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THE AMERICAN REFORMER: PSYCHOLOGICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL
ORIGINS. A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF JANE ADDAMS, LOUIS
DEMBITZ BRANDEIS AND WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN

City University of New York

PH.D.

1979

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1979

THE AMERICAN REFORMER:
PSYCHOLOGICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL ORIGINS

A Comparative Study of Jane Addams,
Louis Dembitz Brandeis and William
Jennings Bryan

by

DOANNA MARIANNE OGLIO

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate
Faculty in Political Science in partial
fulfillment of the requirements for the
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1979

This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty
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PREFACE

The completion of this dissertation is due in no small part to the many people who have helped me. Firstly, on the academic level I would like to thank Arnold A. Rogow who introduced me to the study of politics and psychology. He has been an encouraging mentor not only during this thesis, but throughout my graduate career. Dankwart Rustow, my reader, has generously given this project his time and effort, certainly above and beyond the call of duty. His methodological assistance especially has helped to clarify my thoughts. Such assistance has provided sound theoretical training that will be of value to me in any future research activities.

I would also like to thank Marshall Berman, Philippa Strum, and Martin Schulman for their helpful comments. So too I would like to thank the librarians at the Swarthmore College Peace Collection who assisted me in my research there.

The birth of my daughter, Sarah Jenny, midway through this project seemed as if it would preclude my completion of it. However, the loving care and devotion given to her by Susan Mulligan during the last two years enabled me to concentrate on my studies again.

There are three people in my life who have been of paramount importance. They have given me the emotional as well as the financial support to be able to complete this dissertation. By their example and encouragement my mother and father have always inspired me with the value of an education. Children of immigrants, they both earned college and graduate degrees. So too, before the 'age of feminism' they believed that an education was impor-

tant for their two daughters.

Although suffering the poor fate of marrying a graduate student, my husband, Robert Goldoff, has been understanding and sympathetic throughout my studies. He has always encouraged me when my determination flagged.

Without these three individuals--Nilda and Alfonso Oglio and Robert Goldoff--I could never have completed my graduate studies or this dissertation; it is to them that the latter is dedicated.

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CHAPTER I

Introduction: Politics and Psychology, A Methodological Examination

The laws of the phenomena of society are, and can be nothing but the laws of the actions and passions of human beings united together in the social state. Men, however, in a state of society, are still men; their actions and passions are obedient to the laws of individual human nature.¹

John Stuart Mill

In attempting to understand society, one need first understand the human personality. By the same logic, in order to understand political behavior within society one must first understand something of the nature of human behavior. Thus, one would assume that the academic discipline which explicitly examines man's utilization of power--political behavior--would examine as well individual man. Yet this has not been the case; political science has sorely neglected the study of the individual.

This situation has not always existed within the discipline. Indeed, in its early days political science spent much of its time studying political individuals. Presidents, party leaders, and even bureaucrats received ample coverage. However, as the discipline developed, the traditional institutional legal framework became perceived as less and less adequate for the study of government, and political science began to borrow heavily from other disciplines which did not emphasize the individual personality. One observer comments, "...they [political scientists] began to adopt a new vocabulary of structure and function from cultural anthropology and a new technique of survey research from social psychology. Amid the verbal abstractions of the one and the

quantitative correlations of the other, the political animal--be he citizen or ruler--was in danger of disappearing from the political scientist's view."²

Other political scientists have concurred with this analysis, recognizing the lack of and need for the study of the individual personality in political science. Heinz Eulau commented in 1962, "It would seem...that the intensive study of personality in politics would rank high on the agenda of political science as a whole. Yet, perhaps less has been done here than in any other problem area of political science."³

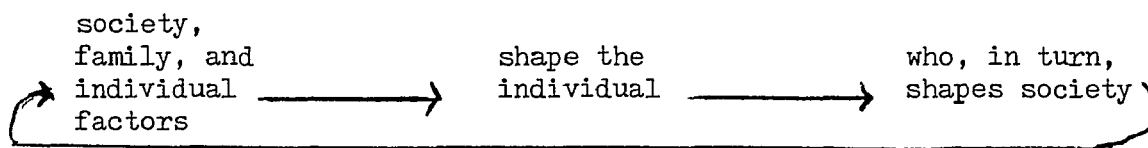
Two major reasons account for the lack of investigation in this area: inherent methodological problems and past abuses. These problems, unfortunately and unfairly, have made many political scientists reluctant to pursue the study of personality in politics. Fred Greenstein states, "Pervasive skepticism, extending even to the question of whether IN PRINCIPLE systematic personality-and-politics inquiry is feasible, has been evident in the reception of this genre of work within its principle parent disciplines of psychology, anthropology and psychology, and skepticism has been even more evident in the reactions of political scientists."⁴

Yet, it does seem clear that, despite whatever skepticism exists, continued work in this area will be done, for there is a reawakened recognition of the human aspect of politics. At the most basic level, Greenstein explicates this recognition: "I submit that the most important single reason [for the persistent interest in a psychological perspective of politics] is the prima facie evidence of day-to-day political experience that personalities do make a difference--often a critical difference--in determining political outcomes." ⁵

This human, or individual, aspect can be examined on two planes. One is the study of the individual as a discrete element of the political mass: the individual voter, the individual father, the individual German. This concept of the individual is the subject of aggregate studies, such as The Authoritarian Personality, by Theodor Adorno et. al. (New York: Harper, 1950). This individual--the one among many--has been examined by such prominent political scientists as David Easton and Robert Lane.⁶

The other plane is to focus upon those particular individuals who shape society; those whose behavior affect the lives of all the other individuals within that political community. This is the study of political leadership and the realm of the psycho-political biography. It is this plane that is of greatest interest here.

In justifying a personality approach to politics, one must begin by asking, "Does individual behavior affect political outcomes?" However, even before answering this question, one must recognize that an affirmative answer does not restrict one to studying the isolated individual. Indeed, if the answer is "yes" one must go on to ask what environmental factors in turn shape the individual personality. Thus, a circular equation emerges whereby societal, familial and personality factors are seen as shaping the individual, who in turn shapes that same society. This process could be diagrammed as follows:



Thus, in seeking to discern the individual's role in political

outcomes, and the society's impact on individual behavior, one is examining two aspects of one equation. Social scientists differ in their evaluation of the impact of the individual actor. Some, such as Sidney Hook, author of The Hero in History (New York: John Day, 1943), attribute a great role to the individual's performance. As examples, it is difficult to conceive the Russian Revolution without Lenin, nineteenth century European history without Napoleon, or twentieth century American social policy without Franklin Delano Roosevelt. On the other hand, Marxist theorists see only the first part of this equation and argue that the course of history is largely determined by economic and social factors that individuals respond to rather than control. Here the individual becomes interchangeable and dispensable.

In the middle ground is the viewpoint that the importance of the individual actor varies in light of situational and personal factors. In defending this middle ground, Fred Greenstein lists three factors which account for the variability of personal impact: (1) the degree to which the environment admits restructuring, (2) the individual's location in the environment, and (3) the individual's personal strengths.⁷ This middle ground is probably most fruitful as it is difficult to deny the impact of social and economic factors, such as racism and poverty, as it is impossible to think of certain historical situations without referring to the "great"--or horrible--men involved.

Granting the individual's impact on political outcomes, the task remains to discern what factors determine individual behavior. How much weight can one attribute to the individual personality as contrasted with the environment, including societal roles and the general culture? In the classic study of The Authoritarian Personality, by

Adorno et. al. the authors delineated certain psychological attributes as related to specific cultural conventions rather than the manifestations of inner psychic determinants. Among these personality characteristics were rigidity, prejudice, and being servile to superiors while authoritarian to inferiors. In another context, it is often argued that cultural values and perceived role expectations determine the behavior of the political actor more than personal psychological predispositions.

Obviously the environment plays an important role in the motivation of individual behavior. Conjointly, as our equation indicates, it is impossible to separate experimentally the two factors of environment and personality and examine their respective impact. Therefore, the only available approach is to examine the behavior jointly in terms of the environmental situations and the actor's psychological predisposition. Kurt Lewin emphasizes this approach.⁸ Political actors, as all human beings, shape their environments as well as respond to them. Some theorists utilize methodologies that incorporate an awareness of the environmental situation in an analysis of individual personality. Erik Erikson, James David Barber and Fred Greenstein are among these. Their approaches mitigate the problem of falsely isolating these two factors.

Having observed that the individual personality is an important and integral element of analysis for the understanding of political behavior, the task remains to examine explicit methodological approaches to the study of personality and politics and the history of the application of these approaches.

The classic intensive study of individual behavior is the biography. Nineteenth century biographies were preoccupied with the accumulation of facts. Implicit in this accumulation was a framework delineating which facts were important in explicating a life history. The selected facts were then strung together in a conventional literary fashion. These biographical accounts of great men were largely adulatory.

This traditional biographical format received a jolt, as did all areas concerned with human motivation and behavior, when Sigmund Freud's personality theories became known. Freud's Interpretation of Dreams (1900) emphasized the role of sex and unconscious motivation in determining human behavior. Freud found evidence for these motivations not in traditional biographical sources, but in dreams, fantasies, and word associations. Harold Lasswell beautifully restates this, "He [Freud] broke through the irrelevant barriers of conventionality and brought dark continents of data into the light of inquiry."⁹ Thus, theoretically and methodologically, the traditional field of biography was challenged. Freud's own psychoanalytic case studies intelligently and literately demonstrated this new mode for understanding the human mind. Dora (1905), Little Hans (1909), Rat Man (1909), Wolf Man (1909), and Schreber (1911) are basic studies for any student of personality and biography.

In 1910 Freud attempted to apply his theoretical model to the understanding of the creative individual rather than the deviant personality. He chose as his subject Leonardo da Vinci and sought to explain how and why Leonardo sublimated his libidinous impulses. Less important, however, than his interpretation of Leonardo's personality was Freud's

elaboration of his technique for understanding this personality.

Freud explained that in studying Leonardo he sought to understand the dynamics of Leonardo's personality on the basis of the latter's recorded reactions. In understanding that personality small, often trivial, details overlooked by traditional biographers would supply "the clearest discoveries of virtues or vice in men." Also examined was Leonardo's sex life, an area studiously avoided by previous biographers. Through the utilization of this explicit methodology Freud achieved a great accomplishment; he reconciled science's goal of generalization with biography's thrust for specialization. Here was a framework that could be employed to understand the most diverse personalities. It was a framework that accepted the complexities of man, however, and stated that no simplistic determinism could explain him. It presented a truly new and innovative methodology for the examination of historical personages.

Freud's application of depth psychology to biography, emphasizing unconscious motivation, was the first explicit psychological biography, or, as it will be referred to here, the first "psychobiography." As Betty Glad defines this term, "Psychobiography is, essentially, any life history which employs an explicit personality theory--that is, a perception that individual behavior has an internal locus of causation as well as some degree of structure and organization."¹⁰

Although his theoretical approach was radical, Freud was modest in his claims for this approach. He concluded that due to the nature of the evidence, his analysis of Leonardo's personality was a tentative, conjectural one. Freud emphasized here the problems and limitations in the application of the psychoanalytic method for the understanding

of an historical personage. Some followers, however, were not as cautious in their claims.

One contemporary biographer to utilize the findings of the new psychology was Lytton Strachey (Eminent Victorians, 1918). Strachey, the most influential biographer of the 1920s, found traditional biographies to be unrevealing and dull. In his short, often malicious, but entertaining treatments he looked beneath the public image of his subjects, revealing the complex and often contradictory personalities therein. As Freud's, such an approach was a refreshing one, although Strachey's concern for the facts was not his paramount one. As one critic rather bluntly put it, "Mr. Strachey was not in the truth business."¹¹ His revelations emphasized the negative aspect of his subject's personality. This negative emphasis is reflected in Strachey's own words: "The wise biographer will attack his subject in unexpected places...he will shoot a sudden, revealing search light into obscure recesses, hitherto undivined...."¹² (Emphasis added.)

This critical usage of the new psychology continued throughout the 1920s and 1930s. These psychobiographical studies--almost totally derogatory--concentrated on creative individuals. They rightfully earned the title of "debunking biographies." Several typical treatments include Katherine Anthony's Margaret Fuller (1920), Joseph Wood Krutch's Life of Poe (1926), and Leon Price Clark's Lincoln: A Psychobiography (1933). These deprecatory, shallow works unfairly brought the whole field of psychobiography into disrepute.

As indicated, these early psychobiographical efforts were largely directed towards artists and writers; political figures were ignored and political science had as yet been untouched by this field. The

first political scientist to utilize the findings of depth psychology in an understanding of political actors was Harold D. Lasswell. In his seminal work Psychopathology and Politics (1930) Lasswell employed psychoanalytic findings to hypothesize that political motivations were rooted in unconscious sources developed during the early years of life. According to Lasswell's now famous theorem, the political actor's private motives are displaced onto public objects and rationalized in terms of the public interest. In this work he outlined as well political character types: the administrator, the agitator, and the reformer. Thus, he linked modes of political activity and leadership with specific personality syndromes.

Lasswell's pioneering research was not built on for some time. It was not until the publication in 1956 of Alexander and Juliette George's Woodrow Wilson and Colonel House that an explicit psychobiographical framework was employed in an effort to understand a well known political figure. One reason for this early paucity of research was the then negative emphasis of psychoanalytic research when applied to biographical studies.

Lasswell's work, while creative and innovative, emphasized the pathological aspects of political behavior. As one critic so aptly put it:

Its major weakness is that it ties psychological processes to the irrational in political behavior. If people and their leaders behave as one expects them to, it implies that a psychological explanation seems unnecessary. If, however, outstanding leaders meet with reverses or if poorly regarded leaders meet with success, or if their behavior seems to follow an irrational model, then psychology is invoked to provide answers.¹³

This emphasis was also a reflection of the seemingly negative trend in orthodox Freudian psychoanalysis. This trend is understandable

as psychoanalytic theory originated as a method for curing the ill, hence its early emphasis was on pathology.

However, in the 1930s several of Freud's followers modified psychoanalytic theorems to emphasize the positive aspects of personality, focusing on the adaptive processes of the ego. There was an increased concern with consciousness and the ego and superego, a decreased emphasis on the unconscious, the id and libido--the sexual component. Consequently behavior beyond the Oedipal complex became the focal area. Such a shift did not negate earlier findings, rather it sought to emphasize other processes.

Ego psychology does not minimize the importance of the drives or the inner conflict they inspire in the development of individual personality. Rather it accepts the inevitability of certain phase-specific childhood problems in psychosexual development and emphasizes the way in which each individual deals with these conflicts.¹⁴

Anna Freud, Karen Horney, Heinz Hartmann, and Erik Erikson are among the psychoanalysts who were instrumental in recording this new focus, referred to as ego psychology. This new psychology provided important strengths--methodologically and substantively--for psychobiographical research.

On the methodological level, as ego psychology is concerned with later development, more traditional biographical sources can be effectively utilized. Thus, whereas Freud's analysis emphasized dreams, fantasies and pre-oedipal childhood experiences, ego psychology utilizes as well diaries, letters, familial sources and environmental information.

Substantively, ego psychology emphasizes the strengths and adaptive powers of the individual. Thus, a psychobiography that employs this approach can understand the strengths and adaptive powers of the political personality rather than just the neurotic and self defeating

components of such a personality.

Contemporary ego psychology...offers a conceptual apparatus for dealing with the entire human being, a way of looking at the connections between the submerged and the more visible aspects of personality...ego psychology is concerned with the mature, the rational, and the adaptive or creative response to contemporary situations.¹⁵

Thus, the positive side of personality is emphasized and the successful, adaptive political actor becomes a candidate for study as well as the pathological one. The old assumption that psychoanalytic findings were relevant for an understanding only of neurotic and psychotic political figures was implicitly evident by the candidates chosen for early psychobiographical studies. Abraham Lincoln, James Forrestal, Woodrow Wilson, and Anton Cermak all evidenced neurotic or psychotic disturbances. Some authors even explicitly stated that psychobiography was applicable primarily in this category.¹⁶

Freud himself would have characterized such an assumption as inaccurate. He admired successful political figures such as Bismark and respected history's great men like Moses. Indeed, in 1908 he wrote, "Some day one should investigate how infantile impressions influence great achievement and not only how they influence later illness."¹⁷ In his psychobiographies of Luther and Gandhi, Erik Erikson has shown that the strengths as well as the weaknesses of great men must be considered if these men are to be fully understood. Likewise, James David Barber has shown that certain lawmakers are especially well adjusted and hence productive individuals.¹⁸

In another vein, some writers have employed traditional historical analysis to understand a political actor's success and then applied psychopolitical analysis to understand that same actor's failures. This is unfair as well as methodologically inconsistent. Fred Greenstein

explains, "...any political actor can be studied intensively...if personality analysis were confined to the necessary occasions for such inquiry, political psychology would tend to be relegated to a source of residual explanations of deviant behavior."¹⁹ By this biased application of psychological and psychoanalytical precepts, great achievements are perceived as undecipherable; clearly not related to the same psychological needs and gratifications as those that caused failure. Dankwart Rustow comments, "...by allowing the politician to acquire a psyche only at times of his failure, are we not cheapening politician and psyche alike?"²⁰

Ego psychology adds another positive dimension to the study of political personalities. As it is concerned with the adaptive power of the more mature individual, it takes into account environmental factors which a traditional Freudian analysis was more likely to ignore. The emphasis on the unconscious in depth psychology and early psychobiography underplayed the situational determinants of behavior. Betty Glad comments, "Though the importance of unconscious motivation and infantile fixations cannot be denied, political scientists must also look at structural variables within which an individual acts and must weigh their impact on his behavior."²¹ As stated earlier, psychological and environmental factors must be studied jointly. Erik Erikson's work, particularly, has emphasized the role of situational and historical variables in the achievement of his political subjects. In understanding Hitler, for instance, he delineated German history, geography, culture, politics, and the contemporary economic and social structures.²²

Thus, the theories offered by ego psychology refute several basic criticisms levelled at psychobiographical research:

- A. That psychobiographical investigation is only relevant for understanding pathological personalities and political failures.
- B. That psychobiographies are preoccupied with unconscious motivations and sexuality, emphasizing early childhood experience and seeing adult character immutably determined by this,
 - 1. thus minimizing the relevance of environmental factors.

Ego psychology offers a specific methodology to examine biographical data. The choice of any particular framework should be governed by the values of the researcher and the nature of the available research materials. Hence, if dreams, fantasies and early childhood experiences are abundant, a classical Freudian analysis might be selected. The problem with most faulty psychobiographies has not been in the conceptual model itself, but rather the absence of any one such explicit model, delineating canons for data selection and analysis. Lewis Edinger noted in 1964, "For the behaviorally-oriented American political scientist, the most notable lack in modern political biography is that it has no conceptual framework for the selection, organization, and presentation of data."²³

Psychobiography fills this void and enables comparison among individuals; it negates the popular tendency to equate the individual with the idiosyncratic. Psychobiography also facilitates the study of the whole person; it enables the researcher to understand more fully the person's values and behavior. Seemingly contradictory, erratic behavior may be understood with the use of depth psychology. And lastly, it facilitates a deeper understanding of historical events which are sometimes misunderstood by considering only social, political and economic factors.

In these varied ways the field of psychobiography enriches our understanding of political actors and political behavior. Within this

field, however, one finds that the quality of psychobiographical studies is very uneven. One's own methodology and analysis can benefit from an examination of these particular studies. As Fred Greenstein comments, "By extracting standards from more satisfactory studies, one can suggest a program of incremental improvement of the rigor of evidence and inference in single case analyses."²⁴ Two major studies, each focusing on Woodrow Wilson, aptly indicate the diversity of quality within the field; both the best and the worst can be seen here.

Alexander and Juliette George's study, Woodrow Wilson and Colonel House (New York: John Day, 1956), was the first balanced effort to apply psychoanalytic insights to the study of a well known political figure. Fred Greenstein's categories provide an excellent framework to analyze this work. These categories explain the three levels of psychoanalytic analysis: phenomenology, dynamics, and genesis.²⁵

Phenomenology entails a description of the subject's overt behavior. The behavior of Woodrow Wilson was extremely erratic. In political affairs Wilson would frequently behave expediently, consulting with colleagues and compromising with adversaries. However, at other times Wilson was extremely rigid, refusing to consult with friends and unwilling to make even the smallest concessions to get his policies implemented. The most tragic and well known example of the latter is Wilson's adamant position in regard to the League of Nations. Here Wilson was unable to consider even insignificant compromises with the conservative members of the Senate in order to get his treaty accepted. He severed relations with his long time friend and trusted advisor, Colonel House, when the latter dared to disagree with him about several points in the treaty.

For those who were stunned by Wilson's self defeating behavior here, the Georges demonstrate that this incident was only one manifestation of a cyclical behavior pattern that had occurred at least twice previously; while Wilson was president of Princeton University and while he was governor of New Jersey. Thus, Wilson had occasionally behaved in this rigid, uncompromising fashion although generally acting as a pragmatic, bargaining politician.

The Georges sought to understand these diverse behavior patterns by analyzing the particular conditions under which Wilson behaved in each manner. In this way they were able to distinguish two environmental situations; ones of power seeking and ones of power holding. Only in the former category could Wilson operate rationally and flexibly.

Other personality characteristics were enumerated as well by the Georges. These included Wilson's stubbornness, his pedantry, and his extreme orderliness. The Georges found a striking resemblance between these characteristics and the behavior pattern of the compulsive personality. Thus, these traits could now be logically juxtaposed and Wilson's confusing behavior became more comprehensible. "Individually these were all traits that had been recognized by other biographers but none of the previous biographers had seen the traits as part of a syndrome, that could be related to the psychodynamics described in the clinical account of the compulsive personality type." ²⁶

Thus, by employing the psychoanalytic literature, the Georges were better able to understand Wilson's overt behavior, the phenomenological level of analysis. With this knowledge they went on to determine the dynamics of such behavior, the second level of analysis.

This level constitutes an understanding of the underlying motivation; it relates to the causation of the overt behavior and presents a more difficult task.

Through an intensive understanding of Wilson's personality, the Georges perceived that Wilson had a very low self esteem. This they related to Harold Lasswell's thesis in Power and Personality (1948) that the political type is one who seeks power as a compensatory value for early feelings of low self esteem. Thus, Wilson's compulsive need to totally dominate in certain situations--i.e. power holding ones, especially when confronted with a single male adversary--served the ego defensive function of protecting Wilson from his inner, buried feelings of low self esteem.

The Georges seek to discover why Wilson had such a low self estimate. This presents the most difficult element of psychoanalytic analysis and psychobiography, the delineation of the third level of analysis which is the explanation of the origination, or genesis, of the underlying motivational factors. The Georges claim that Wilson's unhealthy relationship with his rigid and demanding Calvinist minister father resulted in the former's later insecurities.

Joseph Wilson was a dominating, exacting man with a caustic wit; his young son was often the unfortunate subject of this wit. Joseph's decision to personally supervise Woodrow's education until the age of ten further brought the latter under his control. Woodrow's resentment and inner rage toward his father were almost entirely repressed, as evidenced by the esteem and affection Wilson held for this father throughout his life. However, this rage was expressed early through Wilson's refusal to learn. He did not read until eleven and had an unusually

poor primary school performance. Wilson's stubborn refusal to learn, as well as his later political rigidity, could be interpreted as acts of aggression. This stubbornness was the only manifestation of his aggressive impulses toward his father. As indicated, throughout his life Wilson only expressed gratitude and respect for his father. This over-zealous respect in view of the circumstances lead the Georges to conclude that Woodrow's idealized image of his father involved a reaction formation.

The problem with the Georges' analysis here is primarily one of omission. For lack of materials, the Georges say almost nothing about Wilson's mother. Any reference to Wilson's early sexuality is also omitted; one must assume that his strong Calvinist heritage had some effect here. These two areas are of prime importance in an orthodox Freudian analysis and it is difficult to accept a psychoanalytic evaluation that does not deal with them.

Another problem is the Georges' selective application of psychological concepts. Such concepts are seen as necessary to explain Wilson's failure in the League of Nations episode, but are not referred to while examining Wilson's previous political successes. So too, these psychological concepts are used primarily to explain the negative aspects of Wilson's relationships. Greenstein comments, "[W]hile the Georges do point out that Wilson's father also contributed positively and importantly to shaping the boy's personality into a suitable instrument for what was to be a remarkable career, they do not elaborate and document this ego-psychological assertion."²⁷

The problem of omission points to the greatest difficulty in utilizing orthodox Freudian psychology. For its analysis this psychology

leans most heavily on the early years of life--birth through the Oedipus Complex--and downplays subsequent development, thus emphasizing knowledge of that area in which the least biographical information is available. Thus, the problem faced by the Georges here is one intrinsic to their methodology rather than their faulty application of it.

Aside from these difficulties the Georges' analysis is generally good and their methodology sound. As Fred Greenstein points out, they are explicit in formulating their hypotheses and accurate in distinguishing between the observational data upon which these hypotheses are based and the interpretive hypotheses themselves.²⁸ The Georges are careful to avoid broad generalizations; they analyze Wilson's behavior in terms of the modifiable hypotheses they constructed.

The Georges' analysis is coherent and consistent. It is interesting as well as theoretically validating to see the recurrent nature of Wilson's behavior at Princeton, in the New Jersey state house, and in the presidency. No other approach could see this recurrence and explain Wilson's seemingly erratic behavior.

An added asset of this book is the Georges' careful maintenance of an historical perspective. The Georges investigate the nature of the presidency and the social and cultural environment of Wilson's time. As they indicate in their research note, "In tracing the individual's... personality system...the investigator pays particular attention to his familial, cultural and social milieu." (p. 319) All these factors contribute to a psychologically and politically enlightening study of Woodrow Wilson; a study with some weaknesses, but still in the best tradition of psychobiography.

Although actually written much earlier than the Georges' study

of Woodrow Wilson (in 1932), Sigmund Freud and William C. Bullitt's Thomas Woodrow Wilson was not published until 1967. As Richard Hofstadter suggests, however, it should not have been published at all.²⁹

Whereas Alexander and Juliette George were careful in their methodology, explicating precisely their hypotheses and the data to be included, and tried to understand Wilson's strengths and weaknesses, this work is a methodological nightmare, motivated by an unremitting effort to crucify Wilson. From the first page onward it is evident that this purported psychological study is nothing other than a witch hunt where all Wilson's achievements are either ignored or seen as a result of his neuroses and/or psychoses. Marcus Cunliffe comments, "He [Wilson] is not scrutinized, but pilloried, which is as bad as sanctifying him."³⁰

This attitude is especially evident in the discussion of Wilson's handling of the Versailles treaty negotiations. Everything Wilson does is wrong. He is personally held responsible for the Allies' belligerent attitude toward Germany and the failure to arrive at an equitable settlement.

This entirely denigrating analysis is unexpected after reading Freud's excellent introduction in which he elucidates the diminution of his original antipathy toward Wilson. Freud is entirely honest about his negative feelings toward Wilson, as the latter represented to him the prototype of the Christian statesman who proclaims his policies and actions are directly descended from God's will. So too Freud, as many other contemporaries, was disappointed by Wilson's actions after the war. He comments that these negative feelings remained, although "a measure of sympathy developed; but sympathy of a special sort mixed with pity "

(p. xii). Freud goes on to claim that these emotions underwent a thorough subjugation in the analysis itself, and promised the reader the same subjugation on Bullitt's part. It is impossible to believe that Freud read the manuscript before writing this.

Indeed, many argue--Robert Coles and Erik Erikson among them--that Freud was not involved in the writing of this book. Bullitt was responsible for getting Freud out of Vienna and into London in 1938. Bullitt himself commented, "I met him [Freud] at the railroad station and suggested that we might discuss our book once more after he was settled in London." (p. 7). It is not hard to imagine the obvious debt that Freud felt toward Bullitt, one that could amply be repaid by lending his name to this book.

It is a moot point to argue the authorship of this work. It is important, however, to know the historical background of the authors, as it facilitates an understanding of the totally subjective, derogatory analysis presented here, despite Freud's ardent disclaimers. This historical background is presented by Bullitt himself toward the end of the book.

On page 271 the reader encounters William Bullitt's letter of resignation to the Secretary of State, dated May 17, 1919. It turns out that Mr. Bullitt was at that time a twenty-eight year old Eastern European specialist for the State Department and went with the American delegation to the Paris Peace Conference in 1919. Bullitt was greatly disappointed by Wilson's refusal to continue to fight for his stated principles: "I am sorry that you did not fight our fight to the finish and that you had so little faith in the millions of men, like myself, in every nation who had faith in you" (p. 272). Bullitt returned to

the United States, where he subsequently became a surprise witness at the Senate treaty hearings. He supplied Senator Lodge with potent ammunition to defeat American ratification of the treaty.

From these facts it is evident that Mr. Bullitt is hardly the best candidate to write an objective psychological study of Woodrow Wilson. Indeed, despite Freud's pledges, Bullitt has not even attempted to conceal his totally negative attitude toward Wilson here. In this sense the book constitutes a blatant violation of Freud's own methodological canons. From this central weakness many other problems emerge.

Bullitt is so determined to get his man that he totally ignores social, historical and cultural factors in his crusade. For example, there is no attempt to understand Wilson's Presbyterian origins. As Erik Erikson comments, "This book...blurs exactly which could have been most fruitful to investigate, namely, what was typical and what was excessive in this particular Southern Presbyterian background."³¹

Likewise, Wilson's political style--his passion for oratory and his idealistic principles--are analyzed solely in terms of Wilson's personality. The importance of effective oratory before the arrival of the mass media and its effective usage by other contemporary politicians such as Ignatius Donnelly, Theodore Roosevelt, and our own William Jennings Bryan is ignored. In discussing Wilson's 'Christ Complex' only Wilson's psyche is examined; the authors do not take into account what has been called the "civil religion in the American tradition," a tradition which encouraged presidents to announce themselves as secular tools of God's will.³²

Another problem resulting from the book's crusade to crucify Wilson is the minimal treatment accorded Wilson's successes. His intelli-

gent, well written book, Congressional Government, is barely mentioned. Accomplishments at Princeton and Trenton and domestic political achievements while in the White House are not even acknowledged. From this analysis, one begins to wonder how such an incompetent and unsuccessful neurotic attained the presidency of the United States. To reiterate a basic point, psychobiography seeks to understand the individual's strengths as well as his weaknesses. As Richard Hofstadter aptly commented in the tradition of Erik Erikson, "No doubt hundreds of thousands of American boys suffered from suppressed hostility to overwhelming fathers, but it was only Tommy Wilson who surmounted his incapacities and became Woodrow Wilson." 33

There are some interesting themes presented in this book. Wilson's ambivalent relationship with his overbearing father is explained. Even more interesting are his overdevoted friendships with smaller, slighter men whom the authors interpret to represent Wilson's younger brother. This brother figure was personified by Hibben at Princeton, Tumulty and Colonel House at Trenton and in Washington. These friendships always ended with Wilson feeling betrayed, as he felt betrayed by his parents for the existence of his actual younger brother.

However, the interest in these themes is impossible to sustain as they are constantly repeated in the most convoluted, outdated psychological jargon, whose key words consist of libido, passivity, outlets, and conduit. Robert Coles suggests that this vocabulary would probably make the manuscript most interesting to hydraulic engineers. 34

In short, this book is the prototypical example of everything a psychobiography should not be. It ignores history, culture and the environment; it minimizes its subject's successes while overstating his

weaknesses, and does all this through a psychological jargon that is impossible to comprehend. The book's unswerving effort to totally malign Wilson tells the reader a great deal more about the authors (or author) that it does about their purported subject.

Young Man Luther: A Study of Psychonalysis and History (1958)

constitutes Erik Erikson's first booklength psychobiographical study. Here, as in previous shorter studies, Erikson employs his own methodology in order to understand a historical figure.

Erikson is an ego psychologist. He stresses the creative and adaptive powers of the individual. The ego is perceived as an organ of active mastery rather than merely a vector where inner drives and society's morals meet and pound out a compromise.

As other ego psychologists, Erikson emphasizes development. Whereas orthodox Freudian psychology concentrates almost exclusively on the first few years of life, Erikson maintains that growth is a dynamic process. In his methodology the child passes through a series of stages, each with a particular crisis. In later stages the developing individual may react differently to new crises and new personality characteristics may emerge.

Analyzing the later stages of development has another implication: it increases the number of individuals that influence development. In concentrating on the early years of life, Freud emphasized the role of the parents and their relationship to the child. This relationship is highlighted in the well known Oedipus Complex. Erikson, in studying the later years as well, widens the focus and emphasizes the importance of peers, the culture, and society. For want of a better

term, this has been referred to as the "exterior" approach.

Erikson's methodology incorporates this "exterior" element. Hence it overcomes one problem of the orthodox Freudian approach by shifting the point of emphasis to later development where information is more available. Likewise, it does not isolate the subject from this environment and it looks for individual strengths as well as weaknesses.

Erikson's methodology is a conceptual model for understanding human development. Known as the Eight Ages of Man or the Human Life Cycle, it consists of eight epigenetic stages, the last three falling within adulthood. Each stage deals with the development of a particular characteristic and presents a particular crisis with which the growing individual must deal. A crisis not in the sense of a forthcoming catastrophe, but a crucial moment in development, a turning point where the individual must choose one path or another. What is important is not just an individual's situation in one stage, but his tendencies throughout the cycle; not one particular trait, but a continuity of reacting in a particular way throughout the varied crises. In Young Man Luther Erikson utilizes this methodology in order to understand a young great man.

In young Martin Luther, Erikson observed the same phenomenon that had occurred among the troubled adolescents he treated at the Austin Riggs Center in Stockbridge, Massachusetts. He then sought to understand how young Martin resolved his not uncommon adolescent problems in such a way as to lead him--above all others--to greatness. The phenomenon referred to here is the identity crisis--the central stage of the human life cycle.

In simplest terms, identity is an awareness of one's self.

The adolescent is now at a turning point in which he seeks to integrate who he has been--all his previous identifications and self images--and what he is going to become. Here the young person seeks continuity between his past and his future; he seeks to find a special place in his society and asks himself, "Who am I to be?"

To help the adolescent find the answer to this question, to enable him to carve out a place for himself in the community, society extends to him time, space and social freedom. This socially authorized delay of adulthood Erikson terms the moratorium: "...at worst, a no man's land between childhood and maturity, and at best a normal time of sports and horseplay."³⁵ This period is to enable the developing adolescent to adjust to himself. There are so many internal changes going on at this time that it is difficult for the adolescent to maintain an integrated conception of self: this is the time of physical growth, sexual maturation, and social awareness.

The nature and depth of the identity crisis and the manner in which the adolescents of each generation deal with it is directly related to the specific historical era; hence, the environmental variables are maintained within the concept itself. "In some young people, in some classes, at some periods in history, this crisis will be minimal; in other people, classes and periods, the crisis will be clearly marked off as a critical period, a kind of 'second birth'...."(p. 14). This quote indicates Erikson's emphasis on the parallelism of the psychobiological and the historical situation. This parallelism is evident in the subtitle of Young Man Luther, "A Study of Psychoanalysis and History," as well as in Erikson's own term, which he always hyphenates, 'psycho-

history.'

