Tucholsky resolved never to write again. At the end of his scrapbook he wrote: Sprechen, Schreiben, Schweigen [Speaking, Writing, Silence].

Tucholsky traveled widely beginning in 1927 -- to Denmark, England, Sweden and Switzerland. He disliked the idea of going to America, although that is to where his brother and sister emigrated. Finally, he emigrated to Sweden, moving to Hindas, near Göteborg in 1929.

After Hitler came to power in January, 1933, Tucholsky's books were burned (in May 1933), and he was stripped of his citizenship in November, 1933. Although the Swedish government permitted him to stay, he had to renew his visa every month. For three years he lived with the possibility of deportation. To hide his residence, he had his mail sent to him via Switzerland. He lived a quiet life and saw few people, although he wrote hundreds of letters to his friends and colleagues.

Tucholsky guessed that Hitler would invade Poland, although he still had hopes that a world war would be avoided. His anger was directed not only toward Hitler, however, but also to the Jews who submitted to him with little resistance. He attacked

anti-semitism, but in his writings he also attacked the Germanization of the Jews. He thought that, at least, there should have been a mass exodus of Jews from Germany in March 1933 instead of a trickle. Thus, he was, and still is, viewed as anti-semitic. Indeed, the Nazis used some of his writings to support their own anti-semitism.

His health began to fail him, and he took several rest cures. He had a painful nasal infection which required five operations in 1935 alone. His depression grew. His talents were useless, his hope gone. German was his language and, although he tried writing in French, he could not develop a good style in that language. He urged his siblings to learn English, but the effort was too great for him, although he tried to learn some Swedish. He avoided the émigrés -- they were too optimistic -- and no longer concerned himself with Germany.

His letters show him in decline, feeling ill and tired, with no sense of purpose, seeing his career as meaningless, and foreseeing a world with or without the Nazis in which he could not live.

He wrote Mary a final letter on December 19, 1935, a final letter of love, swallowed some poison which he had carried with him for many years, and left a note in French asking to die in peace. He was discovered and taken to a hospital in Göteborg where he died on December 21, 1935.

Reference

Poor, H. L. (1968). *Kurt Tucholsky and the ordeal of Germany, 1914-1935*. New York: Scribners.

ALAN TURING

David Lester

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

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

Childhood

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

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

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

School, first at Hazelhurst and later at Sherbourne, was a trial for Alan (and his teachers). Alan was obviously very bright. However, the things he liked to do, for example paper folding and studying maps as a child, mathematics problems and science

experiments later, were never what his teachers wanted him to do. When forced to participate in the authorized activities he was untidy, unmotivated, and performed poorly. As a result, these early days at school were quite unpleasant for him, and he coped by withdrawing.

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

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

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

College Days

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

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

degree with distinction. A year later he was elected a fellow at the college, a three year position which could be extended to six year, with no explicit duties. He published his first paper, on group theory, in the *Journal of the London Mathematical Society*.

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

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

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

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

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

After the War

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

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

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

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

The End

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

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

charged Alan with homosexual offenses. Alan informed his relatives and friends so that they would not be shocked, and his brother persuaded him to plead guilty so as to minimize the publicity. Alan's close friends knew of his homosexuality; Manchester University colleagues viewed the matter as one more Turing eccentricity; his family accepted the matter calmly; and he let his fellowship at King's College expire. Alan was placed on probation on the condition he receive treatment, injections with estrogen. Alan accepted the effects on his body (impotence and the development of bodily changes, such as breasts) so that he could remain free to pursue his intellectual work.⁴ However, Alan did enter into long-term psychotherapy with a Jungian analyst, and achieved some insights through this. Alan now travelled in order to find homosexual partners, taking holidays in Norway, France and Corfu.

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

Alan's Style

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

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

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

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

Why?

⁴ Actually Alan of all people could probably have survived prison better than most. One result of his conviction was that he was now barred from visiting the USA.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Reference

Hodges, A. (1983). *Alan Turing: the enigma*. New York: Simon & Schuster.

RANDY TURPIN

David Lester

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 (Walsh, 1993).

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).

Reference

Walsh, P. (1993). *Men of Steel*. London: Robson Books.

JERZY FELIKS URMAN

David Lester

Jerzy was born on April 9, 1932, in the East Galician town of Stanislawow at a time when it was under Polish rule.¹ When he was born, Jews accounted for 40 percent of the population of the town of 50,000, and there were 55 synagogues in the town. The language of Jerzy's home was Polish, but Yiddish was spoken also and Hebrew studied.

Jerzy's paternal grandfather was headmaster of a school, and his father was a doctor (after studies at the universities in Vienna and L'wow). His uncle Emil was on the Faculty of Law at L'wow, and another was a petroleum engineer. His maternal grandparents had already emigrated to Palestine (in 1930). Other relatives had emigrated to America.

The Russians occupied the region in September, 1939, but the Germans took over after the Germans declared war on the Russians in June, 1941. The "final solution" was carried out not only by the Germans, but also enthusiastically by the local Ukrainian nationalists. Nearly 1,000 intellectuals and professionals were murdered in Stanislawow on August 3, 1941; 10,000 more on the night of October 12. The ghetto was established on December 15. Eventually most of the Jews were sent to the concentration camps, and the remaining Jews were murdered early in 1943. After living in the town since 1662, Jews were totally eliminated in 1943.

Jerzy was precocious. Among his projects was one for growing mushrooms in hothouses in Palestine, and he had other schemes for saving the Jewish people. His mother described Jerzy as beautiful, cheerful and intelligent. He was always top of his class at school and helpful to his friends.

In the summer of 1942, Jerzy came home and told his family that he had seen Germans gouge the eyes of a little boy with red hot wire. The eyes were dangling on a string, he told his father. The family discussed the possibility of leaving the ghetto, and Jerzy's father obtained cyanide for the family, who agreed that they would die together rather than being tortured and deported. Jerzy was especially afraid that he might betray friends.

In October, 1942, Jerzy's father arranged with his brother, Artur, to hide the family in Drohobycz, nearby. Jerzy went first; his mother, Sophie, in November. Sophie could pass as a Polish Catholic, and Artur obtained a fake ID for her so she could move freely about in the town. The Germans searched the house where they were hiding (with a Mrs. Huczynska) but missed finding them. Scared, Mrs. Huczynska asked them to leave. After a night wandering through the town, they came back, and Mrs. Huczynska allowed them back. Jerzy's father, Izydor, arrived in December. By March, 1943, his uncle Emil and paternal grandmother had joined them, and they now were hiding in the apartment of Artur's former housekeeper, Hela, whom they paid for hiding them.

¹ It is now part of the Ukraine.

Jerzy's only friend was a stray cat. Jerzy was quiet, read a lot and wrote a great deal. He left a brief diary which Rudolf (1991) has published, along with a commentary detailing Jerzy's brief life. The family members could not go out, except for Sophie, and could not make any noise by moving or speaking. They did listen to the radio news and read newspapers.

There were two other women in a neighboring apartment. Perhaps they betrayed the Urmans? After a year in hiding, the police came on November 13, 1943, accusing the Urmans of being Jews. They denied it. The police searched for money and jewels. One of them hit Izydor with his pistol, and he fell down. Jerzy then swallowed his poison and fell to the floor. His last words to his mother were "Mummy, I took the cyanide." The police were shocked and left, taking the family's clothes, food and blankets. Sophie ran to find a doctor, but it was too late to save Jerzy.

His parents buried Jerzy at night in a shed at the back of the apartment building, digging the frozen ground with knives and spoons. Two weeks later, the Germans returned and robbed the family again, but permitted the family to stay. The police said that the war was coming to an end, and they left the family to their fate.

Eventually, the Russians defeated the Germans and took over the region once more, which now became part of the Ukraine. The family dug up Jerzy and buried him in August, 1944, in the Jewish cemetery. Soon after the war, Jerzy's parents had a daughter, and the family eventually emigrated to Israel.

Jerzy was eleven and a half when he died. By his suicide, he shocked the German police so that they left the family alone, thereby saving his parents.

Reference

Rudolf, A. (Ed.) *I'm not even a grown-up*. London: Menard Press, 1991.

VINCENT VAN GOGH¹

David Lester

Vincent Van Gogh's parents lived in Zundert, in the Netherlands, where his father Theodorus was a pastor. Theodorus and his wife, Anna, had a stillborn son. They registered the birth, named the child Vincent after his grandfather, and buried him in the graveyard at Zundert.

Anna grieved a lot over the death of the baby. She wondered whether the death of her child was a punishment for her sins. Within a year, in 1853, Anna was pregnant again, but Anna was fearful that this child, too, would be born dead. She waited for the birth with foreboding.

The child was born on March 30, 1853. He had red hair and freckles, with blue-green eyes. He was born exactly one year to the day after the dead Vincent, the number of his birth certificate was the same (twenty-nine), and his parents named him Vincent also. Vincent was followed by a sister Anna two years later, and then Theo, Elizabeth, Wilhelminen and Cornelius.

Vincent grew up lonely and isolated. Anna was preoccupied with her subsequent pregnancies and babies. She seemed not to like him and rarely showed him any warmth. His father had little understanding of people and was no help to his son.

Vincent had been named after his dead brother, and every Sunday, his mother marched the children off to the graveyard to put flowers on the dead child's grave. Vincent grew up feeling unloved and rejected and constantly reminded that his mother wanted the first Vincent and not this second one who came later.

Vincent soon developed his mother's quick temper and nervousness. He would defy his mother and seemed almost to enjoy provoking her. For example, he played with the rough lads in the village against his mother's wishes, and he took little interest in being clean or tidy. His speech was rough sounding and spasmodic. However, he admired his father, enjoying the sermons and accompanying him on his parish duties, and he soon decided that he too wanted to become a pastor.

As a child, Vincent spent a lot of time by himself, wandering the countryside, and he developed an early interest in drawing. (His mother, though good at drawing herself, gave him no advice or encouragement.) Vincent shared a bed with his younger brother Theo, who worshipped Vincent, and the two grew very close. Vincent had an uncle, also called Vincent, who was an art dealer and who, when he visited, seemed to like Vincent and take an interest in him.

¹ This chapter is based on the biography by Honour (1967). A recent theory is that Vincent was accidentally shot by two teenage boys (<https://www.theartnewspaper.com/2025/06/20/van-goghs-suicide-ten-reasons-why-the-murder-story-is-a-myth>).

When he was eleven, Vincent was sent to a boarding school, but he felt out of place there. He was loutish compared to the other boys, and his speech was almost a stammer. The other boys rejected him, and Vincent withdrew from them after his initial efforts to be friendly, even eating by himself in a corner of the dining room. Vincent spent five years at the school and did not make one close friend.

While there, however, he did acquire a love for reading, and he continued his drawing. But his loneliness made him hostile, and his hostility increased his rejection by others. He was argumentative with his fellow students and with his teachers.

Vincent's Early Career

Vincent left school at the age of sixteen. His parents ignored his wish to become a pastor like his father, and Uncle Vincent got him a job in an art gallery. Vincent did not protest and left in the summer of 1869 for The Hague.

Once there, Vincent changed his style a little, dressing neatly and keeping tidy, though he still looked like a peasant. He was unattractive, still with spasmodic speech. Separated from his brother Theo, he began his habit of writing regularly to him. He would often include sketches to Theo, but though he drew and worked in art galleries for several years, Vincent did not recognize that he had a talent for art. He still hoped one day to become a pastor.

In 1872, when Theo was fifteen he visited Vincent. Vincent discussed his desire to become a preacher, and Theo began his efforts to push Vincent into a career as a painter. In 1873 when Vincent was twenty, his firm transferred him to London. (Theo began work at the Brussels branch.) Vincent visited the art galleries and museums of London and kept sketching. However, he also read the Bible a great deal and went to church often.

He became quite friendly with the family with whom he was lodging, a French family who ran a boarding school. Vincent, now twenty-one, helped with the boys. The family had a daughter, Ursula, with whom Vincent fell in love, but when he finally found the courage to tell her of his love, she rejected him coldly. Vincent would not accept her rejection, and he continued to pester her until the family asked him to leave.

After a vacation back home in the Netherlands, his family sent his sister Anna to accompany him back to London. Anna got a job as a teacher at a girl's school and, when she saw how miserable Vincent was in London after his rejection by Ursula and how bad tempered he was at work, she persuaded their mother to get him transferred to Paris. Vincent was furious over his mother's interference and so difficult that he was transferred back to London after two months. But the London branch could tolerate him no longer, so they sent him back to Paris. After Christmas, 1875, the art gallery and Vincent could no longer tolerate each other, and so they parted company.

On the day he finally left the firm, Vincent received a letter from the principal of

a boys school in England offering Vincent a month's trial. In the spring of 1876, Vincent arrived to find the school soon moving from Ramsgate to London. The school would not pay his fare, so Vincent walked there, taking two days. The school then told him that they had no salary for him. Vincent tried to get a job as a missionary for the poor in London, but he was turned down because he was too young. He heard that a Methodist minister needed an assistant, and Vincent got the position. Vincent was at last to realize his dream, teaching Bible School and occasionally preaching. Even though he was unpaid and often hungry, Vincent was happy.

From Preacher to Painter

The congregation found Vincent's accent and stammering speech difficult to follow, but he drove himself until his health collapsed. He decided to return home for Christmas and he arrived thin and haggard, clothes in rags, sick and exhausted.

Uncle Vincent came to the rescue again and found him a job with a bookseller in Dordrecht in the Netherlands. Vincent started there in January 1877. But after three months Vincent quit to begin training in Amsterdam for the ministry.

Vincent's personal style soon alienated his teachers there. They decided that he would never pass the examinations, and Vincent quit after a year. The minister Vincent had worked for briefly in London helped Vincent gain admission to a training program for missionaries, but again Vincent's style led the school to refuse to graduate him. Vincent's father appealed to the program to let Vincent work for them for free. They agreed, and Vincent went off to Le Borinage, a mining area in the south of Belgium in December 1878.

He worked well there and by January was given a salary for a six-month trial. Vincent, however, showed a lack of self-control. He moved into a shabby hut and gave away everything he had. He lived worse than the miners he was supposed to minister to, and his superiors ordered him to dress and behave like a proper missionary. He refused and in July was given three months to find another position.

Finally, Vincent reflected. He liked working with the poor people at Le Borinage, but he had failed at every career he had tried. What if he tried drawing? He returned to Le Borinage and, subsisting on a little money sent to him from time to time by his family, sketched the peasants.

Vincent's life as painter from 1879 until his death was marked by poverty. He rarely had enough money to buy food or to pay people to model for his painting. His paintings were not popular, and his brother Theo had difficulty selling any of them. However, his work was also characterized by a driven quality so that he painted and painted and neglected all other activities. Even if Vincent had had sufficient money, he still would have neglected his diet.

Vincent continued to have difficulty getting along with others: fellow painters, his

family, and the instructors at art institutes where he enrolled for classes. Vincent wandered from Paris, to Brussels, to little towns like Drenthe, and back home where as usual he got into fights with his parents about his life style.

Vincent's Loves

Vincent had fallen in love with Ursula Loyer, the daughter of his landlord in London, without her being aware of it. In 1881, a similar incident happened while he was living at home with his parents. A cousin, Kee Vos, who was widowed with a son, came to stay, and Vincent fell in love with her. When he finally screwed up the courage to tell her of his love, she was horrified and rejected him. As before, he pursued her even though it was clear that she could not stand him.

He followed her to Amsterdam, where her parents refused to let him see her. In frustration, he put his hand into the flame of an oil lamp, demanding to see her. They maintained their refusal. Although Vincent's life-style can be seen as self-destructive in a very general sense, and his neglect of his food and health was damaging to him, this was the first incident of a deliberate impulsive act of self-harm.

In 1882, Vincent moved to The Hague and worked with a painter there, Anton Mauve. Missing Kee, he met a vagrant, Christine, who drifted around with her mother, and moved them into his apartment. He decided that he was in love with Christine and that she would be his wife. Soon, however, Christine grew to dislike Vincent's ways, and she walked out on him.

In 1884, Vincent was again back with his parents, having nursed his mother through her recovery from a broken hip.² The family next door had a daughter in her forties, ten years older than Vincent, shy, plain and never married. Gradually Vincent and she became friendly and fell in love. This time, Vincent's love was appropriate, and it was returned. But when Vincent asked Margot's father for permission to marry her, he refused. Margot attempted suicide with poison, and her family sent her away and refused to let Vincent ever see her again. This time, the failure was not Vincent's fault, but rather that fault of Margot's possessive parents. Vincent's parents, who had suffered a lot from their son's lifestyle, did not sympathize with him at all in this crisis.

The End

Vincent's father died in 1885, and soon his father's village told Vincent to leave. Vincent again wandered from town to town. He was thirty-three and had sold no paintings, only a few drawings.

His health began to get worse. During a six-week period in Paris, for example, he ate only three hot meals containing meat. He smoked to quieten his hunger and tried to

² Interestingly, Vincent performed this task well. He took control of the family, provided support for everyone and nursed his mother back to health much more quickly than had been thought possible.

get by on bread and coffee. He had pains in his abdomen. His teeth broke.³ He slept little and suffered from headaches and nightmares. He feared a breakdown but did little to prevent one.

In 1886 he moved in with his brother Theo in Paris (and it was at this point that Vincent bought himself a revolver, as had most of his fellow art students). After one argument between the art students and the instructors, Vincent went home to get his revolver to kill the director of the art school, but when he returned the director had left.

During the next year, Vincent began to drink more. He quarreled with everyone and was frequently in trouble with the gendarmes. The painter Paul Gauguin was back in Paris, and Vincent was able to meet him. Vincent tried to persuade Gauguin to move to the south of France with him and set up a school of painting.

At first Gauguin refused, and so with Theo's aid Vincent moved to Arles by himself. He was happy there at first, though his lonely life style continued, together with his neglect of food and sleep. The people of the town thought him very odd and refused to pose as models for him. Eventually he became exhausted. He had terrible headaches and stomach pains.

Theo finally persuaded Gauguin to go and join Vincent in Arles, and after many delays Gauguin arrived in October 1888. Gauguin was clean and fastidious. Under his guidance, the studio was cleaned, and meals were regular. But soon Vincent and Gauguin began quarreling, mostly about art and painters. Gauguin claimed to have woken up in the night twice to find Vincent creeping toward his bed. Gauguin considered returning to Paris, and by Christmastime, Gauguin was ready to leave. Two days before Christmas, Gauguin was out on the street when he turned to find Vincent coming at him holding an open razor. Vincent fled to the studio, whereupon he cut off part of his right ear. He tied a scarf around his head to stem the bleeding, put the piece of severed ear in an envelope and gave it to a girl in the street whom he knew slightly.

After his hospitalization, living alone, his exhaustion returned. He began to have hallucinations and to think that the people in the town were persecuting him. (In fact, the children and even the adults did jeer at him and harass him.) In February he was hospitalized again and soon a third time. In May 1889 he agreed with his doctors to move to an asylum in the neighboring town of Saint-Remy.

While there, Vincent continued to paint and, surrounded by psychiatric patients, he lost his fear of madness. In April 1890, Vincent went back to Paris, where Theo had found him lodgings in the nearby town of Auvers with a heart specialist named Gachet who was interested in art.

Theo was now married, had a child and was preoccupied with his own affairs. This upset Vincent on his visits to Paris. Back with Gachet, he began to quarrel and, after one fight, he pulled his revolver out, aimed it at Gachet, but did not fire it. He went back

³ Theo had Vincent's teeth fixed in 1886, replacing them with dentures.

to his rooms and wrote a letter to his brother, walked out into the countryside and shot himself.

The bullet hit him in the abdomen, and Vincent was able to stagger back to his rooms. Theo arrived the next day to be with Vincent, who died the next morning, July 29, 1890, at the age of thirty-seven.⁴

Discussion

It is easy to classify Vincent as psychiatrically disturbed but difficult, looking back a hundred years later, to diagnose him accurately. For most of his life, Vincent was a loner, difficult to get along with, with a seemingly uncontrollable temper (though perhaps Vincent *chose* not to control it). In all of his activities, he seemed driven, neglecting his health and welfare simply to preach or to paint.

We call a chronic maladaptive life style a personality disorder, and Vincent clearly had, at the very least, such a disorder. Vincent was angry. He quarreled with everyone, but because of his inferior status in life, most of those he quarreled with were his superiors or, eventually, his rivals in the art world. Where does this anger have its roots? In his childhood, of course.

Vincent was treated cruelly by his parents, and especially his mother. She was too preoccupied with her own guilt and depression and her subsequent children to provide Vincent with the love he needed. She constructed a life for him in which he could feel only that he was an unworthy replacement for the elder brother, dead at birth, whom his mother really wanted. Vincent was led believe that he had no right to exist.

So this anger, rightfully felt toward his mother, expressed itself as childhood rebellion, developing into anger at any authority figure. It is interesting that he remained so dependent upon his parents. Children who develop a healthy sense of self eventually disengage themselves from such pathological parents. But Vincent always came back. As a teenager, in his twenties and in his thirties, he returned home to quarrel.

Yet Vincent was not devoid of social skills and relationships. Theo loved him and perhaps his other siblings had some positive feelings for him. Margot, the neighbor with whom he fell in love, might have made him a good companion. But his mother had betrayed his trust as an infant. How could he trust anyone now?

Vincent's self-esteem must have been low. Unwanted as a child, not encouraged in anything he tried to do, a failure as a preacher, rejected by women he loved, ridiculed and persecuted by neighbors, and a failure (at least in his life-time) as a painter, Vincent accomplished nothing that brought him praise, love or any kind of reward. Theo loved him. And his paintings were good. But no one thought his art worth purchasing.

⁴ Theo had a stroke soon after his return to Paris and also had a mental breakdown. He died in January, 1891.

Toward the end of his life, he may have become psychotic. Possibly he had delusions and hallucinations. Certainly he was put in an asylum.

Vincent's suicide (and indeed his self-mutilation at Arles earlier) were both after he had been about to attack someone else. Each time, his attack was aborted when he confronted the person. Each time, the person was only the most recent irritant in his life. The Freudian view of suicide is that it is anger felt toward someone else, suppressed or repressed and directed against the self. Vincent's anger at his parents was expressed toward them, but perhaps never sufficiently to be satisfying. The anger toward his peers and superiors was expressed verbally, but again perhaps never sufficiently to be cathartic. The well of anger was still full, and Vincent had a life-style that made him enemies and caused him frustrations that kept filling up the well of anger. Perhaps Vincent feared that he would one day indeed kill someone, and he killed himself for fear of that?

In one way, Vincent is the saddest of the famous suicides for most of the others were accorded some recognition for their talent during their life-time, and some were even recognized as exceptional. Vincent's talent was recognized only after his death.

Reference

Honour, A. (1967). *Tormented genius*. New York: Morrow.

ADRIAEN JANSE VAN ILPENDAM

David Lester

In the 17th Century, Adriaen Janse van Ilpendam was the only person to die by suicide in Albany, New York. He died by suicide on March 12, 1686. Merwick (1999) used his life to write a microhistory of the Dutch in New York State before and after the English took over. Only a little is known about Adriaen Janse, and this is what we know.

His Father

In 1616, Jan Janse was a young man, 22 years of age, living in Delft. He received permission to marry Judith Hame Adriaensdr. Jan Janse supported himself as a hatmaker. Adriaen Janse was born in 1618, their only child, named after Judith's father. Two and a half years later, Judith died, leaving 400 guilders to take care of the orphan. His father signed a paper agreeing to take care of the child until he was 25 or married.

Jan Janse, then 32, married Cathalina van Straseel and moved to Leiden where his relatives lived. Two years later, Jan Janse started working on ships, joined the West India Company, and set out in 1636 with van Rensselaer for America. By 1646, Jan Janse was bankrupt, but before he could be punished, he and his wife died on Manhattan Island in 1647.

Adriaen Janse was now 30, and he too was in New Amsterdam (in America) as a schoolmaster. Nothing is known about the path he took to arrive here. He had to refuse all association with his father in order to avoid his creditors.

Adriaen Janse

Adriaen Janse had a wife, Tryntje Jans, but they had no children. He worked for a local trader on Manhattan Island, a place with about 120 households, probably as a bookkeeper, and also as a schoolmaster, running a private school, living on the fees the parents paid him. He signed his name as Adriaen van Ilpendam to avoid connection with his deceased bankrupt father.

In 1650, the town of Rensselaerswijck, forty miles upriver, decided to have a proper school, and they hired Adriaen Janse to run it for them. He rented a house, but two years later he owned land and had moved to Beverwijck, later known as Albany, still working as a schoolmaster.

Albany was a town of some 120 households with 50 more families on outlying farms. The major trade was in animal pelts and grain which were shipped down the Hudson to New York City. There were French to the north and natives all around. Life was full of potential danger.

Janse did not appear to be rich. He was sued in 1653 by two men, a merchant who claimed he is owed for goods and a doctor who treated Janse's wife in Manhattan. He was unable to pave the road in front of his house as required, but the court excused him.

In 1657, Janse sold the land he owned and bought a brickyard and a smaller lot with a house. But in 1664, the English took over Beverwijck and occupied the town, now called Albany, for nine years. In 1668 Janse decided to return to the Netherlands to deal with his affairs there, leaving his wife with power of attorney, and he returned in May, 1669.

Janse apparently trained to be a notary, and in June 1669 Janse applied to become a public notary in Albany. He has just turned 51. Janse continues to work as a schoolmaster, and he supplements his income from his work as a notary, teaching night school, some trading, and his brickyard. He also sometimes obtained official work. In 1671, he was hired to make a list of all men and to collect fines if they did not report for military duty, some part of which he could keep. He was given a special seat in the church to honor his contribution to the community as a low-level civil servant, and he became a church master, overseeing repairs to the church. In 1673, the Dutch rebelled against the English, but the English re-established their rule in 1674.

In 1675, Adriaen Janse received two bequests in the Netherlands, each of a 1,000 guilders. Obtaining these bequests, or exchanging the income each year for materials and goods he needed in America, became a wearisome task for him. His inheritance did not amount to much in reality.

As the years went by, Janse earned less and less as a notary. People had little money, and new ways were developing. Courts were becoming important, and "attorneys" becoming more common. The problem of having to use the English language and English practices also presented problems for the older Dutch residents. Janse, himself, had difficulty spelling the English words. On one document he described himself as "Note Republic."

By 1682, Janse was anxious and depressed about his survival. His wife died in 1683, and he found it hard to get word from the Netherlands about the income from his bequests. His letters expressed a sense of helplessness.

He hung himself in March, 1686, roughly 68 years old. He left no suicide note, and there was no record of where he hung himself or why. There was no record of who buried him or where. No one paid for a pall to cover his coffin. On July 29 of that year, the English governor and his council agree that a cousin could dispose of Janse's property.

Reference

Merwick, D. *Death of a notary*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University, 1999.

STEPHEN WARD

David Lester

Stephen Ward was tried and found guilty of living on the immoral earnings of Christine Keeler and Mandy Rice-Davies in 1963 in London England. Keeler had recently had a sexual affair with John Profumo, a minister in Macmillan's government, and possibly with Yevgeny Ivanov, a Russian spy. In the midst of the judge's summing up which spanned two days, Ward died by suicide. Knightley and Kennedy (1987) make it quite clear that Ward was deserted by his friends, framed by the British police and tried by a corrupt court. It is small recompense that most of the trash involved in this persecution did not live happily ever after.

Early Years

Stephen was the second son of the Reverend Arthur Ward and his wife Eileen. He was born in Lemsford, Hertfordshire, on October 19, 1912. Arthur Ward was crippled by a spinal disorder which made him a hunchback, and he was a bookish introvert. His wife was a charming extravert from Ireland who had five children -- John, Stephen, twins Patty and Bridget, and Raymond.

The family moved to Torquay in 1920. Although Stephen seemed to have a brilliant mind, he was a poor student and indecisive about a career. He thought of becoming a doctor, but two medical schools rejected him. At the age of 17, he moved to London where he sold carpets, then to Germany where he worked as a translator, and then to France where he had odd-jobs and took courses at the Sorbonne. In 1932, he moved back to Torquay with his parents, but his father threw him out when he discovered that Stephen had hidden a French girl in the basement of the vicarage. Stephen moved back to London where he sold tea and newspaper subscriptions. Eileen's brother persuaded Stephen to go to America to study osteopathy at Kirksville College of Osteopathy and Surgery in Missouri. Stephen agreed.

He arrived in 1934 and settled in to his studies. He found surgery distressing and so focused on osteopathy, working at odd jobs to pay his expenses. He also traveled extensively around America and Mexico with friends. He was arrested twice in Mexico after for drunk and disorderly behavior and developed a liking for brothels and prostitutes. He was reported by one Mexican prostitute to have a remarkably large penis. He graduated and passed the Missouri licensing examination.

He went back to Torquay to practice medicine just before the war began. He volunteered for the Royal Army Medical Corps but was rejected because the Corps did not recognize his American degree. He was called up as a private. After he had helped his commanding officer's knee heal, that officer set him up as a quasi-doctor. When this was discovered, an inquiry was held and Stephen was reprimanded, but he was made a officer-stretcher-bearer in the Corps. He tried to get his member of parliament to change the status of osteopaths, for which he was court-martialled and posted to India. There he

was able to practice medicine unofficially, and among the patients he treated was Mahatma Gandhi. He soon was widely known among the upper social classes, playing bridge, for example, most evenings with the Maharajah of Baroda. After the war, Stephen tried to work in Torquay but found life boring. So he moved to London.

Stephen in London

Stephen started work at the Osteopathic Association Clinic for eight pounds a week, sleeping over the clinic. A lucky break enabled him to take over for a Park Lane osteopath who was going to America for a month. Soon after that he took on the American ambassador, Averill Harriman, as a client. His skill as an osteopath and these initial contacts led to further referrals until he was the osteopath of choice for most of the powerful and influential people in London. The list included Winston Churchill, Sir Anthony Eden, King Peter of Yugoslavia, Elizabeth Taylor, Mel Ferrier, Sir Malcolm Sargent, and more.

Those who came for treatment stayed to talk. Stephen's professional life and social life began to overlap as his patients became his friends. He befriended many of those he met, offering his flat in Cavendish Square to those who needed a place to stay. Young women he ran into, new to the city, often stayed a while. He left his door unlocked, and people dropped by most evenings to talk and listen to music. One visitor commented that he never saw anyone go off to the bedrooms to have sex. Another visitor one evening met Prince Philip, a junior typist and a high-class prostitute. Stephen deliberately met a wide variety of people and mixed them in his social life. He was fascinated by women, but he rarely had sex with them. There were no signs of any homosexual tendencies, but his sex drive did not appear to be strong.

Stephen had been attracted to a woman, Mary Glover, in Torquay, but his stay in America had ended that relationship. Then he met a young girl, Eunice Bailey, whom he helped become a leading model, but he hesitated too long before proposing and she married someone else. In the Spring of 1949, he met Patricia Baines, also a model, and they married in July 1949. The marriage was a disaster from the start. She soon found out that Stephen was irresponsible with money and not very wealthy (he did not take sufficient funds for their honeymoon in France), and he was inhibited sexually. Six weeks after she moved into his flat, Patricia left. She divorced him two years later for mental cruelty.

Cliveden

Newly divorced at the age of 40, Stephen acquired William Astor, later Lord Astor, as a patient, a member of a wealth Anglo-American family. They soon became good friends, and Astor lent Stephen money to pay some back taxes and gave him consulting rooms and a flat rent-free.

About this time, Stephen ran into a waif from the suburbs, Valerie Mewes, and invited her to come and stay with him. He groomed her, improved her speech, and helped

her start a career as a model. She eventually became the girl-friend of the Maharajah of Cooch Behar but died soon thereafter in car crash. Stephen enjoyed creating his "Fair Lady," and he was tempted to try similar transformations with other women.

Astor's estate was at Cliveden, and he had a small cottage on the grounds which he rented to Stephen in 1956 for a token amount. Stephen renovated it and began to have gatherings there every weekend. Astor liked the company and often visited the cottage, sometimes inviting everyone over to his house for the following day.

Stephen was a reasonably good artist, and his sketches of people were quite good. One of his patients was an art dealer and gallery owner and encouraged Stephen to sketch more. Soon Stephen was sketching celebrities, including members of the Royal Family. He had an exhibition at the gallery in July 1960 to great success, earning Stephen a contract from the *Illustrated London News* to draw portraits for the magazine.

Stephen planned to go to Russia for one assignment for the magazine, but he had problems getting a visa. Through a friend, he met an attaché from the Russian Embassy, Captain Yevgeny Ivanov, who was an intelligence officer. They got on well and became good friends. Stephen liked Yevgeny's company, and Yevgeny, through Stephen, moved in circles normally closed to him as a Russian diplomat.

As a result, British members of MI5 decided to try to recruit Yevgeny as a spy for the British by means of entrapment by using Stephen. (This arrangement was hidden all through the subsequent events and came to light only years after Stephen's suicide.¹) Knightley and Kennedy, in their account, suggest that Yevgeny guessed the truth about Stephen's involvement with MI5 and used Stephen to pass on information that the Russians wanted the British to have. Stephen may also have realized this and seen that he was not betraying Yevgeny (a friend), but acting as a conduit.

Christine Keeler

Stephen was visiting a night club in London one evening in 1959 with a rich Arab friend, and they asked to meet one of the dancers, a woman called Christine Keeler. Stephen was attracted to her and obtained her telephone number. He then pursued her until she left her boarding house and moved in with him. Christine was his next project; perhaps he was a father figure for Christine. However, their relationship was rather unstable. Christine soon moved out to live with Peter Rachman, a slum landlord, but after they broke up six months later she moved back in with Stephen. This pattern continued for a couple of years.

Christine continued to work at Murray's where she became friends with another show-girl, Mandy Rice-Davies. They got a flat together, and Christine invited Stephen

¹ Nigel West, *A matter of trust*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1982. During the Berlin crisis in 1961, for example, Stephen was used as a conduit for messages from the Russian Embassy to the British government, a fact admitted by British authorities only much later after Stephen's suicide. Similarly, during the Cuban missile crisis, Yevgeny tried to get a message to the British government via Stephen.

(whose flat she left had once more) over for dinner. They were soon all friends, and Stephen and Mandy subsequently had sex in the cottage at Cliveden one weekend, a performance that was never repeated. Mandy moved in with Rachman, Christine's old lover, leaving Christine alone. Christine had an affair with an Iranian who threw her out, leaving Christine no alternative but to go and stay with Stephen again.²

One weekend at Cliveden, Astor had John Profumo and his wife down, and there Profumo met Stephen and Christine. Profumo, the Secretary of State for War, was attracted to Christine and soon had her as his mistress, most of the time meeting and having sex with her at Stephen's London flat. Meanwhile, at the same party at which Profumo met Christine, Stephen tried to get Christine and Yevgeny together. It is unclear whether they ever became lovers, although this was eventually reported in the press, because almost everyone involved in the affair lied on occasions and because Yevgeny was sent back to Russia when the scandal broke. Profumo wanted to establish Christine in her own flat, but she refused to move out from Stephen's. Her affair with Profumo broke up after three or four months.

Meanwhile, various people were trying to stir up trouble. George Wigg, a Labour Member of Parliament, wanted to destroy Profumo. John Lewis, a former Labour MP, was angry at Stephen for taking Mrs. Lewis's side in a divorce action.³ Rumors were beginning to spread about Profumo's affair with Christine, and only the strict libel laws in Britain prevented the press from reporting these rumors. Christine decided to break with Stephen (perhaps tiring of his domination and jealous of his preference for Mandy), and she too, with an eye on selling her story, began to talk to journalists about her affairs, embellishing them beyond the truth.

Lewis and Wigg both spread the rumors and tried to alert important people in the opposition and the government. Wigg and other opposition members asked questions in Parliament, and eventually Profumo was forced to make a statement. On March 22, 1963, Profumo denied the rumors of an affair with Christine, a downright lie. He held on but was forced to confess his lie on June 5th in a letter to the Prime Minister, Harold Macmillan, which was released to the press. Profumo then resigned.

Christine had also talked to the police. She had been involved in problems with her West Indian lover, Johnny Edgecombe, who had fired shots at Stephen's flat where Christine was staying, and she was going to be a witness at his trial. Christine was mad at Stephen because he had tried (successfully) to stop the newspapers from publishing her story (and therefore, paying her for it). Christine, and later Mandy, began to weave a tale for the police about Stephen's activities, primarily that he was a procurer of women. Initially, the police decided not to investigate further.