In light of this dual emphasis, Erikson asserts that in order to understand Martin Luther's identity crisis, one must understand as well the social history of Germany in the 15th Century and the socio-cultural atmosphere of the Luther home. Erikson discusses in depth the German peasantry of the 15th and 16th Centuries--and quotes extensively from Huizinga's The Waning of the Middle Ages (New York, 1956) (pp. 74-75). Erikson details the schools, homes, and the market places of medieval Germany. Then, narrowing his focus, Erikson describes the Luther family and explains how the historical era is manifested in this one particular peasant family. Cultural and historical changes occurring at this time are examined in light of their effect on the Luther family. Erikson is able to bring history into one child's experience in a few short sentences:

Most of all he [Luther's father] wanted, as did millions of other ex-peasants and miners, to see his son employ his mind in higher matters, instead of dulling it with miners' superstitions, and to enjoy the wealth unearthed by others instead of dirtying his hands in shafts sunk into the earth. This, then was what the history books call the 'peasant' father of a 'peasant' son. (p. 56)

Hence, Martin's father, as many lower class German fathers--had great ambitions for his son. He was a righteous and strict father, one whom a son could not get very close to. A father who could not be defied openly, yet whom the son would feel emasculated by obeying. This father was Martin Luther's, but was many other German fathers as well.

Martin attended college in Erfurt. Supposedly, while walking back to college one evening he was caught in a thunderstorm. A bolt of lightening struck near him, causing Martin to call out, "Help me,

St. Anne...I want to become a monk." Whether Martin regarded this lightening as some kind of sign from above is a matter of some dispute. In any case, he subsequently became an Augustinian monk, and tried to live by those beliefs, and hence make those same choices that many contemporary adolescents had made.

But the church did not provide the answers to Martin's troubled soul. Martin saw only its hypocrises and vanities; how people could 'buy' redemption and how the Pope dictated the terms of the sales. Thus, Martin was not able to find the solution to his personal troubles here. The ironic aspect is that Martin's "personal" troubles were not personal at all; many German boys faced the same problems Martin had faced with his father and felt the same uneasiness with the solutions they had tried, although perhaps not able to verbalize their fears and discomforts as well. What made Martin great, and indeed what makes all great men great according to Erikson is not their uniqueness, but rather their similarity to their brethren. In one brief, yet beautiful, paragraph Erikson summarizes this point:

Millions of boys face these problems and solve them in some way or another--they live, as Captain Ahab says, with half of their heart and with only one of their lungs, and the world is the worse for it. Now and again, however, an individual is called upon (called by WHOM, only the theologians claim to know, and by WHAT only bad psychologists) to lift his individual patienthood to the level of a universal one and to try to solve for all what he could not solve for himself alone (p. 67). (Emphasis in original.)

"Universal patienthood"; this term connotes the pervasiveness of Martin Luther's own personal struggle. What made Martin great was not the singularity of his inner conflicts, but rather his acute awareness of the historical situation--"historical actuality"--and an ability to utilize that historical awareness in finding a new solution to his

own inner struggles; thus, a universal one as well. The new solution Luther found was a spiritual one: "His solution roughly bridged a political and psychological vacuum which history had created in a significant portion of Western Christendom" (p.15).

Through the utilization of the human life cycle, concentrating on the Fifth Stage--Identity vs. Role Confusion--Erikson is able to explain the genius of Luther as well as his psychological problems within the context of a particular environment, and indicate how all these factors are inexorably intertwined. For these reasons Young Man Luther is a creative and intelligent study. It is not without flaws, however.

One problem that repeatedly appears in Erikson's work is the specific application of his methodology. In actual use the eight stages sometimes appear mechanistic and contrived. One must remember that a conceptual framework is a guide to organize data, not an intellectual straight-jacket. The explanation of Luther's behavior in terms of these eight divisions is often too tidy and unreal. In reading Erikson's explanations in terms of these stages, the reader will sometimes feel that conflicting conclusions could be justified as well.

For example, the second crisis (Stage II) is Autonomy vs. Shame and Doubt. Erikson claims that Martin was driven out of the Trust stage (Stage I) by his jealously ambitious father who attempted to make Martin "precociously independent from women."

Hans [Martin's father] succeeded, but not without storing in the boy violent doubts of the father's justification and sincerity; a lifelong shame over the persisting gap between his own precocious conscience and his actual inner state; and a deep nostalgia for a situation of infantile trust. (p. 256).

It is not clear why each of these thoughts follow each other;

a more thorough, less cryptic, explanation seems due the reader. If one accepts the notion that Martin longed for "infantile trust" it seems just as logical to expect him to follow the Pope and "trust" him. If doubt was instilled in Martin, as Erikson maintains, it also seems logical that Catholicism would have better compensated for his needs as it is a religious system which leaves little room for individual doubt.

Erikson states that Luther rebels against the Pope since he was unable to directly rebel against his father. Again, an opposite explanation seems equally rational. Since his father wished Luther to enter the law, becoming a monk and obeying the Pope in this endeavor was rebelling against his father. Why was it psychologically necessary to oppose the Pope as well?³⁶

In general, however, Erikson's methodology and the book's central thesis of Luther's identity crisis and the rejuvenation of religion holds up well. Thus, by adding a psychological dimension to the study of Luther a complex historical figure has become more understandable.

Erikson's methodology has been employed by other psychologically oriented political scientists, but not always with great success. One example is E. Victor Wolfenstein's 1967 study, The Revolutionary Personality (Princeton). Here the author sought to discover what motivates a particular individual to become a revolutionary and what personality attributes enable this individual to become an effective revolutionary.

For his subjects Wolfenstein chose three well known revolutionaries: Lenin, Trotsky, and Gandhi. Through his analysis Wolfenstein found basic personality similarities among these three individuals, the major one

being an unusually ambivalent relationship with the father created at the early stages of development. This ambivalent relationship was followed by the premature loss of the father, causing the youths' feelings of guilt to remain alive and thus creating an unresolved inner conflict. These feelings were later relieved by transferring this conflict into the political arena; a suitable outlet as these individuals received especially harsh treatment there.

Wolfenstein's thesis is certainly an intriguing one. However, so many methodological problems exist here that it is impossible to consider it, or any other one, as valid on the basis of Wolfenstein's own analysis.

Wolfenstein claims to use Erikson's framework, but his use of it is totally mechanical. It is devoid of Erikson's emphasis on the growth of the individual and the importance of the social and cultural environment in which this growth takes place. As Bruce Mazlish, a well known psycho-historian, comments, "I...find the spirit of Erikson's work almost entirely missing. I am not persuaded that Wolfenstein has made the Eriksonian interpretation, with its essential stress on the correspondence of somatic, ego, and social process, central to his analysis."³⁷

Indeed, it would be impossible to analyze the entire lives of three subjects in an Eriksonian spirit within the span of three hundred eighteen pages, as Wolfenstein claims to do. In addition, the very fact that Wolfenstein has chosen to analyze two Russians and one Indian without any methodological references to possible cultural distinctions indicates an avoidance of the cultural and social factors that Erikson emphasizes. Trotsky's unique Jewish heritage is only mentioned, not discussed. As Trotsky grew up in a culture where Jews were restricted geographically,

scholastically, and professionally, this distinction is impossible to ignore.³⁸

Wolfenstein also ignores the historical context. In his analysis of Gandhi, he accepts Ernest Jones' thesis that within the context of the famous salt strike, salt represented semen to Gandhi. Considering the widespread hunger in India, the preservative power of salt as well as its ability to make even the most bland foods palatable, the necessity of free access to salt is easily understandable. And, it does not seem difficult or farfetched to assume here that salt means salt.

Likewise, Wolfenstein asserts that Lenin's desire for a tight knit Bolshevik party was caused by Lenin's general mistrust developed during the first year of life. Thus, behavior is often explained in reference to psychological factors devoid of any awareness of the situational context. This particular example indicates a second methodological problem that is interrelated to the first one.

Wolfenstein claims to believe Erikson's thesis that individuals grow and develop past the Oedipal years. However, he makes the following astounding statement: "Although much experience comes between the first year of life and full adulthood, there should be indications in that first year of what the adult will be like and therefore of what his political behavior will be like."³⁹ No wonder Wolfenstein feels free to analyze Lenin's political secrecy in terms of his oral development alone, unrelated to the political context of Tsarist Russia! Does Wolfenstein actually believe he can scientifically predict something about an individual's later political behavior solely from an observation of the infancy stage? This avoidance of later growth and the intervening social and historical context leads to the kind of psychological

reductionism that Erikson and other conscientious psychobiographers are careful to avoid.

Wolfenstein claims he has purposely avoided a discussion of the economic, social, and political aspects: "These kinds of factors have been rather extensively studied, however, while the psychology of the revolutionist has been rather neglected..." (p. 16). This effort to isolate psychological factors from the social context--allowing others to fill in here later--is methodologically unjustifiable from the start. As was emphasized previously, a laboratory separation of the environment from the individual is impossible; both factors must be studied jointly. A well known observer of revolutions and revolutionaries makes this same point: Chalmers Johnson asserts that it is impossible to make generalizations of micro data (individual personalities) without reference to a macro model. "Psychological data on revolutionaries must be related to the social system."⁴⁰

These methodological problems cripple Wolfenstein's analysis; they rob all credibility of his interesting hypotheses. Thus, the main weakness of The Revolutionary Personality lies not in the purpose of the study or in the framework ostensibly utilized, but rather the author's actual avoidance of that framework and any scientific, consistent methodology.

James David Barber's book, Presidential Character: Predicting Performance in the White House (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 2nd ed., 1977), is a well written, interesting study of presidential character, analyzed in terms of Barber's original methodology.

Barber presents a new and interesting framework for analyzing

presidential behavior. This framework evaluates presidential character on the basis of how much energy is devoted to political activity--either active or passive--and what is the affect towards this political activity--either positive or negative. From these two factors four possible typologies emerge: active positive, active negative, passive positive, and passive negative. Barber then goes on to describe Twentieth Century presidents in terms of these four typologies.

As part of this evaluation and to help determine the particular president's fit into one of these categories, Barber examines the chief executive in terms of three personality factors: character, style, and world view. Character Barber defines as the way the president orients himself toward life. World view and style are the particularly adaptive facets of personality development. World view consists of the president's habitual way of performing his three political roles: rhetoric, personal relations, and homework. These facets, together with the power situation and the public's "climate of expectations" determine the president's behavior according to Barber.

Style--the president's consistent way of reacting to his environment--is the particularly interesting aspect of this methodology. Barber relates this aspect to the earlier development of the president. He looks for its manifestation in what he believes to be the uniquely important political and psychological threshold for the individual: the first independent political success. "In most biographical accounts this period stands out in stark clarity--the time of emergence, the time the young man found himself" (p.10). At this time the individual adopts a style; a style which can be observed again and again in later political activities.

For example, Woodrow Wilson's first independent success was attaining the editorship of the Princetonian while a student at Princeton; hence he achieved power through rhetoric. This dependence on rhetoric continued to be his style throughout his political career. Calvin Coolidge, on the other hand, achieved his first independent political success when he was elected to present the Grove Oration at his Amherst College graduation. This was to be a humorous speech following the formal commencement address. Coolidge's sarcasm and wit was a smashing success here. Hence, throughout his presidency he willingly dressed in inappropriate outfits such as a full Indian headdress in order to make people laugh. Likewise, he cracked many jokes at his first presidential press conference, and later recalled the hearty applause of the reporters as one of his most pleasant memories.

This aspect of Barber's analysis is a particularly useful one. It closely relates to Erikson's concept of the identity crisis. Indeed, Barber's language in describing this threshold is almost identical to Erikson's: "It was then he moved beyond the detailed guidance of his family; then his self esteem was dramatically boosted; then he came forth as a person to be reckoned with by other people" (p. 10).

Barber's whole analysis, like Erikson's, is one that emphasizes the psychology of adaption rather than the orthodox Freudian model. As Alexander George points out, "Barber avoids a narrow preoccupation with unconscious needs and ego defenses and instead opts for a broader ego-psychological view of personality."⁴¹ Barber himself admits that he is not qualified to make psychoanalytic observations. Therefore, this model, which allows him to concentrate on a broader psychological perspective, is particularly appropriate. So too, this model emphasizes

that phase of life that is well documented and thus avoids the traditional problems of paucity of source materials. His whole methodology is an original, useful one. There are several important weaknesses, however, which must be noted.

The first problem is one of inductive reasoning. It is one explicated well by Alexander George in his largely critical commentary, cited above. Following a description of the four character typologies, Barber goes on to delineate the psychodynamic aspects of each typology: active positives are adaptive, active negatives compulsive, passive positives compliant, and passive negatives withdrawn. It becomes clear that these psychodynamic characteristics were linked to each typology subsequent to the actual case studies of the individual presidents. Thus, there is no inherent logic or deductive proof that all active negative presidents are compulsives, only that the three examined here are so.

Likewise, there is no deductive evidence that this characteristic is one exclusively linked to active negative presidents. As George comments, "What is particularly in need of validation is the critical premise that in each of Barber's character types the various features attributed to that type do indeed go together, and only with each other."⁴² This problem raises the issue of circularity. Did Barber first research the presidents, deriving these typologies with their individual psychodynamics, and then go on to prove the validity of these same categories and their dynamics by returning to the case studies? It is difficult to separate these two levels of analysis in Barber's work.

The second problem with Barber's methodology is not one inherent to it, but rather related to Barber's application of it. Any typology

should be employed as a starting point and a descriptive tool rather than a rigidly maintained categorical system which demands that each subject fits perfectly into a particular slot. It is impossible to expect all presidents to relate exactly to one of the four personality types. Even Barber admits this by characterizing Eisenhower as a passive negative, "but his case is a mixed one" (p. 145). However, in general, one gets the uncomfortable feeling that Barber is trying too hard to get his subjects to fit into his typologies: a neat characterization is sometimes achieved at the sacrifice of a complex reality.

Along these lines, Bill Moyers criticizes Barber for his selective bibliography. Active positive presidential analyses include too many sympathetic accounts, such as Sorenson's Kennedy and Sam Roseman's Working with Roosevelt, while active negative analyses emphasize unfriendly sources.⁴³

And, at this time, one must ask, just how similar are the presidents in each category? It is interesting to describe Wilson, Hoover, and Johnson in terms of their respective rigidification on a particular policy, but are other personality differences among them so distinctive as to dwarf the similarities? It seems that the garrulous, ebullient Johnson was an entirely different individual from the reserved, Calvinist Wilson. These differences must be regarded as well, and perhaps new subcategories created.

Another problem is Barber's overemphasis on presidential character at the expense of the president's world view. Thus, Barber blames Hoover's character rigidification for his continuing political opposition to public welfare without taking into account Hoover's philosophy of individualism and his belief in the advantage of private over public

assistance. In delineating Lyndon Johnson's world view Barber discusses the former's negative attitude toward communism and his perception of Viet Nam as a situation comparable to World War II. Yet, Barber accounts for Johnson's stubborn persistence in southeast Asia largely on the basis of Johnson's psychological rigidification. This over-emphasis on psychological characteristics leads to the kind of psychological reductionism psychobiographies are often criticized for.

It seems that the criticisms here have foreshadowed the good points. However, it is only because Barber's methodology is so interesting that it is scrutinized at such length. At this time it should be reiterated that although needing modification, Barber's methodology is a worthwhile one. His emphasis on psychological adaption and his search for personality consistency and presidential style, as witnessed early in the first independent political success are particularly useful elements for political psychobiographers.

Doris Kearns' book, Lyndon Johnson and the American Dream (New York, 1976) presents original and intimate psychological material about the late president. This material was obtained by Miss Kearns through her own close personal relationship with Lyndon Johnson. Johnson recruited Kearns to help him write his memoirs, and in the course of this effort he recounted intimate details of his childhood as well as his youthful and mature dreams, nightmares and fantasies. The problem remains as to the reliability of this material.

Johnson, the consummate politician, while reminiscing, informed Kearns that in the Senate he would speak separately with the many reporters and thus give each what he or she wanted to hear:

'You learn that Stewart Alsop cares a lot about appearing to be an intellectual and a historian--he strives to match his brother's intellectual attainments--so whenever you talk to him, play down the gold cufflinks which you play up with Time magazine, and to him emphasize your relationship with FDR and your roots in Texas, so much so that even when it doesn't fit the conversation you make sure to bring in maxims from your father and stories from the Old West. You learn that Evans and Novak love to traffic in backroom politics and political intrigue, so that when you're with them you make sure to bring in lots of details and colorful description of personality. You learn that Mary McGrory likes dominant personalities and Doris Fleeson cares only about issues, so that when you're with McGrory you come on strong and with Fleeson you make yourself sound like some impractical red-hot liberal' (pp. 127-8).

One must ask, was Doris Kearns the final recipient of this famous Johnson political treatment? Was Johnson's enumeration of his dreams and fantasies an effort to give the psychologically oriented Kearns what she wanted to hear; a carrot to convince the eastern establishment of the rightness and righteousness of his policy decisions in Viet Nam?

Kearns does seem to be objective and critical. She confronts this issue herself, and concludes that the retired, aging Johnson was not politically motivated here, but rather was seeking to intimately talk with someone; to explain to both them and himself his entire life--political and personal; to unburden his soul and recount the past so as to be able to tranquilly enjoy the present and future. This reader believes Miss Kearns to be accurate here for several reasons. The study has a ring of authenticity. Kearns does not ignore her personal situation; the analysis is realistically sympathetic, but not uncritical. It is internally consistent. Kearns logically explicates Johnson's character and then analyzes the varied success of this character with the different American political institutions, i.e., the Senate and the Presidency.

According to Kearns's reasoned analysis, Johnson grew up in an atmosphere of conflicting values. His soft spoken, well mannered mother

Rebekah was intellectually oriented; she was interested primarily in literature, poetry and formal recitation. Father Sam, however, was the prototype of the western cowboy: he loved politics, drinking, swearing, and playing dominoes. These two diverse lifestyles created a constant tension in the Johnson household, and young Lyndon was continually torn as to which path to follow. He loved his father and sought to identify with him, yet, when he imitated his father he lost his mother's love. Rebekah, Lyndon soon discovered, demanded good performance in return for the allocation of her affections, and hence Johnson grew up perceiving love as a conditional reward. Lyndon always tried to reconcile the two value systems so as to keep his mother's love while identifying with his father.

From the description of Johnson's youthful environment, Kearns develops a perceptive psychological portrait of him: an individual who loved compromise, hated confrontation and conflict, and sought continual emotional reassurance. Kearns then goes on to demonstrate why some political institutions more favorably interrelated with Johnson's personality and, hence, why he performed better there.

For example, the Senate, which encourages compromise rather than conflict and does not demand that the individual explicitly spell out his values and goals, was much better suited to Johnson's personality than the presidency. This is good sound analysis and demonstrates the effectiveness of psychological material in evaluating political success.

Kearns' delineation of Johnson's personality is psychological rather than psychoanalytical. She does not employ Freudian constructs such as the id, ego, and superego. This is a totally acceptable presentation--indeed, in this reader's mind, a preferable one. However, whereas

most psychobiographers are criticized for overanalysis and psychological reductionism, Kearns must be taken to task for not giving enough psychological breadth to several important incidents.

For example, Lyndon recounts that as a child he had long, curly hair. While his mother loved these crowning locks and refused to cut them, Sam Johnson thought them effeminate. So, one Sunday while Rebekah was in church, Sam cut off all the curls himself. Lyndon commented that this incident was one of the first things he remembered about his father (p. 22).

The oedipal significance of this event is overwhelming. The father, competing with his son for the mother's love, cuts off that part of the son which is particularly attractive to the mother, hence, effectively castrating him. One need not interpret every incident in psychological terms, but one so glaring psychologically replete as this one deserves this level of analysis.

Kearns' use of psychology is also minimized by her erroneous belief that such analysis is more relevant to failure than success. She comments, "The psychoanalytic literature is able to analyze sources of weakness better than sources of strength" (p. 370). It is true that an orthodox psychoanalytic approach does lend itself better to understanding deviance, but, since Kearns' implicit framework is hardly an orthodox one, she should not have felt--or been--restricted so. And, she subsequently falls into the trap of explaining Johnson's domestic triumphs in standard political terms while delineating foreign failures in psychological ones.

Kearns' analysis of why Johnson failed in Viet Nam is excellent. As she explains, Johnson's psychological inability to set explicit goals,

to understand that there might be other values in other cultures, and his overwhelming fear of being thought of as a coward in any way, shape or form, all help account for the Viet Nam debacle. A psychological analysis, however, might be applied to his victories as well.

Kearns spells out Johnson's need to be loved, and how he interpreted the voters' approval as this affection. Yet, she does not emphasize this need as a motivational factor in Johnson's Great Society program. Although Johnson was sympathetic to the poor, due to his own background in rural Texas, it is as important to realize his enormous need for love in understanding his thrust for the Great Society. After all, this program was not just for the poor, it had something for everyone. As Kearns herself explicates:

Medicare for the old, educational assistance for the young, tax rebates for business, a higher minimum wage for labor, subsidies for farmers, vocational training for the unskilled, food for the hungry, housing for the homeless, poverty grants for the poor, clean highways for commuters, legal protection for the blacks, improved schooling for the Indians, rehabilitation for the lame, higher benefits for the unemployed, reduced quotas for immigrants, auto safety for drivers, pensions for the retired, fair labeling for consumers, conservation for the hikers and the campers, and more and more and more. None of his fellow citizens' desires were, Johnson thought, wholly beyond his ability to satisfy. (p. 216)

And, in satisfying them all, he expected their continual gratification and affection.

This political solution of a personal need for love reminds one of Harold D. Lasswell's psychoanalytic theorem about political man: private motives (his continual need for love and reassurance) are displaced unto public objects (the populace at large rather than Johnson's own family) and rationalized in terms of the public interest (to help all Americans to attain a better life). Kearns never mentions this thesis, as she is generally reluctant to engage in psychological interpretation,

especially when dealing with Johnson's successes.

Thus, we return to an earlier stated point. Kearns' analysis is excellent--so far as it goes. She cogently explains why Johnson's personality was more suitable for some political institutions than others. Likewise, she enables one to understand Johnson's political failure in Viet Nam--why he was psychologically unable to utilize those exceptionally sharp political talents he had employed previously. However, Kearns here does not attempt to explain Johnson's successes in psychological terms nor does she employ these terms in other glaring incidents. Thus, she is subject to a criticism converse to one relevant to most psychobiographers. The effective psychobiographer must achieve a balance: not overly analyzing, as many do, but neither avoiding his or her appointed task, as does Kearns.

Thus, the field of psychobiography is a legitimate and necessary part of our understanding of political man. Important methodological aspects must be kept in mind so as to legitimate a study of this nature:

1. The analysis must be internally consistent. Political successes as well as failures must be examined from a psychological perspective. Likewise, one should try to understand the talented and productive political leader from this standpoint as well as the neurotic or psychotic, self defeating one. Erikson emphasizes this former category in his studies of Luther and Gandhi.

2. The analysis must not falsely isolate psychological characteristics from political, historical and cultural ones. All these must be interrelated so as to understand the whole individual.

3. The explicit psychobiographical framework must be chosen

on the basis of the biographical materials available as well as the particular philosophy of the psychobiographer.

Keeping these principles in mind, a valid and informative psychologically oriented study of political actors is possible. Here it is sought to pursue such a study within a comparative framework.

On September 18, 1889, in an obscure tenement neighborhood on the north side of Chicago, Jane Addams opened the doors of one of the first settlement houses in the United States--Hull House. Her pioneer work with immigrants and other poor people has earned her the title of the first American social worker. The following year in 1890 an enthusiastic young migrant from Ohio, William Jennings Bryan, sought to help the hard hit farmers in Nebraska. He waged his first campaign for public office there--a Democratic candidate in solid Republican Nebraska. Six years later, in 1896, a successful corporate lawyer in Boston--Louis Dembitz Brandeis--undertook a public interest case, with no retainer but his own conscience. In this case, the West End Street Railway, Brandeis found himself pitted against the established banking and business interests in Boston and New York.

I propose to do a comparative study of these three social and/or political innovators in order to test several hypotheses regarding individuals with similar political orientations; in this case three active reformers. Here a reformer will be defined as one who seeks political and/or social changes for some economically deprived group, but only within the context of the existing governmental system. The reformer seeks change, but, unlike the revolutionary and the radical, does not

wish to change the basic structure of the political order; he or she opts for incremental changes attained nonviolently, according to the rules and regulations put forth by the system. An active reformer seeks to bring about these changes himself, as opposed to the philosophical reformer who urges others to implement these reforms.

Any comparison must involve similarities and differences. In order to identify as sharply as possible the influence of individual psychological factors, it is desirable to keep the social and historical factors relatively constant. Therefore, American reformers of the turn of the century have been concentrated upon, thus avoiding the possible pitfalls of crosscultural and crosstemporal comparisons. This resulted in gathering some preliminary information on many individuals, including the following:

Jane Addams, 1860-1935, pioneering social worker
 John Peter Altgeld, 1847-1902, reform governor of Illinois
 Ray Standard Baker, 1870-1946, author, muckraker
 Louis Dembitz Brandeis, 1856-1941, lawyer, Supreme Court Justice
 William Jennings Bryan, 1860-1925, politician, populist leader
 Herbert Croly, 1869-1930, author, founder of The New Republic
 Clarence Darrow, 1857-1938, crusading lawyer
 Samuel Gompers, 1850-1924, labor union leader
 Robert LaFollette, 1855-1925, politician, leader of Progressive movement
 Henry Demarest Lloyd, 1847-1903, Progressive journalist
 George Norris, 1861-1944, reform senator from Nebraska
 Upton Sinclair, 1878-1968, author, muckraker
 William A. White, 1868-1944, Progressive journalist.

In making a further selection among these, it seemed desirable to increase comparability by holding not only nationality and time period constant, but also class and regional origins. A concurrent consideration related to available information and prior scholarship. I sought to include persons who had left behind a maximum of sources, who had received a maximum of biographical treatment, but none from any psycho-

analytically oriented biographers. (Thus, automatically eliminating individuals such as Woodrow Wilson and Tom Watson.)⁴⁴

Within these two sets of constraints, it was desirable to maximize diversity and include, if possible, both men and women, and reformers selecting different vehicles for reform. In light of these variables, my final selection, as previously indicated, has been: Jane Addams, Louis Dembitz Brandeis,⁴⁵ and William Jennings Bryan.

The research here will only be able to discern what factors--if any--are common to American reformers. These findings will enable the formulation of more general hypotheses, which can be tested in order to discover if these factors are universally common to other reformers as well.

The hypotheses to test in regard to these reformers are:

1. There are distinct psychological characteristics or, in other words, distinct individual personality attributes that are correlated with the development of the active reformer.
2. The social environment is an important influence on the philosophical as well as the psychological development of these reformers.
 - a) Peer influence, authority figures outside the immediate family, and the larger social context, i.e., the culture as well as the immediate family are important in influencing the philosophical and the psychological development of the American reformer.
3. These environments--the immediate family and the larger social context--are supportive of the intellectual growth of the reformer. The reformer is not rebelling against an environment diametrically opposed to his own beliefs.
 - a) The environment also lends support to the individual to think independently and be his own man (or woman).

In order to test these hypotheses, Addams, Brandeis, and Bryan will be examined in terms of Erik Erikson's conception of the human life cycle. This methodology is particularly relevant for the research here as:

1. It incorporates an examination of the social, cultural, and historical factors, which have been hypothesized to be important elements in the psychological and philosophical development of the reformer.
2. It falls within the realm of ego psychology. Hence, this framework (a) examines the strengths of the individual, enabling us to understand these three successful reformers, and (b) it emphasizes the later periods of growth, where more source materials are available.

The human life cycle, according to Erikson, consists of eight epigenetic stages. Trying to interpret an individual's development in terms of these eight explicit stages is often mechanistic. Here, the crucial first and fifth stages will be emphasized. The first stage, Basic Trust vs. Basic Mistrust, relates primarily to the quality of the maternal relationship. "Mothers create a sense of trust in their children by that kind of administration which in its quality combines sensitive care of the baby's individual needs and a firm sense of personal trustworthiness within the trusted framework of the culture's life style."⁴⁶

The fifth stage, Identity vs. Role Confusion, has been discussed at length in the analysis of Young Man Luther. This state--an awareness of one's self and a perception of one's future role in society--is a critical one; one that is a psychological, philosophical, and vocational turning point for the individual.

The use of Erikson's framework, however, does not preclude the employment of all other theories. Other psychological theories will be utilized when their findings help to illuminate the lives of these subjects. For example, Alfred Adler's theories as to organ inferiority and compensation are included as they especially relate to the youth of Louis Dembitz Brandeis.

So too in this vein it is appropriate to refer to the findings

of political sociology, a sub-discipline of political science. Through aggregate studies political sociology seeks to discern what factors are most influential in determining the individual's political attitudes and behavior.

The conclusion of most major studies in this area has been that the family is the primary agency of political socialization. Children do not rebel against their parents here; on the contrary, they are most likely to adopt their parents' political orientation. The several major individual researchers, utilizing varied populations and varied methodologies, concur as the following brief quotes indicate:

Herbert Hyman: "Foremost among agencies of socialization into politics is the family...the family transmits politics to the children." (Emphasis in original)

Richard Dawson and Kenneth Prewitt: "The prominent role of the family in the development of the political self parallels its dominant role in more general socialization--in the development of basic personality traits and other social attitudes and values.

David Easton and Robert Hess: "...the kind of political reality the adult perceives and his attitudes about it are restricted by what he has learned during his early years." (Hence, we can assume in the family.)⁴⁷

James C. Davies likewise argues that the individual's political personality is largely determined by childhood experiences in the family. Since the child is totally dependent on the parents at this time, he comes to identify with them and accepts their political views.⁴⁸

Only one major research study has challenged these findings.

Robert Hess and Judith Torney conclude in their study:

From the viewpoint of the totality of socialization into the political system, these results indicate that the effectiveness of the family in transmitting attitudes has been overestimated in previous research.... The school apparently plays the largest part in teaching attitudes, conceptions, and beliefs about the operation of the political system.⁴⁹

Even those contemporary youths that are coined as 'radicals' are generally not rebels: recent research indicates that these young activists were not rebelling against conservative, authoritarian parents. Kenneth Keniston found in his study of the National Headquarters of Vietnam Summer in Cambridge, Massachusetts, that most of the students involved came from politically liberal families. "The continuity must sometimes be read between the lines, but it is nonetheless there."⁵⁰ In these homes political concern was shown, and parents had liberal attitudes toward economic policy and civil rights.

Dean Jaros confirms these findings in his own book, Socialization to Politics: "Studies of political protest by college youth reveal that demonstrators frequently seem to be acting out the political ideals that their parents held but never expressed in actual behavior."⁵¹ Likewise, Robert E. Lane has concluded that rebellion against one's father's political beliefs is not very common in American society.⁵²

From these brief quotes, it is evident that the findings of political sociology concur with the hypothesis here that reformers develop in environments that are philosophically supportive of their later development. However, these findings emphasize the predominant role of the family in such development, downplaying the significance of later intervening variables, i.e. peer influence, nonparental authority figures, and community values. These later variables are not omitted, but rather perceived as relevant in specifying and/or refining those basic political and social values learned at home. Thus, the emphasis of these findings diverges significantly from Erikson's. The analysis of the political and psychological development of Addams, Brandeis, and Bryan will indicate which theory is more accurate here.

It is primarily sought to discover here what led these individuals to become reformers. Therefore, these biographical investigations will focus on the youth, adolescence, and early adulthood of our subjects. These areas have received minimal treatment from traditional historical and political biographers, although relevant source materials do exist. This focus, similar to that in James David Barber's work, will result in a more intensive, less extensive, study. As stated previously, E. Victor Wolfenstein's attempt to chart the entire lives of his three personalities yields too superficial an examination; a great quantity of material without much depth in any given period.

A brief description of the contemporary historical and cultural environment of the postbellum era follows. This description will facilitate keeping the environmental perspective in the forefront while pursuing a psychologically oriented analysis.

The latter half of the 19th century was an era of enormous changes in the United States. The Civil War ended in 1865, and with the North's victory came a triumph of union over secession, racial freedom over slavery, and, perhaps most important, a victory of industrialism over agriculturalism. This industrial development would change the entire fabric of American life.

Industrialization was laying railroad tracks coast to coast, opening far away Western regions to settlement and bringing these newly settled regions nearer the East. So too, the railroad created cities along its path; what had previously been mere railroad stations now became urban centers. Industrialization was causing migration to these urban centers, as the hard pressed farmers sought work in the newly emerging urban factories. It fostered immigration as the needy, unemployed overseas came with the farmers to fill the urban industrial

jobs, hoping to find a better way of life here for themselves and their families. It was creating men of enormous wealth and power; so powerful that their private muscle surpassed any legitimate public office holder's power. Not surprisingly, this muscle was affecting the monetary policies of the newly industrializing nation.

Financially, after the Civil War there was a long period of deflation and the value of the dollar steadily increased. Between 1865 and 1895, while the population nearly doubled and the volume of business trebled, the numbers of dollars in circulation actually declined. Accentuating this process, silver was demonitized in 1873. In 1875 the Resumption Act ordered that the Greenback dollar be brought to a parity with gold.

This situation was desirable to the industrialist, who needed a sound money economy in order to trade overseas. To the farmer, this situation would have been meaningless if he had neither debts nor investments. For, while the greater purchasing power of the dollar meant fewer dollars for the farmer's crop, it correspondingly meant fewer dollars for labor, seed, and other supplies. However, this debt free existence was rarely the case. Most farmers had a large fixed overhead, with a mortgage and loans to cover the initial costs of building their homestead and buying new farm machinery. Thus, the farmer was now forced to pay back these loans in dollars that were worth more than the ones originally borrowed.

This economic problem was compounded by the greatly increased Western farmland now in cultivation, raising tremendously the total quantity of farm goods produced. The Homestead Act of 1862 had contributed to this by granting free lands to those willing to cultivate

them. Now Minnesota and the Dakotas led the nation in the production of wheat; Kansas and Nebraska in the production of corn.

The railroads enabled all these distant harvests to be shipped to a central location, hence all competed with each other. So too, because of world wide improvement in the means of transportation, overseas production was now competing with the newly enlarged national one. The produce of such distant regions as Russia, India, Argentina, and even Australia, now found its way into American markets. With such great production, prices dropped accordingly. Cotton sold for 16.5¢ a pound in 1869, only 4.6¢ a pound in 1894; corn for 65.7¢ a bushel in 1866, 21.4¢ a bushel in 1896; and, wheat for \$2.06 a bushel in 1866, 48.9¢ a bushel in 1894.

The railroad was not only bringing in additional competition, it was causing other problems as well for the farmer. Now he was dependent upon this railroad to get his crop to market. Having monopolies on several lines, the railroad would charge freight rates as high as the traffic would bear. Local freight rates were particularly high as these were lower in volume, and hence more costly per bushel.

The railroad companies would give rebates to the large shippers, making it even more difficult for the small, independent farmer to compete with them. So too free passes were distributed to all members of state legislatures, to governors, judges and railway commissioners, to editors, ministers, and local politicians, and anyone else the railroad felt was in a position to help it maintain its favorable political position.