Next, the Home Secretary, Henry Brooke, got involved since he had been informed of the growing rumors. He decided to try to convict Stephen to get him out of

² Stephen and Christine were never lovers.

³ Mrs. Lewis had gone to stay at Stephen's flat when she left her husband, and she had an affair with a friend of Stephen's.

the way and to cover up the truth and so he ordered the police to find a criminal offense with which to prosecute Stephen, a clear corruption of the law enforcement process. The police officers in charge, Chief Inspector Samuel Herbert and Detective Sergeant John Burrows then cooked up a case against Stephen by bullying and threatening witnesses with future prosecutions and by arresting Mandy and other potential witnesses for minor offenses and offering deals if they would testify.

The police also interviewed all of Stephen's friends and acquaintances. They harassed him. If anyone visited him, the police stopped them and interviewed them, even his patients. If Stephen visited anyone, those whom he visited were interviewed. By mid-April, Stephen was a social pariah and a prisoner in his own flat. Astor asked Stephen to give up the cottage at Cliveden.

Stephen tried to contact people in the government to tell them that Profumo had lied in his Parliamentary statement, but this only made the government more eager than ever to shut Stephen up. A journalist friend offered to pay for Stephen's story, but Stephen still had faith in British justice.

When Profumo's letter of resignation was released to the press on June 5th, Stephen was interviewed on television that night. He reported that he had warned MI5 about Profumo's affair early on and that he had not encouraged the affair. He denied he was running a call girl racket. Stephen was arrested two days later.

Trial and Suicide

Some of Stephen's friends would have liked to help, but to do so would risk their names and careers. Astor refused to be a witness, and many others followed his lead. Only a few friends stood by Stephen. One who did, Vasco Lazzolo, was told by the police that they might have to find pornography in his studio. He called their bluff, and nothing happened.

Stephen was sent to Brixton Prison for three weeks before being allowed out on bail⁴. He was then dependent on friends for accommodation. The trial opened on July 22, 1963, in the Old Bailey, with a prosecutor (Mervyn Griffith-Jones) determined to get a conviction and a judge (Archie Marshall) determined to help him. There were five counts against Stephen: three concerned with living on the earnings of prostitutes and two concerning procuring. The procuring cases were clearly shown to be nonsense and, regarding living on the earnings of prostitutes, it seemed that women like Christine and Mandy owed Stephen much more money than they ever paid him.

The defense tried to present a case despite the petty ways in which the judge kept putting the counsel down. Meanwhile, another of Christine's West Indian boyfriends had been tried and convicted on June 7th of assaulting Christine on the basis of her false testimony. On July 30th, as Griffith-Jones summed up his case against Stephen at the Old Bailey, the Court of Criminal Appeal threw out Gordon's conviction. Lord Parker, one of

⁴ Dominick Elwes stood bail for Stephen.

the three judges, however, refused to state that Christine had lied. In December, 1963, she was tried, convicted and sentenced to nine months in prison for perjury in that case. Yet, in July, Lord Parker went out of his way to say that the court was not holding that she had lied. Had he admitted the truth, her evidence at Stephen's trial would have immediately have been called into question. It must be concluded that Lord Parker perverted the course of justice on purpose to ensure that Stephen was convicted, a view shared by many eminent lawyers in Britain.

In his summing up, the words that the judge used were fair, but the way in which he spoke them clearly indicated to the jury his opinion that Stephen was guilty. Although Stephen had remained optimistic of acquittal, he now lost all hope. He suspected that he would be found guilty and sent to prison. The police had also told him that, if he was acquitted, they would charge him with procuring an abortion for friends.

He went home to the flat of his friend with whom he was staying, Noel Howard-Jones, and wrote some letters. He cooked a meal for himself and a girl-friend, Julie Gulliver, and drove her home. He went back to the flat, and swallowed a lethal dose of Nembutal. Howard-Jones found him at 8.30 a.m. the next morning and rushed him to the hospital. The jury gave a verdict that day: not guilty of procuring, guilty on two of the charges of living on the earnings of prostitutes, namely Christine Keeler and Mandy Rice-Davies.

Stephen died on Saturday, August 3rd, 1963.

At his funeral six days later, attended by only six mourners, all men, there was a wreath of one hundred white carnations from, among others, Kenneth Tynan, John Osborne, Joe Orton and Penelope Gilliat. It said:

To Stephen Ward
Victim of Hypocrisy

Reference

Knightley, P., & Kennedy, C. (1987). *An affair of state*. New York: Atheneum

MICHAEL WECHSLER

David Lester

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

Early Life

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

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

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

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

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

The Beginning of Trouble

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Hospitals and Death

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

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

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

away eight times. His depression grew in time, and his failure both to improve his life and to return to Harvard weighed heavily on him. He decided to leave the hospital for good when he realized that his therapist there was due to leave at the end of the summer.

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

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

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

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

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

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

and ex-patients and went to advertized "singles parties", but remained lonely.

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

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

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

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

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

Discussion

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Reference

Wechsler, J. A. (1972). *In a darkness*. New York: Norton.

SIMONE WEIL

David Lester

Simone's father, Bernard Weil, was born in 1872 in Strasbourg, and became a physician. Although his family adhered strictly to Judaism, Dr. Weil was an atheist. Simone's mother was born in Rostov-on-Don in Russia in 1879 but moved to Anvers in Belgium. Her parents were liberal Jews and not very religious. The marriage, which took place in 1905, was a happy one.

Almost three years after the birth of a boy, André, Simone was born February 3 1909 in Paris in her parents' apartment, a month premature, but in fine health. Six months later, Mrs. Weil had appendicitis (and an operation in 1910) and after that Simone did not fare well. The family belief was that her mother's milk had affected her -- Simone would say that she had been "poisoned" in infancy. She was weaned after a year of breast-feeding but then became seriously ill. She refused solid food and would eat only from a bottle. At two, Simone had adenoidal problems and coughed a lot at night. At three-and-a-half, Simone developed appendicitis and had an operation as had her brother a year earlier. Simone's recovery was slow, and she developed a fear of doctors. Measles followed in 1914.

The family had a fear of infection and followed strict washing habits especially before eating. This atmosphere led Simone to have feelings of repugnance from being kissed and eating or touching certain things.

During The First World War, Dr. Weil was assigned to Neufchâteau where, despite rules against it, he took his family. Dr. Weil developed angina and bronchitis and was sent to Menton to recover. His family followed and, upon his recovery, accompanied him to his next assignments.

André was bright and quickly developed an interest in mathematics. Simone became enthusiastic over patriotic poems when she was six, and they both loved literature, learning scenes from Corneille and Racine from memory. At school, Simone seemed slow, but this was because of her small hands and weak wrists which made her write quite slowly -- a problem that afflicted her for the rest of her life. Unlike André, she also doubted her competence and had a fear of failing. However, early in their schooling, they were both the best in their classes.

The house had few toys, and Simone never played with dolls. By the age of ten, she was interested in politics, and her classmates called her a Communist, to which she replied that she was a Bolshevik. At the age of eleven, she went to a public meeting of the unemployed. Visitors described her as sweet, gay and strong willed, but with a sense of humor.

André passed his first university examination at the age of 14 and went to the Ecole Normale at the age of 16, leaving Simone feeling stupid compared to him. In her

year at school, from age 13 to 14, a disagreeable teacher who disparaged Simone caused her to fall into a deep despair at her lack of ability. However, she passed her *bachot* in 1924 and enrolled in a school known for its fine philosophy teaching, and she attended the lectures of Alain (Emile Chartier). Eventually, she was admitted in 1928 to the Ecole Normale (where she was the only female in her group), having already passed some of the examinations required for teaching philosophy, sociology and psychology in the schools.

Her interest in politics, and especially the fate of the poor, made her wish she had been born a male, and she attempted to minimize her femininity. She did not dress to be attractive (she dressed more like a poor person or a monk), and she avoided any romantic or sexual involvement with others.

An intellectual from the first, Simone hung out with classmates in cafés, drinking black coffee and smoking, discussing ideas at length. However, although her ideas were left-wing, she never joined any political party. She thought too independently to ever follow an organized body of thought. Following Alain, she became a pacifist and helped organize lectures for the workers on Sundays on political and economic issues which continued through 1931. Some of the workers were able to pass competitive exams and improve their positions. In the summer of 1929, Simone went to stay with an aunt and worked in the fields as a farm laborer in order to better understand the position of the workers.

Simone had few friends at the Ecole Normale. Many were in awe of her, and they feared her confrontational style. They made jokes about her behind her back and, except for a few close friends, avoided her. She graduated in 1931 with her *agrégation* diploma and accepted a job teaching at Le Puy.

At this time, Simone developed the severe headaches that plagued her for the rest of her life. Later, she thought it was from a larval sinusitis, but her father suffered from migraines too, suggesting a genetic basis. Simone's headaches could last up a week and, while she had them, she could not eat and she would sometimes vomit. She often taught her classes in this state, but she took short medical leaves throughout her teaching career.

Life as a Teacher

Before she began teaching at Le Puy in the Fall of 1931, Simone attended a union congress and met others involved in helping the workers. Simone preferred to work with the unions rather than with political parties, believing that only the unions could bring about a revolution.

To help her settle in at Le Puy, Simone's mother went with her, helped her find an apartment with a roommate from the school, obtained the services of a maid, purchased coal for the heating and tried to ensure that Simone ate well enough to survive. This was a pattern in Simone's life as a teacher -- either being taken care at home with her parents or having her mother arrange living matters for her near the schools. Simone did not care

about domestic matters and certainly was not interested in eating a healthy life-sustaining diet.⁵ But she comes across as a pampered child who was not capable of surviving by herself in the world. Luckily, she was always able to find others (family and friends) to take care of her.

Simone quickly got involved with the unions in the Haute-Loire and Loire regions and joined the National Teacher's Union herself. She wrote many articles for workers newspapers and magazines, and she taught courses for the workers. She participated in job actions by the workers and the unemployed, even in the town of Le Puy, none of which was welcomed by her employers who tried to dismiss her.⁶ Locally, Simone was viewed as a communist. All of this, in addition to her school position, created great stress in Simone's life.

After her first year of teaching, in the summer of 1932, Simone traveled to Germany to gain some understanding of Nazism. She stayed as much as she could with working families so as to better experience conditions.

She was transferred to a new school, at Auxerre, for the new year, and she settled in there with the help of her mother who this time paid a local restaurant to try to feed Simone better than Simone would have chosen. Simone got on even less well with the administration and her colleagues at Auxerre than at Le Puy. But she taught her classes and continued to write, at first about conditions in Germany, and she remained involved in the debates going on in her union, now the United Federation of Teachers. As the Nazis rose to power in Germany, and many leftists and Jews fled Germany, Simone also now worked to help them, even persuading her parents to house occasional refugees. At Auxerre, she tried to be friendly with the workers and participated in the grape harvest. She tried to work occasionally in the factories and participate in other jobs with them.

The school inspectors did not approve of her teaching. Her classes did not seem prepared, her lectures disjointed, and her political views "too advanced." Furthermore, not many of her students passed their *bachot*. The headmistress abolished the philosophy courses, thereby requiring Simone to request a new post for the next year.

That summer, she went on holiday to Spain with her parents, and while there Simone contacted the militants among the workers' movement. She then moved to teach at Roanne in the Fall of 1933. Life continued as usual, this time with better relationships at the school -- writing, attending meetings with groups dedicated to improving the conditions of the workers, lecturing and offering courses to groups of workers. In late December 1933, Trotsky stayed with the Weils in Paris, and Simone debated (and quarreled) with him during his stay. Although willing to join in specific actions, she rejected participating in the democratic and anti-fascist forces that were developing, primarily because of her distrust of the political parties. She felt that modern society was

⁵ Simone insisted on living on what a new teacher would earn, even though she was paid the salary of a full professor. She also refused to heat her part of the apartment.

⁶ The unemployed did win concessions in Le Puy. Some of them gained employment, better work conditions, better wages and a soup kitchen.

moving toward totalitarianism rather than greater freedom, and she was not deluded into thinking that communism was the answer.

In order to better understand the life of the workers, Simone decided to take a sabbatical the next year and work full-time in a factory.

The Transition

Simone got a job only with the aid a friend who found her work in factory as a power-press operator. She moved to a small apartment near the factory so as to be independent of her parents. Her fellow workers noticed how inept she was (though a few workers were worse) and, when they observed that she rarely brought food to work, brought her snacks. She never reached the speed required for her job, and she was incredibly tired each evening. When she ate with her parents, she paid them for the meal to better see how she could live on her wages. Many days, she cried, at work and in her apartment. In January she developed otitis in her ear and went home for a month to recover and then on a trip to Switzerland with her mother. She went back to work, was injured and quit. She had worked from December 4 1934 to April 5 1935, with a sick leave from January 10 to February 25. She was also laid off for two weeks in March. She then worked at another factory for a month, until she was fired, and then almost three months in the summer of 1935 at a Renault plant.

She wrote about these experiences, and she realized that oppressive working conditions does not lead to rebellion but rather submission, and this led to her to view the future rather pessimistically.

For 1935 to 1936, she went back to teaching, this time at Bourges, after a holiday in Portugal with her parents. During this year, she tried farm work, but the farmer and his wife could not tolerate her. They thought that she lacked common sense (for example, not washing her hands before milking the cows), and she never stopped talking about poverty and the prospect of war.

In July 1936, the Spanish generals revolted against the government, thus initiating what came to be called the Spanish Civil War. Simone decided to go and visit "as a journalist," and her parents decided to go there also. Simone met up with a communist fighting group and accompanied them on some missions. Unfortunately, she burned herself badly in some boiling oil and had to return to Barcelona where her parents found her and persuaded her to return to France for better treatment for the burn. While Simone had been with the group there had been no battles, but soon after her return to France the group was cut to pieces at Perdiguera and few escaped.

After reflection, as the war became a war between nations, Simone saw the danger in it, since the combatants ignored justice, liberty and humanity. The wound (and her headaches) necessitated that Simone request a leave of absence from teaching, and this leave was extended for the whole school year. This left Simone free to agitate on

behalf of the workers, writing articles and attending meetings. She traveled to Italy, and she began to enjoy listening to Gregorian chants.

In 1937 she went back to teaching (at Saint-Quentin), but her headaches led to her to request a leave in January, a leave which was extended for two years. In fact, she never resumed her career as a teacher. She turned her attention to the plight of immigrant workers in France (such as the Algerians), and she participated in efforts to start negotiations between Hitler and other nations in order to prevent war. Yet she also pondered how best to defend France and decided that decentralization and armed resistance was the solution.

The events of 1938 and 1939 led Simone to finally renounce pacifism. In the choice between enslavement and war, Simone chose war. After a trip to Italy, spending part of the time with her parents, she sought treatment for her headaches, fearing a tumor, but nothing was found to relieve them. She also was ill for a time with pleurisy. She began to become interested in Catholicism after an experience in which she thought that Christ was present while she recited a poem in order to try to alleviate a headache. From this time on, she discussed Catholicism with priests and others, seriously considering becoming admitted into that faith. But in the end, her refusal to accept dogmatic assertions from authorities prevented her from ever doing so.⁷

War was declared in September 1939, and the Weils returned to Paris from Italy and the south of France. Simone supported the British. She planned a mission that involved parachuting troops into seized territories and worked hard to get authorities to accept her idea for several years, being rejected, of course, at every point.⁸ She never understood that military authorities would give no serious thought to a plan from a civilian, let alone an eccentric civilian. She also worked on a plan to form units of front-line nurses.

Simone's brother, André, was tried for avoiding military service (he had been in Finland at the outbreak of war and shipped back to France via Sweden and England) and sentenced to five years in prison. He volunteered to serve in a combat unit, and so the sentence was suspended.

As the Germans invaded France and neared Paris, her parents persuaded Simone to leave with them, and they traveled to Vichy, eventually settling in Marseilles in September 1940. Her plan was then to go to England to join the French who were continuing the fight. She applied for a teaching post abroad (in the French colonies) but never heard from the authorities. She wrote poems and articles on literature, and she helped a little with some the anti-Fascists now interned in camps in Vichy. She was interrogated several times by the police, but never arrested. She continued to eat very little, but now her rationale was that she should follow the official allotments. (She also gave some of her allotment to the prisoners in the camps.)

⁷ Several of the priests to whom she talked considered her a heretic.

⁸ She wanted to join the force herself and even threatened suicide if she was not allowed to participate.

André and his wife had managed to get to America, and Simone realized that her parents would not leave without her. To get them to safety, she would have to leave too. While waiting for the opportunity, Simone worked a little on a farm and helped with the grape harvest. She continued to write poems and on literature, and she went to Mass regularly.

The Weils managed to get a passage to New York, via Morocco, leaving in May 1942 and arriving in July. Simone contacted military and political people to tell them her plans for the war and to volunteer for sabotage missions. Eventually, however, some thought that she might be able to help the Free French in England, and she was allowed to sail for England in November. Her parents tried to get permission to join Simone in England, but they were always turned down.

London and Death

Simone lived at first in the barracks housing the volunteers, but she eventually moved to rooms in Notting Hill in January 1943. She wrote papers for the Free French, primarily concerned with the reorganization of France after the war, but her colleagues saw them as too abstract with no concrete suggestions or practical application.

She lived in her rooms without heat, of course, and ate little. The rejection of her plans (for front-line nurses and for special missions) depressed her. She felt that death was her vocation, but she could not obtain the death she desired.⁹ Her headaches had returned, and they combined with her depression to depress her appetite even further. She did not want to be one of the privileged, but her body was becoming more and more fatigued. On April 15, she was found unconscious in her room. She was found to have tuberculosis and sent to a hospital. For a few days she improved but then, because she would not eat enough, her condition worsened. She resigned from the Free French organization in July and refused further treatment at the hospital. It seems that she had decided to die.

She was transferred to a sanitarium in Ashford on August 17 where she continued to refuse almost all food. she said that "she couldn't eat when she thought of the French people starving in France" (Pétrement, 1976, p. 536). She died on August 22. The death certificate gave the cause of death as "cardiac failure due to myocardial degeneration of the heart muscles due to starvation and pulmonary tuberculosis....The deceased did kill and slay herself by refusing to eat whilst the balance of her mind was disturbed." (p. 537).

Reference

Pétrement, S. (1976). *Simone Weil*. New York: Pantheon.

⁹ Colleagues saw that Simone would be a handicap on any mission and endanger others.

OTTO WEININGER

David Lester

Otto's father, Leopold, was born into a Jewish merchant family, received no formal education, and developed into a skilled goldsmith. He married a Jewish woman from Vienna in 1878 and became an Austrian citizen in 1889. There were seven children, and Otto was the second and first son. He was born April 3, 1880, in Vienna, and his Hebrew name was Schlomoh. The information in this essay comes from Abrahamsen (1946).

Leopold Weininger became world famous as a goldsmith. He loved music and had a great talent for languages. He was a withdrawn person, keeping his thoughts and feelings to himself. With his family he was exceedingly strict, and he was both loved and feared by his children. His marriage was probably not a happy one. Abrahamsen noted that there was no evidence of insanity in the family.

Otto's Childhood

Abrahamsen could find out little about Otto's childhood. Very little is known about Otto's relationship with his mother. Otto never mentioned her in his letters. She was an ordinary woman, a housewife and mother, who was beautiful and also had a talent for languages.

The dominant figure in the household was Otto's father. Otto's mother spoiled her children and they confided in her. But their father was the supreme judge. Eventually, Otto seems to have identified strongly with his father and developed hostility toward his mother. Abrahamsen felt that Otto's rejection of his mother was due to identification with his father's views, but to my mind Abrahamsen misses the obvious inference that Otto was strongly attracted to his mother, and his later attitudes were a rejection against these incestuous desires. Otto seems to have developed into a latent homosexual, latent perhaps because of the attitudes of his culture toward homosexuality and because of a lack of homosexual opportunities.

Otto showed promise early, speaking quite distinctly by the age of fourteen months. He graduated from secondary school in 1898, more learned than his peers. He knew Latin and Greek, spoke German, French, English, Italian, Spanish and Norwegian, and had read extensively in philosophy and literature. He was rather independent of his teachers, even critical of them, and very self-confident, so self-confident that Abrahamsen saw Otto as narcissistic and grandiose in his self-admiration. Abrahamsen reported that he once challenged a man to a duel over a trivial incident even though he did know how to use a sword (and then wounded his opponent).

His views toward women and Jews eventually became very hostile. In his book *Sex and Character*, published in 1903, Otto described women as the lowest possible level of existence, so that even the best woman is grossly inferior to the worst man. He

justified this with a pseudo-biological and psychological rationale, which was rejected even by Freud when he read an early version of the manuscript.

Otto's parents had never kept a Jewish home or participated in Jewish ceremonies. In fact his father was anti-semitic. Two of his sisters became Christians, and Otto too rejected the Jewish religion and converted to Christianity in 1902. In his book *Sex and Character*, Otto described Judaism as an inferior religion to Christianity, equating the religion with the femininity he so despised. It is relevant to note in this context that anti-semitism was rife in Vienna during Otto's childhood and adolescent years. By 1895, two-thirds of the city council was clearly anti-semitic and talking of excluding the Jews from commerce.

Otto's father had encouraged his study of languages and introduced him to music, first taking him to concerts when Otto was six. His father wanted him to continue the study of languages with a view to entering the diplomatic service, but Otto entered the University of Vienna instead. He attended lectures in several departments, but he focussed on philosophy and psychology. In 1900 at the age of twenty, he attended a psychology congress in Paris, and his contributions to the discussions (in which he argued for the importance of introspection in the study of psychology) were noted in the formal congress proceedings. Abrahamsen noted that there was no book, concert or theatrical performance about which Otto did not have an opinion. He firmly believed that he was destined to become a genius.

He worked feverishly on his doctoral thesis, consuming books voraciously but neglecting his food and his health. Though he was awarded a doctorate in 1902, Otto overestimated the value and the importance of his contribution. He tried to find a publisher for his thesis, unsuccessfully at first. He showed the thesis to Freud, who thought it quite poor. His thesis was entitled *Sex and Character*, and on the same day he received his doctorate, Otto joined the Protestant faith.

Otto then moved out from home so that he could pursue his studies more intensively, for example, working at night, a practice which had disturbed his father. He supported himself by working as a private tutor. He worked to revise and extend the ideas in his thesis, eventually completing the manuscript for his book of the same title.

From his university years on, signs of a psychiatric illness began to appear. His joining the Protestant faith, perhaps meant as tactic to give his life meaning, seems not to have made him any happier. His continual introspection seems to have contributed to his self-absorption and his growing depression. As his reading began to extend to morality, he began to see himself more and more as wicked and sinful. Gradually he grew to hate himself. His sexual desires seem to have especially distressed him.

In his book, *Sex and Character*, he divides women into "mothers" and "prostitutes," a not uncommon view, but a view which makes nice women unavailable sexually. Abrahamsen could find no evidence of loves or lovers in Otto's life but suggests that Otto did visit prostitutes for sexual satisfaction. In April, 1903, Otto decided to

remain sexually abstinent.

In 1902, after receiving his doctorate, he accepted some money from his father to travel throughout Europe, returning to Vienna in September 1902. This trip seems not to have helped his growing depression at all. His friends noted the growing distress in the course of their intellectual discussions with him. On the night of November 20, 1902, he talked to a friend (Arthur Gerber) about killing himself, and Gerber stayed up the whole night in order to prevent Otto from doing so.

Abrahamsen is of the opinion that Otto was beginning to suffer from schizophrenia. He may have had hallucinations (hearing dogs barking), and he withdrew more and more from others. From Abrahamsen's descriptions of Otto his disorder also has elements of manic-depressive disorder, a disorder which is not without occasional hallucinations and delusional thinking.

Otto worked constantly on his book, writing by day and, using candles, by night. It was accepted by a small publishing house in March 1903, and the first copies appeared at the end of May.

Most people ignored the book. Several praised it, especially those to whom its anti-semitism appealed, and several criticized it severely. Otto's psychological state grew worse after the book appeared. His feelings of sinfulness grew, and his depression was worsened by the indifferent or unfriendly reception given to his book. He was even accused of stealing the ideas in it. In the summer he travelled to Italy where he remained depressed and suicidal. He returned to Vienna in September 1903 and, after staying for five days with his parents, rented a room in the house in which Beethoven had lived. He moved there on October 3rd. The next morning letters arrived at his brother's and father's homes announcing his suicide. His brother rushed over to Otto's apartment, had the locked picked by a locksmith and found Otto dying from a bullet wound in the chest. He was rushed to a hospital but died there that morning.

Discussion

Abrahamsen viewed Otto as schizophrenic with a strong need to become famous as a genius. However, Otto's first and only book, though published, was bizarre. Abrahamsen judged the ideas to be erroneous, beyond correction and, in fact, a system of delusions.

It is possible, therefore, simply to dismiss Otto's suicide as that of a depressed schizophrenic. However, his suicide occurred soon after the publication and rejection of the book which he hoped would bring him recognition. He had also failed to build a mature personal and interpersonal existence. Burdened by a deep sense of sin and continual depression, alienated from others because of both his schizoid tendencies and the conflict between his conscious and unconscious sexual desires, Otto seemed destined to lead an unhappy life alone. Perhaps the failure of his book in this context led him to decide to kill himself?

Reference

Abrahamsen, S. (1946). *The mind and death of a genius*. New York: Columbia University Press.

CHARLES WERTENBAKER¹

David Lester

Wertenbaker learned that he had cancer on September 27, 1954, at the age of 53, from his French doctor. He had experienced pain, sometimes severe, for eighteen months, and he had been able to feel the growth, a small knot on the right side of his abdomen, with his hands; but the x-rays confirmed it.² Dr. Cartier urged him not to delay and scheduled a visit with a surgeon. When Wertenbaker asked him how long he could survive without surgery, Cartier replied one year, two at most. Wertenbaker's father had died of cancer at the age of 57, as well as his grandmother and uncle. There was cancer in his mother's family too.

Wertenbaker and Lael fell in love in London in wartime. He was 42, and she was 34. It was his third marriage and her second. Wertenbaker was working for Time as an editor while Lael was a reporter under him. He retired from Time after 16 years³ in order to write novels. They moved to Ciboure in the French Basque country in 1947. They had a boy of eleven (Christian) and a girl of eight (Timberlake). They lived a tranquil life there, earning money from books and magazine articles.

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

Wertenbaker thought of suicide even then, considering drowning. He even went down to the sea, but he decided to try the surgery first. Wertenbaker and Lael discussed what to do with his body if he died. Wertenbaker came from Virginia⁴, and they owned a house in Sneden's Landing in New York. Either place would do for burial, or Ciboure. They also agreed that, if the cancer had spread, they would have the surgeon simply sow him back up without an operation. They took the train to Paris, where they were met by friends, and then flew to New York.

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

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

¹ Based on a biography by his wife (Wertenbaker, 1957).

² Being on the right side meant that Wertenbaker would avoid a colostomy if he had an operation to remove the tumor.

³ Having been fired three times and hired three times, ending up as foreign editor.

⁴ His family later moved to Newcastle, Delaware.

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

Wertenbaker left the hospital on October 14th, and he and Lael decided to go back to Ciboure for Wertenbaker to die. They found place on a boat sailing for Cannes on November 5th and, through a friend, got a nice outside room in cabin class⁵ with a private bathroom. A friend offered to help out financially with the children after Wertenbaker died if Lael was too poor.

Danielson wrote prescriptions for morphine and dolophine, and Lael found a druggist who, when he understood the reason for the drugs, filled all the prescriptions, promising to handle the authorities if they investigated. A call to the Federal Narcotics Bureau established that it was illegal to take the drugs out of the country and illegal to take them into France, even with a doctor's authorization.⁶ So, Wertenbaker had to, and did, disobey the law. Wertenbaker did have time to say goodbye to his older son, Bill before he sailed.

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

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

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

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

⁵ Better than tourist class but below first class.

⁶ The federal government remains as obstinately stupid about drugs forty years later!

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

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

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

Reference

Wertenbaker, L. T. (1957). *Death of a man*. New York: Random House.

ELLEN WEST

David Lester

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

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

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

Early Years

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

Anorexia

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Finally her internist forbade any more psychoanalysis and advised her to stay at the Bellevue Sanatorium in Kreuzlingen. She entered there in January again accompanied by her husband. She improved immediately, but soon her condition worsened. She needed sedatives to sleep.¹ After two months her suicidal preoccupation grew more intense. She told her husband (who seems to have had almost hypnotic power over her) that she has wanted to die throughout her life. She has often tried to catch diseases to hasten her death.

¹ . The doctors noted the absence of menstruation for four and a half years (a common occurrence in anorectics), no sexual intercourse for three years, and her infantile genital organs.

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

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

Discussion

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

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

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

References

- Binswanger, L. (1958). The case of Ellen West. in R. May, E. Angel & H. F. Ellenberger (Eds.) *Existence*, 237-364. New York: Basic.
- Lester, D. (1971). Ellen West's suicide as a case of psychic homicide. *Psychoanalytic Review*, 58, 251-263.

- Minuchin, S. (1974). *Families and family therapy*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Rogers, C. R. (1961). The loneliness of contemporary man as seen in the case of Ellen West. *Annals of Psychotherapy*, 2, 94-101.

JODY WHITE

David Lester

Jody White shot himself at the age of seventeen, and his story is told by his mother (White-Bowden, 1985). His mother Susan had married secretly when she was fifteen to John White, eight years her senior. They had two children, both girls, and then Susan became pregnant again. John did not want a third child and pushed Susan to have an illegal abortion. (Legal abortions were not possible then.) She refused and had the child, Jody, on March 8, 1960. Majorie was then four and O'Donnell seventeen months old.

The family lived in a house that they had built on Susan's family farm. The marriage soon deteriorated. Indeed, Susan realized that she had made a mistake on the honeymoon, but she did not ask her parents to get the marriage annulled. (She had hoped *they* would suggest it to her.) Susan and John disagreed about everything, and John dominated the decisions. John had several affairs, and there were several separations before a final divorce. Susan describes her sex life as good but felt a lack of open and honest communication between her and John. John had a management job for a construction company and worked weekends on his own airplane.

Early Years

His mother describes Jody as a placid, easy and happy child. Jody had a speech impediment in which he left off the initial consonants of words. His father tried to correct him quite harshly, preventing him from eating, for example, until he correctly pronounced the words. After Jody was ridiculed at school, his mother took him to a speech therapist who helped Jody correct the problem.

Susan and her daughters spoiled Jody, except on the rare occasions when John was home. John wanted his son to be strong, unemotional and mature. He forbade everyone in the family to hug and kiss Jody and punished Jody for giggling and crying.

However, when Jody was eight, he and his father began to get close. Jody wanted a minibike, and his father told him to save his allowance for one and then helped him buy one. They rode together and fixed the bikes together. Soon Jody was competing in bike races and winning them. His father was still punitive though, screaming at Jody when he lost.

After the Divorce

Jody's parents got divorced when he was fourteen, after four years of separations and reconciliations. His mother had already begun working, and at the time of the divorce had established herself as a reporter for a local television station. This meant quite long hours, and she could not leave work until after the early evening news. She had also fallen in love with a fellow reporter there (Jack Bowden).

Jody's father refused to accept the finality of the divorce. He often came over to the family's house and tried to push for another reconciliation. One day in November, 1974, John White was home when Susan arrived. John tried once more to persuade Susan to let him return, telling her that he could not live without her. After dinner, while Susan was taking a bath, John shot himself in her bedroom with a handgun.

In retrospect, Susan feels that she didn't share her feelings with her children and get them to talk about their feelings after this trauma. (Jody did not cry at the funeral.) She didn't think of getting counseling for the family. (O'Donnell and Majorie went for counseling later in their lives.) But they coped and tried to get on with life. Jody and O'Donnell went back to school, and Majorie took a year off before going to college. Jody continued to race his bikes, and his mother took up bike riding and accompanied him to the race meetings on weekends. Jody did not seem depressed at all.

Jody was successful at his bike riding, had a good group of friends and some admiring women. He was shy though, and hated talking on the telephone. His shyness seemed to worsen as he entered adolescence.

About three months after the father's suicide, Susan had to go to a party at the television station and, since O'Donnell was also going out, Jody had to stay home by himself. He got upset, hung up the telephone when his mother called him from the party, and Susan rushed home to see what was wrong. She expected him to have killed himself, and she was relieved to find him alive. But she felt guilty over abandoning him and promised him not to do it again. (She also felt guilty that she bought Jody whatever he needed, especially bikes and cars, whereas his father would have made him work for them and earn them to some extent.)

When he turned fifteen, Jody moved up to the next class in bike racing and didn't win so often. Yet Jody seemed quite happy that year. He and his mother seemed close, and they would often ride bikes together just for fun. Majorie went off to college in New England, and the family seemed to be coping well. Jack Bowden visited frequently with his son, Christopher, aged six.

Jody had a girl friend that year, a thirteen year old who also rode bikes, but by the time he was sixteen Jody had fallen in love with Lauren, a girl who at first chased Jody, but then rebelled against his possessiveness and caused him a lot of anguish. When she would refuse to go out with him, Jody would sometimes wait outside her house to see if she went out with someone else, in the same way his father had when dating Susan White.

At the end of the school year, Jody messed up some library book cards and unscrewed some fixtures at the private school he attended. Since he at first denied doing so, the school expelled him for breaking the honor code. However, Jody told his mother that he hated the school, and so he quit before the notice of expulsion. He enrolled in a polytechnic institute for his final two years of high school.

That summer too, Susan White and Jack Bodwen decided to get engaged, though their fears about whether it was a wise decision led them to postpone the actual marriage. However, they did sleep together now when the children were at home. When his mother told Jody about her engagement, he said, "I don't care." Susan wondered if Jody was jealous of the attention she gave Jack's son Christopher.

The polytechnic school had thousands of students instead of the hundreds at his private school, but Jody seemed to be doing well. In February, 1977 Jody crashed his sister's car while high on marihuana. At the confrontation with his mother, Jody told her he had been smoking it since May 1976. He said he needed it to feel better and to study. Susan asked him not to drive while high and to try to cut down on its use. Jody agreed. (In retrospect she wished she had forbidden him to use it and had sought counseling for him.)

Since his mother didn't get home till about 8:15 every night, Jody would come home to an empty house at four o'clock (O'Donnell was now at college too), go to a friend's house to do his homework and arrive home after eight for his mother to fix dinner.

By April 1977, Jody's relationship with Lauren was causing him a lot of pain. In a race that month, Jody ran well but was weak because he hadn't raced since Christmas (when he broke his arm in the driveway after crashing into a friend's bike). He came in second in the first race but kept crashing in the second race. He seemed depressed at his performance (Lauren had been there to watch him), and it turned out to be the last time he raced. Susan tried to get him to work on a fitness program to get his strength back, but he seemed uninterested.

On May 9th 1977, Susan got a telephone call while she was getting ready for the evening news program from Majorie who was at home. Jody had shot himself with a rifle in his bedroom. He left a suicide note saying it was because of Lauren, and later conversations with Lauren revealed that he had threatened to kill himself if she didn't go back with him. Just before he killed himself, he had called Lauren to tell her he was going to shoot himself and to say goodbye. (He had told some other friends a month earlier that he was going to kill himself because Lauren didn't love him just as his father had.) Susan White found *The Little Prince* on the desk in his room, a book in which the hero dies by suicide and whose author committed suicide soon after writing it.

Discussion

Jody's suicide seems remarkably like his father's. Both shot themselves in their bedrooms because the woman they loved had rejected them. Both killed themselves in such a way as to maximize the guilt in their loved ones. Jody's mother notes how similar her son's behavior in the face of Lauren's rejection was to that of her husband when he was trying to get her to marry him.

Jody certainly did not work through the feelings he had after his father's suicide. His mother notes that she was not used to communicating feelings and that she preferred to pretend things were fine. She calls herself a 'Susie Sunshine.' She says that she ought to have obtained grief counseling for the family and drug counseling for Jodie. She ought to have spent more time with Jody and communicated her love for him.

Jody eventually became close to his father. The similarities between his behavior and his father's shows that Jody identified strongly with him. His suicide was modelled closely upon his father's. Thus, the father seems to be the critical person influencing Jody's life. (It is noteworthy that, so far as we know, Jody's two sisters have not been suicidal and have not imitated their father's suicidal behavior.)

Jody does not appear to have been psychiatrically disturbed, and his drug use does not appear to have been extensive. (He used only marihuana as far as we know.) His problems with girl friends are typical of teenage dating life. His expulsion from school seems to have served his goals. Although his father was dead, Jody's close identification with him may have led to an internal need to excel in performance so that failure (to win a bike race and perhaps even in academic pursuits) may have been particularly stressful for him. However, it was his relationship with Lauren that seems to have precipitated his suicide, but this stress may have been made harder to cope with given his poor performance in the bike racing. (We are not told how he was doing at his new school.)