The farmer's problem with the railroad was replicated in his situation with the grain elevator. Since grain elevators were built

on railroad property they had to comply with whatever stipulations the railroad companies ordered. Building satisfactory relations with the railroad enabled the elevator companies to enjoy within their locality a monopoly in the buying and selling of grain. The farmer found that if he wished to sell his grain, he must sell it to the local elevator for whatever price he was offered; a free market did not exist.

Thus, in the end the farmer was getting less per bushel, and with deflation, had to produce many more bushels to meet his fixed--and now relatively high--overhead costs. Despite hours upon hours of hard, physical labor, this effort was often in vain; foreclosures were not uncommon. It is no wonder that the farmer often became bitter. An article in the Progressive Farmer in 1887 indicates his bitterness and frustration:

There is something radically wrong in our industrial system. There is a screw loose. The wheels have dropped out of balance. The railroads have never been so prosperous, and yet agriculture languishes. The banks have never done a better or more profitable business, and yet agriculture languishes. Manufacturing enterprises never made more money or were in a more flourishing condition, and yet agriculture languishes. Towns and cities flourish and 'boom' and grow and 'boom', yet agriculture languishes. Salaries and fees were never so temptingly high and desirable, and yet agriculture languishes.⁵³

However, it was still early in this turbulent, discontented period when our reformers were born: Brandeis in 1856, Addams and Bryan in 1860. The Midwest, agrarian environment of their births was still largely unexposed to the effects of industrialization and its subsequent problems for the farmers.

In the 1860s and the 1870s the Mid West was as yet overwhelmingly composed of small towns. These small towns were generally within the radius of a larger center which provided markets, supplies, and news.

Yet, day-to-day activity concentrated within the town itself.

The average Midwestern town was small enough so that all of its residents knew each other; a walk down Main Street guaranteed encounters with neighbors and acquaintances. Greetings, gossip, or at least a friendly nod would be exchanged. All felt a commonality in that all shared a common experience: all had participated somewhat in the rigors of pioneer life. This common experience and the small town, personal atmosphere contributed to a strong sense of equality in these communities. Although there were, of course, financial distinctions among community members, class distinctions were underplayed. So too, the gap between rich and poor was not as wide in the smaller, agricultural community as it would become in the urban industrial centers. "People were held together not by the knowledge that they were different parts of a corporate whole, but by the knowledge that they were similar participants in a uniform way of life."⁵⁴

There was a strong democratic element in these towns. Political participation was expected of all. The politician was not a person separate from the rest of the community. Indeed, office holding was still a parttime job; most politicians and elected officials perceived themselves as primarily bankers, lawyers, or merchants.

It was the widely held belief of this generation of townspeople that diligence, hard work, and frugality ensured a successful livelihood. The yet opened frontier to the west indicated the opportunities available, if only one was venturesome enough to seize it. Historian Robert Wiebe so aptly described these attitudes: "If there was an American philosophy in the seventies, it was a corrupted version of Scottish common-sense doctrines, taking as given early every man's

ability to know that God had ordained modesty in women, rectitude in men, and thrift, sobriety, and hard work in both."⁵⁵

Indeed, it did seem to overseas observers that the level of moral integrity was higher here in America than elsewhere. Perhaps this sense of integrity was largely related to the country's then agrarian foundation. For, the subsequent development of large scale industrialization witnessed the emergence of capitalist entrepreneurs such as John D. Rockefeller, Andrew Carnegie, and Cornelius Vanderbilt. It was difficult to perceive any sense of moral rectitude in these men; indeed, business ethics became a contradiction in terms.

I gleaned a good picture of the contemporary social life by reading a great many letters of this period, particularly those of Jane Addams and her friends. The most obvious feature to the modern reader is the drastically different social life that existed before the advent of radio, television, and the movies. Entertainment consisted almost entirely of socializing with one's friends and neighbors. Much of Jane Addams' correspondence was concerned with making arrangements to visit or be visited by girl friends. Since the distances to travel for these visits was often far, especially in light of the rudimentary railroad system then in service, these journeys were often arduous and exhausting. Yet, they were still pursued with great vigor; the girls clearly got their greatest enjoyment from each other's company. I feel that this dependency on others for leisure activities added to the strong sense of fellowship that existed in the small towns and communities.

The strong influence of Victorian culture was evident here too. A sense of modesty was so great among these girls that in all the corres-

pondence I examined, never once was there mentioned any romantic feelings toward members of the opposite sex. Since most of these letters were written during the high school and college years, obviously these feelings must have been important at this time. Courtship was only indicated in writing by formal announcements of engagements; the gentleman involved was generally referred to with the prefix "Mr."

So too, were pregnancy and childbirth topics too delicate for discussion. Occasionally, a friend or relative's "expected time of confinement" would be mentioned. Perhaps this latter omission was caused in part by the dangers of childbirth at the time. Scientific advances in this field seemed to be excruciatingly slow. Women in the less populous Midwest areas often were not even able to get the mediocre medical care that was available; a country doctor had to cover a large territory. Childbirth, therefore, presented great dangers to both mother and infant.

Childhood diseases such as whooping cough and diphtheria also plagued pioneer families. It was not unusual for a woman to bear twelve to fifteen children, and have only three or four grow to maturity.

This high mortality rate, I believe, was an important factor contributing to the strong religious atmosphere that prevailed in this culture. For, steadfastly held religious beliefs offered some measure of comfort to these often grieving pioneer families. Protestant Christianity was the dominant religion and most people accepted the Good Book literally. Commenting on James Ford Rhodes' well known history of the period, Allan Nevins states, "No doubt Rhodes was correct in finding that Americans were an especially religious people, conservative in matters of faith and dogma. The Bible held a potent place in education,

letters, and morality."⁵⁶

With the aid of land grant monies, higher education was becoming more widespread in the Mid West. So too, with the advent of agricultural colleges, such education served a utilitarian function as well as an intellectual and cultural one. This education was becoming available for women also. In 1858, the University of Iowa opened its doors to coeducation, followed by the University of Wisconsin in 1863, and Ohio State University, the Universities of Michigan and Illinois in 1870. Meanwhile, in 1865, back East, a college was opened expressly and solely for women; Vassar College. This opening was followed by Smith and Wellesley Colleges a decade later.

The new collegiate opportunities for women reflected their generally improved status in Midwest society. The women of the North and the West lived freer, more vigorous lives than their contemporaries abroad. For, in pioneer communities, the women struggled side by side with the men; they simply had to be more aggressive and independent to be able to survive in the wilderness.

It is helpful to remember at this point that the environment described here is the Midwestern one. The drastic economic changes being experienced at that time were naturally affecting the industrial Northeast first, and the life style there was not even vaguely related to that style existing in the newly settled Far Western regions.

The diversity between these two cultures is poignantly described in Willa Cather's short story, "A Wagner Matinee."⁵⁷ This story tells of a former music teacher's return visit to Boston after being away for many years. On a romantic whim as a young woman, she had married a farmer who chose to homestead in the far reaches of Nebraska. Thus,

she had to leave all enjoyment of theatre, classical music and culture behind in an arduous and culturally vacuous pioneer existence. It is not too much of a simplification to say that the Midwestern environment was somewhere in between these two extremes.

It is because of this enormous contemporary diversity of life styles that three individuals with similar geographical backgrounds were chosen for this study. In the preceding pages, this background has been explicated briefly. The following biographical chapters will deal in more depth with whatever unique environmental factors affected each reformer.

FOOTNOTES

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¹⁸See James David Barber, The Lawmakers: Recruitment and Adaption to Legislative Life (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965), passim.

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²⁰Dankwart Rustow, "The Study of Leadership," p.12.

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²²Erik Erikson, "The Legend of Hitler's Youth" in his Childhood and Society (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1964).

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²⁴Greenstein, "Personality and Politics" (1975), p. 41.

²⁵See Greenstein, Personality and Politics (1969).

²⁶Ibid., p. 80.

²⁷Greenstein, Personality and Politics (1969), p. 85.

²⁸Greenstein, "The Study of Personality and Politics: Overall Considerations," in Fred Greenstein & Michael Lerner, eds., A Source Book for the Study of Personality and Politics (Chicago: Markham, 1971), p. 22.

²⁹Richard Hofstadter, Review of Woodrow Wilson and Colonel House, New York Review of Books, 8 (February 9, 1967), 5.

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³⁷Bruce Mazlish, "Clio on the Couch," Encounter, Vol. 31 (September 1968), 46.

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⁴³Bill Moyers, Review of Presidential Character, Saturday Review, 55 (August 5, 1972), 49.

⁴⁴Alexander and Juliette George, Woodrow Wilson and Colonel House (New York, 1956), and C. Vann Woodward, Tom Watson: Agrarian Rebel (New York, 1938).

⁴⁵Louis Dembitz Brandeis is commonly associated with Boston. He spent his youth, however, in the Mid West--Louisville, Kentucky--and thus is an appropriate candidate for this study.

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CHAPTER II

The Youth of Jane Addams: Social Reformer

In many senses, Jane Addams' father, John Huy Addams, epitomized the second wave of westward pioneers; he was an independent, ambitious, hard working man who went West to make his fortune. Addams was born in Sinking Springs, Pennsylvania in 1822; he was the fourth generation American of English-Quaker ancestry.¹ As most people of his time, he had little formal education and became a miller's apprentice. He was a confident and fairly good looking young man, "tall and very mature for his age, [22 years old at the time of his marriage] with hair the color of onyx and muscular arms that could be tender in their strength."² These assets no doubt played a large part in Addams' courtship of and marriage to Sarah Weber, his employer's sister-in-law, five years his senior.

The newlyweds and the bride's father set out for the West in 1844. John Addams was a determined young man; an early entry in his cross-country journal reads "...I have a great desire to do well."³ This "great desire" must have contributed in some part to the periods of depression Addams experienced during those early, unsettled days in the West. It is true that when an individual drastically changes his environment, periods of loneliness and depression are likely to be experienced. Yet, John Addams' personal strivings seemed to add an additional dimension to this depression. "My spirits this evening are very much depressed on account of not having a home....The future

looks dark and gloomy which makes me feel sad."⁴ These are common entries. (This journal was found in the attic of Addams' house many years later; it was obviously written for John's eyes only. Jane Addams was amazed to learn of the early doubts and insecurities of her father. It shall later be shown that Jane often remembered her father the way she would have liked him to be rather than the way he actually was. As her nephew and official biographer commented, "...her thoughts of him were often dominated by her wishes.")⁵

After several months in the West, with the financial assistance of his father-in-law, John Addams purchased property in Cedarville, a small town in northern Illinois. There he constructed a large new mill at the cost of ten thousand dollars, which he successfully operated until his death. Although the mill provided the family with sufficient income, Addams became involved in other economic ventures as well.

He was an early proponent of the railroad, and spoke at community meetings urging farmers to buy stocks in order to finance its construction. In 1864 he helped to organize the Second National Bank of Freeport, a bank of the neighboring, more populous town, and subsequently became its president. He also became president of a life insurance company in Freeport. Addams was a builder, not a speculator; as a result of planning and hard work he realized success after success. When he died at 59, his estate was estimated at a quarter of a million dollars--a sizeable amount indeed in 1881.

John Addams was a man of diversified interests, and this wealth gave him the leisure and status to pursue these other interests. He was active in politics. In 1854 Addams was elected to the Illinois state senate on the Republican ticket, and was returned to office

continuously until he voluntarily retired in 1870. His name was often mentioned for higher office, but Addams always declined these offers. Addams was present at the famous meeting at Ripon where the G.O.P. was founded and subsequently remained a Republican partisan. Prior to this time he had been a staunch Whig. In 1844 he wrote in his journal, "This is the day of the Pennsylvania and Ohio Presidential elections...I hope the Whigs may succeed."

His political interests were broad. Addams desired to improve the penal system and toured the Illinois penatentiary.⁶ He was instrumental in organizing the first church, the first school, and the first subscription library in Freeport. Addams was an unqualified egalitarian; he believed in the basic equality of all men and was a staunch abolitionist.

John Addams' idol was another abolitionist, a fellow Illinois resident whom he knew personally, Abraham Lincoln. One of Jane Addams' earliest memories was seeing her father in tears at the news of Lincoln's death.⁷ During the Civil War Addams had helped to recruit local men for the Union army, the unit thus being appropriately named the "Addams Guard." Jane would later claim that her pacifist philosophy was a product of her father's Quaker heritage. However, as this incident demonstrates, John Addams had no aversion to what he believed was a righteous war. Jane's claim as to her father's pacifism is one example of her manipulating her memory of her father so as to satisfy her own psychological needs. In this way, while believing to imitate her father, Jane could follow her own moral code and thus avoid an inner conflict.

John Addams was an advocate of democratic methods, complaining

in 1844 of the viva voce electoral method, "I would say vote by ballot as the most proper way."⁸ His democratic beliefs went beyond the Atlantic. Jane recalled her father's solemn face upon reading of the death of Guiseppe Mazzini. Thus, John Addams was a democrat and a humanitarian. An obituary read, "The world was his field; of humanity he thought, for humanity he acted."⁹

John Addams was also a deeply religious man. Although he admitted to being a Hicksite Quaker, he could be more aptly described as a non-denominational Protestant. Addams' faith consisted of a simple belief in the existence of God and the necessity of individual moral integrity rather than an advocacy of particular religious doctrines. In this vein, he alternately attended the several Protestant churches in Freeport and gave each one hundred dollars at Christmas. Addams often prayed for Divine Guidance during those early uncertain days in the West: "I safely trust in our divine benefactor, the Giver of all Good and the Preserver of all that my purchase may yet end for the better. May God bless us...."¹⁰ He helped to organize the first church in Freeport¹¹ and taught weekly in the Sunday school. An element of this strong yet simple faith was a deep sense of honesty and integrity--the characteristic usually first mentioned by those who had known him. In one of the many renominations of Addams to the state senate, the Republican County Convention resolved, "That we have unbounded confidence in the honesty and integrity of the Honorable John H. Addams."¹² A local newspaper referred to his political career as a "...public record as pure as crystal....He would represent the district with dignity, with ability and unblemished honesty."¹³ After his death another newspaper commented, "...he became well known throughout the state of Illinois for his ability

and honesty."¹⁴

In a famed letter to the Mr. "doubled D" Addams from his hero, Abraham Lincoln, the latter stated, "You will of course vote according to your conscience, only it is a matter of considerable importance to let me know how that conscience is pointing."¹⁵ An indication of the acknowledged strength of John Addams' character was the widely held belief that he was so honest that no one ever offered him a bribe.¹⁶ In later days, when Jane Addams was offered bribes at Hull House, she felt there must have existed some weakness within herself to be thus approached as her father never had been; that he was in this way, as in others, superior to her. John Addams' moral integrity and his strong sense of moral duty stand out as his most celebrated characteristics; it was this aspect of his personality which Jane Addams remembered best--and tried to emulate most.

John Addam's attitude toward women was progressive. He believed in the equality of females and that they, too, should be educated. He encouraged his daughters to read; he 'bribed' Jane Addams by giving her five cents for each one of Plutarch's Lives she finished, and twenty-five cents for each volume of Irving's Life of Washington.¹⁷ He insisted that his daughters continue their education, and sent all of them to Rockford Female Seminary in Rockford, Illinois.

Despite this attitude, John Addams did not believe women should pursue careers. Women should be educated, but only to make them better wives and mothers. During his westward journey Addams expressed disdain that Canada was ruled by a woman, "...for republicans this will not do."¹⁸

Directly before she seconded Theodore Roosevelt's nomination

in 1912, Jane Addams told him that her father had been a suffragist. In her autobiography Jane claims that she had always advocated the franchise for women, an attitude derived from her father, "[the] righteousness of that cause into which I at least had merely followed my father's conviction."¹⁹ This represents another instance of John Addams being "not quite as his daughter remembered him."²⁰ In a letter to his second wife John Addams commented, "The strong minded women are in the city-- women's suffrage in the advance--Two of its most noted champions addressed a very large audience...Governor Dougherty introduced the fair ones (although abominably ugly)...Mary Grace Stanton's remarks were rambling and rather bordering on the egotistical....[another speaker] her remarks were well arranged and arguments strong and convincing."²¹ This statement does not have the ring of a steadfast advocate. Although it is difficult to discern Addams' exact sentiments, it seems fair to say that he was no staunch suffragist as his daughter had remembered him to be.

Looking at John Addams' photograph one feels the strength and dominance of the man. One biographer of Jane Addams put it, "In his prime John Addams had presence. He was not a particularly large man physically, but in any group whether of family or associates, he tended to dominate."²² There is a look of sternness in his eyes--perhaps this had scared the bribers away! John Addams was an exacting, self disciplined man. He reproached himself for engaging in "frivolous conversation" one Sunday,²³ and admonished his daughter Alice for not being punctual at the breakfast table during a school vacation.²⁴

This sternness, one may surmise, made John Addams' children fear as well as love and respect him. John Addams' domination extended to his wife, Sarah Weber Addams. For, although John Addams believed

in the equal intelligence and capability of women, he did not go so far as to condone an equal role for women in family decisions. In like manner, it will be shown that although John Addams did accept the legitimacy of certain traditional careers for women (e.g., teaching, missionary work), he preferred a life of household management with children for his own daughters. More adventurous career paths in business and politics were certainly frowned upon.

Sarah Addams was a quiet, determined woman in her own right. She accepted her husband's leadership, yet was not crushed by his forceful personality. Sarah's father was a successful miller. Young Sarah had attended boarding school in Philadelphia and was accomplished in music and drawing. She hardly seemed the type to be able to adjust to the rigors of pioneer life. Even during the westward journey Sarah did not fare well; in his journal John Addams often mentions her ill health. Yet, once settled in Cedarville, "Sarah Weber rose to the demands of pioneer life...she adjusted herself to it [heavy work] with energy and enthusiasm."²⁵

Her household was a large one: six children, mill hands who ate with the family, and frequent guests. (On one occasion, Sarah wrote to daughter Mary that "we have six ladies sleeping your room, one with Aunt Rebecca, and two gentlemen in Aunt Polly's room, two in the first room, and four above the kitchen."²⁶ It seems a teacher institute was in session at the time.) There were two hired girls, but all the work was supervised and managed by Sarah herself. She made her own soap and lard, did all the baking, molded candles, prepared the meals, pieced together quilts, and sewed rags together to make carpets for the house. "She ran, indeed, a domestic factory."²⁷ In addition to the household

work, the able Sarah knew all the details of her husband's business, and during his absence the mill hands would consult with her on these matters.

Sarah Addams was a stern disciplinarian. When her son Weber was obstreperous, she would order him into an enclosure in the back of the stairs. She did not lock him in; his respect for her authority was sufficient to keep him thus contained. This sternness--necessary no doubt with a large family and the demands of pioneer life--is not evidenced in photographs. Pictures depict Sarah Addams as a kindly, full faced, pleasant looking woman with her hair softly pulled back into a bun.

Like many pioneer women, Sarah was always willing to help a neighbor in time of need. During the ninth month of her pregnancy--her eighth and the one following Jane's birth--she went to help deliver a neighbor's child. On the way home she stumbled and fell. She became ill and was attacked by convulsions. The doctor removed the child, but to no avail. The convulsions ceased, but Sarah Addams only briefly regained consciousness before she died.²⁸ The obituary in the Freeport Journal said of Mrs. Addams that she had "...a heart ever alive to the wants of the poor, she was always present when sympathy was needed or aid required. She lived a life of usefulness."²⁹ Indeed, in giving this aid, she had lost her own life.

Thus, in summarizing the characteristics of Jane's parents, John Addams was an egalitarian and an advocate of social reforms and democratic procedure. He was also a religious man and a stern moralist. This latter characteristic contributed to the great respect his neighbors had for him, yet also to their feelings of distance from him. "He had little of

the approachability of the man who seeks office in a democracy."³⁰ His wife Sarah was a talented, hard working partner--there was a clear bond of love between them--they worked hard together and together conquered the rigors of pioneer life.

II

It was to these parents that Jane Addams was born in 1860: the eighth child of the Addamses. She had been preceded by three sisters--Mary (15), Martha (10), and Alice (17)--and a brother--James Weber (8). Two other boys and one girl had died in infancy.

There is nothing known of Jane Addams' life before her mother's death. However, from a knowledge of the Addams family and their relationship to each other in succeeding years, it is fair to assume that baby Jane--the smallest of five surviving children--was a loved and nurtured infant. (She was known as Jenny then, although her full name was Laura Jane.) Though John and Sarah Addams were stern parents, they were loving ones also; parents who cared about people in general and their own children in particular. One biographer comments, "It was quite natural that she should be pampered and protected by her sisters, and even by her austere father."³¹ Circumstances, however, made a totally happy childhood difficult.

Jane was only two years and four months old when her mother died. Her uncle, in describing the latter's death, comments:

She was taken very ill and her eye sight failed her. She said to her daughter Mary that it was growing dark and took her by the hand and said dear Mary is this the last time that I ever shall see you again. She soon had convulsions....Oh it was very hard to see her have the convulsions her features had entirely changed. She had ten or a dozen attacks towards morning. The convulsions ceased. She lay unconscious until Sunday about 11:00. The first we noticed of any consciousness was that little daughter Jenny [Jane Addams] cried with a loud shriek. Sarah raised up in bed, but oh the wild look she had. She soon sunk back again.³²

Jane later said that she had remembered her mother's death.

Specifically, she claimed to recall that her mother was in the ground floor bedroom, and that she pounded on that bedroom door and heard her mother ask that she be allowed in as she was just a baby. If her claim is accurate, this incident must have been a traumatic one for young Jenny, especially seeing her mother with a "wild look" and distorted features. However, it is doubtful that she could remember so vividly even this at the age of two. It is likely that someone in the family related this to her at an older age. She insisted not: "No one ever told me this and it is impossible that I could have invented it."³³

It is difficult to interpret the psychological effects of this specific recollection. Assuming for the moment that Jane did remember this, it must have been an upsetting memory, especially in view of Jane's own delicate health. Certainly, however, the early death of a parent in those days was not unusual; many pioneer children must have witnessed similar scenes. And the loss of her mother was eased by the constant devotion of the rest of the family. During the following years, Jane was showered with affection by her brother, her three sisters, and her father. Being the last link with Sarah Addams and also the baby of the family, she was likely to have been allowed greater independence and received more attention than the older children.

Jane's eldest sister Mary--seventeen years old at the time of Sarah Addams' death--took over the management of the household. Being fifteen years older than Jane, she also became a surrogate mother to the child. Yet Mary's and the other siblings' relationship with Jane seems dwarfed by that of Jane with her father. In the first paragraph of her autobiography Jane comments, "I begin this record with some impressions of my childhood. All of these are directly connected with my father."³⁴ Jane's "impressions" of her father often were convenient reinterpretations rather than authentic recollections. This point will be dealt with in the following pages.

Jane speaks of her father in the most adulatory fashion; she herself refers to her "doglike affection" for him. Yet, it is interesting to note that many of the incidents she recalls of these early days emphasize her father's stern moral integrity rather than his affection for his daughter. Jane recognizes this predominant concern of her father and its influence. In her autobiography she says she will string early memories on a single cord: "Moreover it was this cord which not only held fast my supreme affection, but also first drew me into the moral concerns of life."³⁵

The first incident Jane relates in her autobiography is being unable to sleep at night because she had told a lie. She feared "fiery Hell" would await her if she were not able to tell her father of this lie and also that "my father...should himself die before I had time to tell him." Thus, she gathered all her courage to crawl out of bed, down the stairs, passing the frightening front door, in order to tell him of her deceit. "...[H]aving panted out the history of my sin, I invariably received the same assurance that if he [John Addams] had a

little girl who told lies,' he was very glad that she 'felt too bad to sleep afterwards.'"³⁶ This is not the forgiving, reassuring, loving response one would expect a father to give to his young daughter who had the courage to tell him of a common childhood misdeed. Jane's description indicates that this episode was not an isolated one, rather a recurrent scenario. This often repeated incident must have made little Jane feel inferior to her righteous father--who supposedly did not tell lies.

Jane stated that she wished to tell her father before he died. Does this thought reveal an ambivalence toward a morally stern father--a wish that he would die before she would have to tell him? A certain youthful resentment of his moral sternness must have accompanied Jane's love and respect. Jane's ambivalence will be borne out as well in subsequent childhood events.

As to young Jane's physical appearance, she described herself as an "ugly, pigeon-toed little girl, whose crooked back obliged her to walk with her head held very much upon one side."³⁷ Because of a spinal defect Jane Addams' posture was a bit awkward; she walked with her head held slightly to one side. Friends insisted it was hardly noticeable, yet it was obviously upsetting and often painful to young Jane. Photographs of Jane at the age of six give no evidence of this defect and do not bear out this negative self image. Jane was an attractive child, with large sad eyes. (A resident of Hull House many years later would describe Jane Addams with "the large sad eyes of a perplexed angel.")³⁸ Although her beauty decreased with age, at that time she was pleasant looking--certainly not ugly.

Perhaps this slight spinal curvature made Jane feel so unattractive.

Or, perhaps it was her self-comparison to her older, better looking sisters. Or, even more likely, it was the comparison to her father, whose pleasing appearance has already been described. At any rate, it is plain that young Jane felt physically as well as morally inferior to her father. She recounts not wanting to walk next to him during the family's Sunday stroll. "I attached myself firmly to the side of my uncle James Addams, in the hope that I should be mistaken for his child, or at least that I should not remain so conspicuously unattached that troublesome question might identify an Ugly Duckling with her imposing parent."³⁹ Again, one could argue a certain ambivalence in these feelings of inferiority--perhaps not wanting to walk next to, or be identified with, her father.

Jane seems to have been extremely aware of her appearance--"morbidly self conscious" as Linn comments.⁴⁰ Hence, the attainment of a new cloak, "gorgeous beyond anything I had ever worn before" must have been a happy moment. "I stood before my father for his approval. I was much chagrined by his remark that it was a very pretty cloak--in fact so much prettier than any cloak the other little girls in the Sunday School had, that he would advise me to wear my old cloak...not making the other little girls feel badly."⁴¹ I feel certain that John Addams did not intend to hurt his daughter's feelings, although he must have been totally insensitive to them.

John Addams was a firm believer in the basic equality of all the folks in his small midwestern town, and felt that this equality entailed that those with a little (or a lot) extra in earthly possessions not make it conspicuous to their less fortunate neighbors. Also, the morally stern Addams personified the Protestant tradition that what is on the

inside is more important than the outside. He had commented in his journal "[in Sunday School] all seemed as if they had come to hear the word of God proclaimed and not to see and be seen."⁴² Obviously, one's appearance on this occasion was not even to be considered, and his displeasure of Jane's effort to improve hers must have appeared as a reprimand to the young girl. This attitude must have been a terrible disappointment to Jane who was so anxious to both please her father and improve her appearance. She commented, "My mind was busy...with the old question eternally suggested by the inequalities of the human lot."⁴³ It seems that at this age her mind was probably more occupied with the unfortunate situation of not being able to wear her new cloak, and hence remaining the "Ugly Duckling" she had felt herself to be. It is hypothesized here that Jane resented her father's attitude, perhaps even believing he recognized her ugliness and intended her to stay this way. In this vein Jane comments, "...there were even black moments when I allowed myself to speculate as to whether he [John Addams] might not share the feeling [of Jane being ugly]."⁴⁴

John Addams was no doubt unaware of these inner thoughts of his youngest daughter. After all, she was the baby of the family, the center of attention and was indulged by her older sisters and brother as well as her father. Because of her spinal defect she was especially pampered. Hence, it was not surprising that she became an independent, even willfull child, who more often than not expected--and got--her own way. Yet, being the baby of the family, so apart in age from the others, and often staying at home because of ill health, Jane played alone. She became introspective; a characteristic in accord with those early feelings of inferiority.

During this discussion of her father's attitude toward her appearance, Jane goes on to say, "Happily, however, this specter [of his believing her to be ugly] was laid before it had time to grow into a morbid familiar by a very trifling incident." This incident was Jane's chance meeting with her father on the street one day as he came out of the bank. John Addams lifted his high hat and made an imposing, exaggerated bow to his daughter. "This distinguished public recognition...suddenly filled me with a sense of the absurdity of the entire feeling."⁴⁵

Yet, one cannot so easily dismiss these very real feelings of insecurity nor can one assume that such feelings would be dispersed by a single incident, as Jane would like the reader to believe. The more realistic conclusion to draw from this incident is that Jane's feelings as to her father's desire not to be identified with her were subjective ones not rooted in reality. I believe that these feelings resulted from her own sense of inferiority to John Addams and her ambivalent attitude toward him; a subconscious wish herself not to be identified with him. Such uncomfortable inner feelings could be alleviated or repressed by a strong identification with John Addams. This identification took the form of an attempted adoption of John Addams' stern moral code. This adoption served the twofold purpose of: a) repressing whatever unconscious hostilities existed toward John Addams, and b) relieving those conscious feelings of inferiority by winning John Addams' approval in the area most important to him, the moral realm.

However, Jane Addams had certain fundamental theoretical differences with her father; she could not have adopted all his moral values without creating an inner conflict with her own beliefs. Jane thus subsequently manipulated her conception of what her father's values

were so as to make them in total accord with her own values and thereby fulfill her own inner psychological needs while at the same time identifying with her father.

Identifying with her father's values, Jane came to believe that John Addams' attitude toward her dress was the result of his own strictly held moral code rather than any negative feeling toward--or lack of interest in--his daughter. This was no doubt the truth. John Addams loved Jane, his closest link with his dead wife. Transmitting these strict moral values was an expression of that affection. And Jane, in her desire to identify with John, imitated him in many other ways as well.

Jane tried to flatten her thumb to get her father's "miller's thumb"--misshaped by continually feeling the consistency of the flour. John Addams would get up every night at three to take his turn at the mill; later in life Jane would automatically awake at this hour and lie in bed thinking of her father.

John Addams inspired Jane by his reverent and animated descriptions of Lincoln. He believed--as Lincoln did--in the basic equality of men. Jane remembered waking up one morning to find her father whispering to a Negro in his room. The Negro was on the way to Canada--and freedom. Jane, not yet four, kept her pledge not to talk about this incident.

John Addams was as ambitious for his children as he had been for himself. As mentioned, he believed women should be educated and even at a young age he encouraged Jane to read, giving her the small monetary rewards described earlier. Of course, as one would expect of John Addams, this encouragement only extended to approved authors. Jane would later comment to a friend that certain "light" reading was forbidden.

This indicates once again Jane's relationship with her father: there was a great mutual love, but also an ambivalence caused by young Jane's resentment of her father's moral sternness. I believe that by identifying with John Addams Jane repressed whatever negative attitudes she had felt toward her father. This repression sometimes entailed manipulating her memory of him. Such a manipulation was also necessary to perceive his moral code as identical with her own individual code. A generally sympathetic biographer, Anne Firor Scott, comments, "It is impossible to disengage the real John Addams from her memory of him as a being wise and great, of immense personal rectitude guided by an 'inner light.'"⁴⁶ By these alterations, Jane Addams believed her father would have been totally supportive of her Hull House endeavor. The important point is not whether John Addams actually would have supported Jane's career--it is of course impossible to determine this--but that Jane sincerely believed he would. Thus, as a child Jane had tried to shape her moral personality to her father's code; as an adult she reshaped her memory of him to her code. She regarded her father as her inspiration for all she achieved, and generously, although erroneously, gave credit to him for all her own attitudes and viewpoints.

Jane desired to imitate her father in even more profound ways as she became older: she sought for herself a role in the world in which she could emulate his moral integrity and his moral duty. Interestingly, when she attained that role her concern with her appearance seemed to disappear. Living his kind of life--or what she conceived as such--she became more and more like him.

At eight years of age, Jane's life again changed dramatically. The young center of attention in the family must have found it difficult

to share her father's affections and see her environment change so drastically when her father married a widow with two sons--Anna Hostetter Haldeman.

The only similarity between Anna Haldeman Addams and Sarah Addams was that they were both married to the same man. The new Mrs. Addams was a cultured, sophisticated lady who found the intellectual climate of Cedarville dull and suffocating. She was six years younger than John and eleven years younger than Sarah, yet had a dominance and presence of her own that made her more of an equal to John Addams than Sarah had ever been. She was a high spirited, temperamental woman; the opposite of the even tempered, well modulated Sarah. Despite Anna's reference to herself in a letter to John as "the smaller part of your dear self"⁴⁷ (emphasis in the original) she had no qualms about making her own often divergent viewpoints known, and indeed, did all in her power to get her husband to accept them.

Anna significantly changed the environment of the Addams' household in many ways. Under her guidance, aimless, gossip-filled dinner chatter was replaced by intellectually interesting conversations. Aloud readings of great literature after dinner now became a daily activity. A piano was acquired and became the central feature of the parlor. "She would as soon as have thought of being without a stove as without a piano."⁴⁸ A bay window was added to the living room, allowing for more sunlight, and wardrobe closets replaced the open hooks that held clothes in the bedrooms.

Dinner was now served with silver, linen, and gold-rimmed china as a matter of course. The number of guests increased, as the new

Mrs. Addams enjoyed entertaining those who, like herself, were interested in the arts and literature. More of these guests were from Freeport, the more urbane community bordering Cedarville, where the second Mrs. Addams had lived earlier.

Anna Addams' appearance was distinctive. Whereas Sarah Addams had worn her hair softly and plainly pulled back into a bun, Anna had a "rather formal, high coiffure with curly, flattering bangs."⁴⁹ Unlike her new husband, she disliked dressing in the plain tradition of her new home. In an early letter to John, then at the capital, Anna Addams commented, "But commend me on the plainness of my attire--just suited for the tastes of this village."⁵⁰ Clearly, as thoroughly as John Addams had been in appearance and philosophy an egalitarian, the new Mrs. Addams was in both aspects an aristocrat. Thus, whereas austere, unostentatious John had reprimanded young Jane for wearing a handsome new cloak to Sunday School, his new wife sought eagerly to dress herself and her stepchildren with elegance, taste, and style.

For these reasons she was regarded as a snob by her Cedarville neighbors. Anna writes to her husband that during a visit to church "had as heretofore many piercing glances directed at me. But I trust I will someday cease to be an object of so much attraction. At least in the same sense I am now."⁵¹ (Emphasis in original.)

Anna Addams did not wish to become a member of this more provincial society. Her granddaughter claimed that Anna's fiery temper "came in large part from unused energy and from a deep discontent with the narrowness of her surroundings and the lack of stimulating contact of mind in a small Illinois village...."⁵² For this reason Anna Addams was anxious to spend time with her husband in the more sophisticated

company that Springfield offered; she had higher political ambitions for him. However, the social wars in the capital were disturbing to John Addams, as was the increased workload there. He wrote to his wife, "But such is Fame and Honor which to me is become quite disgusting--the pleasure of enjoying the society of my dear Family is far preferable."⁵³ (Emphasis in original.) This fame and honor were certainly not disgusting to Anna Addams, and when he retired against her wishes in 1870, she nagged him for years.

Anna Addams' ability to stand up to men--certainly not entirely accepted in her day--was the result of her being well accustomed to their company. "Left motherless when a mere child and brought up mainly by her father and brothers...she had two sons...she took the friendship of men for granted."⁵⁴ It shall become apparent that Jane Addams' life was not very different from her stepmother's in this regard.

When Anna Haldeman entered the Addams household, there were even more important changes than in atmosphere and style. Shortly after the marriage, John's eldest daughter Mary--Jane's surrogate mother--was sent to boarding school, Rockford Female Seminary. There she met and married a Presbyterian minister, James Linn, and was never again to be part of the Cedarville household. The following year after Mary went off to school, Jane's sister Alice was also sent to the Seminary. Thus, Jane was deprived of all the previous female company in the house. In its place came Mrs. Addams with her sons Henry and George. Henry, known as Harry, was twenty years old at the time, and went off to Europe. George, however, was much younger, only six months younger than Jane and the two children became constant companions. They remained so for nine

years until they each went off to college.

At this time it must have been quite difficult for eight year old Jane to adjust to the drastically new situation. Her beloved sisters had been sent away and she was now forced to share her father's affections with a strange woman--worse still, a stern, domineering and temperamental one. Jane had been accustomed to a serene, although morally stern, environment. Her father and the rest of the family were generally even tempered and Jane's high strung stepmother's outbursts must have shocked her. Jane and Anna Addams were temperamental opposites, and remained so throughout their lives. This basic difference caused a certain tension in what became an intimate, affectionate relationship. "They loved and respected each other, but their rich companionship was often marred by friction."⁵⁵

Despite this friction, this was no Cinderella story with the evil stepmother ruining the life of her innocent charge. Indeed, the opposite is argued here: the arrival of the Haldemans ended Jane Addams' life of solitude and introspection. George Haldeman became a constant and devoted playmate. This companionship was more than a fair exchange for the loss of two much older sisters. For, although Jane had been loved and indulged, she had really been all alone--she had many mothers, but no friends.

Anna Addams was no coddling mother, but she developed a strong affection for her new stepdaughter who quickly began to call her "Ma." She treated Jane just as she treated her own son George, and the later correspondence between the former two demonstrates the strong bond that grew between them.

Whereas previously Jane had been pampered because of her poor

health, she was now encouraged by her stepmother to resist her delicacy. She and George spent many hours exploring the hills and dales of Cedarville, a beautiful Midwest locale still unspoiled by its new residents. "My stepbrother and I carried on games and crusades which lasted week after week, and even summer after summer, as only free ranging country children can do."⁵⁶ This was a time of exuberance in Jane's life. With her new companion she found untold adventures and pleasures in her surroundings. "We had of course our favorite places and trees and birds and flowers...we clapped our hands in sudden joy over the soft radiance of the rainbow...we yielded to a soft melancholy when we heard the whippoorwill in the early twilight...."⁵⁷ The once isolated, lonely child now always would speak in terms of "we"--George and Jane.

George and his mother vastly influenced the development of Jane Addams. Though Jane's moral purpose and rectitude had been molded by her father, her self confidence and her later ease with people of wealth and refinement clearly was the result of the Haldemans' influence. Without this important stimulus, Jane, though ambitious and morally determined, would not have had the inner strength and courage to set out upon her later plans. George made her aware of her own abilities. He himself had dreams of being a famous scientist and interested Jane in biology and medicine--her first attempted career. He convinced her that she had the talent and thus could have these dreams and ambitions as well.

Anna Addams was a woman of culture and learning and was determined to expose Jane and George to cultural experiences. As mentioned, evenings now included aloud readings from the classics, which supplemented John Addams' encouragement to read. So too, Anna Addams was concerned about

her new family's appearance. The Addams girls' frocks now had more style and color. The daily use of linen and silver accustomed Jane to the refinements of life: later on she was perfectly at ease with the wealthy benefactors of Hull House, on whom she would have to depend for financial support.

Mrs. Addams' elegance conflicted with the stern egalitarian tendencies of John Addams and of their small midwestern town; this was a conflict that would remain a part of Jane Addams life. For, though she later chose to live in the north side of Chicago among poor immigrants, her closest personal friends were always of the wealthy, leisured class. Jane's comment that "one could hardly expect the same human development of an Italian peasant and a New England scholar"⁵⁸ indicates that Jane Addams was in a certain sense an aristocrat--a characteristic incongruent with her democratic ethic. Even Jane recognized this characteristic in herself. In one incident she had distinguished her friend Mary Rozet Smith as a "lady" while referring to the recipients of charity as "girls." She then apologetically explained, "excuse the false social distinction, a remnant of former prejudices."⁵⁹

Anna Addams also believed in education for girls, but like her husband felt the goal of such education was to create better wives and mothers, not career women. In 1869 she had written to her husband about a friend, "Found her engaged in holding her dear little baby--'Women's Rights' would hardly look upon them as filling there [sic] highest prerogative--But would do away with baby and cradle, and ape instead (a statesmanship or professorship)."⁶⁰ Clearly she did not approve of this latter course. This disapproval of careers for women would later create a rift between Jane and her stepmother. At this point,

however, her encouragement--and George's--greatly expanded Jane's vistas.

It would not be too bold to conclude that Jane had a happy rural childhood. I believe that her early doubts and insecurities were eased as she matured, partly because of her stepmother and George's encouragement and partly because her new program of activity did not allow her those long stretches of solitude to ruminate upon those insecurities. Even her attitude toward her appearance seemed to change. Jane commented to a close teenage friend, Vallie Beck:

...do not make any apologies about any of your features for if you begin I shall feel duty bound to follow suit and could cover pages trying to vindicate my nose which is simply a piece of flesh, expressing no character whatever, and contain eight freckles horrible to relate (I counted them this morning).⁶¹

Clearly Jane did not perceive herself as an attractive young girl, but there seems to be a humorous tone to her description rather than a sombre self-pitying one.

This same change occurred in regard to her health. As mentioned, Anna Addams did not allow Jane to capitulate to her delicate health. Jane was even made to ride horseback, which she claimed often was painful because of her spinal defect. In later years, when Jane's health was again poor, she resisted efforts of friends and nurses to make her an invalid. Jane never submitted to becoming a hypochondriac--a widespread malady that often became the shelter for the newly educated, yet careerless college women.

III

John Addams' strong egalitarianism rather than his wife's elitist nature was the attitude prevalent in small midwestern towns at this time. Jean Quandt in From the Small Town to the Great Community: The Social Thought of Progressive Intellectuals states that, "In the small community class distinctions existed, but they were typically underplayed by the townspeople. The ethos of most towns was relentlessly egalitarian."⁶²

Even the hired girls in the Addams family were not really considered servants. They were young daughters of neighbors, who regarded this work as an opportunity to receive training in household chores under the excellent tutelage of the able cook and manager, Sarah Addams. All lived and ate together.

In the 1860s and 1870s the norther communities of Illinois were passing through the pioneer stage, and had reached the beginning of industrial development. At this point, however, there was still no advanced specialization of labor and Karl Marx's analysis of European capitalism seemed light years away. Local folks perceived "that they were similar participants in a uniform way of life."⁶³ There was a feeling of intimacy in the small towns which made social distinctions difficult. (Interestingly, Jane Addams would later refer to the allure of the big city where one could remain anonymous.)

Concurrently, local values stressed widespread participation in community affairs--a demographic possibility then. And equal participation meant equality of status. In her autobiography Jane Addams referred to the class conscious Englishmen as a breed totally set apart from her midwestern neighbors: "...they [the Englishmen] could not but seem artificial to a western American who had been in a rural community

where the early pioneer life had made social distinctions impossible."⁶⁴ It is an exaggeration to say that these distinctions were "impossible," as witnessed at least by her own stepmother's attitude toward the Cedarville community. Rather, such distinctions were mitigated. Jane knew her father was one of the richest men in town and that their house was bigger and more opulently furnished than most of the others in the community, but Jane went to school and played with the neighborhood children and there were no obvious social distinctions among them.

This powerful egalitarian element reinforced those values that John Addams had transmitted to his daughter. His words, his heroes--Lincoln and Mazzini, his attitude towards his daughter's appearance (the cloak incident), and his stout refusal to become involved in that Springfield society his new wife so eagerly hungered for, all reflect the strength of this conviction. Jane Addams' social philosophy as formulated later was one of absolute equality. This is most apparent in her book, Democracy and Social Ethics (1902). This philosophy must be credited to her father and the community atmosphere in which she lived. However, as noted earlier, the elitist nature of her stepmother left its mark on Jane, and though she lived among commoners, she was never truly of them.

Another important influence in the small Midwestern town, also an aspect of the notion of the corporate community, was the Christian spirit and the sense of duty. "The Protestantism which shaped their religious experience emphasized both faith and works, conversion and moral duty."⁶⁵ Clearly, this characteristic was no alien element to the children of John Addams. His strong sense of moral duty was a predominant sentiment of the time. The influence of his idol--Lincoln--was

strong here. "A part of the Lincoln ideal had come to do duty for the whole...the vision of his life as an instance of man's triumph over hardships and temptations...."⁶⁶

Religion was an important aspect of the pioneer's life. The rigors of this life, with the common early death of children and parents, made a strong religious faith a much needed comfort. Religious questioning played a large part in the learning experience of Jane Addams. However, her searching was not unique; indeed it was a common part of the young adult's efforts to clarify his or her values and beliefs, as well it is a part of the growing process today.

Thus, it is fair to conclude that Cedarville, Illinois, nurtured those values of egalitarianism and Christian moral duty that Jane had first learned from her father. Her home atmosphere as well as the community environment contributed to the development of a democratic ethic and the belief in the value of moral purpose.

Several biographers emphasize that Jane Addams developed a sense of moral commitment early. A story often reiterated is one in which young Jane while travelling through a poor neighborhood, tells her father that she wishes to live in a big house among these poor ones. This observer sees no proof of this early sense of purpose. Jane Addams' childhood was a happy, active one in which any discussion of poverty was in a literary context rather than a personal one. Hull House was conceived after Jane Addams' college experience and during a time when Jane was desperately trying to find a place for herself in the world, as were many of the first generation of college women. But let us not get too far ahead. Suffice it to say at this time that Jane's rural childhood developed into a pleasant one; one that encouraged egalitarianism

and moral duty as well as learning and education for women.

This placid childhood ended rather abruptly. In her own words, Jane's "first direct contact with death" when fifteen years old forced her to think about death and change--that these happy days of exploring, boating, and picnicking would not last forever.⁶⁷ The subject of this sad incident was the family nurse who had taken care of young Sarah Addams and had followed her to Illinois to rear the next generation. Polly lived with the Addams and was an intimate member of the family.

During a visit to her cousin, a few miles north, Polly became gravely ill. For various reasons, Jane was the only family member able to go to her. Jane recounts the incident in her autobiography:

An hour after my arrival all of the cousin's family went downstairs to supper, and I was left alone to watch Polly....Suddenly the great change came. I heard a feeble call of "Sarah," my mother's name, as the dying eyes turned upon me...and in place of the face familiar from my earliest childhood and associated with homely household cares, there lay upon the pillow strange, august features, stern and withdrawn from all the small affairs of life.⁶⁸

This passage is quoted at length as this event seems to so closely mirror the the description of the death of Jane's mother Sarah. And, to further accentuate this similarity, Sarah is the name on the dying woman's lips. Perhaps this scene reawakened that traumatic earlier memory Jane claimed to have had of her mother's death. More likely, however, it was this loss that Jane later recalled while imagining it to be the death of her mother. For this reason it is assumed that this incident greatly affected adolescent Jane. It was not her first knowledge of death, although perhaps her first observation of dying. For her sister Martha had died and certainly neighbors and other relatives as well. Yet, it was this death that so shook Jane.

That sense of solitude, of being unsheltered in a wide world of relentless and elemental forces which is at the basis of childhood's timidity...seized me irresistibly before I could reach the narrow stairs and summon the family from below.⁶⁹

All during her trip home Jane thought about death and the after life and "the riddle of life and death...once to be young, to grow old and die, everything came to that."⁷⁰ This must have been especially frightening to a girl whose health was delicate, perhaps believing that like her mother she would be doomed to an early death--a death such as had just been reenacted. Jane ends the story of this traumatic event by commenting, "My comfort as usual came from my father...." Whatever this comfort was, this experience with death and dying made a deep impression on Jane, and seemed to put behind forever those idyllic days of youth. The following year Jane and George both went off to college, and an era in their lives had passed.

IV

There was no question in the Addams household that Jane--as George--would go on to college. Jane herself desired to attend one of the new eastern colleges for women. She seemed to be especially enthusiastic about Vassar, although she later claims to have had her heart set on Smith from the start. In 1876 Jane commented to her friend Vallie Beck that she was quite surprised to hear anything negative about Vassar.⁷¹ In February of 1878 Vallie asked Jane, "When do you expect to enter Vassar?"⁷² In this trifling incident one can observe Jane Addams' tendency to reedit memories so as to make them consistent with later thoughts and beliefs.

However, John Addams had other plans. He was a trustee of Rockford Female Seminary and a staunch believer in the value of a religiously-oriented education. Jane comments, "...my father's theory in regard to the education of his daughters implied a school as near at home as possible, to be followed by travel abroad in lieu of the wider advantages which an eastern college is supposed to afford."⁷³ Thus, Jane followed in the footsteps of her three older sisters and began college study at Rockford in the fall of 1878, at the age of eighteen.

Life at Rockford Seminary required a great deal of adjustment for Jane. First, she was now in the constant company of other young women, whereas men had dominated her environment previously. This factor probably accounts for Jane's aloofness to the overly affectionate manner common among girls and in great evidence among her classmates at Rockford. This distaste for physical affection was shared by Jane's old friends. One of these friends commented to Jane, "The girls here are afflicted with the same sentimental 'spooning' malady which you say infests Rockford. I heartily agree with you, old fellow, that it is both disgusting and horrible and demoralizing to us as women..."⁷⁴ This friend goes on to say that she is especially repulsed by the habit of the girls to kiss one another frequently, and thus "the sacredness of a kiss loses its charm."

Jane must have related similar sentiments to her close girlhood friend, Vallie Beck. The latter writes "in your last letter you said you admire cold people...my own particular style is dignified and proud...and cold...I know that is your style also."⁷⁵ (Emphasis in original.) In another letter Vallie comments to Jane that she cannot

stand the "gushing and young" schoolgirls who "have no idea of propriety or decorum."⁷⁶

In her own youth Jane was not accustomed to a great deal of physical affection. John Addams loved his daughters, but, as has been indicated, displayed that love by his moral guidance rather than by acts of overt affection. And Jane's sophisticated and temperamental stepmother, formerly accustomed only to the company of her husband and two sons and herself raised by a widowed father and brothers, was also not a person of an overt physical nature. Thus, Jane was exposed to a disproportionately male environment in her youth--ironically both through her father and stepmother. One of the resulting traits of this lopsided influence I believe was her aversion to physical expressions of feelings. For, at that time physical affection was commonly accepted only among women; it was frowned upon between men. Later on, Jane would be described as impersonal and aloof. She was really neither of these. Jane developed intense, intimate relationships with several women, particularly Ellen Gates Starr and Mary Rozet Smith. But, although she would warmly describe her love for these women in her letters and books, she would rarely display her feelings in physical gestures.

Jane had always preferred just a few close friends. Her distaste for this overt physical affection was magnified by its universal application to all the girls, not just these closest friends. Thus, there was also a feeling of artificiality in this overt affection that was so broadly and liberally distributed. This made the morally sincere Jane resent it even more. A later friend, Dr. Alice Hamilton, commends Jane on the lack of this so-called affection, describing Jane as a "mixture of sweetness and aloofness, of sympathetic understanding and

impersonality and the total absence of that would-be charm and false intimacy which school and college had me dislike heartily in older women."⁷⁷

This element of aloofness in Jane's personality will be dealt with in greater detail later. Suffice it to say at this point that Jane's background made the "spooning" of her classmates distasteful to her. Yet, Jane's personality was always strong enough so that she could develop effective relations with other girls--and become a leader without imitating them.

A more important factor in the atmosphere at Rockford heartily disliked by Jane was the missionary spirit of the school. Rockford Seminary had originally been founded to provide religious instruction to young women. When Anna Peck Sill arrived in 1849 she raised the money to establish the school as a female seminary, and in 1851 the first class entered. Miss Sill believed that the purpose of a female's education was to purify the home and "to teach the great Christian lesson, that the true end of life is to...give oneself fully and worthily for the good of others, recognizing of course that the Bible is the only true textbook of practical morality."⁷⁸ These two clauses cannot be separated--goodness entailed service to others, but only administered through the Christian framework of reforming sinners, with the objective of pleasing God, e.g. missionary work.

Miss Sill was proud of the fact that so many of Rockford's alumnae went on to missionary work, and made sure that the environment of the school was permeated with the value and the importance of such work. Hence, a religious atmosphere prevailed at Rockford. There were evening devotions, daily chapel and prayer, and Bible readings. These

religious exercises stressed the purposefulness of religious activity-- that is, its fulfillment through missionary work. There was also an annual drive to recruit missionaries.

However, this path did not suit all the Rockford students and many of them clamored to receive college degrees. Rockford's charter did grant the school permission to grant degrees and the school certainly supplied its students with a well-rounded curriculum. College degrees were finally awarded the year after Jane graduated and the school then became known as Rockford College. For this reason the names Rockford Female Seminary and Rockford College are used interchangeably and Jane's tenure there is referred to as her college years.

All these efforts to recruit missionaries were of little effect on the independent and intellectually mature Jane Addams. Although John Addams admired Rockford, he had never emphasized religious activity per se as an avenue of moral duty. Likewise, his daughter found this thrust alien to her philosophical and emotional beliefs, and recognized her father's role in the development of these beliefs:

During the four years it was inevitable that every sort of evangelical appeal should have been made to reach the comparatively new 'unconverted' girls in the school....I was singularly unresponsive to all these forms of emotional appeal....I suppose I held myself aloof from all these influences, partly owing to the fact that my father was not a communicant of any church and I tremendously admired his scrupulous morality and sense of honor in all matters of personal and public conduct.⁷⁹

Jane's attitude toward the evangelical zeal at Rockford reflects her attitude toward religion, and at this point it is appropriate to examine the development of that attitude which constituted an important part of her college experience.

Jane was forced to examine her personal religious beliefs by

a freshman classmate who became a lifelong friend, Ellen Gates Starr. Ellen dropped out after the first year, but their friendship grew and there was a constant stream of letters during Jane's college years which supply a great deal of information about this aspect of Jane's life. Religion was always an important factor in Ellen's life; much later she became a devout Catholic and spent her last years of life in a convent, nursed by the nuns. She constantly sought to understand her own feelings toward religion and prodded Jane to do likewise.

Jane believed that religion, or more specifically a belief in God and Christ, had to be more than a mystical, emotional experience based on faith alone. She believed that part of this experience should be an intellectual comprehension of God and Christ, and that such a comprehension would lead to faith and acceptance rather than vice versa. God had to become a reality to the individual through an understanding of His essence. This is what Jane meant when she wrote to Ellen, "A people or a nation are saved just as soon as they comprehend their God...Comprehending your deity and being in harmony with his plans is to be saved."⁸⁰

Since Christ was a historical personage and God's representative, Jane felt that through an understanding of Christ one could come to comprehend and accept God. However, it seems that Christ remained for Jane a historical person; she found it difficult to deal with the divine element. "Christ don't help me in the least, I know it is because I don't appreciate him....I think of him simply as a Jew living hundreds of years ago."⁸¹

Whereas many people regard religion as a way to clear up doubts and confusions and give purpose and meaning to their lives, Jane believed

she must clear up those doubts and confusions before she could honestly accept the tenets of religion. Thus, Jane so admired Ellen when the latter informed her that she had joined the Protestant church, assuming Ellen had arrived at that point where understanding and clarity of mind had resulted in an acceptance of God. Ellen informs Jane that, on the contrary, her joining the church is not a solution, but an effort to find the way.

It is this difficult self searching for an understanding of life that Jane regards as the search for religion--not the belief that the acceptance of the latter clarifies the former. Thus, apparently Jane felt that when one has come to understand life and one's purpose within that life, one is able to accept religion. One could then go on to work effectively in that life, no longer plagued by doubts and questions. The hoped for arrival at this stage--the belief that comprehending and thus accepting God meant also understanding life--led Jane to comment:

You [Ellen] long for a beautiful faith, an experience of this kind. I only feel I need religion in a practical sense, that if I could fix myself with my relations to God & the universe & so be in perfect harmony with nature & deity, I could use my faculties and energy so much better & could do almost anything.⁸²

In this vein, an Addams' biographer observes: "The best way to understand her [Jane's] religious questioning is to see it as part of her larger drive for self improvement, as part of her attempt to find herself."⁸³

Jane believed that Miss Sill's attitude toward religion was fundamentally wrong. Man should not serve his brethren because he believes in a God who requires him to do so; rather man should attain a belief in God through service to his brethren. Thus, instead of

religion requiring us to serve mankind, service to mankind requires us to be religious. Jane commented in her college notebook, "She does everything for people merely from the love of God: that I do not like."

Service to one's neighbor is an ethical, moral duty, not a religious one, and this service should not entail a religious purpose. Jane also felt that the goal of such service should be help and comfort rather than religious conversion. She greatly admired Sarah Anderson, a teacher at Rockford; the latter's religious views seem to be Jane's as well: "I don't think we are put into the world to be religious, we have a certain work to do, and to do that is the main thing."⁸⁴

After founding Hull House Jane emphasized that her object was to do good with people rather than to people. She did not object so much to the concept of missionary work, rather its objective as service to God instead of one's fellow man. It was this concept of religion and religious service that alienated Jane. If religion is accepted it must be a part of our lives as moral, ethical beings, not vice versa. John Addams had always emphasized community service. This service, along with his honesty and integrity, Jane remembered most. Jane's belief in religion as a subsequent affiliate to community service was her own further extension of John Addams' religious concepts.

To be oneself, to work in an honest, moral fashion--this was Jane's conception of the essence of religion; She declared to Ellen "my creed as ever, be sincere and don't fuss."⁸⁵ Among the many letters discussing the intricate philosophical aspects of theology, the simplicity and directness of this thought is refreshing. Jane herself became bored with this endless youthful searching and wrote to Ellen, "I believe my friend, it would be better for us not to talk about religion any

more...." 86

The religious searchings of Ellen and Jane were not unusual among young adults. The intense religious spirit of the Mid West as well as the missionary zeal at Rockford have been delineated--certainly these elements were conducive to the greater examination of one's own religious principles. Although she always spoke critically of missionary work, Jane accepted the essence of this activity, but not its purpose. She became a social rather than a religious missionary. Jane felt an affinity with religion and an organized church when she realized her own personal 'sense of mission.' This community service nonsectarian concept of religion had extended past her father's concept of nonsectarian religious worship. Ironically the evangelical effort of Rockford Seminary only reinforced--rather than converted--these beliefs.

The course at Rockford included German, Greek, Latin, mathematics, history, and literature--concentrating on the standard English authors, and senior year included mental and moral philosophy taught by Miss Sill herself. The school emphasized physical education and hygiene. It is interesting to note here that in these happy, though physically vigorous days, Jane was not bothered by her spinal problem. Through her brother's encouragement, Jane studied science and comparative anatomy. With her friend Ellen she founded a scientific society freshman year. Jane became proficient in the art of taxidermy--stuffing a hawk sent to her. The emphasis, however, seemed to be on literature, and it was the continual effort of the idealistic schoolgirls to apply literature to life. Jane's college essays, dealing with King Lear and Cassandra, reflect this effort. Carlyle and Emerson were among Jane's

favorite authors.

"There is something in Carlyle that suits me as no one else does."⁸⁷ Carlyle's emphasis on duty and his study of the hero inspired Jane; she concluded from reading him that "all great men are intrinsically the same."⁸⁸ This romantic view of great men motivated Jane to examine human nature in general. Directly following this last comment Jane stated: "this year preeminently I have taken people for my observation and conversation for my recreation... 'the proper study of mankind is man.'"⁸⁹ In this light it is not surprising that Jane's observations concluded in a positive view of man; throughout her life Jane emphasized man's potentials and how these potentials could be realized in an egalitarian, democratic society.

Jane and her classmates were also much taken with Emerson and rationalism. Throughout her career, Jane maintained a pragmatic attitude, except perhaps in the area of world peace. She was an effective compromiser and believed more in the value of deeds than inoperational ideals. This belief was confirmed by experiences in the real world. In a freshman college essay, "Unknown Quantities," Jane had emphasized the value of activity over ideas:

The eagle soars high and lives among the clouds, yet he leaves no track of his path, no memory of the place where he built his nest; but a patient mollusk has bored a little hole in a marble column....the mollusk has done something and concentrated his forces. The world respects him, it cares nought for aspirations and dreams, they are unknown quantities.⁹⁰

Despite this early strain of realism, which became the foundation of Jane Addams' subsequent activities and social theories, Jane and the other girls were better described as idealists, as many college students are. The girls constantly and ardently discussed philosophical

and religious issues among themselves, and in these discussions sought the solutions for a better world. However, there was little interest in contemporary political and social issues. They were oblivious to the labor unrest and the rail strikes of the 1870s. This was not an uncommon irony among college women in those days. Florence Kelley commented of her college years at Cornell: "No one, so far as I know, read a daily paper, or subscribed to a monthly or a quarterly. Our current gossip was Froude's Life of Carlyle. We read only bound volumes."⁹¹

There developed a strong emotional bond among the girls at Rockford. Though they would complain of the strictness of Miss Sill, there was no doubt that their years here were happy ones. The newly found intimacy among other girls overshadowed any negative features of Rockford. Despite her own complaints, after the first year Jane had already developed very positive feelings toward her new school. A friend wrote to Jane: "Although you did write an awfully good letter it didn't persuade me that Rockford Seminary is the place for me."⁹²

Together the girls participated in the usual college frivolities and together they shared their ideals and hopes for the future. Jane's class of 1881, adopted the name of "breadgivers," which they had discovered to be the Anglo-Saxon derivation for the word lady. Jane Addams, as president of her class gave the Junior Exhibition Speech in which she describes the aspirations of the young women:

We, then, the class of 1881, in giving this our Junior Exhibiton, are not trying to imitate our brothers in college, we are not restless and anxious for things beyond us, we simply claim the highest privileges of our time, and avail ourselves of it best opportunities.

But while on the one hand, as young women of the nineteenth century, we gladly avail ourselves of these opportunities, and proudly assert our independence, on the other hand we still retain the old ideal of womanhood--the Saxon 'lady' whose mission it was to give bread

unto her household. So we have planned to be 'breadgivers' throughout our lives, believing that in labor alone is happiness, and that the only true and honorable life is filled with good works and honest toil, we will strive to idealize our labor and thus happily fulfill woman's noblest mission.⁹³

I quote at length to demonstrate the idealism and the sense of mission that was felt by Jane and the rest of her class. Young Jane demonstrates her differences with Miss Sill; she does not speak here of religious training or Christian morality, but rather simply of "good works and honest toil." Yet, this work was an extension of rather than a break from the traditionally accepted realm of women. The girls aspired for a new place in the world, but were not revolutionaries. Earlier in this speech Jane wondered aloud whether, "this movement is tending toward the ballot box, or will gain simply equal intellectual advantages, no one can predict." Certainly, this is not the militant spirit of some of her feminine contemporaries.

The idealistic girls at Rockford sought to become the first generation of women to work within the world, yet could only envision that worldly work as an extension of the services women performed in the home. Acceptable careers included teaching, missionary work, and medicine. Political and business careers were not seen as part of the 'breadgivers' "good works and honest toil." Thus, while searching for a new, active role in the world, the special quality of womanliness was maintained. As her teacher and friend, Sarah Anderson, wrote to Jane during the summer after graduation, "one does the most good who does good work in one of the professions or higher departments of teaching and yet maintains her true womanly way of helpfulness."⁹⁴ One can easily see how settlement work, though historically and socially innovative, was a further extension of the acceptable realm of woman's work--a

continuation of service by the 'breadgivers.'

This exhibition speech was no mere public, political speech; it reflected the heartfelt ideals shared by the Rockford girls, as evidenced in Jane's personal correspondence. At this time she enthusiastically wrote to her sister Alice that "there are sixteen girls in R.F.S. who mean to do all they can to restore the word [lady] to its original sense [bread giver]."⁹⁵ The class stationery was engraved with sheaves of wheat, and the class selected the poppy as its flower because, as Jane later explained, "poppies grew among the wheat, as if Nature knew that wherever there was hunger that needed food there would be pain that needed relief."⁹⁶

These idealistic girls discussed their hopes and dreams with each other; they earnestly tackled great questions of moral philosophy and religion. The younger teachers were also included in these animated discussion. Jane informed Ellen that she and Sarah Anderson had "some of the best talks this year that I ever expect to have with anyone."⁹⁷

Classmates would congregate in the senior parlor or a student's room and reflect upon life's great questions. Jane's room became one of these favorite meeting places. "My room is full of girls having a regular good time with my energetic roommate hence I have beat a graceful retreat."⁹⁸ After graduation, a classmate wrote sorrowfully to Jane, "Your room is no longer an available refuge from all perplexities."⁹⁹ This was due partly to the comfortable manner in which the room had been furnished. "My roommate and myself invested in a lounge last week. The amount of comfort we take out of it is surprising. I wish you could see our room, it is one of the coziest in school."¹⁰⁰ More importantly though, this was due to her classmates' recognition of

Jane as a leader among them, and her ability to guide and comfort them.

Jane was president of her junior and senior class, editor of the school magazine, president of the Vesperian and literary societies, and valedictorian, on the basis of grades as well as being the unanimous choice of her classmates. Her classmates' letters to Jane portray their confidence in her. In their enthusiastic discussions the girls listened with respect to Jane's opinion and sought her advice on personal as well as philosophical questions.

The intimate sharing of youthful aspirations created deep bonds and mutual strengths that would sorely be missed in post graduate years. In his excellent study of 19th century feminism, Everyone Was Brave, William O'Neill explains the depth of these college relationships: "Each June saw the graduation of larger bands of sisters who had been through four years of communal life pitched at the highest moral, mental and emotional levels."¹⁰¹

At graduation the hopes, the dreams, and the ideals of the young girls reached a climax as they anticipated their personal fulfillments of these ideals in the greater society. Jane Addams' valedictory address reflects this eloquent optimism for the future. Even today, this speech is a moving testimonial of that optimism and the mutual bonds shared by the seventeen graduates of Rockford Seminary in 1881. The last paragraph is quoted here:

And now to you, my classmates, the glorious Seventeen, with whom I have worked and planned and studied for four years--the happiest years of our lives, they say--knowledge labored for together has bred between us sympathy and helpful friendship. On different days when we have been touched and stirred, we have expressed to each other higher and nobler things than we have probably ever said to anyone else, and these years of our young lives being past, better than we will say again. So that we stand to-day in possession of each other's best impulses and highest hopes of what each can attain.

Henceforth let the remembrance of those days become to you a help and inspiration. If you are tempted to flag and grow weary of 'bread-giving,' remember the sixteen girls of '81 who believe and expect higher things of you. We stand united to-day in a belief in beauty, genius, and courage, and that these can transform the world. If you each are true to these beliefs, and never lose confidence in your possibilities there, the class of '81 will be undivided throughout their entire lives. Then the old class loyalty and helpful friendship will never be withdrawn. So to you, my friends, I will only say, 'God be with us,' which is the older and better form of 'Good-bye.'"102

This ardently expressed sense of mission was common among the first generation of college women in the 1870s and 1880s. College girls were pioneers in their own right as they became participants in a new venture and they felt a great moral responsibility to utilize these new abilities in society. It was in this morally enthusiastic atmosphere that Jane's career really began. For, although Hull House was not conceived until eight years later, certainly the concept of service to the community was instilled in Jane at this time. Largely due to her stepbrother's encouragement, Jane studied science at Rockford and planned a career in medicine. As shall be indicated later, this career was not suited for Jane and it took several years before the concept of service would be translated into settlement work.

And so, at graduation, being at the threshold of the world, the first generation of college women looked eagerly ahead. Yet, this moment swiftly became a traumatic one for these idealistic young women who soon found that although they were prepared for the world, the world was by no means prepared for them.

Suddenly they found themselves not merely alone, but alone in a society that had no use for them. Their liberal education did not prepare them to do anything in particular, except teach and the stylized, carefully edited view of life it gave them bore little relation to the actual world. 103

The girls now discovered that they were useless. They were no longer needed in the home, for the closing of the frontier had meant the end of the need for the self sufficient, hard working pioneer woman, like Sarah Addams. Immigration supplied cheap domestic labor, while industrialization provided store made clothes and prepared foods, releasing wealthier women--both married and single--from the traditional duties. However, these college educated girls soon found that they were not wanted in the world either; only the traditional female careers, e.g. teaching and medicine, were open to them.

Together with this realization of futility--contradicting their entire college experience--was the loss of the solidarity with other women that had been such a crucial part of their emotional and intellectual development. They were indeed alone. In light of this it is not surprising that these girls looked fondly back on their college days and became more and more depressed and discouraged with their new lives, which seemed so far removed from those college dreams. In a classmate's correspondence to Jane one can see this growing despondency.

A month after graduation Helen Harrington wrote to Jane, "Very often my thoughts turn longingly toward the senior parlors, the scene of so much planning and dreaming."¹⁰⁴ The following fall Helen entered the University of Michigan to continue her education and wrote:

But I find this utter self-dependence very hard at first. I am so lonely and miss the care and friends I have been so accustomed to. The bare thought of those last weeks at Rockford makes me feel so desolate and I am so glad to have been there and the inspiration of our old ideals and ambitions will go with me always.¹⁰⁵

Yet, a year later depression and disillusionment seem to have replaced all inspiration:

...and yet I have never been more despairing than since my arrival here....I begin to miss the help and inspiration of school life that the first autumn days had brought me for so many years--and to feel more forcibly than ever an oppressive sense of having gotten to the end of everything with no place to begin again.¹⁰⁶

This sense of being adrift in the world, with no purpose or function afflicted many girls who did not launch into missionary or teaching careers. Another acceptable alternative was to continue one's education in a different school. As explained, although having a four year program, Rockford at this time was not a college and did not grant degrees. Jane was determined to become a college graduate. She had thus planned to go on to Smith College after graduation, but this never materialized. She had vigorously fought to change Rockford into a college, which it did become a year after she graduated. Since she had taken the appropriate academic courses and had not gone East, Jane returned to Rockford to receive her degree. Yet, Jane's valedictory enthusiasm had already faded. Of this time she says, "I was already beginning to emerge from that rose-colored mist with which the dream of youth so readily envelops the future."¹⁰⁷

Thus, Jane Addams suffered as a member of the first generation of college women--the first generation to experience the release of women from their old roles, yet unable to acquire new ones. "[T]he new situations and opportunities, the shifting status and role caused Jane Addams and her generation much remorse and pain."¹⁰⁸

The introduction to this study referred to and elaborated upon, Erikson's concept of the identity crisis: the time in life when an individual becomes aware of one's self and carves out a place for one-self in the society in which he or she lives. It is not difficult to relate this concept to the post-graduate experience of this first

generation of college women. They keenly faced this problem as they were unable to find a place and function for themselves in the world. These women were in limbo; educated for positions that did not exist while now also unable to fulfill the traditional one their pioneer mothers and grandmothers had. It is no wonder that this group saw themselves adrift in the world.

Jane Addams faced the same trials and tribulations as did her classmates--as Erikson had explained in his study of Martin Luther, an individual crisis, yet a universal one as well. However, Jane's personal identity crisis was further accentuated by the sudden death of her father in August, 1881, the summer following graduation.