So, in conclusion, the striking feature of Jody's suicide is the imitative aspect. What makes it interesting is that the imitation followed so soon upon the father's suicide. (Ernest Hemingway and John Berryman, for example, did not kill themselves until entering old age.)

Reference

White-Bowden, S. (1985. *Everything to live for*. New York: Poseidon.

DOLLY WILDE

David Lester

Dolly Wilde was the niece of Oscar Wilde. She attempted suicide four times during her life and died in “suspicious” circumstances, possibly a suicide. Schenkar (2000) has written, not so much an autobiography, for there is not a lot known about the details of Dolly’s life, but rather a memoir.

Dolly was a socialite. She never worked, except for occasional translations for which she was only sometimes paid. She moved from London to Paris and back, staying in hotels or in her friends’ houses. She was a lesbian, with one long-term lover, Natalie Barney, and many affairs. She was an alcoholic and heroin addict. But, most of all, she was witty guest, a sparkling conversationalist. She was, says Schenkar, a beautiful loser, someone who squandered her gifts and opportunities.

Birth and Youth

Dolly was born on July 11, 1895, three months after Oscar’s trial and imprisonment, to Oscar’s older brother Willie and his second wife, Sophie (Lily) Lees (born in Dublin in 1859). (Willie’s first marriage, to an American newspaper publisher, Florence Leslie, lasted only six months.)

Willie, born in 1852 in Ireland to a knighted surgeon and a poet mother (both of whom were prone to depression), was an alcoholic whose career as a journalist went downhill because of his alcoholism.¹ He and Lily married in 1894 and lived with Willie’s mother, Lady Jane Wilde, at her rented place in London. They were not well-off financially and depended on Oscar for funds. (Oscar paid for Lily’s lying-in fee from his prison cell.)

Willie was usually drunk, frequently depressed, idle and often destructive. He had numerous affairs. Dolly’s early life was chaotic. Lady Jane Wilde died in 1896. At nine months Dolly was sick, and so her parents abandoned her. She was put out to nurse and returned when she was three. Willie died when she was four, and she was then placed in a convent (probably as a foster home) and supported by one of Lily’s sisters for a while. After Oscar’s imprisonment and Willie’s death, the family was quite poor and in disgrace because of Oscar’s imprisonment. After Willie’s death, Lily married Alexander Teixeira de Mattos, a hard worker, and life became more stable. When Lily died in 1922 (at the age of 62), she left Dolly a small inheritance of about 2,000 pounds.

Dolly’s adolescence remains a mystery. She never spoke of it, and no details remain. But.....

¹ He worked as drama critic for *Punch* and *Vanity Fair* and as a leader writer for both the *World* and the *Daily Telegraph*.

The Move to France

in 1914, Dolly set off for France to work as an ambulance driver in the First World War, along with many other adventurous women. Once there, she shared an apartment in Montparnasse with four other female ambulance drivers and got involved in affairs with other young women.¹ Dolly perhaps rose to be a lieutenant and may have been awarded a medal for her services, perhaps the Croix de Guerre.

After her mother's death in 1922, Dolly took a small flat in London's Mayfair district which she hardly ever stayed in. She preferred to stay with friends and lovers around Europe ("...the borrowed residences, hotel bedrooms, villas, and the guest apartments of her friends and lovers." p. 99).

Dolly met Natalie Barney on June 28, 1927, when she was thirty-one. Natalie, a rich American born in 1876 in Dayton, Ohio, ran one of the most famous salons in Paris. As a lesbian,² she encouraged women artists and writers, but she also included men in her gatherings. Natalie was taken with Dolly that day, and Dolly soon became her second-best lover (Romaine Brooks was the favorite) and the star of her salon.

Dolly's relationship with Natalie was a source of stress. She often had to be packed off to other venues when Romaine Brooks felt acutely threatened by her presence, and both Natalie and Dolly had numerous affairs.

Back in London, Dolly had a good friend in Honey Harris whose family provided a respite for her. Dolly was continually in financial straits, and both Natalie and Honey helped her out. After Dolly's death, it was Honey who arranged the double grave and designed the marker, and Natalie who produced a book of reminiscences to commemorate her.³

Dolly's Pathologies

Dolly perhaps had an inherited manic-depressive disorder. She was often depressed and frequently melancholic. Her life was that of both a "vividly social woman and a recluse in depressed or determined self-exile" (p. 123). Dolly was a morphine addict by 1928 and, in the 1930s, Dolly's consumption of alcohol increased. She was seen using cocaine and heroin, even occasionally injecting heroin at the dinner table in front of the other guests. She was described as "wilful, heedless, impulsive, episodic, and intermittent" (p. 234).

Dolly made four suicide attempts: in 1931 after Natalie eloped with an actress, whereupon Dolly slashed her wrist in the Hotel Astoria (in Paris); in 1933 at the same

¹ Although a lesbian, Dolly attracted men and was described by at least one as a "cock-tease."

² Natalie recorded 27 lovers, but her housekeeper calculated that she had forty major affairs and hundreds of minor affairs.

³ Tancred Borenius, a professor at the Slade and the executor of her mother's will, took care of Dolly too.

hotel where she swallowed a bottle of sleeping pills; in London in March 1934 with a sleeping medication; and at her flat in London in September 1934 where she took an overdose and slashed her wrists (and was saved by her housekeeper).

In 1936, after her furniture had been repossessed, she sought treatment in London for her depression. She began to make frequent stays in various sanatoriums. Trying to wean her off heroin, her doctors introduced her to paraldehyde, to which she also became addicted.

Dolly suffered from many physical illnesses – infections, styes and chalazions in her eyes, high fevers, fluid in her lungs, influenza, throat abscesses, rashes, and diphtheria. When she died, a fibroid tumor was found in her uterus. She consulted doctors, Christian Science practitioners, and healers of various kinds (even going to Lourdes). Finally, in the late 1930s, she developed breast cancer. Although she saw many doctors about this, she did not in fact undergo any treatment for it whatsoever, but it did increase her dependence on alcohol and drugs. Perhaps menopause complicated her medical problems.

The Day of Death and Its Cause

On April 10, 1941, Dolly's chambermaid found Dolly dead in bed in her flat in Belgravia, London. By her bed were a glass and an empty bottle of paraldehyde, an over-the-counter sleeping medication which she had been taken under doctor's orders for two years to ameliorate her insomnia. There was also a hypodermic needle in the room with a trace of heroin in it.

The autopsy showed that Dolly's cancer had spread to her lungs. But the pathologist could not find enough traces of medication or drugs to have killed her, although the findings were consistent with an overdose of a narcotic drug. Suicide was still illegal in England, and so perhaps the coroner was swayed by this consideration in declaring her death to be from "causes unascertainable." Dying at the same age as her father and her uncle, Dolly was buried in Kensal Green Cemetery beside her mother.

Reference

Schenkar, J. (2000). *Truly Wilde*. New York: Basic Books.

VIRGINIA WOOLF

David Lester

Virginia Woolf was a leading literary figure in Great Britain in the early part of this Century. She wrote novels, book reviews for newspapers and magazines and literary criticism. She drowned herself in the River Ouse on March 28, 1941 at the age of 59.

Her Parents and Early Years

The Stephens were originally a family of farmers and merchants from Aberdeenshire in Scotland. Her grandfather was first a lawyer, but then joined the Civil Service in the Colonial Office, working hard for the abolition of slavery. He wrote for the *Edinburgh Review* and other journals. He was shy, pessimistic, convinced of his ugliness, and prone to deny himself any pleasure. If he found something he liked (like cigars or snuff), he avoided it altogether.

His youngest surviving child was a son, Leslie. Leslie was a nervous delicate boy, his mother's darling, and fond of poetry. He went to Cambridge University and later accepted a fellowship there, becoming an ordained minister in the process which was a pre-requisite for the position. However, he was dissatisfied by life there and moved to London where he worked as a journalist. He eventually became editor of the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

His first wife was Harriet Thackeray, daughter of the novelist. They had a daughter Laura, who was soon observed to be psychologically disturbed. (She died in an asylum in 1945.) Harriet died in childbirth in 1875, on Leslie's forty-third birthday. Leslie soon became close to a friend of his wife, Julia Jackson (Duckworth), recently widowed and with three children. They married in March, 1878. They already had four children by their first spouses, and they had two more, a daughter Vanessa and a son Thoby. They planned to have no more children, but two more were born, Virginia and Adrian.

Virginia was born January 25, 1882 in London, into the upper middle classes, though her biographer saw the family as at the lower division of this particular class. (They had seven maidservants but no manservants. They sometimes traveled in a cab but did not keep a carriage.)

Virginia was a pretty child and, although she was slow in learning to talk, she soon showed a precocious brilliance. The children decided that Vanessa would be a painter and Virginia a writer. Virginia was later described as eccentric, prone to accidents, witty and easily provoked to furious rages by her brothers and sisters. She became the story teller in the nursery and started a family newspaper in 1891 which she produced weekly for four years.

Childhood was relatively uneventful. They all got whooping cough in 1888 from

which they recovered, though Virginia seemed weaker afterwards. The boys were sent off to school, while the girls were educated at home by their parents and then by a succession of governesses and tutors. They learnt drawing, dancing, music, and languages. They vacationed in St Ives, Cornwall.

Since we know that Virginia eventually became psychiatrically disturbed, it is important to look for portents of madness in the family. In 1891, Laura was still living at home. A cousin, J. K. Stephen, received brain damage in an accident in 1886 and subsequently showed signs of madness, in particular manic euphoria and excitement. Virginia's father had very poor health. He collapsed in 1888, 1890, and 1891. He suffered from insomnia, what he called "fits of the horrors", and worries about his finances.

In 1895, Virginia's mother caught influenza. It was followed by rheumatic fever, and she died on May 5, 1895. Virginia was thirteen. Her father was sixty-three, a widower for the second time. His grief was great, and he broke down frequently in front of his children. His step-daughter, Stella, stepped in to take over the family and comfort Leslie. The oldest of the step-children, George, now twenty-seven, began at this time to molest Virginia (and continued to do so until she was twenty-two).

Adolescence and the First Breakdown

Virginia's first 'breakdown' occurred in the summer of 1895 soon after her mother's death. Later she remembered the excitability and nervousness, the intolerable depression, a fear of meeting people and hearing voices. She stopped writing the family newspaper.

Stella became engaged in 1896 and was married in April, 1897. She became ill with peritonitis and died in July. Virginia's health deteriorated during this period. There was a fear of going out in the street, also a fever and rheumatic pains, but not a complete breakdown. Soon she was back at lessons, learning Greek and Latin.

Leslie's hearing was deteriorating, and many of his friends had died. However, he recovered from his grief, though he remained chronically melancholy. He encouraged the literary interests of his family and turned to Vanessa to run the family. He continued to worry about finances which made life hard for Vanessa who had to fight with him for money to run the household.

Thoby went to Cambridge, and Vanessa and Virginia met his friends, many of whom later became the nucleus of an intellectual group centered around the Stephens' children and known as the Bloomsbury group. Vanessa made more of an effort to 'come out' in society than Virginia, but both thoroughly disliked this and withdrew from the activities as soon as they could.

On Their Own as Adults

Leslie died after a long illness in February, 1904. In May, Virginia had her

second breakdown. She grieved for her father, heard voices, distrusted Stella and her nurses, and tried to starve herself. She tried to kill herself by jumping from a window which was not high enough for her to do much harm. As she recovered, the mental symptoms lessened, leaving her with headaches and neuralgia.

The three children decided to move into a house in Bloomsbury by themselves. They began to have 'At Homes' on Thursday evenings to which many intellectual friends came. Virginia published her first piece in *The Guardian* at the end of 1904, and in 1905 she began her association with *The Times Literary Supplement*. She taught briefly at an evening institute for working men. Then in 1906 on a trip to Greece, Vanessa and Thoby both became ill. Vanessa recovered, but Thoby was misdiagnosed as having malaria and died in November with typhoid fever. Vanessa became engaged to Clive Bell two days later. Surprisingly during these crises, Virginia functioned well and without any breakdown, although she missed Thoby greatly.

After Vanessa's marriage, Virginia and Adrian moved into a smaller house, and their life continued much as before with Thoby's friends as theirs and with activities being split between their household and the Bell's. Virginia's writing was successful, and she began working on a novel in addition to writing for literary magazines. Virginia also began seriously to think of marriage for the first time.

Hitherto, Virginia had been attached mainly to women, especially Violet Dickinson, who seemed to have been in love with Virginia and vice versa, although the relationship was not sexual. Virginia's first flirtation was with an older family friend, Walter Headlam, but the interest soon petered out, and he died unexpectedly in June, 1908.

Virginia was physically ill and close to another breakdown in 1910 but recovered after a rest cure. She turned down a proposal of marriage from Lytton Strachey (who was homosexual) and resisted the attention of her brother-in-law, Clive. After rejecting several suitors, in 1911, an old friend, Leonard Woolf, returned on leave from Ceylon and fell in love with Virginia. After another bout with exhaustion in 1912, Virginia agreed to marry Leonard. The wedding took place in August, 1912.

Mrs. Woolf

Virginia's life with Leonard was full, but also relatively uneventful. They lived happily together, started a publishing company (the Hogarth Press), and worked hard. Virginia wrote, eventually amassing a considerable body of work, including novels that were received with critical acclaim.

Their life quickly developed into a routine. Leonard took care of Virginia, especially during her breakdowns, but also between breakdowns as he tried to prevent their reoccurrence. They wrote most mornings, walked in the afternoons, and read in the evenings. They entertained and were entertained in return.

Virginia was frigid which may be ascribed to the sexual experiences with her half-brother. Virginia wanted to have children, but Leonard did not. After much consultation with specialists, the majority opinion was that it was too dangerous for her to have any.

Her first novel (*The Voyage Out*) was accepted in 1913, although it was not published until March, 1915. However, its acceptance led to another breakdown. She had anxieties about her writing talent, sleepless nights, headaches, depression, a sense of guilt, an aversion to food, and fears that people were laughing at her. In September, 1913, Virginia took a lethal dose of veronal but, after having her stomach pumped, she survived -- barely. As she recovered, her manias returned, and she went from depression to violent excitement. (Leonard, and others, later diagnosed Virginia's disorder as manic-depressive psychosis.) Leonard considered putting her into an asylum, but slowly she began to recover, though with a relapse in February, 1915, just before her novel appeared.

The reviews of her novel were positive, and her recovery progressed. Virginia's novels were very close to her own private world, and she was aware that the books might be seen as crazy (or really be crazy). If they had been mocked, then this would have been a mockery of her true self. Praise for her novels was a certificate of sanity.

Her Death

Virginia had breakdowns in June 1921 (after a mild depression in August 1919 just before the publication of *Night And Day*), and mild ones in August 1926, September 1929, May 1936. She had frequent periods of total exhaustion, notably January 1922, September 1925, and July 1933, as well as many less severe illnesses.

All of her novels caused her anxiety and depression, especially during the time between the completion of writing and the appearance of the book. Also, beginning in 1934, her style was seen by critics as old-fashioned, and criticism became more common.

As she grew older, more and more friends died. Kitty Maxse killed herself in 1922 and Dora Carrington in 1932. Lytton Strachey died in 1932 and her nephew Julian in 1937 in the Spanish Civil War. The Second World War also created intense stress for Virginia. (Leonard was Jewish.) They discussed suicide in May 1940, and decided to keep enough gasoline on hand (and later morphia) to kill themselves.

She finished a final novel (*Between The Acts*) in November 1940. By January, Leonard was alarmed at her psychological state. On the morning of Friday March 28, 1941, Virginia wrote suicide notes and walked to the River Ouse where she put a large stone into her coat pocket and drowned herself. In her letter to Leonard, she explained:

I feel certain I am going mad again. I feel we can't go through another of those terrible times. And I shan't recover this time. (Bell, 1972, p. 226)

Analysis

Virginia clearly had recurrent mental breakdowns during her life. It is possible that she indeed suffered from a manic-depressive psychosis, with periods of both depression and mania. She also heard voices and had some phobic behaviors concerned with eating (even when she was not psychotic). Her breakdowns seemed to have occurred after two types of events: severe loss (for example, after the death of her mother) and after completing a novel and waiting for its publication.

She was also prone to exhaustion, and her family thought that this was brought on by too much social activity. Typically, a rest cure was prescribed. This exhaustion seemed to facilitate the appearance of a breakdown.

Her suicide note asserted that she was killing herself because she was scared of suffering another breakdown, one with no recovery, and because of the effect of her illnesses on Leonard. Some people go mad to prevent themselves dying by suicide; others die by suicide because of their fear of mental illness. Virginia seems to be among the latter.

The question that remains is one of timing. Why in 1941? She almost died in her suicide attempt soon after her marriage when her literary career was still in its infancy. By 1941, however, her novels were receiving increasing criticism, and she feared that she would not be able to write again. The war, with its threats for Leonard, was also a new stress. (Their house in London was damaged by bombs.) She was fifty-nine and perhaps no longer possessed the resiliency of her youth.

She was an agnostic, without religious beliefs that might inhibit her taking her own life. This time, too, there was no attending physician to advise them. Leonard persuaded a friend who was a physician to see Virginia but, apart from this one consultation, there was no doctor, therapist or nurse on hand. Four days before her suicide, Virginia wrote to her publishers asking that her novel not be published, indicating that her typical fears about publishing were still strong.

If she had been able to survive this latest breakdown, would she have recovered as she had in the past, and would she eventually have killed herself, perhaps during the next crisis? She was a chronically depressed person, with a history of suicidal preoccupation, and she might have killed herself at any time. As with other cases discussed in this book, it is perhaps a surprise that she lived so long.

Reference

Bell, Q. (1972). *Virginia Woolf*. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.

GIG YOUNG

David Lester¹

Byron Barr was born in St. Cloud, Minnesota, on November 4, 1913, the third of three children and an unplanned baby. His father, stern and distant, ran a pickling and preserving company, his mother was repressed and neurasthenic, and his older brother domineering. Byron was close only to his sister Genevieve and remained so all of his life. In his early years, his mother often took to her room sick, and her step-sister, Jessie, came to live with the Barrs to help with the children. Byron grew close to Jessie, but eventually he realized that Jessie liked his older brother, Don, better than she liked him. Thus, both female caretakers had rejected him.

Byron developed a number of psychosomatic complaints, including convulsions and a stiff neck, and at elementary school he soon fell behind and was placed with the group of slow learners. His second grade teacher sadistically beat him but, when his mother found out about this, she placed him in a school associated with the local university. Byron had to repeat second-grade.

Byron rarely expressed his pain or resentment. He learned to hide behind a smiling countenance, revealing his true feelings only to his sister. His older brother had worked in his father's company successfully, and Byron too was forced to work there after school. There he failed too. The foreman fired him, not realizing he was the boss's son, and his father rehired him but at reduced pay. As a teenager, Byron was attracted by the movies, and he got a job as an usher at the local theater so that he could go often. He day-dreamt about being an actor.

At the Technical High School, Byron was a good-looking young man, and he was popular, even getting elected class president. Since his father's business was profitable, Byron had lots of nice clothes and use of the family car, and he developed more confidence.

In 1931, the Depression brought hard times, and the company folded. Byron's father took a job as a food broker in Washington, DC, while Byron stayed in St. Cloud to take of his ailing mother. As he finished his junior year of high school, his father summoned them to Washington, and so in April, 1932, Byron drove his sick and depressed mother down to join his father.

Since his father lived far from the high school there, Byron persuaded his parents to let him board near his school. His landlady, Mrs. Harry Kaines, liked him and became his surrogate mother. She was thrilled by his athletic success, and one her tenants got him a job at the local drug store. When his parents moved to North Carolina, Byron persuaded them to let him stay with Mrs. Kaines. Mrs. Kaines helped get him a job as a ballroom dancing instructor and encouraged him to join the local semi-professional theater group. At this time too, he had the gap in his front teeth closed and a testicular

¹ This essay is based on Eells (1991).

inflammation forced him to have a vasectomy. Finally in 1939, he set out for California, hitching his way across America.

Hollywood

Arriving in California, Byron got work, starting at a gas station, and managed to study and work building scenery at an acting school. He auditioned successfully at the Pasadena Playhouse, and participated in many plays for them. There he met a fellow actress, Sheila Stapler, with whom he fell in love. Sheila was very nurturing and was happy to defer to Byron. They slipped off to Las Vegas in August, 1940, to marry.

In 1941, Byron was asked to take a screen test for Warner Brothers (his father sent him funds so that he could join the Screen Actors Guild), and he was signed up at \$75 a week. He worked diligently there, but also remained a family man, spending time with Sheila and working on his house.

When America entered the war in 1941, the movie studios lost many male actors, and Warners persuaded Byron not to enlist. They upgraded the roles given to Byron, and he took as his name the role he played in *The Gay sisters*, Gig Young. His next film was *Old Acquaintance* with Bette Davis, and Gig and Bette had an affair, a portent that Gig was most likely not going to be a stable husband.

Gig finally had to enlist, joining the Coast Guard in 1943, but Sheila moved with him until he was shipped off to sea as a pharmacist's mate in late 1944, just after his mother died. He got malaria soon afterwards, and was released on July 4, 1945. Warners threw a welcome back party for him and several other returning actors, and Gig hoped that his fortunes would improve. However, Warners gave him second-string and unflattering roles in many of their run-of-the-mill movies, and the momentum of his career run down.

He grew closer to Sophie Rosenstein, a drama coach for the studio (the two couples socialized a lot together), and Gig and Sophie fell in love. Sophie worked hard to encourage Gig and to help him land better roles. She urged him to act on the stage in order to expand his horizons, but in the summer of 1947 while he was appearing in *Biography* with the La Jolla Playhouse, Warners dropped his option. Although he had always resented his brother, Don died in September 1949 of tubercular meningitis, and Gig was depressed by this loss. His marriage to Sheila deteriorated, and, as his drinking increased, Gig took to breaking the furniture during their rows. They separated after Christmas 1948 and divorced in 1949. Gig persuaded Sophie to divorce her husband, and they married on January 1, 1951.

Working as an independent, Gig let his agent sign him up for mediocre roles and, after getting and breaking a contract with Columbia, hardly worked in 1949 and 1950. He freelanced a few roles in 1951, but then signed with the Louis Shurr Agency. He obtained a good part and turned in a good performance in *Come Fill The Cup* for which he was nominated as best supporting actor in 1952. But then he signed with M-G-M who

put him in mediocre films, and his career fizzled again.

He failed to insist on better roles, and Sophie could not help him since she was diagnosed with cervical cancer just three months after their marriage. Gig held the knowledge from Sophie and spent most of his energy taking care of her. By October 1952, she spent most of her time in bed, and Gig stayed with her, reading to her and holding her hand. She had to be hospitalised in October 1952, and she died on November 10. Gig was devastated and seriously depressed. He drank heavily and took Miltown to help him sleep. When his contract with M-G-M expired, Gig decided to go to New York to act on the stage. He got his first part in *Oh Men! Oh Women!* in 1953 and received great reviews. He also began to recover from his bereavement, and had two affairs. First there was Sherry Britton, a big-time stripper, to whom Gig proposed marriage. She refused. (She reported that Gig was unable to have an orgasm for months at a time.) Elaine Stritch was acting in a show in a neighboring theater and met Gig at a party she gave. He stayed overnight to help her wash dishes and slept in a separate bed. The virgin Elaine was impressed, and they began dating. Soon she fell in love with him, and Gig tried to have his first marriage annulled and planned to convert to Roman Catholicism in order to marry her. After they went back to Hollywood where Gig had a role in a movie, the church found out that he had been baptized as a Methodist and that annulment was impossible. Their relationship broke up soon after.

The Mid-Life Career

For a while, Gig shuttled back and forth between New York and Hollywood, but he found few good roles and took any that were offered. He met Elizabeth Montgomery, and they married in December 1956. Gig had the vasectomy reversed so they could have children, and Gig finally had a good role in *Teacher's Pet* which got him a second Oscar nomination. This led to lots of offers, and Gig and Liz moved to the West Coast. Gig was still drinking heavily, but Liz seemed to be able match him in this.

Returning to the East Coast for *Under The Yum Yum Tree*, Gig began to show signs of what later became a severe trouble, his inability to master the lines for a play. As his marriage with Liz grew worse, Gig found a new mother-figure, Doris Rich, a character actress in her mid-sixties, whose closeness to Gig threatened Liz. Gig had a liaison with Sophia Loren during the filming of *Five Miles To Midnight* in 1962, but then became paranoid about Liz having affairs. Eventually, Liz obtained a Mexican divorce in March 1963.

Gig drowned his sorrows in alcohol, but he soon met Elaine Whitman who was, at the time, selling real estate. Soon after their affair began, Elaine discovered she was pregnant, and Gig, overjoyed, married her, though friends thought it was a terrible match. Elaine was twenty-eight, Gig forty-nine. Elaine and Gig had a daughter, Jennifer, in April, 1964. Elaine turned to domesticity, Gig tried AA, dieted and acquired toupees for his receding hairline. His failing career soon brought financial worries. He starred in a television series for a year, *The Rogues*, but it was cancelled. He was in a successfully touring company of *The Music Man*, but they still had to sell their luxurious house and

move into a smaller place.

Gig's paranoia now focussed on Elaine, and he tapped his own telephone line so as to record her conversations. Gig persuaded Elaine to go into counseling with him, but he chose a charlatan therapist who practiced orgone therapy. Elaine refused to continue, and then Gig went to Vancouver for a course of LSD therapy. Their arguments about Gig's drinking continued, and Elaine divorced Gig in July, 1967.

Gig was getting almost no offers for films, and appeared only in touring companies and occasionally in New York City. An affair there with a young actress (Skye Aubrey) was ruined by his drinking and his impotence and, though she would have married him, she says, Gig refused to consider it. At this nadir in his life, he was recommended for the role of Rockie Gravo in *They Shoot Horses, Don't They?* and he won an Oscar for best supporting actor in 1970 for it.

And then his career plummeted again! Elaine sued him in court for more alimony and child support, and Gig tried to deny paternity for Jennifer. He lost in court after five years of legal battles which created great animosity between them. (In fact, Gig never saw Jennifer again.) In addition, public opinion turned against him. Then in his touring company for *Harvey*, there was great conflict between Gig and other actors and, though the production was a success, Gig acquired a reputation for being difficult. The stress of this experience led to a severe neurodermatitis on his face.

Next, Gig was hired for a film, *Blazing Saddles*, but he had problems learning the lines and his anxiety led to several collapses on the set. He was fired. His reputation for being unreliable grew. Luckily though, he found another supporter, Harriette Vine Douglas, a woman in her fifties, who became his friend, confidante and lover. She protected him in every way she could, and he often hid out with her for months.

He finally tried plastic surgery for his aging face, but the surgeon botched the operation and Gig required remedial surgery. His teeth bothered him so that, on tour with *On A Clear Day You Can See Forever*, he could hardly eat. After his weight dropped from 185 to 145, he had all of his teeth recapped. In 1972, he developed numbness in his feet and was treated for circulatory problems and had his gallbladder removed. After this, he stayed with Harriette for almost a year.

In 1974 and 1975, he appeared in five movies. He went on the wagon, relying more heavily on Valium and Placidyl, and made a television movie which became a series. He had problems learning the lines and hired a good psychologist who helped him. But after the series, when the psychologist tried to get Gig to deal with his underlying and chronic problems (his alcoholism, sexual impotence and paranoia), Gig quit therapy. Gig had his teeth redone and had plastic surgery on his chin and eyelids.

Back in New York, he was fired from Arthur Miller's *The Archbishop's Ceiling* because he could not remember his lines, despite help from his voice-coach there, Bert Knapp, who had managed to become Gig's therapist though unqualified to fill that role.

In 1977, Gig went to Hong Kong to make a kung fu film (his last film) and met Kim Schmidt.

Death

Kim was the thirty year-old script-girl for the film, and they soon became involved. Their relationship was volatile, with Kim desperately trying to get Gig to stop drinking. Gig returned to New York, but the relationship improved by telephone, and Kim joined him in New York in October 1977.

He signed up to perform in a college production of *Long Day's Journey Into Night* at the University of Memphis, where his memorization problems led to the first performance ending forty-five minutes early as Gig forget large chunks of his lines. Back in New York, Gig and Kim quarrelled, made up, split and got back together again. Gig proposed marriage, but Kim resisted. In May, Gig appeared drunk to introduce a friend's concert performance, and his voice-coach broke his relationship with Gig.¹ In June, 1978, Gig and Kim went to Edmonton where Gig was to perform in *Nobody Loves An Albatross*. Gig had fantasies of taking the show on tour, but friends who came to advise him on it thought the production was terrible.

Back in New York, Gig and Kim bought an apartment and, on September 27, 1978, finally married. Finances were poor because of their heavy spending and the expense of fixing up the apartment. Nobody, of course, is sure what the arguments between them were about. After the deaths, no barbiturates or alcohol was found in Gig's system. The apartment had two bottles of wine, seven tablets of Oxazepam and several bottles of vitamins.

Perhaps it was the fears of aging and sickness, perhaps his sexual impotence or arguments over money, perhaps it was a fight over the will (with Kim wanting all the inheritance and Gig wanting to split it between Kim and his sister), or perhaps his withdrawal from alcohol and drugs led to an acute psychosis? He did telephone Harriette on October 18 to beg her to come to New York and take him back to Hollywood. She refused.

On October 19, 1978, Gig shot Kim in the back of the head and then shot himself in the head.

Discussion

Gig Young was a man whose life disintegrated slowly, interspersed with occasional successes and critical turning points. From a difficult childhood, filled with rejection, he built a career but lacked the skills to manage it well. As he progressed from relationship to relationship and from performance to performance, his alcohol abuse worsened, his distrust of others and paranoia worsened, and his violent behavior escalated. The eventual end of his life was hardly predictable. Murder-suicide is rare. But

¹ which illustrates the danger of an unqualified person trying to be a psychotherapist.

a decline was inevitable, perhaps into bankrupt alcoholism.

But there were also critical turning points. What if Sophie, his second wife, had not died of cancer? He loved her, and she was good for him and his career. What if he had not quit the first decent psychotherapist he had found but stayed to work through his problems? What if?

Reference

Eells, G. (1991). *Final Gig*. San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.

ROBERT YOUNG

David Lester

Robert Ralph Young was born on February 14, 1897 (Packer, 1964). His father was a cowboy who later founded the first bank in the town of Canadian in Texas. As a child, Robert was skinny, with yellow hair and a fair skin that burned easily in the sun. He was nicknamed pumpkin head and RR (because of his initials). He was shy with strangers but the leader of his gang. They played in the deserted shacks of Desperado City nearby and hunted animals on the plains.

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

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

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

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

Robert owned palatial houses in Newport, Rhode Island, and in Palm Beach. He had everything, but it meant nothing to him now. His solution was to throw himself into his business enterprises. He wrote articles on revitalizing the railroads, advocating such

things as free tickets for children, movies on the train, replacing equipment every seven years, and speeding up dining car service. Eventually he set his sights on controlling the New York Central Railroad. The fight was long and exhausting but, by 1955, Robert had control. He had loaned two friends the money to buy up shares and then vote him onto the board. Once there, he even persuaded the shareholders to pay the cost of his proxy fight.

But it was the 1950s, and the automobile was becoming the dominant mode of travel. New York Central's stock rose from 23 to 49 in 1954 but was down to 13 by 1958. Robert, heavily in debt, had to sell his shares, depressing the stock still further. His friends who had invested in the company lost money, as did his hand-picked board of directors.

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

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

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

Reference

Packer, V. (1964). *Sudden endings*. Greenwich, CT: Fawcett.

STEFAN ZWEIG

David Lester

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 die by 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.

References

Allday, E. (1972). *Stefan Zweig*. Chicago: J. Philip O'Hara.

Prater, D. A. (1972). *European of yesteryear*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

ATTEMPTED SUICIDES

KAY JAMISON

David Lester

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

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

Jamison had a brother (Dean) three years older, who later completed a Ph.D. in Economics and remained close to and protective of Jamison, and a sister (Phyllis) 13 months older with whom there was much friction, especially since the older sister resented Jamison. In her acknowledgements, she thanks two other sisters, but these are not mentioned in the book.¹

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

In 1961, when she was 15², her father retired from the Air Force, joined the Rand Corporation and moved the family to California. Her adjustment to Pacific Palisades High School was difficult at first -- she missed her boyfriend and found the atmosphere much more competitive. Her parents were also estranged, and her mother attended graduate school while teaching. Jamison soon found a boy-friend (a student at UCLA)

¹ Like some other authors, Jamison thanks an amazing number of people in her Acknowledgements. It includes almost every teacher she had, members of committees she has been part of, and staff members at her publishers. I find the number amazing because, although I could compile a similar list of people I have known, worked with and been friends with, I would not dream of thanking them in an Acknowledgments. Have you watched the Oscar Awards? Compare the responses of those who, sometimes with the help of a list they pull from a pocket, thank an interminable list of people for helping them with their Oscar-winning performance versus those who thank one or two people, typically including their spouse -- sincerity versus affectation.

² Making her birthdate approximately 1946.

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

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

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

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

Three months later, Jamison was "ravingly psychotic." She separated from her husband (at first temporarily, but eventually leading to a divorce), ostensibly because he did not want to have children, and entered a manic phase. Her brother (then working at the World Bank) visited to rescue her. He paid the enormous bills she had accumulated during her manic phase (which involved spending sprees) -- loans she eventually repaid him. She had been dating a colleague who confronted Jamison with her diagnosis and the need to take lithium. Lithium had been approved only in 1970, and the dosage was relatively high in those early years. Her colleague prescribed the medication, took the blood samples and informed her family. Jamison took a leave from her job (which saved her from losing her clinical privileges). She sought treatment with a psychiatrist at UCLA who had supervised her pre-doctoral internship, and he worked with her for the rest of her stay at UCLA. He made it clear that she was manic-depressive, that she needed lithium and that she also needed psychotherapy. However, for the first few years, Jamison was unwilling to take lithium regularly. She denied that she had a bipolar depressive disorder, she hated to give up the highs of the manic phases, and the side effects were unpleasant. For example, the high doses of lithium caused nausea and vomiting, led to ataxia and other motor disorders³, and made it hard for her to read and comprehend. Only after ten years, when the dosage was lowered, did the side-effects

³ Jamison had to give up horse riding, for example.

become more tolerable. Jamison also thinks that she was afraid to take lithium in case it did not help, for then there would be no "cure."

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

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

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

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

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

Comment

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

Reference

Jamison, K. R. (1995). *An unquiet mind*. New York: Knopf.

CLARE BOOTHE LUCE

David Lester

Clare Boothe Luce did not, of course, die by 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, *Abide With Me*, closed after a few performances. She negotiated for a radio show, tried

¹ Clare also had four miscarriages.

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 dying by 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.

Reference

Martin, R. G. (1991). *Henry and Clare*. New York: Putnam's.

DOROTHY PARKER

David Lester

Dorothy Parker attempted suicide at least twice in her life, yet died at the age of seventy-three from a heart attack. I will first present a brief biography of Dorothy (based on Keats, 1970) and then discuss the psychological features of interest about her life. Finally, I will compare her life with those of the famous women who completed suicide, Virginia Woolf, living during the same period but in England, and Marilyn Monroe, a generation later in America.

Dorothy's Early Years

Dorothy was born on August 22 1893 to Mrs. Henry Rothschild. Unfortunately, Mrs. Rothschild was on holiday at the New Jersey shore at the time, and Dorothy was two months premature.

The Rothschilds were not related to the Rothschilds, although Mr. Rothschild had been successful in the garment industry and lived in a good neighborhood in the West Seventies in Manhattan, waited on by servants. Mr. Rothschild was Jewish, but his wife was Scottish.

Dorothy found no love in her home. She had an older sister and an older brother but seems not to have been close to them. Her mother died during her infancy. Her father remarried, but Dorothy never felt close to or liked her stepmother. She also seems to have been terrified of her father.

Her stepmother was Catholic and took pains to have Dorothy brought up as a Catholic. She sent her to nearby Catholic school run by nuns where Dorothy felt like an outsider. Dorothy hated being a Jew. She hated her name, and she grew to hate herself.

Dorothy developed two sides to her personality. Outwardly, she became well-mannered, pretty, with beautiful dark hair and large eyes that seemed close to tears, the feminine dissembler. Inside was an angry, truth-seeking rebellious mind, appraising the world with ruthless accuracy.