On July 2nd of that year Charles Julius Guiteau fatally wounded President Garfield. Guiteau was the brother of Flora Guiteau, one of Jane's closest friends at home; his father worked at John Addams bank. Partly to get away from this unpleasant situation, John Addams took his wife and daughter on a combined business and pleasure trip to Wisconsin in August. There he suddenly took ill and died of what was believed to be a ruptured appendix.

Jane's father had been the dominant influence in her life. She identified with him and felt that her moral purpose, although perhaps reinforced by her college experience, had originated and found its strength in her father. Friends and relatives were aware of the special place John Addams had occupied in his daughter's life and how his death had so suddenly and entirely made Jane feel she was now on her own. Her sister Mary's husband, John Linn, wrote, "Your life aims were high enough and your plans broad enough so that he [John Addams] could take an interest in them and it was his great delight to prepare

you for your mission. You need not feel that because he is gone, your incentive has perished."¹⁰⁹ One of Jane's teachers likewise recognized the moral influence of John Addams: "the wealth you have in what was put into your own character by the influence of your father's high Christian principles....In times of trial one feels hidden, at least a young woman does, behind a father....but when he is gone she stands out in her own person to meet the responsibilities of life."¹¹⁰

Earlier, Jane's ambivalent feelings toward her morally stern father were speculated upon. Perhaps remaining inner feelings of hostility toward him made Jane feel guilty about his death, and hence she felt an even stronger need to follow that moral leadership that was now gone. In psychological terms, when the "evil" wishes of the id are fulfilled, even though through no efforts of its own, guilt feelings result. To alleviate these feelings, there is a renewed identification with the object of these feelings. I believe that this psychological process contributed to Jane's desire to imitate her father. These "evil" wishes toward her father were probably especially strong at this time as Jane seemed to be depressed about completing school and being home in Cedarville again, under the wing of her protective father and stepmother. So too, the death of her father might have reawakened old insecurities; Jane feeling that without this leadership she had no purpose of her own. Hence it is not surprising that the idealistic girl who in June had urged her classmates to high and noble achievements to write in September to her dear friend Ellen:

I will not write of myself or how purposeless and without ambition I am, only prepare yourself so you won't be too disappointed in me when you come. The greatest sorrow that can ever come to me has past. I hope it is only a question of time until I get my moral purpose straightened.¹¹¹

It was eight years before Jane was able to get her moral purpose straightened. This she did by continuing in her own moral direction, yet conceptualizing it as her father's direction as well. Thus, in a very real sense John Addams' death insured his daughter's pursuit of the moral concerns of life.

The years of 1881 to 1889 were years of searching for Jane. These were times of physical and emotional difficulties. To be sure, other girls faced these same problems, yet Jane's particular problems--the loss of her father at this critical time, the headstrong guidance of her stepmother, and the recurrence of back pain--made her situation seem more acute. This environment, in combination with Jane's strong personal ambitions, led her--among all her contemporaries--to find an innovative, historically relevant solution.

IV

Returning to Cedarville after graduation Jane became depressed and despondent. Her plans had been to continue her education at Smith College, tour Europe and then go on to medical school.¹¹² Most accounts of Jane Addams' life credit her father's death as the cause of Jane's despondency, and hence her physical malaise, and the subsequent ruination of her plans. This is not the case. In a letter dated July 23, 1881, a month prior to John Addams' death, Helen Harrington wrote to Jane, "Emma Briggs wrote that she met your sister on the train going home and she said you were not going to Smith this year on account of your health...."¹¹³

It is interesting to observe that Jane, although not strong constitutionally, was untroubled by poor health throughout her physically vigorous college years. Yet, returning to a relatively sedate family life in Cedarville, she once again became bothered by ill health. Her father and stepmother must have been very concerned and more attentive to Jane's health than her college friends had been; they succeeded in convincing Jane that she was not physically capable of going East. Jane's self perception also must have played a role in this new status as semi-invalid. She felt poorly at home. Partly this was the result of parental overconcern--making Jane continually conscious of her physical state, but partly also it was a combination of inactivity and loss of purpose.

The post-graduate letdown experienced by the first generation of college women has been discussed. After four extremely active years in college, it must have been difficult for Jane to readjust to Cedarville. Jane would later realize that she felt best when active. Rest and inactivity--condoned by her parents--ironically did not make her feel better, only worse. Obviously there was a psychological element operating here. "Nervous prostration" and poor health were considered natural among young women, and such conditions were often employed as excuses for total inactivity. Indeed, psychological elements did create actual illness which precluded any activity, as will be indicated below. Jane was not happy while inactive and never felt herself that poor health was an excuse for such inactivity. In 1884 she wrote to Ellen, "I wish everybody was as thoroughly convinced as I that failure through ill health is just as culpable and miserable as failure through any other course."114

President of her class, editor of the school magazine, and valedictorian, Jane was clearly a leader among her classmates; she gained added confidence and self reliance during these years at Rockford. Now back in Cedarville, she must have felt once again under the shadow of the morally stern and widely respected John Addams. Without the comfort and support of her classmates her independence and self reliance waned. Thus, Jane Addams faced particular personal trials in addition to those trials common to her generation. John Addams' death certainly increased Jane's despondency, but was not its entire cause nor its only element.

Jane's reaction to her father's death has been delineated. Although it was a traumatic blow, especially coinciding with graduation, Jane was still too ambitious, too driven by her father's influence to collapse entirely, and lead that sedate and functionless life of inactivity so popular among women of her day. Indeed her renewed identification with John Addams' values at this time invigorated her sense of purpose. Ellen wrote Jane that September "You are too much like your father to be permanently shaken by any thing, even the greatest sorrow."¹¹⁵

That fall Jane embarked upon a course that she believed would fulfill this sense of purpose; she enrolled in the Women's Medical College in Philadelphia. Jane soon discovered, however, that she was not suited for this study. Despite decent grades she was not happy. Jane recorded in her notebook of her "utter failure" and her "inability to work at the best of myself....I am growing more sullen and less sympathetic every day."¹¹⁶ Not surprisingly, she soon became ill again and was 'forced' to give up her studies and entered Dr. Weir Mitchell's Hospital

of Orthopedic and Nervous Diseases in late spring. Jane refers to her illness then as "the spinal difficulty which had shadowed me from childhood."¹¹⁷

Dr. Mitchell's diagnosis was probably different; Mitchell was a progressive doctor who realized the psychological aspect in the nervous prostrations of his female clientele. Jane, it is felt here, was depressed about her lack of enthusiasm with her medical studies. Not discovering an innate interest in this field, it is likely that Jane perceived that she would not be able to satisfy that strong internal drive for a morally purposeful life--a drive that a medical career would have fulfilled. Her subsequent depression resulted in a "nervous prostration," a conveniently common and accepted female malady of that time. The widespread existence of "nervous disorders" among Jane's contemporaries is evident in her own correspondence:

....one of my friends was taken severely ill--a complete prostration of the nervous system resulting from overstudy.¹¹⁸

[I worked so hard in school] and when I got home was completely upset, physically, mentally, and morally.¹¹⁹

...yet she [Ellen Starr] has to a certain extent learned how to rest and is not as nervously sick as I feared she would be.¹²⁰

From these remarks it is obvious that the commonly accepted method of treatment for female nervous disorders was rest and nurturance. Dr. Mitchell, however, attempted to cure his patients only partly by rest and seclusion; he sought as well to change the girls' dull routine and to get them away from their overly-protective families. Mitchell believed that these nervous illnesses were caused by a sense of helplessness and an inability to function within a contradictory environment, rather than by overwork and an inherently delicate female system.

This analysis seems well suited to Jane's situation at this time. She, herself, would arrive at this same conclusion when she became active in settlement work.

Jane now realized that she had no innate interest in medical studies. As indicated her ambitious nature and the driving moral purpose instilled in her by her father and sealed by his death probably made Jane feel guilty and frustrated by this lack of interest. Her resulting physical collapse it is felt here was due in large part to this frustration rather than the chronic spinal difficulty which conveniently had not bothered her during happier times.

After Mitchell's successful treatment, Jane returned to Cedarville, but no longer perceived home as that happy retreat which briefly interrupted busy college days. Now, having lost a career and her purpose, it seemed a lonesome place to spend idle, boring, motiveless days. To complicate matters further at this time, her stepbrother George began to actively press his attentions upon Jane. George loved Jane, and such a union seemed not unnatural as Jane's older sister Alice had previously wed their stepbrother, Harry Haldeman. Initially, this marriage had been opposed by both parents, but was later accepted. Anna Addams did not believe in careers for women, and was anxious for Jane to marry. Naturally she thought the latter fortunate to win the deepest affection of her own beloved son George. Thus, the marriage was encouraged on all sides.

Jane, however, perceived George as a brother and not a suitor. She had no desire to marry him. Several accounts assert that Jane chose not to marry George because Jane wanted a career: "What turned the scale of course was Jane's realization that she did not love George

enough to sacrifice the possibilities of usefulness that she hauntingly sensed in a larger field."¹²¹ This romantic analysis is weak and inaccurate. At this dismal time in her life Jane probably had no notion of nor any hopes for her future career. She did not wish to marry George because they had grown up as brother and sister, and she was unable to change that perception. Also, perhaps Jane's image of her recently departed father dwarfed the acceptability of any prospective suitor.¹²² Before graduation Jane had also refused the affections and proposal of one Rollin Salisbury. Her rejection must have been painful for, though he later became a professor at the neighboring University of Chicago, Salisbury never entered Hull House.

Certainly, however, Jane Addams had not categorically ruled out the possibility of marriage; it just never seemed to have worked out for her. Several years later she wrote to her sister that "I am very sure that my first born son should be named John Addams no matter how many there were in the family."¹²³ Thus, thoughts of marriage and a family were not totally alien to her and it is inaccurate to state that she perceived a married life as mutually exclusive with a career.

Jane's rejection of George's affections was a great disappointment to her headstrong stepmother as well as George. George subsequently enrolled in post-graduate study in biology at Johns Hopkins and did research during the summer in Florida. While working there, he suffered a total physical and emotional breakdown from which he would never recover; George lived the rest of his life as a semi-invalid in Cedarville. This was a most crushing blow to his mother who had such high aspirations for him. However unfairly, she held Jane responsible; a rift developed between them that would never heal. But this was still

in the distant future. At this time, in the spring of 1882, Jane probably envied George, for he seemed well on his way to greater things, with a vocation and hence a 'mission' in life.

A letter arrived from Mitchelville, Iowa, that September from sister Alice declaring that Harry Haldeman--now a successful doctor--"has something to relieve your back." Jane seized this opportunity to get away from Cedarville as well as to relieve her spinal misery. The operation consisted of an injection of an irritant into the spine. The subsequently formed scar tissue would pull the spine straight. Jane had to spend the following six months in bed, wearing a corset fashioned of leather, steel, and whalebone. There are mixed opinions as to the success of this operation. It seems that Jane held herself straighter after this treatment.

Although Jane remained an invalid for six months, towards the end of her convalescence her spirits seemed to improve considerably. She felt that the operation had been effective and that she would now be able to rechart her life. In January she wrote to Ellen, explaining why she had not previously corresponded, "I was maybe too, a little ashamed to show even my good friends against what lassitude and melancholy and general awkwardness I was struggling. I have had the kindest care, and am emerging with a straight back and a fresh hold on life and endeavor I hope."¹²⁴

A curious sidelight of this operation was Harry Haldeman's conclusion that Jane would not be able to bear children. This fact has been widely accepted. Her official biographer, James Weber Linn, comments that Harry informed Jane of this and "that was perhaps her

greatest grief, though it may be the realization turned into an inspiration finally."¹²⁵ However, Daniel Levine in his study asserts that no spinal operation could possibly tell a doctor about his patient's reproductive ability. He concludes that perhaps this operation was confused with a later one, "but more likely the whole thing was a fabrication."¹²⁶

Clearly, if Jane believed she was unable to bear children, this would have the same psychological effect upon her as if it were actually true. It is impossible to categorically deny that Jane was told this and/or if she really believed it. In the great deal of correspondence examined for this study, however, she never mentions this fact, even to her closest friends. She did subsequently say, as previously quoted, that her first born son would be named John, and interestingly this was addressed to Alice, Harry's wife, who obviously would be most likely to know of Jane's supposed infertility. Because of this statement the conjecture as to Jane's infertility is disregarded and hence the romantic concept that Jane's knowledge of an inability to have children was an important motivation in her ambition for a career is denied.

Jane returned to Cedarville that spring only to find further tragedy in the family. Her older brother Weber had suffered a mental breakdown and was placed in a state insitution. With the rest of the family away, Jane had the sole responsibility of helping to care for his wife and child as well as assuming the financial management of the family. At this time she had also inherited a 247 acre farm from her father's estate and thus found herself "becoming quite absorbed in business affairs." Although Jane had hoped to be active, this certainly

was not the kind of activity she sought. Indeed, family responsibilities often seemed to interfere with Jane's career plans. Because of these new responsibilities, Jane's new plan to go to Smith College was once again postponed, and she once again returned to that depressed emotional state. A solution of sorts seemed at hand though: "It seems quite essential for the establishment of my health and temper (?) [sic] that I have a radical change and so I have accepted the advice given to every exhausted American 'go abroad.' We [Jane, her mother and several school-mates] sail from New York on the 22nd of August...."¹²⁷

VI

As Henry James' novels indicate, a European sojourn was a common experience for monied Americans in the latter half of the 19th Century. However, unlike many of James' characters who were cosmopolitan patricians, the more provincial Jane was determined to carefully observe and study Europe, and thus benefit from her trip abroad rather than becoming the typical casual, entertainment-seeking tourist. This determination was important, as it would provide Jane during her European trip with a sense of purpose, which she realized was so necessary to her:

I quite feel as if I were not 'following the call of my genius' when I propose to devote a year's time to travel in search of a good time and this general ideal of culture which somehow never commanded my full respect. People complain of losing spiritual life when abroad, I imagine it will be quite as hard to full earnestness of purpose. ¹²⁸

There is a constant temptation I think while we're here to play the dilettante, you meet so many people who are doing it successfully. ¹²⁹

Jane avoided this role by a conscientious study of each country visited. Along with her stepmother and other members of the party, Jane toured museums and churches, read the relevant histories, and studied the native languages--she had tutors in French and German. Jane reported, "I seem to be about as busy as I was at school; with this difference, that there is no necessity about it...."¹³⁰

It seems that Jane had hoped that by keeping herself as studious and as busy as she had been in college, she would be able to recapture that happiness, that sense of usefulness and purpose that she had experienced there. However, the last clause is telling: "there is no necessity about it." As much as Jane desired, this experience did not simulate her Rockford years. In addition, she had lost an even more important element of these years; the sense of fellowship and mutual commitment that was so integral a part of that purpose.

There were twelve members in the Addams' European party. It consisted of Jane's stepmother and several schoolmates with their relatives; Jane's dear friend Ellen was at home. These particular schoolmates were certainly not her favorites; Jane had written to Ellen before departing, "I had hope for a more congenial intimate party, but... after all what you obtain depends on yourself and I am glad to have a party I can be more or less independent of."¹³¹ Obviously, at this time the independent-minded Jane, who before college had never experienced the close company of female peers, did not realize how much she had come to depend on this company to strengthen her own purpose. It shall later be argued that it was in part a desire to regain this company that Hull House was formed.

An important point to make in regard to this European experience

is Jane's almost total disregard of contemporary political and social affairs there. Although Jane relates several incidents in her autobiography to demonstrate her awakening sensitivity to social and economic problems, her European correspondence does not bear this out. So too, despite her proclaimed aversion to "this general idea of culture," Jane concentrated on activities of this type rather than any study of contemporary socio-economic conditions.

In one instance, Jane recalls in her autobiography that "one of the most poignant...experiences" of her first European trip was a visit to the wretched East End of London where she witnessed starving, ragged people bidding for the decayed fruits and vegetables available Saturday night.¹³¹ Her European correspondence reports this incident, but with none of the seemingly heart-rending despair Jane later claimed:

We had quite an adventure last Saturday night. Miss Warner, the lady of the house, took nine of the guests down into the 'East End' to see the Saturday night marketing. The poorest people wait until very late Saturday night as meats and vegetables which cannot be kept until Sunday are sold cheaper. We reached the neighborhood by the underground railway...¹³²

Jane's letters emphasize the palaces and museums; she seemed much more impressed by her glimpses of pomp and royalty than by observations of the poor and the needy. Indeed, at some points she sounds very much like the naive, insensitive, monied American traveling abroad: "The amount of dirty, ragged children in the street is appalling, but they are so impudent, jolly and continually begging that it is hard to pity them."¹³³ Another time, talking about Holland, she comments, "...the incessant industry...and toiling is oppressive in the city. You can see how it would be almost a delight to them to have a dyke to build."¹³⁴

Therefore, although Jane later claimed she began to become aware

of social problems during this trip, I contend this was a later-created dramatic autobiographical touch that was far removed from the reality. Her infrequent observations of poverty were more clinical than emotional. It seems certain that Jane had no conception of her future course. This thesis is further reinforced by the fact that despite her efforts to be active in Europe, Jane once again experienced that sense of purposelessness that had plagued her at home. She wrote to Ellen, "I have been idle for two years just because I had not enough vitality...I have constantly lost confidence in myself and have gained nothing and improved in nothing."¹³⁵ Clearly this was not the remark of a person who was discovering a sense of purpose in life!

The last aspect of the European journey that bears mentioning is that although Jane rarely discussed religion per se in her letters, she was quite taken with the elaborate churches and the solemnity and beauty of the European religious ceremonies. She goes into great detail describing Fra Angelico's work in Florence and the beauty of the Palm Sunday ceremony.¹³⁶ Jane was impressed by the sense of fellowship among the worshippers as well as the beauty, pomp, and splendor of the churches. She still, however, did not accede to what she believed was the Christian dogma and wrote to Ellen, "I believe more and more in keeping the events, the facts of Christ's life before us and letting the philosophy go."¹³⁷ (Emphasis in original.)

After two years abroad Jane returned to America in 1885, depressed and disappointed at not having attained that which she hoped would overcome her sense of malaise. "It was a nervous, maladjusted intellectually confused Jane Addams who returned to Cedarville."¹³⁸ At this point Jane

joined the Presbyterian Church at home. This membership was not a sign of Jane's new found commitment to religion, an arrival at an understanding of God and Christ, as she earlier claimed such a membership should entail; but rather a desperate search for that fellowship she had witnessed in the European churches. She sought "an outward symbol of fellowship, some bond of peace, some blessed spot where unity of spirit might claim right of way over all differences."¹³⁹ Unfortunately, this symbol of fellowship did not reinstate in Jane that sense of commitment and purpose she had felt in college. "Essays during these years reveal her nostalgia for a happier time when she was in college and her frustration with her life of indecision."¹⁴⁰

The nadir of Jane's depression occurred after she and her step-mother moved to Baltimore in 1885. Anna Addams was determined to become a part of Baltimore society, and for Jane to enter it with her. Ellen would later quote one of Jane's friends saying that society was man's recreation, but it was woman's business. This is indeed how Jane felt, and it was certainly not the business a girl with a driving sense of moral purpose would desire. She did attempt to adjust to the life of a society matron, but was unable to do so. She complained to her sister Alice, "I am beginning to find that there are certain people to whom I cannot adapt myself....I used to believe it was only a matter of will to adapt yourself to anyone."¹⁴¹ Her life seemed empty and useless: "I am filled with shame that with all my apparent leisure, I do nothing at all."¹⁴²

There were some hours of activity, however. During these bleak days in Baltimore Jane had her first contact with "charity work." She

visited a "little colored orphan asylum" where the girls were trained to be good servants. Jane heartily approved of this scheme. She also spent time at a sewing school in East Baltimore and wrote to her sister Alice, "I have been investigating city charities this winter and have come to some rather curious conclusions."¹⁴³ What these conclusions are, Jane does not mention. Although these can only be speculated upon, it is likely that one of them was her surprising realization that her physical as well as spiritual malaise decreased when she participated in such activity. She felt more enervated and listless after social activities than after spending an entire, physically active day working with children in one of the charity centers. Years later, while planning Hull House with Jane, Ellen wrote:

Jane's idea, which she puts very much to the front & on no account will give up is that it is more for the benefit of the people who do it, than for the other class. She has worked that out of her own experience & ill health. She discovered, when recovering from her spinal trouble, that she could take care of children, actually lift them & not feel worse, but better for being with them, while an effort to see people & be 'up to things' used her up completely.¹⁴⁴

It is believed here that the idea of fulfilling her moral purpose through activity related to social work occurred to Jane at this time. She was not able, however, to develop her plans further then. For, family problems again intruded into her own possible career plans. While her stepmother went to Florida, Jane returned to Cedarville where her pregnant sister Mary--the sister who had been a surrogate mother to young Jane--lay sick in bed with a stomach inflammation. At this inconvenient time, Mary and her family were moving to Lake Forest, Illinois; Jane felt duty bound to help Mary move and settle her into her new home.

Jane loved Mary's four children, especially the youngest boy Stanley. He slept next to Jane and was the recipient of all that tender affection Jane had not given, nor would ever give, to a child of her own. As she expressed her feelings to Ellen:

If you don't take charge of a child at night you can't feel a scared, trembling little hand grow confiding and quiet as soon as it lies within your own. If you don't take little children out in the yard to spend the morning you simply can't see their unbounded delight and extravagant joy when they see a robin taking his bath. 145

It was this close association with her own nieces and nephews that later enabled the childless Jane to work so well with young children.

Although Jane seemed happy here, helping Mary and the children, it was clear to her that she must make some plans as to her future. That spring (1887) Jane gave away her medical books, indicating that she must have decided--or perhaps realized--at that juncture that she would never go back to medical school. However, returning to that dismal society life with her stepmother was probably the last alternative she desired. Instead, she planned a European trip together with her dear friend Ellen and their beloved Rockford teacher, Sarah Anderson.

Upon returning from her previous trip abroad Jane had been despondent and felt a terrible sense of aimlessness and idleness. However, she must have felt that travelling to Europe with her dear friends instead of her stepmother and a "less intimate" party would make this venture worthwhile. Indeed, Jane was so anxious to have her poorer friend Ellen accompany her that she paid fully half of Ellen's European expenses. In December, 1887 she and Sarah Anderson sailed for Europe, where Ellen later would meet them.

Surrounded by her closest friends who loved and respected her, and free of the headstrong leadership of her stepmother, Jane regained that sense of confidence and independence she had developed in college. Jane attributed this new sense of dignity and respect to her growing older:

I am quite impressed with the difference in my age and dignity between this trip in Europe and the one before. Then, I was Made-moiselle and Frauline and I felt like a young girl. I went to this hotel alone and ordered a room for the night and was obliged to spend a night alone at our hotel in Munich. Everywhere it was 'Madame' with the utmost respect and I felt perfectly at my ease and dignified all the time.¹⁴⁶

It seems likely that Jane's new environment and hence her new psychological perspective was a more influential factor here than the two calendar years since her last visit. She reported to Alice from Florence, "I believe more in personality and personal power every day."¹⁴⁷

During these days Jane and Ellen became even closer. In this relationship Jane was more the leader, Ellen the follower. Although there was a sense of mutual need and reliance, it seemed that Ellen depended more on Jane than vice versa. Certainly she was financially dependent on Jane. Ellen claimed "Jane is so good, so dear and lovely in every way....I don't often remember that I am using her money and when I do it is no trouble to me."¹⁴⁸ Perhaps it was no trouble, but Ellen must have been aware of the fact that she was Jane's guest. Jane's generosity only made Ellen love and admire Jane more. So too, Jane had completed college, while Ellen had been forced to drop out after freshman year. This probably added to Ellen's respect for Jane's superior intellectual abilities: "Jeannie and I have such beautiful days together. We see things in the same way, except that she always

sees things better than I do and helps me very much as she always has ever since I knew her." ¹⁴⁹

Jane was aware of the complete devotion and admiration of her friend. She wrote to her stepmother, "Ellen always overestimates me." This overestimation was just the antidote that insecure Jane needed. For, while in college, like her classmates, Jane was idealistic and had great expectation for her future. These expectations were especially dear to Jane as she had hoped to live up to that moral purpose so important to her father. Yet the years following graduation were filled with failure and aimlessness. Discouraged by her stepmother's disapproval of a career and the family's overconcern about her health, Jane lost faith in her physical, moral, and intellectual abilities.

Ellen and Sarah--especially the former--restored that faith that had diminished after the college years. As Sarah wrote, "Ellen is a great help to Jane. She is so devoted to her and I think one can take so many things, so many kinds of assistance from one that they are fond of, when they could not from an ordinary person."¹⁵⁰ These renewed feelings of confidence made Jane happier than she had been in a long time. Referring to herself and Ellen, Jane reported to sister Alice from Munich, "I have seldom in my life had a happier week than we have had together."¹⁵¹

This intimate relationship between Ellen and Jane was not uncommon among women during the 19th Century. Young educated women could only discuss their intimate personal ponderings about religion and moral philosophy and their own position in the world with other women. There was a romantic element in this total intimacy. Entering her first Rockford class with Ellen, Jane wore a brown and white checked gingham

dress; Ellen in later years wore around her neck a locket with a small tintype of Jane and a scrap of that gingham gown.

Ellen and Jane were different kinds of people; they complemented rather than duplicated each other. As evident by their early religious correspondence, Ellen was the more emotional of the two. She was an enthusiast, who would eagerly rush into any cause she believed in. Thus, it is not surprising that she quickly and vigorously endorsed Jane's settlement plan as soon as she heard it. In a similar vein, she would later become an ardent Socialist, and then, even later, a devout Roman Catholic. Ellen Starr was not one to do things half heartedly! Jane was just the temperamental opposite of Ellen; she would become the great organizer and executive. She had a calm objectiveness and "was by nature one who chose the middle of the road, she was in the best sense, devoted to compromise."¹⁵²

Ellen's total devotion as well as her fiery enthusiasm would be an important factor contributing to Jane's conception of Hull House, and even more crucial, in Jane's confidence in executing this plan. Ellen was always so confident in Jane, so sure of the latter's abilities that she would criticize Jane if she believed there was some deviation from these abilities. In 1885 she wrote to Jane, criticizing the latter's spelling and construction errors: "You always were careless, Jeanne. I am glad I have one or two of your early written papers which show that at seventeen you could do lovely things."¹⁵³ (Emphasis in original.) This was the remark of an idolizing friend rather than a superior critic.

Without this devoted, idolizing friend, Jane would never have become the creator and founder of Hull House. Ellen gave Jane the

emotional support she would later need. Indeed, this support was now welcomed when Jane was struck by two swift blows during this enjoyable European sojourn.

In January 1888 Jane received a letter from her sister Mary informing her of the death of her little daughter Mary. Young Mary had died of whooping cough. Reading Mary's letters describing the little girl's brave struggle in the face of death brought tears to the eyes of this researcher, and so I can readily imagine Jane's overwhelming sadness at the time. Mary tells Jane that throughout her illness little Mary "kept saying how much she loved Aunt Dane [sic]." ¹⁵⁴ Jane was so devoted to her nieces and nephews that this must have been a terrible blow and she must have felt awful being so far away during this family tragedy. She wrote home to Alice, "I am beginning to think that it does not pay to put so much space between yourself and the people you love best." ¹⁵⁵ Was she thinking at this point of returning to her family life? This was a crucial moment when she needed Ellen's support. Later, when Jane had already told Ellen of the scheme and they returned to the United States to put it into action, it was Ellen who prodded Jane and prevented her from returning to this family life.

The other, coinciding blow was a severe case of sciatica Jane developed that February in Rome. Because of this severe back injury Jane was forced to stay in bed and she received the constant and devoted attention of Ellen and Sarah as well as the care of a hired nurse. Jane was in a great deal of pain, yet this time poor health did not cause her to become despondent and submit to her delicacy. Perhaps this was partly due to her stepmother's early training. However, when Jane had returned to Cedarville after college, her stepmother as

well as her father had been protective about her health. Certainly, though, Sarah and Ellen were now just as protective and concerned as Jane's parents had been.

It is perceived here that the major distinction was Jane's psychological state at this time. After college she had been depressed and despondent and readily succumbed to physical difficulties. Now, although upset by her niece's death, she had acquired through her friends a new sense of ability and worth. This new sense must have helped Jane to look upon her new back trouble as only a temporary hindrance rather than the permanent incumbrance she had once believed it to be. Throughout her convalescence, Ellen and Sarah repeatedly praised Jane for being such a cheerful patient. In a letter home, Ellen comments that Jane's nurse "shall always remember Miss Addams as a most cheerful invalid."¹⁵⁶ Jane herself wrote to her sister Alice:

Dr. Charles is an Englishman who has gravely lectured me upon the impropriety of 'so delicate a person--an invalid one might say' travelling in Europe without a member of her family. He has not the remotest idea of the toughness of my constitution and was very much surprised by my rapid recovery.¹⁵⁷

One can detect here Jane's pride in her independence as well as her new "tough constitution." She no longer perceived herself as the invalid needing the constant protection of others. Indeed, Jane insisted that Ellen and Sarah go on themselves for a visit to southern Italy when it was apparent that Jane was still not well enough to accompany them.

Though they had a wonderful trip in the south, Ellen wrote to Jane how much she needed and missed her: "I didn't know I was going to miss you as much. Yes, I knew it well enough, but knowing it isn't quite the same as experiencing it."¹⁵⁸ Whether with Jane or not, Ellen constantly reinforced Jane's sense as a needed, useful person.

Another important aspect of this European visit was that although Jane would later claim again her developing social awareness at this time, it is not clear that she was then becoming quite as sensitive to European poverty as she would later have her readers believe. For instance, in March of 1888 she wrote to Alice: "There have been several bread riots the last few days. I have been more anxious to go to see those than to see the Pope. By the law a starving man may take bread-- the government has been building and being obliged to stop has thrown many men out of employment."¹⁵⁹ This is the voice of a cold, analytical observer, rather than a sympathetic, caring one.

What then was the impetus for Jane's conception of a settlement house? When did this idea first occur to her and when did she actually put this conception into words? Jane claims that although it is hard to remember exactly when the plan developed in her mind, she thought it was before her second European trip. I believe this to be the case; the idea probably first occurred to Jane when she became involved in social work in Baltimore. There, as has been seen, she found herself feeling physically and emotionally better after working with children than after entertaining and visiting in society. She had said that she had come to some "rather curious conclusions," perhaps a settlement house was one of these.

Yet, a vague idea itself is not enough. More importantly, when did this idea become crystallized and when and what was the motivation for Jane to actually operationalize it? Although the idea might have been borne back in Baltimore, it was not actually developed until the second European trip. Further, it is contended here that without the loving devotion of her friend Ellen, Jane would never have developed

the self confidence and assurance to believe that she could actually put such an idea into operation.

Jane claims that she realized that she must finally change her idle life and revealed her plan to Ellen after calmly witnessing a bullfight in Madrid:

I found that I had seen, with comparative indifference, five bulls and many more horses killed....obscure yet vivid associations had carried me beyond the endurance of any of the rest of the party... in the evening...I felt myself tried and condemned, not only by this disgusting experience but by the entire moral situation which it revealed.¹⁶⁰

Jane goes on to claim that this experience finally made clear to her that she was living a life of idleness and self-seeking, while lulling her conscience with vague dreams of later philanthropic work. Accepting this analysis, biographers often refer to this incident as the turning point in Jane's life. As Anne Firor Scott declares, "a mystical experience banished [Jane's] indecision."¹⁶¹

Several other conscientious biographers, however, are more skeptical about this 'mystical' experience. In a letter written home describing the bullfight, Jane does not appear to have been as ashamed and disgusted as she later claimed. Without compunction she intricately described the bullfight, depicting the bull as "a beautiful creature, as lithe and active as a cat, and as fleet and graceful as a deer...." Her description of the bull ring activity is sharp in its deathly detail but without sentiment for the bull or the horses:

The PICADORS are the two men mounted on horses who irritate the bull with long wooden lances until he rushes into them and kills the horses. The first bull killed four horses....That was the worst part of it....The BANDILLEROS who struck the victim with the gaily decorated little swords were in apparently greater danger than the MADADOR himself, who did not come in until the bull was so tired out that it was a comparatively easy matter to kill by one clever stroke into his spinal cord.¹⁶²

In her autobiography Jane had maintained that only she had been able to sit through this disgusting experience and hence the moral superiority of the rest of the group and their disapproval of her activities made her even more disgusted with herself. From her letter, however, it seems that Jane merits no such distinction. She goes on to say: "There were six bulls killed that afternoon, but we did not stay until the bitter end although we were rather ashamed and surprised to find that we were brutal enough to take a great interest in it."¹⁶³ From this description it does not seem that Jane felt that great moral shame she later claimed.

As Allen Davis concludes in his study, it is believed here Jane later embellished the bullfight as a dramatic moment for her autobiography. There is no contemporary evidence that this incident was the significant turning point where Jane finalized and cemented her previously vague social plans. More likely, although less dramatically, Jane thought more about her settlement idea as it became apparent that the trip to Europe would soon have to draw to a close. Even with Jane's financial assistance, Ellen was very low in money and Sarah was thinking of returning to school. Jane must have pondered that returning to America without new plans would mean returning to that dreaded social life. This led her to seriously reflect upon her vague ideas.

When Jane presented her plan to Ellen in Madrid, Ellen was immediately enthusiastic and desired to enter this venture with Jane. She gave Jane the support and reinforcement to believe that such an exciting plan was possible, and that Jane's own abilities would be more than sufficient to put it into operation. However, at this time Jane's idea was still a rather vague one. As previously planned, Jane went on to

England while Ellen went back to Italy as a paid escort for an American girl.

Fortunately, England was filled with the reform spirit and thus it was not surprising that Jane became an observer of social service. In Canterbury she was invited to tea by the wife of an English bishop. Among the latter's guest was Canon W. H. Freemantle, who was a close friend of Samuel A. Barnett, the founder and head of Toynbee Hall. Through this fortuitous connection, Jane met Barnett and visited Toynbee Hall.

Toynbee Hall was a residence where college men lived within a poor community as members of that community, rather than charity workers doing good to people. "It is a community for University men who live there, have their recreation and clubs and society all among the poor people, yet in the same style they would live in their own circle."¹⁶⁴ This idea fascinated Jane; it had all the advantages of philanthropic work with none of the usual drawbacks. It would give her the opportunity to participate in charity work--that kind of work that she had found restored her physical and emotional capacity. Yet, absent would be the Rockford elements of missionary work she so disliked.

This Rockford philosophy had been to encourage the individual to do good to people. The object was to convert the sinner and all the while doing this for the love of God rather than for the love of one's fellow man. Barnett and his associates at Toynbee Hall regarded themselves merely as community residents who enjoyed living there. They believed that they themselves--rather than their poor neighbors--benefitted from such an arrangement. This concept immediately appealed to Jane, who disliked traditional missionary work. She gleefully remarked,

"It is so free from professional doing good."¹⁶⁵ Throughout her career Jane Addams always emphasized the subjective benefits of settlement work.

Another facet of Toynbee Hall that made this arrangement especially appealing to Jane and her contemporaries was its physical arrangement as a place where college graduates ate, slept, and relaxed together. Certainly this environment was reminiscent of the college dormitory and, hence, college life. It had been this college life--this close association with other like minded women--that Jane and her classmates had found so inspiring, comforting, and rewarding. A settlement house would give Jane the opportunity to recreate in a constructive manner that supportive, happy environment. As Allen Davis comments, "The settlement had much of the charm and fellowship of a college dormitory."¹⁶⁶

This factor--this desire to return to a college environment--is perceived here as a crucial motivating element in Jane Addams' creation and organization of Hull House. And, it was this very element that made Hull House so appealing to other young educated women.