For high school, she was fortunate in being sent to Miss Dana's School in Morristown, New Jersey. It was one of the best boarding schools in the nation. Leading women's colleges waived the examination requirement for students from the school. Although after graduation in 1911 Dorothy did not go to college, she acquired a sound education while at the school, not only in classical studies but in current affairs.

The Young Adult

Dorothy's first few years after high school are not well documented. Her father died when she was nineteen. Soon after leaving high school, she found herself a room in

a boarding house in Manhattan. She also spent some time writing and supported herself by playing the piano for a dancing school.

She had a poem accepted by *Vogue* in 1916, and the editor gave her a job. Then her days were full. She had two jobs and continued to write and submit her poems. In 1917 she was promoted to *Vanity Fair*, and she also married Edwin Parker.

Edwin Parker worked as a broker in Wall Street. He was an Anglo-Saxon Protestant from an old, religious Hartford family, and they were in love. However, on March 4, 1917, America declared war on Germany, and Eddie enlisted, ending up in the ambulance corps.

While he was in America, Dorothy visited him on weekends at the camps where he was, or Eddie would come to Manhattan, but eventually he was sent to Europe. Their marriage had consisted of nine months of weekends and then letter-writing. Dorothy wrote to him every day. After the war, Eddie was assigned to occupation duty in the Rhineland.

Meanwhile, Robert Benchley and Robert Sherwood joined *Vanity Fair*, and Dorothy would go with them for lunch to the Algonquin Hotel, starting a lunch group of talented young men and women that over the years became famous (later including Franklin Pierce Adams, Alexander Woollcott and Harold Ross).

This group facilitated the metamorphosis of Dorothy. In 1919, there was no radio or television, and so newspapers were widely read and very influential. Adams's column was one of the most popular newspaper columns, and he began to report on Dorothy's witticisms at lunch (and her evening outings) to his readers. Soon Dorothy Parker had a reputation as the wittiest woman in New York. This reputation, combined with a lifestyle in which she smoked, worked for a living, took lunch and went unchaperoned to the theater with other women's husbands, also set her apart as one of the New Women.

The Algonquin group did not discuss each other's work. Their conversation was witty and superficial. They went to parties, the theater and speakeasies. Unlike those leading a Bohemian life, the group was not revolting against society - they felt superior to it. Of course, the wittiness was often hostile, especially toward those who were not with the group at the time. The humor turned to banter, and the banter to insult.

Eddie returned in August 1919, after a separation of fifteen months. He did not fit in well with the Algonquin crowd, and he soon began to drop out of the social life of the group. By 1920, Eddie was drinking heavily. He wanted to move back to Hartford, but Dorothy refused. She loved life in New York and felt that her in-laws disliked her for having a Jewish father. She soon moved out to her own apartment. (Eddie permitted Dorothy to divorce him in Connecticut for cruelty in 1926 and to retain his name.)

Dorothy was fired early in 1920 from *Vanity Fair*, and the two Roberts (Benchley and Sherwood) resigned in protest. They soon got other jobs, but Dorothy remained

unemployed. She also seemed to have stopped writing. (It always seemed to others that writing was a distasteful chore for Dorothy.) Nothing appeared in 1920 or 1921. But in 1922 she fell in love again.

Unfortunately, she fell in love with Charles MacArthur, a young newspaperman and a womanizer. But now her writing could proceed again. Her pieces appeared in the leading magazines, and she and friends wrote a revue (*No, Siree!*) that ran for a month.

As her relationship with Charles began to ebb, she discovered she was pregnant. She had an abortion, and soon after attempted suicide. She was home in her apartment and asked for food to be sent up. When the waiter arrived, he found her in the bathroom with her wrists slashed. Some of her friends thought she intended this as a gesture; others thought it was a sign of her disorganization and impulsiveness. After this, she began to drink more.

At thirty, Dorothy was still beautiful. She was also neither married, divorced, nor celibate. She lived in a cheap apartment building, with no close female friends. (Later in life, she would be close to Beatrice Ames and a few other women.) She was witty and a good writer, but in 1924 she hardly wrote.

By 1925 she was writing the poems that would be in her first book *Enough Rope*, some sweet and poignant, others flippant and ironic, ranging from black to blue. She also attempted suicide again, this time more seriously. Robert Benchley and others found her in her apartment, comatose from an overdose of drugs.

One of her stanzas from this period is:

If wild my breast and sore my pride,
I bask in dreams of suicide;
If cool my heart and high my head,
I think, "How lucky are the dead!"

Her next lover was Seward Collins, heir to a national chain of tobacco shops, a patron of the arts who adored her. In 1926 they went to France to meet the American intellectuals in Paris, ending up with the Murphy's on the French Riviera. Dorothy and Seward quarrelled during the trip, and Seward left for America. Dorothy stayed on till October, arriving home with a best selling book - of poems no less. Soon she was an enormous success, contributing to *The New Yorker* and *The Bookman*, well-publicized and talked-about.

Dorothy began to tire a little of her group. It seemed trivial; it lacked any meaning. She began to get involved with political issues, supporting Sacco and Vanzetti, anarchists accused of murdering during a payroll robbery. They were executed on her thirty-fourth birthday. In 1928, her second book of poems was published, and she was involved with a businessman, John Garrett. But she was beginning to write the short stories on which her claim to literary stature would be based. "Big Blonde" won the

national O. Henry Prize as the best short story in 1929.

She next had an affair with John McClain, a clerk on Wall Street, had an appendectomy which, despite her income, she couldn't pay for. (Dorothy always had to rely on her friends to manage her life.) She pursued gaiety and drank heavily. (She even went to Alcoholics Anonymous for one meeting, and her biographer, Keats, considers Dorothy to have been an alcoholic in the modern sense of the word.)

Life with Alan

In 1932, Dorothy met Alan Campbell. In 1933 she married him. He was twenty-nine and she was forty. Alan was also half Jewish and half Scottish. Alan was a minor actor, aware that his talents were meager. He had hopes of taking Dorothy to Hollywood where they could work together on movie scripts.

Life with Alan soon fell into a pattern. They had fun but quarrelled a lot. They even got divorced for one period but remarried. They worked well together on scripts. Between 1933 and 1938, they received screen credits for fifteen films, including "A Star Is Born" and earned lots of money that they quickly spent. They drank heavily, and Dorothy put on weight.

Alan liked Hollywood, but Dorothy did not. This led to frequent sojourns to New York, followed by trips back to Hollywood. For a while they owned a house in Bucks County, near Philadelphia (where she miscarried after three months of pregnancy), and commuted across country to Hollywood.

Although Dorothy said that she was happy during this time, Keats describes her as ".....living with a fretful husband in a rather oddly furnished house, quarrelling with her friends, allowing herself to grow dumpy in barren middle age, wasting her time on silly scripts, stunning herself with alcohol and sleeping pills....."

Dorothy took up the anti-Nazi cause in the Spanish Civil War, even calling herself a communist. She went to Spain in 1937 to view the war from the Loyalist side. (The result, of course, was the blacklisting of both her and Alan in the 1940s, and even more so in the 1950s during America's hysterical anti-communist witch-hunt.)

Alan joined the Air Force, and Dorothy was both proud of him and scared of him going off to war as Eddie had in the First World War. She followed Alan from camp to camp in America, as she had with Eddie, until he was sent to Europe. After victory, Alan stayed in London. Dorothy told friends he was involved in a homosexual affair. (She had accused him of homosexual leanings throughout their marriage.) She divorced him. But this time, there were no suicide attempts.

Dorothy published nothing in 1945 and 1946. But after the divorce in 1947, she collaborated on a story, a play and a film script with her lover (Ross Evans). In 1949, after being dumped by Ross, she called Alan who had returned to Hollywood, and they

decided to get back together.

After they remarried in 1950, they lived in Hollywood, but they separated after two years. Dorothy went back to New York, where she lived at the Volney Hotel with other lonely aging ladies. But three years later, Alan visited her in New York and persuaded her to return to Hollywood to work on a movie script with him. The movie was never produced, and that was the last script they ever worked on. They lived on their unemployment checks (of \$300 a month each) until Dorothy was hired by *Esquire* to write book reviews for \$750 a month. (*Esquire* continued to pay her this each month until she died, regardless of whether she sent them any reviews.²)

After seven years in their small house in a seedy section of Los Angeles, Dorothy woke up one morning, to find Alan dead beside her. June 13, 1963. Dorothy was sixty-nine. She returned to New York, to the Volney Hotel where she stayed until she died.

Her last article appeared in the November 1964 issue of *Esquire*. She visited her old friend, Beatrice Ames, for dinners. Friends visited her but were often appalled by her drunkenness and the squalor of the rooms. She eventually began to lose her sight. She died at the age of seventy-three on June 7, 1967, of a heart attack. Her death merited an obituary on Page 1 and almost all of Page 38 of *The New York Times*.

Discussion

Dorothy's early adult life in Manhattan and her public reputation as a witty liberated woman obscured the other side of Dorothy. Her written work expressed the sadness over her life and her bitterness about the world, especially the lot of women. Despair lay behind most of her actions and writing. Her biographer describes her poems as ".....portraying a woman who said she was suspicious of joy, disillusioned as to love, contemptuous of and sorry for herself, and given to thoughts of death."

Later, after twenty-nine so-so years with Alan, Keats describes her as ".....crouched in silence, writing virtually nothing and drinking more than she ate, talking more to her poodle than with those who would be her friends, discontent with her present and dissatisfied with her memories of the past....." Not a happy soul. Yet, she had a gritty determination to go on and could never quench her hope. Her childhood was miserable; a mother dead early and a home with no love, only a harsh father and an eccentric step-mother; schools where she felt an outsider. (She made no friends from those years, and her family had no place in her life.)

Her two suicide attempts (some friends reported at least five) were in her late twenties and early thirties. Charles MacArthur had abandoned her and left her to have an abortion prior to her first suicidal gesture. Her second attempt two years later was more serious, but Keats gives no immediate precipitating cause. What is more curious is that in later life, romantic loss and living alone did not lead to suicide attempts. Her classic poem on methods of suicide had concluded that "...you might as well live." And so she

² She did review 208 books for them, however.

did. But why?

Virginia Woolf

Elsewhere I have analyzed the suicides of some famous people whose lives are well documented. Virginia Woolf is an interesting person to compare with Dorothy Parker because they lived during the same time period and were both writers. They also were both centers of famous groups: for Dorothy the Algonquin group and for Virginia the Bloomsbury group.

The differences are immediately clear. Virginia had a much more stable home life, though she did lose her mother when she was thirteen. She married late in life, but had a stable and happy marriage (asexual though it might have been). Virginia was much more of an intellectual than Dorothy. She wrote serious reviews of literature. She wrote novels that received critical acclaim rather than popular success. The Bloomsbury group discussed intellectual matters and was not simply a social group for witty repartee. Dorothy's was the life of those who ape the intellectuals. The theater, but not the symphony or the opera. Drinking at speakeasies rather than gathering at friends' houses for talk. With her husband, Virginia founded the Hogarth Press which published works such as those by Sigmund Freud. Dorothy and her husband wrote Hollywood scripts.

Yet the most important difference between Virginia and Dorothy was that Virginia clearly had a bipolar affective disorder from an early age whereas Dorothy seemed to be free from psychiatric disorder. The more disturbed of the two made the more serious suicidal act.

Marilyn Monroe

Although Marilyn Monroe lived a generation after Dorothy, it is also interesting to compare her life with that of Dorothy. Marilyn's childhood was much more disrupted than Dorothy's, though at each stop Marilyn probably had more friends and received more affection than Dorothy had in her stable but awful home. Like Dorothy, Marilyn's early suicide attempts were in response to loss of love. Like Dorothy, she drank heavily, but Marilyn abused prescription drugs more.

It is interesting to compare them in their thirties. Marilyn seems to be at the end of her career. She had been fired by the movie production company, she was divorced and about to be abandoned by her lover, Robert Kennedy. Her beauty, which was the basis of her popularity, was going to be harder to maintain. Marilyn was at a choice point. She could not continue the old life and had to choose where to go. The options seemed limited. So she killed herself.

Dorothy in her thirties was at the height of her literary fame. She was between husbands, but Alan was due to come along when she was thirty-nine. She was unhappy, as evidenced by her two suicide attempts. But her life was not at a point like Marilyn's. Dorothy, as far as she knew, was secure as a writer. She had published and would

continue to do so. Her future writing might be worse, but it might be as good. Age would not affect her career. Dorothy had to make only minor adjustments.

Marilyn had a grandmother committed to a psychiatric hospital and a mother later committed to the same institution. Marilyn herself was also hospitalized. Marilyn may have had a genetic predisposition to affective disorder, whereas as we have already noted above, Dorothy was not as psychiatrically disturbed.

Conclusions

Perhaps the most surprising finding of this analysis has been the role of psychiatric disorder. Virginia Woolf and Marilyn Monroe were both psychiatrically disturbed. Although Marilyn's life seems to have been more traumatic than Dorothy's, Virginia's life does not. Virginia killed herself because of her fear of mental illness. Marilyn Monroe killed herself because her life - at least the life she wanted - seemed over. But Dorothy lived on to an old age, not particularly happy but not too unhappy. At least the alcohol could blunt the pain of living, and for most of her middle and old age there was Alan to quarrel with and structure her life around. One *might* as well live.

References

- Keats, J. (1970). *You might as well live*. New York: Simon & Schuster.
Lester, D. (1988). *Why women kill themselves*. Springfield: Thomas.

DAVID REIMER

David Lester

Ron and Janet Reimer were both children of Mennonite families in Manitoba, Canada. Both families had moved to the Winnipeg and then back to farms when the children were teenagers. Janet Schultz argued with her parents and was thrown out when she was fifteen. She moved out to Steinbach. While there, she met and dated Ron Reimer, a friend of her cousin's boyfriend, who was seventeen. Ron followed her to Winnipeg where she got pregnant. They were married December 19, 1964, and Janet gave birth to twin boys four weeks early on August 22, 1965, Bruce and Brian.

Both twins had phimosis, a condition in which the foreskin was too tight and restricted urination. She was advised to have them circumcised. On April 27, 1966, the surgeon decided to use a cautery machine and burnt Bruce's penis, leaving a charred residue. Brian was left uncircumcised. The Reimers later sued the hospital and surgeon and invested the settlement for Bruce to use later.

Reconstruction of penises was in its infancy in the 1960s, and so little hope was held out for Bruce. But in February, 1967, the Reimers saw an interview on Canadian television with Dr. John Money from Johns Hopkins University, about changing the gender of infants whose sexual organs were abnormal. Buoyed by hope at last, they wrote to him, and he urged them to visit him. Money believed that it was possible to change the sex of an infant in the first two-and-a-half years of life and that such a child would grow to be normal as whatever sex had been chosen. Johns Hopkins University had become a leading facility for operations on infants and on transsexuals.

Money persuaded the Reimers to convert Bruce into a girl. It is not clear whether he made it clear to them (for they never finished high school) that the treatment was experimental. In fact, Bruce would be the first case of this kind. (Previous operations had been on hermaphrodites and pseudohermaphrodites.) After much deliberation, believing that this was the only option open to help Bruce, the Reimers consented, and Bruce was surgically castrated on July 3, 1967. Both testicles were removed and rudimentary vaginal lips were created. Bruce was renamed Brenda. The Reimers were told to hide the truth from Brian and Brenda until they were much older.

Brenda was put in a dress for the first time just before her second birthday. She ripped it and tried to tear it off. This was a portent of the future.

Life as a Girl

Brenda never acted as girl. She walked like a boy, sat with her legs apart, and had male interests. She was domineering and led other kids into mischief. She preferred to pee standing up. At school in first grade, her teacher saw Brenda as negativistic, and Brenda was soon isolated by the other kids. Her performance was so poor that the school planned to hold her back from second grade.

Money wrote up the case for publication, and the case was hailed as evidence that infants were malleable as far as gender was concerned. The case was cited in books as an unqualified success. Money presented the case in this light despite the annual visits the Reimers paid to Baltimore where it was clear that the Brenda was not adjusting to the sex change. Brenda reacted with terror to these visits, and she soon learned to tell the interviewers, including Money, what they wanted to hear. Despite this, she gave many clues that she thought of herself as a boy and she was clearly a “scrappy, headstrong, dominant little pugilist” (Colapinto, 2000, p. 83). She also threw like a boy when Money tested her.

Money used the visits to discuss sexuality with the twins, using sexually explicit language (such as “fucking”), showing them pornography, and having them strip naked and simulate rear-entry and missionary-position sexual intercourse. Ignoring the obvious evidence that Brenda behaved like a boy and the letters he received from the Reimers describing the problems that Brenda was presenting to them and to the school, Money continued to describe the case in talks and in print as a success.

When she was seven, Brenda began to resist visiting Money in Baltimore, and so Money told the Reimers to bribe the kids with visits to Disneyland and other sites. Money first raised the issue of vaginal surgery with Brenda in April, 1973, and she refused. She continued to refuse steadfastly.

In 1974, Brenda had a nervous breakdown at the prospect of visiting Baltimore, and the visit was postponed until November. Brenda now refused to speak to Money or replied only in monosyllables and often ran from the room. After this visit, Money persuaded the Reimers to parade naked in front of the children and tried to persuade them to have sex in front of the children. They refused this last request.

The school continued to label Brenda a problem pupil, and Brian too began to misbehave. He thought that he had to act up to get attention, and that year he was caught shoplifting. Hoping that a change of venue would help, the Reimers sold up in the Spring of 1975 and moved to the mountains in British Columbia. Life was hard. Ron Reimer found it hard to get a job, eventually working long hours in a sawmill, and he began to drink heavily in the evenings. Janet became depressed, at time psychotic. Janet had an affair and, when Ron found out, she took an overdose of sleeping pills. In the Fall of 1976, their trailer caught fire. Brian began to show violence toward other kids, Brenda anxiety and depression. The Reimers decided to stay together and to move back to Winnipeg, which they did in November, 1976.

At this point, the Child Guidance Clinic decided to provide psychotherapy for Brenda. (Janet Reimer was also helped and put on antidepressants.) Dr. Keith Sigmundson met with Brenda at first and decided that she needed a female therapist. Brenda had several, the first two of whom had to end their work due to moves. These first two clearly saw that Brenda rejected femininity, but all of those involved knew that this was Money’s famous case, and they were awed and tried to “educate” Brenda to be

feminine - first Dr. Doreen Moggey in December, 1976, and then Dr. Janice Ingimundson in May, 1977.

At school, Brenda managed to form some friendships with a group of misfit tomboys, especially the leader, Heather. Heather saw clearly that she herself was tomboy, but that Brenda wanted to be a boy. In the summer of 1977, Money insisted that the hormone treatments should start. At first, Brenda resisted, but eventually gave in. She tried throwing the pills away, but her parents made sure she took them. She developed breasts and to disguise this she overate in order to grow fat. However, despite the hormones, her voice began to crack.

In seventh grade, she again hung out with the misfits (cripples and an intersex child). The visit to Baltimore in 1978 was so traumatic that it was the last time Brenda went to see Money. After the visit, Brenda told her parents that, if she ever had to visit Money again, she would kill herself.

Dr. Ingimundson had to drop Brenda as a client because she was pregnant, and the case was taken over by Dr. Sheila Cantor who bluntly urged that Brenda be turned back into a boy. The bluntness alienated the Reimers who demanded that Cantor be removed from the case.

In eighth grade, Brenda tried very hard at long last to act feminine hoping that, if she played the role of a girl, she might escape surgery. Some girls at the school helped her choose clothes and make-up, and she tried going to dances. However, she was still the subject of ridicule at the school, with the nickname "Cavewoman." Her schoolwork deteriorated further.

Finally, Dr. Sigmundson found a good therapist for Brenda, Dr. Mary McKenty. The therapy started in January, 1979, with McKenty using a nurturing approach which soon won over the Reimers and Brenda. Money was scheduled to visit Winnipeg in March, and Brenda and McKenty started a "Don't Want To See Dr. Money Club" with just the two of them as members. Money did visit and, stranded by a blizzard, even stayed at the Reimers overnight. He did see Brian and Brenda, but only briefly because the kids hid in the basement for most of his visit. With McKenty's support, Brenda was able to persuade her parents to never go to Baltimore to see Money again.

A decision was made to switch Brenda from the academic path into a vocational school. Brenda, now fourteen, began ninth grade at a vocational school, dressing in torn boy's clothes. She enrolled in appliance repair, but was still ridiculed by her peers who now called her "Gorilla." In December she quit, and McKenty arranged for a private tutor paid for by the government.

That winter, Janet fell into a depression again, and she was hospitalized for a month, and Ron began drinking heavily. The decision was made to tell Brenda the truth. On March 14, 1980, Ron Reimer told Brenda the facts of her life, while Janet told Brian. Brenda was relieved. She no longer felt that she was crazy. Brenda immediately resolved

to revert to being a boy. She chose David and Joe as names and let her parents decide - David was chosen.

Life as a Boy

One week after his fifteenth birthday, in August 1980, David made his appearance in his family as a boy. He began to have testosterone injections which resulted in a growth spurt and facial hair. In October, he underwent a double mastectomy. He saved up \$200 and bought an unlicensed gun, and in February, 1981, he went to office of the surgeon who had burnt his penis in order to kill him. He surgeon broke down and cried when he realized who the young man was, and David left without harming him. In July, 1981, David had a rudimentary penis constructed, but the techniques were so poor that he was hospitalized eighteen times in the following year for blockages and infections.

For the following two years, David mostly stayed at home, watching television and avoiding people. However, he eventually began hanging out with Brian and his buddies, pretending that he was Brian's cousin and that Brenda had died in a plane crash. When he turned eighteen, David came into possession of the settlement, which had now grown to \$170,000. He bought a souped-up van and started dating a sixteen-year-old. He avoided sex with her, but one night they slept together (literally) and she saw his stunted penis. Within days, she had told "everyone."

David swallowed a bottle of his mother's antidepressants. His parents found him and wondered briefly whether to wake him up, but they did rush him to the hospital where his stomach was pumped. One week later, he swallowed another bottle and ran a bath in order to drown himself. This time Brian saved him. David then went off to a cabin in the woods for most of the next year. Eventually, two friends dragged him off to a vacation in Hawaii, and on the way, David began to tell them that he was really Brenda, but found that they already knew (and did not care).

After his return, just before his twenty-second birthday, David had a much improved penis reconstructed, one which would have some sensation and which could be used for sexual intercourse. Brian, divorced with two children and now remarried, introduced David to a friend of his wife. Jane Fontane had three kids by three different men, but had never married. She was five foot one and 180 pounds, a nonsmoker and nondrinker, somewhat sensitive about her weight. They liked each other from the first, started dating and, when David confessed to her his injury, she told him that she already knew. They moved in together in the Fall of 1989 and married in September, 1990. At the time that Colapinto wrote about the case, they were still happily married.

Discussion

Life was not easy from Brian either. Feeling neglected by his parents because of their concern for Brenda/David, he began a delinquent career. Shoplifting, drinking and

smoking, stealing cars, using dope, fighting, and hanging out with a “bad” crowd. When Brenda changed into David, Brian lost his special place as the boy of the family.

Two weeks before David had his first surgery, in 1981, Brian drank a bottle of drain cleaner. He was taken to the hospital to have his stomach pumped. He quit school, worked in a gas station, married three years later, had two children and then divorced. Unemployed and depressed, he lost custody of his children to his parents, but then he changed. He got a union job in a metal factory, remarried, had another child, and bought a house. He took Prozac to help him with his depression. (Janet started taking lithium which helped alleviate her depressions.)

David decided to collaborate with the revelations about the failure of his “sex-change” because of the urgings of the reporter John Colapinto and of Dr. Milton Diamond who had long suspected that Money’s ideas were wrong. Colapinto’s first report appeared in *Rolling Stone* in December, 1997, and Diamond’s scholarly paper in the *Archives of Pediatrics and Adolescent Medicine* in March, 1997. In those reports, and on television, David maintained his anonymity. But for Colapinto’s book, he revealed his true identity.

John Money has never recanted or apologized. His reports of the case clearly misstated the facts, and his “work” with Brian and Brenda clearly not in line with any recognized system of psychotherapy. It remains to be seen whether or not he will be censured.

Reference

Colapinto, J. (2000). *As nature made him*. New York: HarperCollins.

MARY SAVAGE: A CHRONIC SUICIDE ATTEMPTER

David Lester

Mary Savage (1979) has attempted suicide many times in her life. She wrote a brief autobiography in 1975, adding an afterword in 1979, and at that time she was still alive. Perhaps she has killed herself by now, but at the time of writing she felt that she would never attempt suicide again.

Early Life

Mary's grandmother (on her father's side) was a depressive. Married at fifteen, she had three children and then refused to sleep with her husband again. She hated men, marriage and childbirth and withdrew into her own fantasy world. She lived into her 80s, outlasting her alcoholic husband.

Mary's father was also an alcoholic. He was often depressed and often angry. He could be sensitive but also cruel. Mary wanted his love but felt he never cared for her. She felt that he saw her as a nuisance. Her mother had a long-standing heart condition stemming from childhood rheumatic fever. Mary felt ambivalently toward her mother, having been close to her and but also seeing her as the enemy.

Mary's mother was eighteen when Mary was born, and she planned to have no more children. She successfully used do-it-yourself abortions to end many pregnancies, but eventually she gave birth again, nine years after her first. Mary views the birth of her younger brother as having thrown her life out of focus. She suppressed the hatred she felt for him, but she remembers hitting him when others were absent. Seventeen years after Mary's birth, her mother had a third child, again against all the odds, this time a girl. Mary made her first suicide attempt within the year. Mary felt that she learned from her mother that pregnancy was to be avoided at all costs and this idea was deeply engrained in her psyche for, despite never using contraceptives, she never became pregnant until she was 39.

Mary's childhood involved lots of moves. She was born in a small town in Colorado where her father was a policeman and her mother worked in a laundry. She was cared for by a crazy grandmother who sat with her feet in the oven and hardly spoke for months at a time. Her near-by god parents brewed their own alcohol (this was during Prohibition) and gave it to Mary to drink so that by age three she was often drunk. She sees this as a contributing cause of her later alcoholism. The family was Lithuanian and Catholic, but they lived in a Jewish neighborhood where Mary was the outsider. She often had to beg breakfast from neighbors, and her mother ordered her never to reveal that the bites over her body were from bedbugs.

When she was five, her father went to work for the construction crew of the telephone company and began to move the family about, a new move every three or four

months. A series of small towns and unpleasant experiences in small schools. Stability did not arrive until she was twelve.

Adulthood

When she was eighteen, Mary went to the state university where she registered as a pre-med student. She could not sleep, concentrate, eat, converse or think. On school holidays she refused to go home, and in the vacation she stayed with the parents of her best friend in her home town. (She later recalled that her mother beat her with her father's leather belt when she discovered that Mary had lost her virginity.) She began to visit a psychiatrist there who prescribed her phenobarbital for her insomnia. After a month, in 1944, Mary attempted suicide with the pills. She was hospitalized for three months and given insulin shock treatments six times a week for six weeks. Mary remembers that her parents did not pick her up for her first home visit, but sent a friend along to collect her.

After this, she got a job as a lathe operator in a plant making bomb casings. She found the job very stressful and quit after six weeks. Toward the end of 1945 Mary went to New York where she was lucky to find an apartment on the fringe of Greenwich Village. She found a job and went to college by night at New York University. She remembers the next four years as the happiest in her life. She attempted suicide only once, and that was toward the end of the period, with pills again. There the hospital sent her home after getting an injection of caffeine.

Those were happy, she thinks, because she liked living alone and because she liked learning (both on the job and at university). She wrote poetry for the university newspaper, spent her money on books, and lived on tomato soup and cheese sandwiches. She lost weight but felt she was the right size for the first time since puberty. Her first lover was a student at an Episcopalian divinity school.

Her first husband (Henry) was Jewish, and partly to placate his family (but also to find a meaning in her life) Mary converted to Judaism. Her husband, however, did not want her to observe any of the Jewish customs. Henry's grandfather never spoke to her, his father never visited their apartment, and when his mother and sister visited they ate only fruit since the house was not kosher.

The marriage lasted seven years. Most of the time, Mary worked writing and doing research for the Government of Pakistan. Henry flunked out of two law schools and failed in two business ventures. Mary attempted suicide twice during the marriage, once with razor blades (she still has the scar) and once with domestic gas. Neither time did she seek psychiatric treatment, for she feared having to go back to a mental hospital.

She left Henry because she felt stifled and unable to grow. Henry wanted a stay-at-home wife; Mary wanted a career. The divorce was reasonably amicable, though on one occasion Henry came to Mary's apartment and threatened her with a knife. After he left, she tried to kill herself with gas. (She reflects that apparently she preferred to die by suicide rather than let Henry kill her.)

Between marriages, Mary had a lot of lovers. She remembers a suicide attempt with pills after a lover rejected her, an "I'll get even with you" reaction. She worked as an advertising copywriter and had her first novel accepted.

Mary's Family

Dave, the man who rescued her from her first suicide attempt, the step-father of her girl friend, had since remarried and was living in Connecticut. He had become a writer and publisher and visited New York weekly. Although he was 21 years older than Mary, they became lovers and soon a crisis developed as to whether he would leave his wife or not. Dave loved them both and could not decide. Dave moved to California to work on a television series, but soon bought a house in Burbank and asked Mary to join him. His wife and daughter moved to the northern part of California, and Dave commuted between his two families. At the end of the summer, they all moved back to New York, where the commuting continued until Dave finally made the break at Thanksgiving, and he and Mary moved back to Burbank.

Life there was full of happiness. They traveled, they entertained, drank, talked and wrote. Mary had three more novels published.

Although Mary had many unresolved problems, she gives no hint of trouble until her fateful decision to volunteer to take LSD as part of a research program at Stanford University in 1963. Despite the fact Mary told the psychiatrist that she had an alcohol problem (and smoked heavily as well) and about her first suicide attempt (but not the later ones) they admitted her into the program. They began with four sessions of inhaling carbogen gas and then had one session with LSD. Mary's hallucinations began before the LSD session, after the carbogen experiences. The following year was the worst of her life. She lived in fear of the continuing and terrifying hallucinations. She could not sleep without a light on, and often she could not sleep at all. The psychiatrist in charge of the research treated her for six months until he returned East. At no time, though, did she consider suicide.

Stresses crept into the marriage. Dave developed chronic hiccups which Mary sees as resulting from guilt over leaving his first wife. Two years after she had become aware of her fear of pregnancy she had introjected from her mother, she got pregnant (in 1966) and had a son. But Dave had surgery for a diseased gall bladder, and he no longer seemed the same invulnerable man she had married. As he became older and as his vitality waned, she feared that he would die.

Chronic Suicide Attempts

When her son was two, Mary began getting sick. She was tired all the time, dizzy, with no interest in things. Her internist finally suggested that she was depressed. She went to see a psychiatrist under the condition that he would not hospitalize her. She also had joint sessions with Dave, though he was not very cooperative. A year and a half of

therapy and antidepressants helped her cope. Three years later, in 1972, her symptoms reappeared. She tried to cut down on her drinking, but this made the depression worse. She returned to her psychiatrist who thought that she might have a cyclical depression. He gave her antidepressants and sleeping pills and they resumed therapy, but now Mary feared that she would never recover. Her depression became more severe and she began to consider suicide.

The day after Christmas she told her psychiatrist that if he did not hospitalize her she would kill herself. At this time, Mary made a contract with Dave and her psychiatrist not to kill herself. They decided she would write an autobiography to see if putting her life down on paper would help her understand and resolve some of the issues. She went home in January 1973, and on March 18th overdosed with medications and was taken back to the hospital unconscious. She was discharged in the middle of May. She overdosed again on September 16th. Dave was under such stress that he lost his sense of balance and could hardly walk. He fell down the stairs in their house, and he too was hospitalised.

Mary continued to drink heavily, wine mostly, but she took painting and yoga classes. In January she told her psychiatrist that she planned to use car exhaust for suicide, so he hospitalised her and she was given electroconvulsive therapy, eight treatments. As soon as she was allowed home, she indeed tried to kill herself with car exhaust while drinking wine and rum, but apparently drove the car out of the garage and into the town where she was picked up by the police.

At this point, the first part of her autobiography ended. The second part opens with her taking antidepressants, tranquilizers, and Antabuse. She was given lithium for her depression and, though it helped, it had bad side effects and so was discontinued. She felt exhausted physically, and she had problems with arthritis, gout, bleeding hemorrhoids, kidney infections and headaches. Dave did all of the cooking and cleaning. Her son disowned her and began to have temper tantrums. Writing the autobiography had not helped.

In April 1974, she slashed her wrists deeply with a razor blade (she says it was as if she was having a temper tantrum), but Dave heard her and stopped her. That night she took all of her medications. She was unconscious for two days, found to have pneumonia as well, and began to hallucinate again.

Mary views herself as someone who has to be in control. She quit jobs rather than get fired and ended love affairs before the man did. She sees her suicide as still trying to be in control even after she has given up and is powerless. But this attempt was different. She had failed, but in a way that had a psychological impact on her. She says that somewhere deep down in her being she changed course. Her therapist, after some consideration, decided to keep seeing her. She made the decision to stop using medication, and in fact even one aspirin had such profound effects on her that she stopped taking even minor drugs. She turned to an Eastern religion for guidance and began to build a new, ordinary life.

In 1979, she wrote an afterward to her book. Five years without a suicide attempt and without being hospitalised for depression. After a year and a half, the depression returned and her therapist had to give her antidepressants. She felt suicidal again, but this time she fought it. Her son began therapy, and her therapist helped her disengage from the symbiotic relationship with her son. She joined Alcoholics Anonymous. Dave was diagnosed as having lung cancer in 1976 and died at home early in 1977. But it was now 1979, and she had survived.

Discussion

From a medical viewpoint, Mary could be viewed as suffering from a major affective disorder. Perhaps the illness was partly inherited, especially from her father's disturbed side of the family? Her grandmother was depressed, her father an alcoholic. And she became depressed and an alcoholic too.

But there are other inputs evident. Mary herself notes her anger and how she suppressed it. She talks of anger at Dave and at her therapist and eventually of anger at her mother and how it took her so long to recognize it and come to terms with it. (She tells us toward the end of her book that all she can remember of her mother are the scenes of criticism, ridicule and hurt.) She does not mention her anger at the alcoholic father who dragged her from town to town when she was a little girl or her mother for failing to protect her from her father. Mary recognizes that often her suicide attempts were expressions of anger at others and at herself. Thus, Mary's depression can also be seen as fitting the psychodynamic perspective of depression as blocked and unconscious anger.

Mary gives several cues to other problems in her life. She talks of trying to be a perfect mother with the perfect child. Most of the cognitive distortions she reports are a result of her depression, or at least an accompaniment, but here we see a hint of the irrational thinking that may have facilitated the appearance of the depressions.

She gives clues to the impact of conscious and unconscious learning in her life. Getting pregnant after her realization that she probably introjected her mother's aversion to pregnancy is a remarkable example. But she also reports that once she ran away from home as child, and her mother hardly reacted. She saw her suicide attempts as cries for help that often went unanswered. (Yet she feared psychiatrists and hospitalization, and so it is unclear what reaction she wished to elicit from others.) It would seem that in some way her suicide attempts were rewarded, that they got from others what she wanted. Henry and then Dave found her each time, and Dave would take her for treatment. She became a chronic patient, and he always took care of her. He was the father that she would like to have had. In this context, her fear of his aging and illnesses make sense, for she would lose not only a husband but also a father surrogate if he died.

Most of her attempts were with medications and gas, with two mentioned using razor blades. She never used a more violent method, such as jumping, hanging or

firearms. And most of the attempts using medications were with prescribed medications, even when her psychiatrist prescribed them in small amounts so as to prevent her hoarding them.

The role of the LSD experiences looms large. It seems in retrospect to have triggered the major depressions of her life, though she had been suicidal before that. It was perhaps irresponsible to have admitted her as a participant in the study. The experiences appear to have facilitated an awareness of memories and thoughts that she could not handle. Perhaps, had they remained buried, they would still have impaired her psychological health, but her awareness of them clearly caused a major breakdown.

What puzzles is why her last suicide attempt began a conversion experience. Why then did she decide to change course then and not after earlier attempts? There is perhaps no clear answer to such a question but, if we could find clues to why such conversions occur, we could perhaps more easily create them in our clients.

Reference

Savage, M. (1979). *Addicted to suicide*. Cambridge, MA: Schenkman.