Yet, although Toynbee Hall might have helped to crystallize Jane's ideas as to what she planned to do, it was still a long way to the actual execution of such plans. Jane returned home to Cedarville and stayed with Mary. So far away from the English social gospel movement and the missionary spirit of London, and so conscious anew of her family's needs, it was not surprising that Jane's determination flagged. Once again, Ellen was the devoted, enthusiastic, supportive friend that kept Jane to her mission.

After visiting London Jane had a clearer idea of what she and Ellen were going to do. "The scheme," as she called it, was similar to Toynbee Hall; it consisted of finding a house in a poor immigrant neighborhood in Chicago and living there, helping the residents mainly by being available to them and offering an avenue of communication to the greater community. Jane explained to sister Mary, when describing a free hospital: "...they have had vacancies all spring because no one has applied. It is a curious instance of the need of communication between the benevolent people at one end of the city and the poverty at the other." ¹⁶⁷ Jane's scheme would close this gap.

Upon returning home, however, Jane became immediately wrapped up in family life again. So too, her family was not very encouraging about her new plans for the future. Although sisters Mary and Alice seemed to support Jane's idea, Jane's stepmother thought such a plan ridiculous. After all, it was totally unsuitable for a young woman of Jane's background to live in a poor neighborhood in Chicago. Anna Addams refused to have any part of such a plan, and throughout her life would never give any financial assistance to Hull House. In part, this was because of her resentment of Jane over George's condition, and in part her belief that she would need all her money to ensure that her invalid son would always be able to receive the care he needed. Jane particularly resented this attitude, for this money had been her father's. The rift between them became so deep that Jane did not even once mention her stepmother in her autobiography. Likewise, her brother-in-law Harry Haldeman believed that such a plan was totally unrealistic and foolish.

Accompanying this discouragement were the endless family duties and responsibilities. Jane was living with Mary again; and helping to take care of the latter's children as well as other members of the family became a full time occupation that overwhelmed Jane. And, again, it was the prodding devotion of her friend Ellen that kept Jane from accepting the "family claim" and giving up her career plans. Ellen was enthusiastic about the "the scheme" and wanted to put it into operation with Jane as soon as they had returned home. She forced Jane to commit herself to carrying out this plan. Ellen's affectionate nagging is clear from a letter Jane wrote her early in 1889:

I was quite sure I would be in Chicago Sat. [sic] but simply cannot leave Stanley [Mary's son], the little fellow has been threatened with diptheria and looks like a ghost. I owe so much to Mary in so many tender ways that I feel now as if I ought to stay. I know you disapprove dear heart, and appreciate your disapproval...Have patience for a few days longer (?)....[Jane visited a bedridden aunt in Iowa]...there is certainly a reward in caring for the sick, and poor and young. Don't scold me, dear, I am awfully sorry about the delay.¹⁶⁸

Obviously, it would be Jane's money that would help finance the venture, and Ellen had to 'nag' Jane as well to save her money. Jane wrote to Ellen, apologizing for sending a \$25.00 donation to Beloit College:

"I must stop doings of that kind and save for our affair. I don't know why I am so weak and need you to keep me from my weakness."¹⁶⁹

Ellen succeeded in keeping Jane from her weakness; she gave her the strength and courage to carry out her plan in the face of family ties and disapproval. Important also to Jane's determination was her stern belief that her father would have endorsed and supported her plan. This was another reason why she resented so much her stepmother's refusal to help financially. Thus, in carrying out the plan, Jane would be satisfying her own perhaps unconscious psychological needs to identify

with her father, but also fulfilling that perceived moral purpose that she had adapted from him.

She believed her plan would have been acceptable to him. This was important, for her father's shadow had loomed across her life. Jane had felt that in her life of study and travel she was moving farther and farther away from that life of moral purpose that her father had exemplified, and thus became even more keenly aware of a sense of inferiority to him. From Europe she wrote to Alice, "I have been self-absorbed and priggish in my life and pray every day for redemption and beneficent goodness."¹⁷⁰ Founding Hull House would give Jane the opportunity to reinstitute her moral purpose and to live up to the ideals of her father. So perhaps it is too strong to say Jane faced family disapproval; she believed the most important person in her life would have supported her venture. The rest of the family's skepticism must have been dwarfed next to this assumed support.

From a knowledge of John Addams, however, it is somewhat dubious whether he would have been as enthusiastic about Jane's plans as she believed him to be. Although John Addams accepted the intellectual equality of women and insisted upon a college education for his daughters, he still believed that the primary value of such an education was to make women better wives and mothers. Addams did accept the legitimacy of certain traditional careers for women, e.g., missionary work and teaching, but the former roles--as wife and mother--were clearly preferred. It is uncertain, therefore, as to whether he would have endorsed Jane's plans. Jane here once again conveniently restructured the memory of her father so it would be a constructive model for her own needs.

Once deciding upon the scheme, it would take more than faith

and courage to put it into operation; here again Ellen Starr was of crucial importance. Ellen's Aunt Eliza taught drawing and painting and lectured in art in Chicago. Several volumes of her poetry had been published and she was a member of the elite social circle there. To succeed, the Hull House project would need the economic benevolence and manpower of this group. Ellen's aunt was instrumental in opening up these circles to Jane. While teaching at the fashionable Kirkland School there, Ellen also had become acquainted with prominent citizens who could be of aid to the scheme.

The specific details of the organization and the opening of Hull House are unnecessary for our purposes here. A few major points should be emphasized, however. First, it is interesting to note that the first weeks of planning entailed meeting the most powerful religious personages of Chicago and getting their support. Now that Jane had discovered a kind of philanthropic service that was agreeable to her philosophy, she no longer regarded missionary work or the churches' representatives in a negative fashion. Indeed, Jane now perceived herself as a missionary to the poor in Chicago. Her attitude toward the church had changed so drastically that she had even been baptized when she returned from Europe.

As previously noted Jane had already joined the Presbyterian church in 1886, when she returned to Cedarville after her first trip abroad. As has been explained, this was a time of indecision and depression. Thus, when Jane states in her autobiography that she joined the church at the lowest point of her morale and purpose, she remembers correctly. However, she blends together her baptism and joining of the church--the former taking place years later. It is this confusion

that results in Allen Davis commenting: "Her decision to join the church was not the product of depression...she was reaffirming the importance of the institution and underlining her commitment to live in a working class neighborhood as essentially a religious act...."¹⁷¹ It was actually her Presbyterian baptism rather than her decision to join the church that was this reaffirmation.

Jane is later credited for the nonreligious atmosphere of Hull House, as opposed to most charity endeavors of that time. It is important to comment in this regard that, originally, Jane had conducted evening prayers at Hull House, and did herself want some religious activity. This was strongly discouraged, however, by some of the other residents, especially Alice Hamilton and Florence Kelley. It is believed here that it was largely their influence that accounted for Jane's later agnosticism. Jane Addams also has been praised for the nonsectarian atmosphere of Hull House. Well, Jane herself being a Presbyterian and the community members 90 percent Catholic, rather than attempting to convert them, or herself convert, a nonsectarian environment seemed an appropriate compromise.

The other important point in regard to the organization of Hull House was Jane Addams' early realization of her own personal need for the scheme and the similar personal needs of other girls in her situation. As we have already indicated, as early as her experience in Baltimore, Jane realized that charity work was beneficial to herself as well as the recipients. Ellen summarized Jane's attitude in a letter to her sister: "Nervous people do not crave rest, but activity of a certain kind. Jane feels that it is not the Christian spirit to go among

these people as if you were bringing them a great boon; that one gets as much as she gives."¹⁷²

The more important realization, however, was the widespread occurrence of this need: Jane Addams was wise enough to see that her own personal problems were shared by the rest of the first generation of female college graduates. In 1893 Jane Addams wrote an article, "The Subjective Necessity for the Social Settlement." Among these subjective needs she stated that settlement work gave the educated, leisured class the opportunity to do something and hence to participate meaningfully in society. This activity would provide emotional and intellectual satisfaction. In another early essay, "Filial Relations," Jane Addams described the social claim as "a demand upon the emotion as well as upon the intellect, and ignoring it she [the young woman] represses not only her convictions but lowers her springs of vitality."¹⁷³

In this essay Jane described in detail the young college girl's dream of sacrifice and help to the unfortunate. This idealistic girl is then sent off to Europe to continue her education:

In the case of the grown-up daughter, however, who is under no necessity of earning a living, and who has no strong artistic bent, taking her to Paris to study painting or to Germany to study music...the years immediately following her graduation from college are too often filled with a restlessness and unhappiness which might be avoided by a little clear thinking and by an adaption of our code of family ethics to modern conditions.¹⁷⁴

The young girl is helpless, for, "She was fitted to grace the fireside and add lustre to that social circle her parents selected for her."¹⁷⁵

This is so clearly autobiographical that any further explanation seems unnecessary. Yet, the remarkable fact is that this explanation--so descriptive of Jane's own life--was so similar to the life of other young leisured women. When she appealed to these young women to come

to Hull House and explained the value of settlement work for them, she must have indeed hit home.

The recreation of the college atmosphere at Hull House was also an important element in reaching the common needs of Jane's contemporaries. Having the opportunity to live and work together, the women of Hull House were able to reassure each other the way they had done in college. As Anne Firor Scott comments, "They reinforced each other in a day when independent women were still the exception, and developed a strong sense of responsibility for their mutual well being. The friendship between them was broken only by death."¹⁷⁶ Thus, Jane Addams' unique appeal together with the recreation of the collegiate atmosphere at Hull House, virtually insured its success. It is no surprise that the first activity at Hull House was a reading club, clearly an academically oriented activity.

To reformulate this conclusion in Erikson's terms, Jane Addams own personal struggle was a common one as well. In describing Martin Luther earlier we said, "What made Martin unique--or rather great--was not the singularity of his inner conflicts but rather his acute awareness of the historical situation...and an ability to utilize that historical awareness in finding a new solution to his own inner struggles; thus a universal one as well." Jane's inner conflicts--her inability to find an identity, a role for herself in society--were perhaps greater than her classmates because of the strong moral influence of her father, reinforced by his untimely death. Yet, these inner conflicts were only a magnification of a common malaise as her like-minded idealistic classmates were also unable to find roles for themselves in society.

Allen Davis expresses this element of Jane Addams' work in a

fashion similar to Erikson's own explanation of the leader:

The settlement house was not a particularly original idea....What Jane Addams did was to take this 'back to the people' idea that was being suggested by a number of others and apply it specifically to the college educated woman in America....It was this ability to apply and popularize and sharpen an idea that was her particular genius.¹⁷⁷

It was Jane's genius to find a solution that enabled young women to have an important role in life, to be the independent and useful "bread-givers" they had always hoped to be, and yet to accomplish these needs in a socially acceptable fashion. William O'Neill remarks, "Like so many others, she [Jane Addams] found in social service a solution to her personal problems which promised, at the same time, to answer the more general questions troubling middle-class America as a whole."¹⁷⁸

As to her "personal problems," Jane's selective recollection of her father's values and ideals--assuming his support for her plan--allowed Jane to integrate her own psychological needs with the memory of her father; she had now successfully identified with him as she perceived that driving moral ambition fulfilled in a manner that would have been pleasing to him. Thus, finally Jane was able to overcome those searchings and personal doubts of eight years. In Erikson's terms, her identity crisis had passed. Jane had constructively integrated her own needs with her image of her father. She now had a sense of mission and a career which she was able to conciliate with her father's values. Jane's often faulty recollections of her father indicate this conciliation; her molding of her perception of him so as to integrate that perception with her own needs, and the needs of other young women as well.

Although the particular mode of philanthropic work was inno-

vative, there was nothing new about women becoming involved in "charity work." Ray Ginger comments, "Their ideals were old; their techniques novel."¹⁷⁹ Indeed, Jane's college education had emphasized the importance of women's missionary service. Jane had been able to translate this personally unacceptable kind of service into a form that was personally philosophically and psychologically satisfying and, just as important, historically relevant. For, at this time industrialization was in full swing and Chicago was being inundated with poor immigrants who were hired for the menial, sweatshop jobs that industrialization had created. These people were of foreign cultures and languages and, without the liason efforts of Jane Addams and her coworkers at Hull House, the isolated immigrants would have fared far worse than they did. The college call for missionary work in far away Japan and Turkey must have seemed indeed irrelevant when one walked among the squalid tenements of the North Side; it was hardly necessary to argue the objective need for such work.

Jane Addams' emphasis of the personal needs of the settlement worker has led to the examination of the psychological origins of such work. Richard Hofstadter points out that Jane's essay, "The Subjective Necessity," indicates the Progressive sense of guilt as a motivating factor for such work.¹⁸⁰ Staunton Lynd replies to this argument: "Does he [Hofstadter] mean to say that it was wrong or abnormal for a member of the urban middle class in 1900...to feel guilty about living in comfort while millions of immigrant families battled tuberculosis and the sweatshop in filthy and overcrowded tenements?"¹⁸¹

Lynd's sentiments are this writer's --recognition of a personal need to help individuals does not imply that neurotic or psychotic

difficulties were the sole motivation for such help nor that such help was not a dire objective necessity. The recognition of the subjective element may help to explain the success of the settlement movement, but it is not meant to downplay the tremendous objective service such work entailed. Jane Addams' career and the history of Hull House speak for themselves.

VII

One hypothesis here is that there are distinct psychological characteristics that are correlated with the development of the active reformer. At this time it would be helpful to summarize the discussion of Jane Addams' characteristics and try to understand her personality.

Jane Addams was a driving, ambitious individual. This element of her personality Jane inherited from her father, who also impressed upon his daughter the necessity of a strong moral integrity and moral service. Jane had a serious disposition as a child; she felt that the world's responsibilities fell on her shoulders: "I dreamed night after night that every one in the world was dead excepting myself, and that upon me rested the responsibility of making a wagon wheel."¹⁸²

Jane was an independent, willful child. Yet, there was an element of sadness intermingled with this independence. Early photographs of Jane show a child with round, sad eyes. The mournful expression in these eyes would remain with Jane throughout her life. Later her photographs seem more peaceful, but not very cheerful. Louise de Koven Bowen, a good friend, described Jane thus: "She impressed me then as always being very sad, as if the sorrows of the neighborhood were pressing

upon her, which indeed they were."¹⁸³ This sadness goes back well before Jane experienced the sorrows of the neighborhood. Perhaps it had originated with the early death of her mother, or more likely, with Jane's youthful feelings of uncertainty and insecurity. With a curved spine, pigeon toes, and rather unimpressive features, Jane felt herself to be physically unattractive.

Biographers have made a point of commenting that Jane was mistaken about her appearance; that she was an attractive young woman. Psychologically, it is of great importance here whether Jane Addams was actually unattractive or only perceived herself to be. This author takes issue with her kindly biographers, for although Jane was an attractive child, by the time she reached college, photographs show that her face had fleshed out, and this, along with her plain features, gave Jane an increasingly unattractive appearance. As she got older Jane's fleshy face sagged, and she became even ugly. As one neighborhood resident described Jane: "She's great. I don't know why it is, she ain't so good-looking, there's lots around here real handsome, and you know she ain't...."¹⁸⁴ Even the government concurred: her passport described her complexion as "sallow."

When Jane Addams was young she was very conscious of her appearance, and sought to improve it. Interestingly, as she got older, she became much less concerned about it. She dressed appropriately, but without much attention to her clothes: "Although she gave the minimum of necessary time to her dress, her taste in line and color was beyond reproach."¹⁸⁵ (Emphasis added.) Her good friend Louise Bowen commented, "For a person who seemed to care so little for clothes, hats often played amusing parts in Miss Addams life."¹⁸⁶ These hats were often the prover-

bial inverted flower pots; Jane's close friends often begged her to part with the more offensive ones.

It is suggested here that, beginning with her college experience as a leader among her peers, as Jane Addams grew older and became more and more successful in her deeds and fulfilled her moral ambition, she became more secure, and hence less concerned about her appearance. She realized that her vast strengths lay elsewhere. She was respected and admired for these strengths, and thus her physical appearance became of secondary importance. So too, we have hypothesized that fulfilling her moral purpose was satisfying Jane's psychological need to identify with her father. John Addams had explicitly disapproved of one's being concerned with one's attire and appearance. By adopting this attitude of John's, Jane was reinforcing her identification with him. However, Jane's early insecurities did not completely disappear; family tensions, political disputes, and press criticism fueled those insecurities. Despite her later steadfast and absolute pacifist stand, Jane Addams was never as privately sure of herself as she appeared publicly: "I have never been sure that I was right....I think we all have to feel our way step by step. I am a very simple person; most of the time not right."¹⁸⁷

To reassure herself as she grew older, Jane Addams drew strength and support from her intimate relationship with other women as well as her identification with her father. Particularly important were Ellen Gates Starr, and later, Mary Rozet Smith. These women were totally supportive to Jane. Though other strong Hull House personalities, such as Alice Hamilton, Florence Kelley, and Julia Lathrop would argue political and social issues with Jane, Ellen and Mary were more the devoted

personal intimates who did not get involved in these issues. Rather, they saw to it that every personal need of Jane was attended to. Jane could face the disapproval of the world if she felt that her closest friends totally believed in her. "...[S]he needed this reassurance; she was happiest and did her best work when she was confident that she was surrounded by adoring disciples."¹⁸⁸

It is hard for us today to comprehend the intimacy between these women. Only half of the first generation of college women married, and many who did not formed close emotional attachments with other women; it was a practical as well as comforting alternative to living alone. Yet, there was something special in the totally selfless devotion of Mary Rozet Smith. Mary became a buffer between Jane and the outside world; a vastly protective one that gave Jane the strength and courage to face a sometimes hostile public environment: "As she [Jane Addams] became a celebrity and played the role of saint, the solace and love of Mary Smith allowed her to throw off her doubts and fears and devote all her energies to her public role."¹⁸⁹

Despite these close personal attachments, there was a more general detached attitude in Jane Addams. Louise Bowen said, "Miss Addams was very affectionate to the people whom she knew well and loved, but was very reserved toward the general public."¹⁹⁰

Indeed, this detachment was directed as well to most settlement coworkers as the general public. Alice Hamilton described Jane Addams as a "mixture of sweetness and aloofness, of sympathetic understanding and impersonality...."¹⁹¹ Another settlement worker, Caroline Urie commented after Jane's death: "To those of us who came late to share her friendship, there was despite her affectionate warmth and sympathy

and understanding always something impersonal about that relation, akin to sharing some blessing of nature that, like the sunlight, shone alike on the just and unjust."¹⁹² There was a certain paradoxical formality among the early residents:

In those early days at Hull House the group of residents was rather small and we had a fairly intimate life, if one can use such a word to describe a relation which was almost entirely devoid of personal intimacy...the atmosphere was impersonal, rather astonishingly so for a group composed chiefly of women.¹⁹³

Was Jane Addams the reason for this impersonal atmosphere? Certainly she was the guiding force of Hull House and set its tone. Even her own niece Marcet remarked upon Jane's impersonality when Marcet was a child: "[Jane was] entirely friendly but rather impersonal."¹⁹⁴ This is even more amazing, as Jane had often spoke of her dear niece in the most affectionate terms!

What accounted for this aspect of Jane Addams' personality? I suggest that Jane's youth played a great role here--the lack of peer companionship until she was eight and the lack of female companionship until college made Jane less comfortable with many close peer relationships. Jane had a disproportionate number of males in her early years, and in her society overt affection and intimacy have always been more acceptable as feminine traits. Her stepmother as well as her father loved Jane, but there was always a formality in those relationships that discouraged much overt affection. Jane throughout her life would retain this formality; an early indication of this was Jane's distaste for the "spooning" and affection among her college classmates.

This attitude also reflect in part Jane's identification with her father and the adoption of his values. As indicated previously, John Addams was not a physically affectionate person; he generally

demonstrated his love for his children through moral tutelage, rather than physical affection. Thus, lack of intimacy was unintentional; it was the result of Jane's early environment and the attitude of surrounding loved ones, particularly her father. Jane did not consider herself to be impersonal, and became quite irate when this was mentioned to her: "It makes her so mad when I speak of it to her--she denies it almost with oaths!"¹⁹⁵

Although Jane claimed herself to be a simple person, she certainly was not. She was a striving, ambitious person who fought against inner doubts and insecurities as well as the "family claim" to find for herself a role in the world. Her striving was so intense because of the predominant influence of her father, and her lifelong quest to live up to what she perceived as his moral purpose: with the support of her somewhat manipulated memory of him and the devotion of her close friend Ellen she was able to overcome the most strenuous family obligations to do what she had believed in.

She dedicated her life to helping the poor immigrants, yet her closest friends were of the wealthy, old immigrant leisured class; partly a result of the lasting influence of her aristocratic stepmother. She loved humanity, and fought alone in the dark to keep people from killing each other during the first world war. Yet, there existed a personal detachment from this humanity in general, and from most private friends as well.

Jane Addams had been able to create a career that fulfilled personal, psychological needs as well as societal ones--a mutual fulfillment she had realized and discussed. Yet, sometimes her social democratic philosophy did not comply with her own personal needs and

elitist tendencies--characteristics that had developed many years before. Jane seldom recognized this contradiction in herself.

In the same way she did not recognize any contradictions between what she had wanted her father to be and what he really was. Jane was not a simple person, but like all individuals, by selective recollections she tried to simplify the confusing elements of her life. This simplification was actually an indication of Jane's own psychological strength; an indication of her ability to constructively integrate her image of her father with the mission she chose. This integration enabled Jane to emerge from those years of searching and doubting with a strong, solidified identity, and a new strength of purpose. It was this remarkable strength that led Jane Addams and her followers to be the prime movers--indeed, the 'pioneers'--of social service in a largely uncaring, selfish world.

FOOTNOTES

¹For more information, see Edwin B. Yeich, "Jane Addams," Historical Review of Berks County, Vol. XVII (Oct.-Dec. 1951), 10-13.

²Marcet Haldeman-Julius, "The Two Mothers of Jane Addams," unpublished manuscript in the Ellen Starr Brinton Papers, SCPC, p. 2. Swarthmore College Peace Collection, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania, hereafter referred to as SCPC.

³John Addams' Journal, Series 7, Box 1, SCPC.

⁴Ibid.

⁵James Weber Linn, Jane Addams: A Biography (New York: D. Appleton & Century Co., 1935), p. 281.

⁶See Anna Addams to John Addams, January 9, 1869 and Weber Addams to John Addams, January 16, 1869, SCPC.

⁷Jane Addams, Twenty Years at Hull House (New York: The MacMillan Co., 1910), p. 23.

⁸John Addams' Journal, SCPC.

⁹Obituary of John Addams, Freeport Budget, 27 August 1881.

¹⁰John Addams Journal, SCPC.

¹¹The denomination of this church is not clear.

¹²Document dated October 10, 1886, Series 7, Box 1, SCPC.

¹³Freeport Journal, 24 March 1869, Series 7, Box 1, SCPC.

¹⁴Freeport Budget, 27 August 1881, Series 7, Box 1, SCPC.

- ¹⁵Jane Addams, Twenty Years, p. 31.
- ¹⁶Linn, Jane Addams, p. 4.
- ¹⁷Jane Addams, Twenty Years, p. 47.
- ¹⁸It is possible that John Addams was referring to the fact that Canada was a monarchy rather than a republic. In the context of the statement, however, the former conclusion seems justified.
- ¹⁹Jane Addams, Twenty Years, p. 54.
- ²⁰Linn, Jane Addams, p. 20.
- ²¹John Addams to Anna Addams, February 20, 1869, SCPC.
- ²²Daniel Levine, Jane Addams and Liberal Tradition (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1971), p. 6.
- ²³John Addams' Journal, SCPC.
- ²⁴John Addams to Alice Addams Haldeman, January 6, 1872, SCPC.
- ²⁵Haldeman-Julius, "Two Mothers," p. 3.
- ²⁶Sarah Addams to Mary Addams, October 15, 1858, SCPC.
- ²⁷Haldeman-Julius, "Two Mothers," p. 5.
- ²⁸George Weber to Devault Weber, January 17, 1863, SCPC.
- ²⁹Freeport Journal, 21 January 1863, SCPC.
- ³⁰Linn, Jane Addams, p. 17.
- ³¹Allen F. Davis, American Heroine: The Life and Legend of Jane Addams (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), p. 6.
- ³²George Weber to Devault Weber, January 17, 1863, SCPC.
- ³³Jane Addams, quoted in Linn, Jane Addams, p. 22.
- ³⁴Jane Addams, Twenty Years, p. 1.

- ³⁵Jane Addams, Twenty Years, p. 1.
- ³⁶Ibid., pp. 2-3.
- ³⁷Ibid., p. 7.
- ³⁸Helen Campbell, manuscript, Series 4, Box 3 (undated) SCPC.
- ³⁹Jane Addams, Twenty Years, p. 7.
- ⁴⁰Linn, Jane Addams, p. 436.
- ⁴¹Jane Addams, Twenty Years, pp. 13-14.
- ⁴²John Addams' Journal, 8 September 1844, SCPC.
- ⁴³Jane Addams, Twenty Years, p. 14.
- ⁴⁴Ibid., p. 8.
- ⁴⁵Ibid., p. 9
- ⁴⁶Anne Firor Scott, "Introduction," in Jane Addams, Democracy and Social Ethics (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, 1964), pp. viii-ix.
- ⁴⁷Anna Addams to John Addams, January 2, 1869, SCPC.
- ⁴⁸Marcet Haldeman-Julius, "Two Mothers," p.10.
- ⁴⁹Ibid., p. 11.
- ⁵⁰Anna Addams to John Addams, February 25, 1869, SCPC.
- ⁵¹Anna Addams to John Addams, February 2, 1869, SCPC.
- ⁵²Marcet Haldeman-Julius, "Jane Addams as I Knew Her," Reviewer's Library, VII, (1936), 4.
- ⁵³John Addams to Anna, February 27, 1869, SCPC.
- ⁵⁴Marcet Haldeman-Julius, "Two Mothers," p. 15.
- ⁵⁵Marcet Haldeman-Julius, "Jane Addams," p. 5.

⁵⁶Jane Addams, Twenty Years, p. 16.

⁵⁷Ibid., p. 17.

⁵⁸Jane Addams, quoted in Daniel Levine, "Jane Addams: Romantic Radical, 1889-1912," Mid-America, 54 (October 1962), pp. 200-201.

⁵⁹Jane Addams to Mary Rozet Smith, 1893, SCPC.

⁶⁰Jane Addams to John Addams, January 11, 1869, SCPC.

⁶¹Jane Addams to Vallie Beck, March 21, 1877, SCPC.

⁶²Jean B. Quandt, From the Small Town to the Great Community: The Social Thought of Progressive Intellectuals (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1970), p. 6.

⁶³Louis Hartz, The Liberal Tradition in America (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1955), p. 55.

⁶⁴Jane Addams, Twenty Years, p. 38

⁶⁵Jean Quandt, Small Town, p. 10.

⁶⁶Ray Ginger, Altgeld's America: The Lincoln Ideal Versus Changing Realities (New York: Funk & Wagnalls Co., 1958), p. 9.

⁶⁷Jane Addams, Twenty Years, p. 19. It would have been more accurate for Jane to refer to this experience as her first direct contact with the dying rather than the death of someone she loved. As mentioned, she claimed to recall her mother's death, although it is possible she merged these two episodes in her mind, as is discussed below. Her sister Martha died when Jane was six. Jane later recalled her terror at staying home alone during the funeral. One source (Wise, Jane Addams, p. 23) indicates that Martha died at Rockford. This is unclear as Linn states that only sisters Mary and Alice studied there (p. 40). At any rate, Jane never mentions recalling Martha's actual death, only the funeral.

⁶⁸Jane Addams, Twenty Years, p. 19.

⁶⁹Ibid., pp. 19-20.

⁷⁰Ibid., p. 20.

⁷¹Jane Addams to Vallie Beck, May 1, 1876, SCPC.

⁷²Vallie Beck to Jane Addams, February 2, 1878, SCPC.

⁷³Jane Addams, Twenty Years, p. 43.

⁷⁴Damon Carey to Jane Addams, December 5, 1877, SCPC.

⁷⁵Vallie Beck to Jane Addams, December 6, 1877, SCPC.

⁷⁶Vallie Beck to Jane Addams, February 2, 1878, SCPC.

⁷⁷Alice Hamilton, Exploring the Dangerous Trades: The Autobiography of Alice Hamilton (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1943), p. 55.

⁷⁸Memorials of Anna P. Sill: First Principles of Rockford Seminary 1848-1889 (Rockford, Ill., 1889), quoted in Allen F. Davis, American Heroine, p. 11.

⁷⁹Jane Addams, Twenty Years, p. 50

⁸⁰Jane Addams to Ellen Gates Starr, August 11, 1879, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College, Northampton, Massachusetts. Hereafter referred to as SSC.

⁸¹Ibid.

⁸²Jane Addams to Ellen, January 29, 1880, SSC.

⁸³Allan F. Davis, American Heroine, p. 15.

⁸⁴Jane Addams to Ellen, November 11, 1879, SSC.

⁸⁵Jane Addams to Ellen, August 11, 1879, SSC.

⁸⁶Jane Addams to Ellen, May 15, 1880, SSC.

⁸⁷Jane Addams to Ellen Starr, August 11, 1879, SSC.

⁸⁸Jane Addams to Ellen Starr, May 15, 1880, SSC.

⁸⁹Ibid.

⁹⁰Jane Addams, "Unknown Quantities," College Theme, May 15, 1878, SCPC.

⁹¹Florence Kelley, "When Co-Education Was Young," Survey, 55 (February 1927), 559.

⁹²Eva Campbell Goodrich to Jane Addams, August 17, 1879, SCPC.

⁹³Jane Addams, "Junior Exhibition Speech," Rockford Seminary Magazine, 8 (April 1880), 110-111.

⁹⁴Sarah Anderson to Jane Addams, July 14, 1881, SCPC.

⁹⁵Jane Addams to Alice Addams Haldeman, January 23, 1880, Ellen Starr Brinton Collection, SCPC.

⁹⁶Jane Addams, Twenty Years, p. 48.

⁹⁷Jane Addams to Ellen Starr, November 22, 1879, SSC.

⁹⁸Jane Addams to Alice Addams Haldeman, January 23, 1880, Brinton Collection, SCPC.

⁹⁹Helen Harrington to Jane Addams, August 23, 1881, SCPC.

¹⁰⁰Jane Addams to Alice Addams Haldeman, January 23, 1880, Brinton Collection, SCPC.

¹⁰¹William O'Neill, Everyone was Brave: The Rise and Fall of Feminism in America (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1969), p. 79.

¹⁰²Jane Addams, "Valedictory," Rockford Seminary Magazine, 9, (July 1881), 221-222.

¹⁰³William O'Neill, Everyone was Brave, p. 79.

¹⁰⁴Helen Harrington to Jane Addams, October 1, 1881, SCPC.

¹⁰⁵Ibid.

¹⁰⁶Helen Harrington to Jane Addams, October 28, 1882, SCPC.

¹⁰⁷Jane Addams, Twenty Years, p. 63.

¹⁰⁸Allen F. Davis, American Heroine, p. 3.

- 109 John M. Linn to Jane Addams, August 26, 1881, SCPC.
- 110 Sarah Blaisdell to Jane Addams, December 24, 1881, SCPC.
- 111 Jane Addams to Ellen Starr, September 3, 1881, SSC.
- 112 See Mary Downs to Jane Addams, May 23, 1880, SCPC.
- 113 Helen Harrington to Jane Addams, July 23, 1881, SCPC.
- 114 Jane Addams to Ellen Starr, June 8, 1884, SSC.
- 115 Ellen Starr to Jane Addams, September 10, 1881, SCPC.
- 116 Jane Addams, quoted in Allen Davis, American Heroine, p.27.
- 117 Jane Addams, Twenty Years, p. 65.
- 118 Vallie Beck to Jane Addams, May 2, 1878, SCPC.
- 119 Damon Carey to Jane Addams, July 28, 1878, SCPC.
- 120 Sarah Anderson to Jane Addams, September 11, 1881, SCPC.
- 121 Marcet Haldeman-Julius, "Jane Addams," p. 5.
- 122 Anne Firor Scott suggests this, "Introduction," p. xxxii.
- 123 Jane Addams to Alice A. Haldeman, April 24, 1887, Brinton Collection, SCPC.
- 124 Jane Addams to Ellen Starr, January 7, 1883, SSC.
- 125 James W. Linn, Jane Addams, p. 178.
- 126 Daniel Levine, Jane Addams and the Liberal Tradition, p. 26.
- 127 Jane Addams to Ellen Starr, August 11, 1883, SSC.
- 128 Jane Addams to Ellen Starr, August 12, 1883, SSC.
- 129 Jane Addams to Ellen Starr, December 2, 1883, SSC.

¹³⁰Jane Addams to Alice A. Haldeman, October 24, 1884, quoted in Davis, American Heroine, p. 37.

¹³¹Jane Addams to Ellen Starr, July 11, 1883, SSC.

¹³²Jane Addams to Weber Addams, October 29, 1883, quoted in Christopher Lasch, The Social Thought of Jane Addams, (Chicago: Bobbs Merrill, 1965), pp. 8-9.

¹³³Jane Addams, quoted in Winifred Wise, Jane Addams of Hull House (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1935), p. 98.

¹³⁴Jane Addams to Ellen Starr, December 2, 1883, SSC.

¹³⁵Jane Addams to Ellen Starr, June 8, 1884, SSC.

¹³⁶Jane Addams to Ellen Starr, March 9, 1884, March 30, 1885, SSC.

¹³⁷Jane Addams to Ellen Starr, March 30, 1885, SSC.

¹³⁸Ray Ginger, Altgeld's America, p. 125.

¹³⁹Ibid., p.126.

¹⁴⁰Allen F. Davis, American Heroine, p. 40.

¹⁴¹Jane Addams to Alice Haldeman, no date, Brinton Collection, SCPC.

¹⁴²Jane Addams to Ellen Starr, February 27, 1886, cited in Lasch, Social Thought, p. 10.

¹⁴³Jane Addams to Alice A. Haldeman, December 28, 1886, January 22, 1887, Brinton Collection, SCPC.

¹⁴⁴Ellen Starr to Mary Blaisdell, February 23, 1889, SSC.

¹⁴⁵Jane Addams to Ellen Starr, April 3, 1887, SSC.

¹⁴⁶Jane Addams to Alice A. Haldeman, January 6, 1888, Brinton Collection, SCPC.

¹⁴⁷Jane Addams to Alice A. Haldeman, January 26, 1888, Brinton, SCPC.

- ¹⁴⁸Ellen Starr to Mr. & Mrs. Starr, February 19, 1888, SSC.
- ¹⁴⁹*Ibid.*
- ¹⁵⁰Sarah Anderson to Anna Addams, February 26, 1888, SCPC.
- ¹⁵¹Jane Addams to Alice, January 6, 1888, Brinton, SCPC.
- ¹⁵²Marcet Haldeman-Julius, "Jane Addams," p. 4.
- ¹⁵³Ellen Starr to Jane Addams, December 3, 1885, SSC.
- ¹⁵⁴Mary Linn to Jane Addams, January 31, 1888, SCPC.
- ¹⁵⁵Jane Addams to Alice A. Haldeman, February 27, 1888, Brinton, SCPC.
- ¹⁵⁶Ellen Starr to Mrs. Starr, February 26, 1888, SSC.
- ¹⁵⁷Jane Addams to Alice A. Haldeman, February 27, 1888, Brinton, SCPC.
- ¹⁵⁸Ellen Starr to Jane Addams, March 17, 1888, Brinton, SCPC.
- ¹⁵⁹Jane Addams to Alice A. Haldeman, March 3 (?), 1888, Brinton, SCPC.
- ¹⁶⁰Jane Addams, Twenty Years, pp. 85-86.
- ¹⁶¹Anne Firor Scott, "Introduction," p. lxxi.
- ¹⁶²Jane Addams to Laura (?), April 25, 1888, in Lasch, Social Thought, pp. 10-11.
- ¹⁶³*Ibid.*, p. 11.
- ¹⁶⁴Jane Addams to Alice A. Haldeman, May 14, 1888, quoted in Allen Davis, American Heroine, p. 49.
- ¹⁶⁵*Ibid.*
- ¹⁶⁶Allen Davis, American Heroine, p. 49.
- ¹⁶⁷Jane Addams to Mary Linn, April 1, 1889, SCPC.

- 168 Jane Addams to Ellen Starr, January 24, 1889, SSC.
- 169 Jane Addams to Ellen Starr, June 7, 1889, SSC.
- 170 Jane Addams to Alice A. Haldeman, March 3, 1888, Brinton, SCPC.
- 171 Allen Davis, American Heroine, p. 52.
- 172 Ellen Starr to Mary Blaisdell, February 23, 1889, SSC.
- 173 Jane Addams, "Filial Relations," Democracy, p. 87.
- 174 Ibid., p. 82.
- 175 Ibid., p. 83.
- 176 Anne Firor Scott, "Introduction," in Addams, Democracy, xxxv.
- 177 Allen Davis, American Heroine, pp. 63-64.
- 178 William O'Neill, Everyone was Brave, p. 118.
- 179 Ray Ginger, Altgeld's America, p. 11.
- 180 See Richard Hofstadter, The Age of Reform (New York: Random House, 1955), passim.
- 181 Staughton Lynd, "Jane Addams and the Radical Impulse," Commentary, 33, (July 1961), 54.
- 182 Jane Addams, Twenty Years, p. 5.
- 183 Louise de Koven Bowen, Open Windows: Stories of People and Places (Chicago 1946), p. 87.
- 184 Anne Forsyth, "Workers for the Common Good," The Circle (September 1908), p. 143
- 185 Marcet Haldeman-Julius, "Jane Addams," pp. 27-28.
- 186 Louise de Koven Bowen, Open Windows, p. 251.
- 187 James W. Linn, Jane Addams, pp. 416, 436.

- ¹⁸⁸Allen Davis, American Heroine, p. 94.
- ¹⁸⁹*Ibid.*, p. 91.
- ¹⁹⁰Louise de Koven Bowen, Open Windows, p. 226.
- ¹⁹¹Alice Hamilton, Dangerous Trades, p. 55.
- ¹⁹²Caroline Urie to Ellen Starr, May 25, 1935, SSC.
- ¹⁹³Alice Hamilton, Dangerous Trades, p. 61.
- ¹⁹⁴Marcet Haldeman-Julius, "Jane Addams," p. 8.
- ¹⁹⁵Jane Weber Linn to Ellen Starr, May 4, 1935, SSC.

CHAPTER III

The Youth of Louis Dembitz Brandeis: Legal Reformer

I

Louis Dembitz Brandeis' parents--Frederika Dembitz and Adolph Brandeis--along with their families were among the many individuals who emigrated from Europe after the failure of the uprisings there of 1848. They emigrated because they found the political conditions at home in Austria unbearable after 1848. In her detailed study of the Brandeis family during this time, Josephine Goldmark describes the 48'ers as "People who, after the failure of their hopes in mid-Europe, sought in the new world the liberty for which the liberal youth of France and Italy and Germany and Austria had died in vain."¹ The economic conditions were also discouraging, especially for Jews who were forced to pay special taxes. America indeed seemed to offer glorious possibilities, with farmlands, urban economic opportunities and political freedom readily available.

Adolph Brandeis was born and raised in Prague. He studied agriculture at the Technical School there and graduated with distinction, but was unable to secure a job. Adolph then sought other career opportunities and travelled to Hamburg, where he obtained a position in the grocery business. Subsequently Adolph went to England, spending several months employed in the food import business. In these positions Adolph hoped to receive training so as to eventually form his own business. He explained, "The first problem is to find a good position which seems to be very difficult. The pay of the best clerk is worse

than in Prague, and as for any hope of independence, no one can tell about that."²

Adolph returned to Prague while revolutions erupted all over Europe. However, he did not return in time to witness the most critical revolts there and because of an attack of typhoid fever he took no direct part in the uprisings. Adolph, however, was an intelligent concerned young man and was certainly mentally and spiritually, if not physically, affected by these revolts. Josephine Goldmark comments on his state at the time:

But no generous young man, experiencing in his own person the bitterness of repression, inheriting a tradition of governmental tyranny could fail to react to the tremendous upheaval of liberalism about him....The intensity of feeling, hope which he shared with his generation is shown by the fervor of the constant reference in Adolph Brandeis' letters to America to the 'wonderful year' when 'the spirit of the Lord' informed the peoples of Europe and His mighty voice overthrew the tyrants.'³

During these tempestuous days, Adolph Brandeis became engaged to Frederika Dembitz, and after the collapse of the revolution the two families sought to migrate to America where they hoped to start a new life and a new career in farming. Since Brandeis was the only member of the group who had even briefly studied in this field, he was selected as the scout who would first travel to America in order to determine the possibilities of developing a farming colony there.

Adolph made this journey with a friend who was sent over by the Rothschilds, and thus was graciously received everywhere in America. He became a shrewd observer of the American people and American life and was immediately enamored with the native institutions and environment--one so totally distinct from the conventions of European city life to which he had been accustomed. Although Adolph found the natives' manners "unbearable," their individuality and independence--the absence

of the European necessities of refinement and their restrictive social conventions--enthralled him. He carefully examined the American style of living and was enthusiastic about what he saw. In January 1849 he wrote home:

When you look at people and see how they work and struggle to make a fortune, you might think you were living among merely greedy speculators. But this is not true...it is not the actual possession of things but the achievement of getting them that they care for... this hard work...[is a] kind of patriotism. I have gotten hold of a book which contains the messages of all the presidents. This week I have been reading of the progress in Washington's day, and I felt as proud and happy about it as though it had all been my own doing....It is the triumph of the rights of man which emerges and in which we rejoice. I feel my patriotism growing every day because every day I learn to know the splendid institutions of this country better.⁴

Thus, Adolph was an immediate convert to the American way of life. It is not surprising to discover that he took out citizenship papers within two months of his arrival.⁵

His enthusiasm for America and American institutions, however, did not extend to farming--the planned occupation of the family circle. Adolph realized that the rigors and monotony of pioneer farming would be unsuitable for European city-bred, cultured individuals. To the family's disappointment, he convinced them of the insurmountable obstacles farming would present, above all its tedium: "and this tedium can become the most deadly poison in family life."⁶ Adolph then investigated the other career he was familiar with--the grocery business. He obtained employment in a Cincinnati grocery store and recommended to the family members that they investigate the process of manufacturing sugar, soap, and starch.

Despite this setback in the families' plan, Adolph's correspondence continued to warmly recommend their future home:

To your own surprise you will see how all your hatred of your fellowmen, all your disgust at civilization, all your revulsion from the intellectual life will drop away from you at once. You will appreciate the fact that these feelings are solely products of the rotten European conditions.⁷

Intermingled with these detailed letters of American life were emotional, romantic letters to his fiancée Frederika. The deep regard and affection he held for Frederika is evidenced by these letters.

The entourage left Europe in April 1849. There were twenty-six people in the party, consisting of the Dembitzes, the Gottlieb Wehles (Frederika's uncle), and the Brandeises. The refinement and sophistication of the party was evidenced by the impressive array of baggage: twenty-seven great chests containing china, silver, and linens, two grand pianos, feather beds and other items of middle class elegance. When, upon moving into their new home, a dowry chest fell and opened, the surprised neighbors recalled "what seemed to be the contents of a prospective linen store."⁸

Eventually arriving in Cincinnati, the family finally abandoned the idea of a farm colony. Adolph succeeded in convincing them that the opportunities in produce were great, and that these opportunities would be maximized by settling in the Ohio valley, with its substantial river traffic. Madison, Indiana, a town of 10,000 inhabitants, was the chosen site. The move required Adolph to leave his Cincinnati grocery employment. His employer was so disappointed at losing this able employee that he offered Brandeis a partnership, which the latter declined. There were family obligations and Adolph sought independence as well. Dr. Dembitz, Frederika's father, chose to remain in Cincinnati and practice medicine there. His son Lewis decided to continue his legal studies, and obtained employment with a rising Cincinnati lawyer

of German heritage.

In Madison the family built a cornstarch factory and established a grocery and produce business. There, in September 1849, Frederika and Adolph married and lived together with the latter's brother and a daughter of the Wehles. The cornstarch factory failed, but the produce business flourished. Two years later, in 1851, the Brandeis brothers moved to Louisville where Adolph developed a wholesale grain and produce business. This concern prospered and grew until the depression of the 1870s forced a closing.

Ever since his European days, Adolph had been interested in politics. His business entailed travelling to the back country along the Ohio River to buy crops. There he avidly discussed the state of affairs with local farmers. "He was in the true sense of the word democratic, for he enjoyed all human relations. And in all his intercourse, as in the country grocery store of the fifties, the first topic of interest was the 'state of the nation,' the politics of the day."⁹

Describing his first months in America, Adolph had written home that he was already more interested in American politics than in European affairs. Partly this was due to young Adolph's disappointment and frustration over the European turn of events. Mostly, however, it reflected his great admiration for the more open, independent nature of American institutions. This admiration was to last throughout his life:

Adolph Brandeis never lost that sense of personal identification with the success or failure of democratic institutions which he had, in arriving in the United States, felt to be a distinguishing trait of the Americans....To this early influence, not unnaturally, the set of sons of the house may be ascribed...identifying themselves in their different ways with community concerns, civil and social.¹⁰

Adolph's heritage--as many of the generation of 1848--was strong in emphasizing individual freedom and disdaining the curse of tyrants. He became an abolitionist and was an early advocate of the Free Soil party. This stance was not popular in his new home of Kentucky, where most of the leading families were slave sympathizers. These strong abolitionist sentiments were an element of Louis Brandeis's earliest memories.

This awareness of and involvement in community affairs--even the most controversial ones--was part of the childhood experience of Louis Brandeis. Also part of this experience was Adolph Brandeis' avid enthusiasm for the individual opportunities that America afforded. But, let us not look too far ahead at this point. For, whatever, the Brandeis sons became was also in large measure the result of the influence of their capable, cultured mother, Frederika.

Frederika Dembitz Brandeis was an extremely intelligent, mature young woman, as her Reminiscences reveal.¹¹ This record of her youth--written some fifty years later--gives us a vivid picture of that time in her life. It is filled with literary references as well as perceptive analyses of her early family and friends.

Although Frederika's childhood was not an entirely happy one, it was a varied and enriching experience. Her mother's family in Prague was large and well-to-do. While Frederika lived there she stayed at her maternal grandparents stately house. Her father, Sigmund Dembitz, was a capable doctor who earned only a meagre livelihood. For varied reasons, Frederika's family moved often. Of her several homes Prague remained her favorite--the city she remembered best and enjoyed most.

Although her father's income was not large, the family seemed

to live comparatively well at times. They employed a maid and young Frederika cherished vivid memories of splendid children's balls and Christmas celebrations. She had little formal schooling, but the family often employed private tutors, supplementing their own rich educational instruction. Frederika studied the French language, Greek mythology, and read Schiller and Goethe: "I developed very early and read with enthusiasm every book that I saw or that I had not been forbidden to read."¹² She later had music and drawing lessons, and became quite proficient at the piano.

There was sadness in Frederika's life as well. A younger brother of two died suddenly from a brain concussion. It turned out that the child's wet nurse had negligently allowed the child to fall from a horse on a merry-go-round. This was a great blow to her mother: soon after she died of a stroke. Her mother's death was a crushing experience for young Frederika: "Was there ever a child of twelve who felt more deserted? My grief grew more intense day by day. I hoped that I might die in a year as my mother had died one year after her own mother."¹³

Frederika felt her father never recuperated from this loss. The family returned to Prague, where the adolescent Frederika became increasingly aware of her appearance. "I was greatly admired....But I did not consider myself beautiful except for my hair and my eyes. Moreover, I was badly dressed....This resulted in a certain lack of self confidence. I really knew a great deal more than my friends, but I was not conscious of it."¹⁴

Frederika's family moved to Frankfurt, and then Sagan in the Prussian province of Silesia. "My father never was prosperous any more in spite of his learning, skill and fascinating personality. Our house-

hold in Sagan was as sad as it had been in Frankfurt...."¹⁵ However, Frederika developed close friendships with several girls, and at this time she met Adolph Brandeis: "We fell in love with each other at that time more than either of us realized. He was uncommonly charming, graceful, and had all the poetry of youth and unusually good manners."¹⁶

Although all the members of her family were Jewish, Frederika's youth contained no formal religious training. Her paternal grandfather and her father had been members of a radical Jewish sect whose adherents were known as Sabbatarians. Frederika was extremely cynical about this movement and its members' "superstitious beliefs." As to her family's acceptance of it, she comments, "All this I can explain only by the fact that they were unhappy and depressed by the sad condition of Jews and ready for a faith which promised them help."¹⁷ While this statement explains the atmosphere that allowed Sabbatarianism to develop, it does not explain the movement itself.

Sabbatarians were followers of Sabbatai Zevi, a seventeenth century spiritualist. The movement sprung from the discontent of the European Jews and their inability to reconcile the hope that their religion had instilled in them with the disappointing historical reality. In order to reconcile these two factors Sabbatians set out to reinterpret history and revise Jewish theology. As they were living in an evil (that is, unredeemed) world, they claimed that one must participate in this evil in order to attain the good, as a seed has to be covered by soil in order to grow. Such evil included disobedience of the Torah, whose prescriptions were believed to be relevant only for that time when the Messiah arrived and goodness ruled. Sexual license was at times part of this evil, with some Sabbatians having sexual relations with

other Sabbatian couples. This practice resulted in children of believers being automatically labelled as bastards by some rabbis. Hence, with the demise of the movement every effort was made by these children and their offspring to hide their Sabbatian past.

Thus, it is not surprising that Frederika was scornful of this movement and its members. She refers to the Sabbatians in general as "infatuated people" who had temporarily taken leave of their senses. Later, the Dembitz family, as others, became disillusioned with the movement and abandoned it and its leader, Jacob Frank. This group became known as ex-Frankists: Jews who "under the laws...lived with Jews, but in spirit they had broken with the ghetto."¹⁸ Because of their separateness, this group was among the first to welcome the spirit of freedom spreading in Europe after the French Revolution. Ex-Frankists were also among the earliest beneficiaries of modern assimilation.

The family's Sabbatian heritage explains in part Frederika's distaste for religion and the Brandeis family's disregard of their religious heritage. Frederika did not even know to which Jewish doctrines her parents subscribed. Formal religious education, however, was replaced by moral training. Frederika proudly states that her parents "believed in goodness for its own sake and they had a lofty conception of morality with which they imbued us and which I developed further for myself."¹⁹ She grew up believing that goodness and truth rather than attendance at church services were the necessary elements in bringing God nearer. "Love, virtue and truth are the foundation upon which the education of the child must be based."²⁰

Although Frederika had "serious inner struggles" because of the absence of a definite religious formula, the moral atmosphere of

her youth enabled her to overcome these struggles, and she learned to become enamored to the spirit, not the form, of religion. "This is my justification for bringing up my children without any definite religious belief."²¹

As a child, Frederika had a great imagination. Because her family life was often sad, Frederika retreated into a world of her own. This world originally evolved as a result of her mother's death. On the first page of her Reminiscences, she states: "I lost my mother who was dearer to me than anything in the world and whom I idolized, when I was twelve, and I felt myself infinitely solitary and deserted. I was much alone and lived in a world of my own imagination."²² This world was enriched and buttressed by the vast reading Frederika did. "The people whom I met, I compared with people in books. I idealized them for my own benefit and so I really led a double life and my happy disposition and good health often helped me over household troubles."²³ Interestingly, Frederika claimed that her romantic longings were exclusively contained in this illusory world; in the 'real' world she was eminently practical and sensible: "...my romanticism could not get the upper hand, and I think I retained my common sense in relation to practical life."²⁴ After her marriage--the happiest time of her life--Frederika must have given up this imaginary world, but retained her great love of literature and instilled this love in her children. Her strenuous adherence to common sense she also transmitted to her children. This would later become a lasting characteristic of Louis Brandeis.

In spite of feeling "solitary and deserted" Frederika sought independence. When her father decided she should become a governess the rest of the family objected strenuously. However, Frederika herself

was amenable: "What attracted me to the position was the independence of it and the sense of being able to accomplish something."²⁵ In this vein, she believed in women's own accomplishments, and reported angrily in her Reminiscences the foolishness of her dear friend Betti's being forced by her parents to marry at the tender age of seventeen since this girl was so brilliant, vigorous, and charming. Many hopes and dreams, Frederika claimed, had to be buried by this early marriage.

Her mental abilities rather than her physical beauty were her strongest point. An acquaintance of Adolph's in Madison recorded in his diary: "He [Adolph] represents her [Frederika] as accomplished but not beautiful. He says the doctor's [Samuel Brandeis] is the handsomest of the three girls, but that his betrothed is the cleverest and best educated."²⁶ This coincides with Frederika's self image.

Thus, Frederika was an independent, intelligent, imaginative, yet practical woman. Although not beautiful, she was widely read and accomplished. Frederika was well suited to readjust to a new environment and a new life, and she would certainly enrich the lives of those around her. That her attitudes and enthusiasms had a profound effect on Louis will become clear in the following pages.

II

Louisville in the mid nineteenth century was a prosperous, developing city. Located on the Ohio River, it was the intersection between the North and South, East and West, and soon became a busy marketing city with a cosmopolitan atmosphere. In the latter aspect, the city was indebted in large part to the European Revolutions of 1848.

Like the Brandeises and the Dembitzes, many Germans had left Europe for America at this time. The census of 1850 indicates that upwards of a half million Germans (including Austrians) now resided in the United States. They outnumbered all other immigrants in the Ohio Valley. Indeed, their presence was so striking that Abraham Lincoln, then a young lawyer in Illinois, travelled with a German grammar book and studied the language in evening classes.

As the Brandeises, many of these migrants were educated, cultured families who "wished to participate in literary and scholastic activities on their own merit."²⁷ They frequented the library and participated in discussion groups there. The Brandeis family, however, was a close knit, self reliant group: "Although prominent in community life in Louisville, they found the most stimulating companionship among themselves...."²⁸

The bustle of Louisville drew as well Frederika's brother Lewis, who began a notable legal career there in 1853. Lewis Dembitz was a brilliant lawyer and a Judaic scholar: he quickly became the dominating figure of this distinguished group. His influence on his nephew Louis Brandeis was great, particularly in the latter's choice of career and his subsequent interest in Zionism. At this point, therefore, it is helpful to describe this family member in greater detail.

Lewis Dembitz (1833-1909) studied law one semester in Prague, and continued this study upon his arrival in the United States. Even before his noteworthy legal career, however, Dembitz showed himself to be a young man of uncommon distinction. An American acquaintance described young Dembitz in the following adulatory manner:

He is only sixteen and is very boyish in appearance of manner and his juvenility escaped him in divers [sic] ways. But the child is already 'father to the man.' He is a prodigy of information and must have genius. He was born for distinction...with quick comprehension [has] grasped in a coup d'oeil, the main features of our whole legal and political system....It was wonderful to hear a boy of his age and his extreme youthful appearance expatiate on matters of state and of law with the familiarity of an old acquaintance of them. His knowledge is that of a man, his appearance that of a child.²⁹

Lewis studied law in Cincinnati and then joined the rest of the family in Louisville, where he opened a law office. Dembitz was a brilliant lawyer and an individual of the strictest moral integrity. This moral reputation discouraged several prospective clients. In a political incident, Dembitz indicated this integrity by proposing the utilization of the secret ballot in the state legislature in order to diminish the huge amount of bribery there. He was a legal scholar as well, and wrote several books, most notably Kentucky Jurisprudence and Land Titles in the United States.

Lewis Dembitz participated enthusiastically in the political and civic affairs of his new home. From a young age, Dembitz had been interested in politics: "A letter written by Lewis Dembitz to his cousin Julia Wehle in 1856 shows the ardent political interests of these young people at a time when the new Republican party was in the process of formation...."³⁰ As the rest of the family, Lewis was a staunch abolitionist. In Louisville he befriended James Speed, the brother of Joshua Speed, Abraham Lincoln's closest friend in Springfield. In 1860 Dembitz was among the twenty-three delegates from Kentucky who nominated Abraham Lincoln.

Lewis was widely read and his interests were vast. He had speaking and/or reading knowledge of a dozen languages, contributed to

encyclopedias, and became well versed in Judaic culture. He was especially well known in this latter area, and was often referred to as the "Jewish Scholar of the South." He wrote a book entitled Jewish Services in Synagogue and Home. This book indicated his understanding of and love for Judaism as a culture and a history rather than just a set of moral precepts. Lewis' orthodoxy was surprising in light of the family's religious history: He was "one of the very rare cases of return to orthodoxy in Sabbatian families."³¹

These intellectual accomplishments and his independent religious behavior made a great impression upon his young nephew Louis--there were 23 years between them--who regarded his uncle and his uncle's profession with the greatest awe and respect. Many years later Louis Brandeis donated his own literary collection on Palestine and Hebraica to the University of Louisville, dedicating it to this uncle. He wrote at the time:

To those of my generation Lewis Dembitz was a living university. With him, life was unending intellectual ferment. He grappled eagerly with the most difficult problems in mathematics and the sciences, in economics, government and politics....In the diversity of his intellectual interests, in his longing to discover truths, in his pleasure in argumentation and the process of thinking, he reminded one of the Athenians. He loved books...he made his love contagious.³²

Lewis Dembitz was extremely devoted to his Judaic studies and became an early follower of Theodor Herzl and the Zionist movement. Even after Lewis Dembitz's death, an awareness of his link with Zionism would awaken Louis Brandeis' own interest in this cause.

Throughout his career Louis Brandeis proudly discussed his uncle's achievements. This awe and admiration began at a tender age; in his uncle's honor young Brandeis changes his middle name from David

to Dembitz. Subsequently, Brandeis credited his Uncle Lewis with inspiring him to choose a legal career--certainly the most important decision of his life. From Uncle Lewis, as from his parents, Louis became aware of the political and moral concerns of life. This awareness included a strong sense of political involvement and political efficacy. Additionally, Uncle Lewis's actions indicated that there was no conflict between active political involvement and a legal career, and a strong personal moral code.

Louis later struggled to become an independent and self reliant young man. Yet, as he would subsequently find out, ties to his family and their values, as embodied in Uncle Lewis, were too strong to permanently break away from.

III

Louis Dembitz Brandeis was born on November 13, 1856, the youngest child of Frederika and Adolph. He was preceded by Fanny in 1851, Amy in 1852, and Alfred in 1854. Louis was born into a happy and affluent household. Adolph Brandeis' success corresponded with the growth of Louisville. His grain business prospered and he and his partner also owned a flour mill, a tobacco factory, an eleven hundred acre farm, and a river freighter.

Louis enjoyed a happy and active boyhood. The Brandeis family lived in a large house on exclusive Broadway, had servants, and owned horses which Louis loved to ride. He indulged in the common boyhood pranks and pratfalls: frightening maids with straw dummies, teasing girls, and burning himself with gunpowder. His youth was a more enriched

one, however. Cultural activities abounded in the Brandeis home. The large house became a frequent meeting place for musicians and other artists. As a result of her own literary interests, Frederika encouraged her children to read and permitted only certain topics of conversation at the dinner table. These topics included discussion of personalities, books, music and the arts.

The family was sufficiently prosperous to travel. There were visits to New York, Niagara Falls, and Canada. A summer was spent in Newport, where the Brandeises boarded with several other families from Louisville. There the children enjoyed boating, fishing, and swimming. The boys--Alfred and Louis--rode donkeys and read at the library.

The Brandeis family and their relatives were an extremely close-knit group. A genuine and deep affection existed among members of the family. The intimacy of this group--within the immediate family and the extended family--would have a profound effect on Louis. Not only did he love the individuals in his family, but he admired and respected them as well:

The family was unusually close, and one of the most consistent characteristics of Louis Brandeis would be his intense family loyalty--not merely his immediate family, but obscure cousins and distant aunts and uncles would always find in him a sympathy and a friendship and a concern which would last until his death.³³

This closeness was especially evident between Louis and his mother. Throughout his life, Louis' letters to her indicate the great bond of affection and esteem that existed between them. At the tender age of fourteen he wrote to her: "My dear darling Ma: As I can't write to you tomorrow, I use my time tonight to write a few lines and congratulate my dear Ma on her wedding day, the first one I have not been with you."³⁴ The most profound and touching statement of Louis's lifelong

regard for his mother is perhaps the birthday greeting he sent her from Boston in 1888:

I must send you another birthday greeting and tell you how much I love you; that with each day I learn to extol your love and your work more,--and that when I look back over my life, I can find nothing in your treatment of me that I would alter....I believe, most beloved mother, that the improvement of the world, reform, can only arise when mothers like you are increased thousands of times and have more children.³⁵

Erik Erikson delineates the first stage of the human life cycle as the time of the establishment of Basic Trust, or conversely, Basic Mistrust. The evidence of the continual devotion and affection that existed among the members of the Brandeis family enables one to conclude that a deep sense of trust was instilled in young Louis at this time. Erikson states that the maternal relationship is especially important at this time; the closeness, the warm intimacy that existed between Frederika and Louis is apparent from these lines.

We know that Louis Brandeis became an unusually ambitious and determined individual. It is interesting to try to discover the genesis of this ambitious personality.

In this vein one should not assume that these early building blocks of trust, love, and confidence guaranteed Louis a perfect childhood. For, throughout his life Louis was plagued by physical problems: he was muscularly weak and developed eye trouble. Years later the director of the Harvard gymnasium would claim that of all the students he had examined, Brandeis' physique was the most delicate. Such a marked weakness must have manifested itself in Louis' childhood as well--physically and emotionally.

Alfred Adler, the leading psychoanalytic expert on organ inferiority, explained that children with physical inferiorities usually

develop corresponding emotional insecurities. These children seek to overcome these feelings of inferiority by unusual striving. Such striving often takes the form of overcompensation: the weak child seeks to show that he is capable of not only normal, but superior, strength. Aggression is often the path for expression of this strength. In Adler's own words: "These impressions [of humiliation] which emerge by necessity from an original feeling of inferiority evoke an attitude of aggression, the purpose of which is the overcoming of a great insecurity. In this attitude of aggression are found all attempts of the child which promise an enhancement of the self esteem."³⁶

Thus, one could conclude that despite early nurturance, the physically weak Louis harbored feelings of insecurity. These feelings were exacerbated by Louis' situation of being the youngest and smallest child in the group. His play group usually consisted of the two Brandeis brothers--Alfred was three years older than Louis--and their cousin Adolph, who was a year older than Alfred.

In light of these factors, one should not be surprised to discover that Louis was the most aggressive member of his group. "[W]henver a 'Little Lord Fauntelroy' came upon the scene, Louis Brandeis, who was the youngest of the crowd with whom he played, would be egged on by the older boys to fight the newcomer."³⁷ He soon developed the reputation of being a scrapper.

Louis reinforced this reputation several years later when at the age of fourteen, he fought with a schoolmate over a female classmate. No one could actually recall who won the fight, although the event itself was well remembered: "The excitement lasted about fifteen minutes, and is described by authentic eye witnesses as a 'beautiful fight'...

each of the boys was born to his home with his face covered with blood and trailed by a crowd of admiring schoolmates."³⁸

Aggression can take many forms, physical manifestations being only one. Louis found that it was possible to overcome stronger, older children by intellectual means as well. At ten years of age Louis was the youngest member to join the Websterian debating society. It was not long before he charged the treasurer with a discrepancy of forty cents in the club accounts.

I believe that these acts of self assertion were Louis' way of overcoming those feelings of inferiority. One should not conclude, however, that such early feelings sealed the path of future development: insecure children need not become insecure adults. Adler himself emphasizes the importance of family and environmental factors:

Here, as elsewhere, love can be an ameliorating factor...sick and weakly children should be treated and strengthened as soon as possible....One should not educate for obedience...the education plan must aim particularly at bringing the child to self reliance of judgment, at making him more independent of the opinion of others, and at setting up substitute goals.³⁹

It almost seems that Adolph and Frederika had written these instructions themselves: their educational plan followed this one exactly. As regards Louis' strength, he was never coddled. Indeed, physical activity was encouraged in the Brandeis household. There was boating, riding, swimming, and even hiking. One the family's European trip the Brandeis boys and their father hiked often. Once Alfred suggested that they continue a particular hike until they arrive at the source of a river they were trailing. Louis tartly replied, "I don't see why I should have to find the source of every damned river in Europe."⁴⁰

Brandeis reportedly made this complaint in good nature, but a

sense of irritation seems obvious. Did the Brandeises push Louis too far in their zeal for physical accomplishments and the development of independence and self reliance? Did Louis feel that this thrust for independence was a rejection of him--a too strong encouragement to go his own way, i.e. away from them? Did his early independent actions, taking and keeping him away from home, have a twofold motivation--that is, to completely overcome childhood feelings of inferiority as well as to punish his parents for pushing him too far? As it is impossible to validate empirically, these conjectures as to the cause of Louis' feelings of inferiority and rejection are only tentative ones. Another possible source of Louis' unusually strong ambition is the demanding superego instilled in him by his determined and hardworking parents, particularly his mother. The Brandeis' values were almost classically puritanical in advocating the Protestant work ethic. Thus, as children "inherit" their parents' superego, one could assume that Louis inherited this drive and determination.

The Brandeises emphasis on independence was not only physically exhausting for young Louis, it was sometimes dangerous as well. As the Brandeises had emphasized independent judgment and personal freedom, they enthusiastically supported the abolitionist cause, hardly a popular position in their new Kentucky home. Indeed, their allegiance was so unsanctioned that Adolph Brandeis found it necessary to temporarily transport his family across the river as a raid by Southern sympathizers was feared. This dangerous, yet staunch position in favor of individual freedom was Louis' earliest memory.

I remember my mother carrying out food and coffee to the men from the North. The streets seemed full of them always....But there were times when the rebels came so near that we could hear the firing. At one such time my father moved us across the river. Those were my earliest memories.⁴¹

Louis was five at this time. That this respect for individual freedom had caused the Brandeises to leave Austria and had subsequently endangered their lived in America would not be lost on young Louis.

Louis's strong drive for self enhancement no doubt was an important motivational factor in his scholarly achievements. Beginning with his earliest formal education, Louis was an outstanding student throughout his career. "Like his sisters and brother, he was given every educational advantage that Louisville could afford, and he made good use of all his opportunities."⁴² He attended the German and English Academy of Louisville, where most of his grades were six, denoting perfection. This remarkable academic record continued through Louisville Male High School. While there Louis was awarded a gold medal by the University of the Public Schools in Louisville "for preeminence in all his studies."

Despite the earlier prosperity of Adolph Brandeis' business, the post-war depression in the South caused severe losses. Adolph chose to dissolve the firm, anticipating even greater setbacks in a general economic depression. This seemed an opportune occasion for a trip, and with Lewis Dembitz's encouragement the family planned a European sojourn. They sailed August 10, 1872.

Louis heartily enjoyed the crossing. In a diary he recorded details of the length and weight of the ship, and times of departure and arrival. These details demonstrate Louis' lifelong interest in specific facts. The family arrived in Europe in August, and Louis

planned to continue his education at the Gymnasium in Vienna. However, despite his excellent school record in the United States he was unable to pass the entrance exams. This turn of events proved fortunate as it gave Louis the opportunity to travel in Europe, which provided a far greater education for this young perceptive observer than any classroom recitation could have.

After spending the winter of 1873 in Vienna, Louis and his family toured Italy and spent the following summer in Switzerland. Travelling with Frederika Brandeis ensured that the cultural and historical aspects of the journey would not be neglected. Brandeis thoroughly enjoyed this year of travel; it left an impression that lasted a lifetime. Years later he would write to his brother Alfred, recalling with fondness particular events from this European trip.⁴³ Some thirty-five years later Louis wrote to Alfred upon the departure of the latter's daughters to Europe: "I hope they may get as much lifelong enjoyment out of their trip as we did from ours."⁴⁴ This trip also stimulated Brandeis's later interest in the histories of ancient cultures--his favorite subject of leisure reading.

That fall Alfred returned home to work and Louis decided to go to school in Dresden at the Annen-Realschule. His sister Amy had become ill with typhoid fever, however, and his family was unable to accompany Louis there to make the necessary arrangements. Did Louis resent all the attention and affection that Amy got when she was sick? And now, especially that this attention was at his expense? But Louis had been trained for independence and must have set his mind to prove to himself and his family just how self reliant he could be.

Thus, at the tender age of sixteen, Louis set out by himself

to Dresden. Arriving there he found lodgings in a small hotel. The following day, armed with a letter of introduction, he visited a gentleman who had two sons attending a private school. This gentleman encouraged Louis to attend this school, but Louis declined, claiming to want the experience of public school training. The man agreed to accompany Louis to the latter's chosen school a few days later; he had business commitments and could not make it early. Louis had already resolved to go the following day, and thus would have to do so unescorted.

The next day Louis ventured alone to the public school, "but through diffidence, circled around the building several times before entering."⁴⁵ He finally went in and met the rector who insisted that Louis would have to pass an examination in order to be admitted. Louis maintained that such an examination would be unfair as he had not studied along the school's lines. He finally convinced the rector that if allowed to enter he would study with a private tutor and take the exams at mid year, three weeks off. The rector demanded birth and vaccination certificates. Louis answered, "The fact that I'm here is proof of my birth and you may look at my arm for evidence that I was vaccinated."⁴⁶

Thus, although originally nervous about entering, once inside it is remarkable how well Louis handled himself. At sixteen he had aggressively and successfully argued his case. His achievements at the Realschule further demonstrated the rightness of it. His grades there, as in the past, were excellent. Despite studying twelve courses simultaneously Louis's noteworthy schoolwork merited a prize. He selected a book on Greek art in which the rector inscribed: "A prize awarded out of the Heymann Endowment to the honor student, Louis Dembitz Brandeis, for industry and good behavior by the faculty of the Annen-Realschule,

Dresen, March 19, 1875."⁴⁷

Brandeis's educational experience in Dresden was an intellectually as well as an academically rewarding one. He felt it was here in Germany that his mind really developed. Paul Freund, the noted legal scholar, was a law clerk to Brandeis. He explained:

I heard him [Louis Brandeis] say that although he did well in his studies theretofore, it was not until he went to Dresden that he really learned to think. He said that in preparing an essay on a subject about which he had known nothing, it dawned on him that ideas could be evolved by reflecting on your material. This was a new discovery to him.⁴⁸

This realization, along with his concrete achievements in Dresden added to his growing self confidence and reinforced his efforts to be independent.

Travelling through Europe and studying at the Annen-Realschule also provided an education in the understanding of different cultures, and Louis' now mature attitude was a distinct preference for the American culture he had left at home. Similar to his parents who had emigrated from Europe, Brandeis disliked the rigid, authoritarian German culture, exemplified by the respect that was expected of students toward faculty members at the Realschule. "I was a terrible little individualist in those days" Brandeis said, "and the German paternalism got on my nerves."⁴⁹ In an oft quoted Dresden incident, Brandeis once forgot his keys, and in order to enter his room whistled loudly so as to arouse his roommate. He was reprimanded for this breech of conduct. Brandeis later commented, "This made me homesick. In Kentucky you could whistle! I wanted to go back to America and I wanted to study law. My uncle, the abolitionist Lewis Dembitz, was a lawyer; and to me nothing else seemed really worthwhile."⁵⁰

Thus, at this time, apart from his family and boyhood friends, Brandeis made the crucial decisions of his life. This Dresden experience was an important aspect of Louis Brandeis's development. There for the first time he was away from his family and was truly on his own. This first experience of independence marked a turning point in Louis's life. He had always been trained, or perhaps one might speculate pushed, into being independent. Now he saw that he really was capable of standing on his own, that he did not need other people, even his own family. In 1890 he wrote to his fiancée Alice Goldmark: "Is it not strange. [sic] For seventeen years I have stood alone--rarely asking--still less frequently caring for the advice of others. I have walked my way all these years but little influenced by any other individual."⁵¹ Seventeen years prior to that time was 1873, the year Louis entered the Annen-Realschule. Thus, he himself perceived this time as a turning point in his life; from that year onward he had regarded himself as entirely self reliant and self dependent.

Yet Louis would later realize how strong were his ties to his family and how greatly he had been influenced by them. Even now, although making his own career choices, which then contradicted his parents' wishes, Louis was following in their footsteps. For, Frederika and Adolph Brandeis had also fled Europe at one time in order to enjoy the less coercive nature of society in America. Their warm regard for this society has been indicated, and one can assume that this enthusiasm was transmitted with much emphasis to the Brandeis children. And, although Frederika and Adolph preferred a career in medicine for Louis, it was Uncle Lewis's notable legal career that moved Brandeis in this direction, as the latter himself indicated.

Delineating the various crucial developments in Louis's life at this time, it becomes evident that this period of his development corresponds to that most important stage of the human life cycle--the identity crisis. Erikson states that, "In some young people, in some classes, at some periods in history this crisis will be minimal...."⁵² This appropriately describes Brandeis's 'crisis.' For, although it was not a crisis in the sense of a long, arduous period of uncertainty, it was a crisis in the sense of an important turning point in Louis's life. Erikson explains that he employs the word 'crisis' to mean this as well: "Each successive stage of development...is a potential crisis because of radical change in perspective. Crisis is used here to connote not a threat of catastrophe, but a turning point, a crucial period of increased vulnerability and heightened potential...."⁵³

During this crucial period there is little evidence of grave emotional doubts and insecurities. Indeed it is believed here that during this time many of those childhood insecurities were overcome. Louis perceived that he could be as independent as his parents had encouraged him to be. And, ironically this independence would include being separate from his family as well.

The strong moral atmosphere in the Brandeis home was a factor that enabled Louis to make his own decisions. Frederika had said that she wanted to give her children something that "could not be argued away or given up as untenable namely, a pure spirit and the highest ideals as to morals and love."⁵⁴ The strong moral tenets that Louis Brandeis was raised with were those kinds of ideals and beliefs that, as opposed to some religious doctrines, the mature adolescent does not have to surrender as inaccurate or unrealistic. That Louis did not have to lose

confidence in certain important boyhood beliefs was intellectually and emotionally important. Such an experience builds security and confidence in the adolescent, and thus makes the important decisions seem simpler and more obvious.

The absence of formal religious training indicates the overall attitude of the Brandeises toward their children. Adolph and Frederika's distaste for the formal structured, inflexible nature of European society led them to eschew formal doctrines, and instead encourage individual moral initiative among their children. This parental encouragement was supplemented by Louis's own thrust for self reliance as a compensation for his physical weakness. These factors intertwined so as to encourage Louis to become an independent, assertive, and self reliant individual.

This independence, I believe, however, did not completely satisfy that ego drive for self enhancement. Brandeis not only sought to be independent, he sought to be successful as well. That youthful physical aggression would be transformed into a powerful ambition. Just as the inferior child was not happy until he had proven his physical abilities superior through fighting, now the newly self reliant adult would not be content until he could definitively prove his intellectual superiority. This ego drive was intense and not easily satisfied. Thus, despite early successes, an underlying discontent would surface on occasions.

Adolph had wanted Louis to remain in Europe and study medicine. However, Louis had already decided to return home and study law. In the spring of 1895 he and his family sailed for America. Embarking in New York, they went to visit friends in nearby Massachusetts, where Louis made arrangements to attend the Harvard Law School that fall.

IV

Brandeis once said that the years he spent at Harvard "were among the happiest of my life. I worked! For me the world's center was Cambridge."⁵⁵ He studied intensively at Harvard, but this was truly a labor of love. Brandeis became totally immersed in his legal studies and the atmosphere of law school itself:

My thoughts were almost entirely occupied by the law....Law schools are splendid institutions. Aside from the instruction there received, being able continually to associate with young men who have the same interest and ambition...must alone be of inestimable advantage. Add to this the instruction of consummate lawyers, who devote their whole time to you.⁵⁶ (Emphasis in original)

Law seems so interesting to me in all its aspects; it is difficult for me to understand that any of the initiated should not burn with enthusiasm.⁵⁷

Brandeis's own burning enthusiasm is especially noteworthy as he had chosen to pursue a relatively new method of studying law--law school. Traditional legal training had consisted of reading in a lawyer's office; this was the manner in which his Uncle Lewis had been apprenticed. At the Law School itself, however, things were changing as well.

Christopher Columbus Langdell, who became a professor of law at Harvard in 1870, revolutionized the method of teaching law. Langdell regarded the standard textbook training as ineffective. Instead, he selected actual cases in the various legal areas and supervised the students' analyses of these in class. By dissecting individual cases, and understanding the arguments of counsel and the courts one would eventually arrive at an understanding of the law.

Many lawyers and legal scholars were still skeptical about this new technique. However, this method was perfectly suited for Brandeis's keen deductive mind and he warmly applauded it. In a later article

describing Langdell's technique, Brandeis commented:

The intellectual self reliance and the spirit of investigation which this new method of instruction engender have produced the Harvard Law Review. [Brandeis was among the founders of this review.] There could be no stronger proof of the excellence of this system of instruction than the ardor of the students themselves. The students live in an atmosphere of legal thought. Their interest in as fever heat....⁵⁸

This enthusiastic account is clearly autobiographical; it demonstrated Brandeis's own fervid attitude toward legal study and this technique.

Brandeis's enthusiasm is evidenced not only by his preoccupation with law and law school, but also by his achievements there. Louis had not attended college, although he did have the advantage of studying in Germany, where the educational system was clearly superior. Therefore, his preparation at the Real-Schule was probably comparable to his classmates who had graduated from the best New England colleges. Yet, at eighteen he was still young to attend law school; in fact he was the youngest in his class. Again, Louis found himself to be the youngest in the group, and again he proved himself to be superior in spite of this. Now, however, it was through intellect rather than muscle.

Louis was clearly the outstanding scholar of his class. Indeed, as of 1941, his scholastic record there was still unmatched: "'A' grades began in the neighborhood of 90, as contrasted with the 75 of the present period, but Brandeis's two year average stands at 97 and includes three marks of 100 and two of 99."⁵⁹ Even more remarkable is the fact that Brandeis achieved this distinguished record in the face of financial and physical adversity.

As to the former, Louis was forced to borrow money from his brother in order to attend law school. Thereafter he earned his way by tutoring less knowledgable classmates in the law. So successful

was this endeavor that Brandeis not only repaid his brother, but had sufficient remaining funds to buy a six hundred dollar bond. His physical problems presented greater difficulties.

It was the habit of students to study with oil lamps. The extensive use of this inconsistent light source often caused eye strain, and Brandeis became a victim of this strain. The condition became so aggravated in Brandeis' first year at law school that he could read only with considerable pain. Brandeis consulted a doctor who advised him to quit law school. The enthusiastic young law student sought another opinion. The second doctor advised Brandeis that he could continue his studies so long as he substantially relieved this eye strain. This Brandeis managed by having friends read to him, and hence was forced to rely heavily upon his own memory rather than written material in his study of the law.

This physical adversity resulted in two fortunate developments. Brandeis honed his memory. His later amazing ability to recall the most minute particular facts was a great asset to him. For, Brandeis not only became a brilliant legal scholar who would revolutionarily analyze the facts, but also an individual with a remarkable, computer-like brain which could remember all these facts. Secondly, this physical limitation caused Brandeis to institute a rigorous study schedule for himself and encouraged tremendous self discipline. Brandeis understood exactly his capabilities and limitations and made sure to utilize his time and effort in the optimum manner. Many years later he wrote to his brother:

It's just fifty years since my eyes gave out. Since then there has never been a time that I haven't had to bear in mind physical limitations of some sort, the walls curbing activity were always in sight; and I had to adjust my efforts.⁶⁰

Aside from his ocular weakness, Brandeis suffered from a generally poor physique. The director of the Harvard Hemenway Gymnasium, Dr. Dudley A. Sargent, claimed Brandeis had the weakest muscular structure and the most delicate physique of all the students he examined. Sargent prescribed a daily course of exercise which Louis diligently followed throughout his life. Because of this weakness and a vigorous work schedule Brandeis always took a vacation whenever he felt he needed one. His exacting schedule was rigorously maintained so as to maximize his physical and mental capabilities. Brandeis once wrote to his brother, who he believed was overworking himself: "I have made a study of mental tire [sic] for a quarter of a century and know more about it than I do of law or insurance."⁶¹ Thus, as in his youth, Brandeis had overcome his weakness by extraordinary efforts to prove his strength. His motivation was that persistent drive for self enhancement that now took the form of striving for success in school.

In spite of these physical adversities, Brandeis succeeded brilliantly at Harvard. Even then his classmates realized the singular distinction of this student. Forty years later, Philip Alexander Bruce, a Harvard colleague, commented:

...I can recall as clearly as if it were yesterday the pleasant voice of the youthful student, his exact and choice language, his keen intellectual face, his lithe figure, his dark yet handsome aspect, and finally the unaffected suavity of his manner, that had in it something of the polish of the Old World. Intellect, refinement, an alert and receptive spirit were written all over his attractive personality.⁶²

James Landis, the dean of Harvard Law School, remarked: "Moreover his gracious manners, his intellectual vivacity, and his personal magnetism led his friends to introduce him to Boston society."⁶³ This quotation indicates an important aspect of Louis's Cambridge experience.

Louis's abilities and talents opened many doors in Cambridge; here he was welcomed into a new social life and became an active member of a new culture. The warm reception, the feeling of being wanted that young Louis gained from Boston society was an important psychological element in his strong attachment to it. Perhaps his acceptance here was a substitute for his perceived family's rejection of him. Such a substitution was so simple as this society, though far in distance from his family, was near in many of its values and ideals.

Louis Brandeis entered Boston at the most opportune moment. In the Boston of the 1870s and 1880s the values of Ralph Waldo Emerson, William James, James Russell Lowell, William Lloyd Garrison, and Henry Demarest Lloyd reigned supreme. These intellectuals emphasized individuality, cultural and moral independence, respect for intellectual ability rather than hereditary caste, and a belief in the mission of cultivating the goodness in all men.

Brandeis was immediately attracted to these principles; they so closely mirrored those values his parents had emphasized. At Harvard he kept a notebook in which he jotted down quotations and references that had special meanings for him. These included many classical authors, but emphasized his favorite recent ones--Emerson and Lowell. The quotations he selected from these Bostonians emphasize independence, strong moral values, and the necessity of moral leadership. From Emerson he quoted:

It is easy in the world to live after the world's opinion; it is easy in solitude to live after our own; but the great man is he who in the midst of a crowd keeps with perfect sweetness the independence of solitude.

Every man takes care that his neighbor shall not cheat him. But a day comes when he begins to care that he does not cheat his neighbor. Then all goes well. He has changed his market cart into a chariot of the sun.

In Lowell moral leadership was emphasized:

The masses of any people, however intelligent are very little moved by abstract principles of humanity and justice, until those principles are interpreted for them by the stinging commentary of some infringement upon their own rights.

And realistic reappraisals, so common a facet of Brandeis's later career, are encouraged by Lowell:

The imputation of inconsistency is one to which every sound politician and every honest thinker must sooner or later subject himself. The foolish and the dead alone never change their opinion.⁶⁴

As becomes evident from these brief quotes, Brandeis's values and beliefs were perfectly suited to the Bostonian intellectual climate, as were his abilities. "In an upper class society which still paid homage to qualities of the mind, his brilliance had opened many doors...."⁶⁵ Brandeis, as shall later be seen became an active, participating member of Boston society. His reputation--the knowledge of his outstanding achievements at Harvard--elicited all the opportunities needed for a busy social life and a successful legal practice. The necessity of previous social position, connections of wealth or commercial prominence were mitigated in the intellectually stimulated Boston society at this time.

In those days Brandeis was respected and sought after for his brilliant mind and charming personality. Despite his rigorous study schedule, Brandeis had found time for an active social life where he was introduced to the best families of Cambridge. During one particularly busy time he wrote to his sister Amy: "I have been quite a society man for the past week--out for breakfast, out for lunch, out for dinner,

out for teas--almost less 'ins' than out."⁶⁶ Brandeis was drawn to this social life not only for the stimulating company; the flattering attention he received here was also a factor.

The Brahmins' respect for individual achievements also accounts for the absence of anti-Semitism in Boston society in the 1870s. Many of its members had been incensed by the Dreyfus case. When several resort hotels initiated a policy of excluding Jews, William James had publicly stated he would return the boycott. For this reason Brandeis could later categorically claim that he had met no religious prejudice throughout his Boston experience: "My Jewishness has always been an absolutely uninfluential quality. While I cannot say that it has ever helped me, it is equally true that it has never injured me."⁶⁷

It is difficult to believe that Louis, an extremely intelligent and perceptive young man, was so oblivious to his religious and cultural background and other people's awareness of it. He must have minimized his own Jewish heritage and repressed any recognition of this heritage by others. Louis's desire to so thoroughly adapt himself to Boston society was an important factor in this repression. Other elements, however, were involved as well. The Brandeis family in Louisville had generally ignored its Jewish heritage, partly because of its Sabbatian background that was so eagerly buried. Also there was a general thrust among German Jews to assimilate into the American mainstream as much as possible. The German Jews, especially the forty-eighters, respected the American political and social systems and sought to adopt--and be adopted by--this country as rapidly as possible.⁶⁸

Brandeis's avoidance of his Jewish heritage also related in part to his effort to cut himself off from his family and truly become

adopted by Boston. This response was due to his perception of his family's earlier rejection of him. The similarity of the two families' values had made such a transference simple. However, when his new family's values diverged from his original one's, Louis would discover just how deep-rooted those original ties had been. These ties, along with his emotional growth, would steer him away from this new family.

Brandeis's grades at law school had given him the privilege of being the class valedictorian. However, at twenty years of age Brandeis was too young to graduate according to university rules. At a last minute meeting commencement morning the Harvard trustees decided to suspend the twenty-one years of age requirement and allowed Louis to graduate. It was too late, however, for him to give the valedictory address. Again, he was the youngest in his group and had asserted himself. Now not physically, but intellectually. Brandeis returned home to Louisville for the summer, reading law with his brother-in-law Otto Wehle. That fall he returned to his beloved Harvard to spend a year in graduate study. During this study Louis received employment as a proctor in Harvard College and was able to improve his financial situation.

Louis was now superbly prepared to enter upon a legal career; the decision remained as to where. A year before Louis completed his graduate study, he received an excellent offer from his sister Fannie's husband, Charles Nagel, who practiced in St. Louis. St. Louis was then experiencing a period of great development. After the Civil War it had become a center for steamboats and railroads, and lawyers were moving there in great numbers. Records indicate that the Law Library Association membership increased from 143 in 1865 to 428 in 1879. By this later

date there were some 585 lawyers in St. Louis.⁶⁹

Charles wrote to Louis enthusiastically describing his practice and insistently encouraging Louis to join him. However, Louis was not to be pushed and did not reply immediately. Nagel, feeling uneasy about his own forcefulness, wrote again to Louis urging him to follow his own inclination and select the office that he himself felt best suited his interests. As Louis's classmates and professors, Nagel already recognized Brandeis's great legal potential: "Do not forget that no one more than I concedes your chances."⁷⁰

Louis finally chose to go to St. Louis, but not with his brother-in-law's firm. The reason why he rejected Nagel's offer is unknown. Nagel did find him another opening in St. Louis, with James Taussig, a nephew of Harvard economist F. W. Taussig. This one Louis accepted. He arrived in St. Louis in November 1878 and moved in with Charles and Fannie Nagel and Nagel's parents.

One plausible explanation for Louis's decision was his reluctance to reestablish close ties with his family. He had proven his independence, and desired to keep it. His family had encouraged this self reliance: now they would be the recipient of such encouragement. Also, Louis sought to keep a connection with Harvard so that he would be able to remain in those society circles he had enjoyed so much in Boston. Taussig was connected with Harvard, and was a well known member of the St. Louis community. His prominence is evidenced by Carl Schurz's respectful mention of James and his brother William, while describing his visit to St. Louis in his Reminiscences.⁷¹

The Brandeis family was naturally disappointed that Louis chose St. Louis rather than his hometown to begin his practice. Adolph Brandeis

and his son Alfred had reestablished a business dealing in grain shipments that was then beginning to prosper. Louis would have had its legal business as well as the assistance of Otto Wehle, his brother-in-law who enjoyed a successful practice in Louisville. However, Adolph and Frederika Brandeis recognized the independence of their son and encouraged him to make his own decision, even though it would prolong his absence. His mother wrote: "I never felt prouder and happier about my boy."⁷² On August 11th of that year his father also wrote, emphasizing Louis's capabilities and the value and importance of his following his own inclinations. I quote at length to underscore this point:

I had given up hope a long time ago that you would settle here, and therefore the news that you had decided for St. Louis was not a very big disappointment....With your energy and with your persevering diligence you cannot, with the help of God, miss altogether in any career, and it is only a question of which gives you the best opportunity to express your talents. And this must always be tried out. I think that in this case you may follow your own inclination with assurance, and I am grateful that you spared us the struggle of the choice. For in the long run we could only have advised you against your inclination. Moreover, even if your reasons were not as strong as they are, you would be right just the same in following your inclination. For you are so young that you can afford to risk something, and I do not doubt that, whatever you undertake, can turn out only to be a beneficial step in your development. Therefore I leave you to yourself with the most blissful confidence and send you my blessing. A temporary separation from any one of you is probably unavoidable and I only hope that we parents will be allowed to have you occasionally near us....⁷³

This thoughtful, loving reply to Louis's decision is in itself a confirmation of the previous delineation of the Brandeis family's values and ideals. Yet there seems to be a double message here; a definite sense of Adolph's disappointment comes through. The Brandeises had wanted Louis to be intellectually independent, yet they did not foresee that such an independence would preclude their intimacy with him as well.

V

Brandeis's practice in St. Louis turned out to be unexciting and uninspiring. For an independent, ambitious person such as he it was particularly difficult. He had been given the right to develop an independent practice and to retain the income from his own cases. Brandeis had stationery printed with his own letterhead for this use. Yet, this private practice did not develop as quickly as he had hoped. Brandeis wrote: "My own practice, independently of what I get from James & George Taussig is not very extensive."⁷⁴

Louis continued to enjoy an active social life in St. Louis. These social activities, as all aspects of Louis's disciplined schedule, were compartmentalized; they were allocated a particular time, from which they did not vary. This time was after dinner, when Louis, throughout his career, never read or worked due to his history of eye strain and strong belief in the necessity of relaxation. As he wrote to his sister Amy: "Don't imagine I have become utterly frivolous & depraved. Dancing and Society [sic] occupy only my young nights' thoughts. Such an idea entering my mind by day would be terribly maltreated--indeed, it should leave hope behind."⁷⁵ Louis, however, did not find the social life here as stimulating as it had been in Boston. He wrote home: "I was heartily tired of ballroom conversation; in fact was disposed to become melancholy and to moralize on the total depravity of man and woman."⁷⁶

The whole atmosphere of Boston he associated as well with intellectual and cultural stimulation, which seemed sorely lacking in St. Louis: "I suppose the Cambridge letters may have greatly conduced to my impatience with ballroom superficiality and vapidty. There are 'lots' of nice people

in the Massachusetts town."⁷⁷ "Lots of nice people" who admired and sought out Louis, who made him feel wanted and respected.

Thus, when Samuel D. Warren, Jr., his old Harvard roommate who had graduated only second to Louis, wrote him suggesting a legal partnership and the editorship of a law journal, Louis was immediately interested. For, not only would such a partnership return him to Boston, the prestige of the Warren family would guarantee his readmittance into that social world that he had so enjoyed.

The editorship excited him, as it perfectly suited his scholarly interests. Yet he felt his career as a practicing lawyer was paramount and inquired if it were possible to do both as the use of his eyes must still be strongly regulated. He wrote:

I regard the suggested editorship as highly desirable: but it must be in aid of and incidental to our law partnership, and not in substitution of it. Furthermore, my eyes, though quite strong again, allowing me to work practically the whole day and as much as ordinarily required in a lawyer's practice, must be still carefully used and would not, I fear, be able to stand much or regular nightwork. Whether a legal editorship is compatible with these considerations I cannot here determine. I conceive that it might be and must beg you carefully to investigate whether it is.⁷⁸

Apparently Warren's reply was in the affirmative and after careful consideration Brandeis decided in July to accept his offer. He was most anxious to return to Boston. Unhappy in St. Louis, Louis looked back with fondness to those contented days in Boston. He wrote about his decision to return: "It was reached last week after much hesitation & doubt and trust it is for the best. The risk I recognize is great--but happiness and contentment are rare birds worth chasing."⁷⁹ This statement, depicting happiness and contentment as 'rare birds' indicates the underlying malaise Louis sometimes experienced. This was caused by that irrepressible drive for ego enhancement. Such a

drive resulted in a great ambition, an unyielding desire to attain independence and success.

Brandeis' affirmative decision was due to his great respect for Warren and the Warren family and his great desire to return to Cambridge--that locale of happier days. Perhaps he felt that in St. Louis, living with his sister and brother-in-law and surrounded by family friends, he had been guaranteed a certain security. Geographically, too, it was near home and near those opportunities that family contacts afforded. These opportunities were repugnant to Louis who sought the total independence that the eastern city offered. In this light he wrote to Charles Nagel: "I have much to hope for here and although the loss of advice, support & assistance of the family is great, I find much comfort & consolation in the feeling that whatever I have achieved, or may achieve here is my own--pure and simple--unassisted by the fortuitous circumstances of family influence or social position."⁸⁰ That driving ambition, that ego demand for self enhancement through independence and success, was again moving Louis.

Almost immediately his Boston experience seemed to confirm the rightness of his decision. Although the editorship did not materialize, Brandeis secured a position as law clerk to Chief Justice Horace Gray of the Massachusetts Supreme Court. This position gave Brandeis first-hand experience in writing judicial opinions--and opportunity to analyze the law objectively and logically, which had always so fascinated him: "The law as a logical science has very great attractions for me...the almost ridiculous pleasure which discovery or invention of a legal theory gives me."⁸¹

However, Brandeis's elated spirits were sobered when he received

a letter from his mother. For although he felt he had made the right decision and desired to be totally on his own, Brandeis missed his family more than he realized he would. The emotional ties to home and the values learned there were stronger and more deeply rooted than young Louis perceived. It was only when these ties and values were put to the test that their strength became apparent to Louis. The following quote from one of his letters to home indicates the depth of his attachment, yet demonstrates as well the strength of those ego drives pushing Louis to prove himself successful as well as independent, disallowing contentment until such success is attained:

Dearest Mother,
 When I received your letter and those of others, it seems to me as if I were a fool to have settled here so far away, instead of staying with you and enjoying you and your love. Of course, one can live anywhere, but there is also ambition to be satisfied. But man is strange, at least this one is; he does not enjoy what he has--and he always wants what he does not yet have. That probably is called ambition--the delusion for which one is always ready to offer a sacrifice.
 So I think I shall be happier here in spite of being alone, and if I can write you about success, it will counterbalance all the privations. And I believe, you too will enjoy me more from a distance, if you know that I am happy.⁸²

This ego drive was the same force that pushed the young, weak Brandeis to be physically superior to his peers; it now drove him to be more successful than those peers. Thus success would not be measured by a financial yardstick. The family's influence had seen to that. Brandeis's ambition was to attain professional excellence and to distinguish himself as a first rate lawyer.

The partnership with Warren was successful. The two partners' personalities were similar. Brandeis commented: "I think we will work well together and that he is a good supplement to me. I like his push and obstinancy and his ambition. He is a person with a fine sense of

professional & commercial honor...."⁸³ (Emphasis added.)

Samuel Warren belonged to a wealthy, established Boston family, and this, along with Brandeis's own impressive intellectual credentials, guaranteed the latter a full, active social life. Brandeis joined the most prestigious Boston clubs. He had always loved riding, and joined the Dedham Polo Club; he also enjoyed boating and sailing and became a member of the Union Boat Club. He lunched at the Exchange Club, served as secretary of the Boston Art Club, and maintained his physical regimen at the Turnverein, a prestigious German athletic club.

Brandeis had already been introduced to the best known families in Cambridge and Boston during his Harvard Law School days. These contacts he reestablished, and, with the added assistance of Sam Warren, he further extended his circle of impressive acquaintances. The factually precise Brandeis kept in a notebook a thorough record of the new people he met, how he had been introduced, and occasionally his impressions of them. He was often present at dinner parties and other evening gatherings. Stimulating company and their obvious regard for Louis made these social experiences quite enjoyable--far more so than that stultifying ballroom conversation predominant in St. Louis.

My postals have told you how gay I have been of late, that is gay for me...[a friend] was kind enough to reserve a seat for me next to two very bright girls and I was fixed for the evening as you can well imagine. I should really like to play very much were it not for the terrible expense of time and energy required.⁸⁴

Brandeis was a person of a serious nature.⁸⁵ Though he enjoyed these social outings, they were only supplements to his first interest--the law. He would not allow himself to get too thoroughly involved in the social scene as that would interfere with that drive for success that demanded fulfillment. Yet, in society he could temporarily forget

that drive, that underlying nagging ambition that precluded contentment. His own words indicate the discomfort that this drive caused him. Louis commented that he was gay, but only relatively: "that is, gay for me."

At one particular social occasion he met a woman of "unusual character and quality" whom he found to be most entertaining company. However, after enthusiastically describing this woman to his sister, Brandeis adds:

You of course are very much interested in this young lady because you think I am smitten with her. But Alas! It is not so. One mistress only claims me. 'The Law' has her grip on me....⁸⁶

And so it was; one mistress, one drive, one overwhelming ambition.

Although Brandeis was clearly infatuated with Boston society, he also perceived his social activities there as useful to his legal career.

For, joining clubs not only provided a social outlet, but also an opportunity to encounter new clients. Brandeis wrote: "I must go soon to the Turnverein and try to be captivating...and get some clients from their number."⁸⁷

His widening circle of prestigious friends was also helpful in this regard. Among them were legal scholars who Brandeis sought out for advice as well as company. One of these was Oliver Wendell Holmes, with whom Brandeis developed a warm friendship years before their mutual Supreme Court tenure. Another factor stimulating Brandeis' desire for an active social life was his aspiration to be an independent lawyer rather than "so-and-so's" attorney. A social standing equal to his client's would help guarantee that independence.

Social activities in themselves Brandeis felt were also instrumental in training the individual to become a better lawyer. Social intercourse assists in the understanding of human nature and a good

lawyer, Brandeis believed, must know his client as well as the law.

Several years later an associate asked Brandeis's advice as how he could improve his practice. In this vein Brandeis replied:

No hermit can be a great lawyer...The great physicians are those who in addition to that knowledge of therapeutics which is opened to all, know not merely the human body but the human mind and emotions....

A lawyer who does not know men is handicapped. It is like practicing in a strange city....The ability to impress them [the clients] grows with your own success in advising others, with the confidence which you yourself feel in your powers. That confidence can never come from books; it is gained by human intercourse.⁸⁸

Social activities also give the relaxation that is necessary for a lawyer to perform at his best. As indicated, because of Brandeis's physical weakness he always made sure to include some daily relaxation in his schedule. He advised:

The bow must be strung and unstrung; work must be measured not merely by time but also by its intensity; there must be time also for the unconscious thinking which come to the busy man in his play....⁸⁹

Thus, Brandeis's social activities were also handmaidens of his primary mistress, the law. Such activities served professional purposes and even when enjoyed in and of themselves enabled one to be a better lawyer by allowing the necessary respite to improve later work. Brandeis was a most practical individual. His outlook toward social recreation perfectly complimented his general attitude and personality. Brandeis's schedule, rigorously kept, meticulously provided for every necessary detail of his life, and every department of that schedule had a particular purpose. The discipline with which Brandeis followed his self instituted schedule was worthy of any blueblood Boston Brahmin, whose culture had always esteemed this characteristic.

During these years Brandeis continued an active association with the Harvard Law School. He was appreciative of what Harvard had done for his career and his social life, and sought to be of assistance to the law school. Professor Thayer of the law school often consulted him in fund raising matters. In one incident the school sought endowment of a chair for Brandeis's friend, Oliver Wendell Holmes. Brandeis fortuitiously ran into a law school colleague, William Weld, who had just inherited three million dollars. He quickly convinced the new millionaire of the worthwhile opportunity he now possessed to endow this chair. Weld contributed the necessary funds--ninety thousand dollars--and Holmes joined the Harvard faculty.

Professor Thayer recognized Brandeis's abilities, and perhaps also in gratitude to his money raising efforts, he suggested that Brandeis take over his course, "Evidence," while he was on leave. Because of financial difficulties this was postponed until March, 1882, when the president of Harvard himself invited Brandeis to give the course. Brandeis accepted, and thus at the tender age of twenty-four was preparing to teach at the Harvard Law School.

His family was overjoyed at the news of Louis's faculty appointment. They had always revered scholarly activities, and a university position represented the greatest honor. His proud parents, however, hoped that Louis would not overwork himself by accepting this new position. Uncle Lewis Dembitz, the esteemed attorney in the family was also impressed by this appointment. The congratulatory letter he sent Louis was particularly moving:

Last Friday night your mother came to our house near 10 o'clock with President Eliot's letter of appointment in her hand, addressed to you as 'Louis Dembitz Brandeis.' It's the first time that I felt glad at your changing your middle name from 'David' to 'Dembitz.' Your grandfather, if he could know it, would be but too happy in knowing that one bearing his name has achieved an academic office, for none had a greater veneration than he for anything connected with the University.⁹⁰ (Emphasis added.)

This quote indicates the Brandeis family's great respect for academic achievements. It is interesting to note that Uncle Lewis commented that this was the first time he had felt glad that his nephew had changed his middle name. Wasn't the fact that Louis had admired him so much pleasure enough in itself? And, if not, wasn't Louis's graduating first in his class at Harvard Law School a sufficient honor? It seems that to please the family was a demanding job indeed.

As in everything else, Brandeis succeeded brilliantly as a teacher and was offered an assistant professorship at Harvard. This provided an opportunity he had always sought--a career in the logical, analytical side of the law. However, in his private practice Brandeis was becoming increasingly enamored with trial work and was reluctant to give this up. He felt his physical condition would not allow him to do both: "I am rather disgusted with myself physically. I have taken very good care of myself, worked moderately, and still find myself much below par; that is, I am easily exhausted and worn out, without adequate reason."⁹¹

As ambition no doubt dictated, Brandeis chose to continue his legal practice and refused the teaching position. This must have been a great disappointment to his parents who were so pleased by his previous teaching appointment. As usual, though, they accepted Louis' decision and understood the reasons for his choice. "His parents, stopping with him at Plymouth that summer were disappointed. But their Louis had always made plans for himself."⁹²

His father wrote to Louis at this time:

I consider the offer and the manner in which it was made to you as the greatest honor that can be given to a young man of your age... In no way do I intend to divert you from the path you have planned for yourself, and from seeking your fortune where you think you can find it most quickly. Maybe it is cowardice that I have such little inclination for and joy in fighting, and I should congratulate myself that my sons are made of better metal. I believe though, that all my life I have tried to do my duty, and this sense of duty my sons have inherited from me. Luckily, they have received as a heritage from their mother the will to fight and some ambition, and that is why they are such fine fellows whom God may protect.

These comments indicate not only Adolph's pleasure with his son's strong ambition, but also his own sense of sadness in perceiving himself as deficient here; in this sense and perhaps in others a failure. Adolph frankly states here that he believes his sons' ambitious nature was inherited from their mother Frederika. This confirms our perception that Frederika was the dominating parental image.

Adolph's negative self perception at this time was caused in part by business failures. Again, his business was unsuccessful. He had written to Louis the previous October:

The cotton business has been given up and the result is as miserable as I imagined it to be. The winding up of the business now only consists of trying to collect bad debts, and this up to now, is my sole occupation, for nothing new has turned up...Enjoy this beautiful time with all your might and be conscious of it, because it won't always remain as beautiful as it is now, even if luck, with God's help, will favor you."

This statement indicates a pessimistic and resigned view of life; certainly unlike Frederika's enthusiastic, hopeful and ambitious attitude. Louis' attitudes were certainly more like his mother's. Again, it seems clear that Frederika was the more forceful and driving personality in the family.⁹³

VI

The Brandeis and Warren partnership grew into a most successful one. However, with the death of the latter's father, the partnership was terminated in 1889; Warren was forced to leave at that time to assume the leadership of the family's large paper business. As evidence of their close relationship, the firm's name remained intact until 1897.

Even without Warren the firm continued to expand. It now handled, of course, all the legal affairs of Warren's business. The firm's growing stature was exemplified in 1889 by Brandeis's first appearance before the United States Supreme Court in the case of Wisconsin Railroad v. Price County (133 U.S. 496). "Conventionally garbed in a borrowed frock coat, Brandeis successfully pleaded his case, which promptly led to a retainer as eastern counsel for the Wisconsin Central Railroad, a relationship which lasted until 1905."⁹⁴

During this period of active trial work Brandeis did not relinquish his interest in the analytical side of the law. With Warren in 1890 he wrote an article for the Harvard Law Review entitled "The Right of Privacy." Interest in this topic sprung from Warren's annoyance with the newspaper coverage of his marriage to a senator's daughter and the press's subsequent detailed coverage of their social life. Thus, this article, as so much of Brandeis's work, resulted from a specific situation. "The Right to Privacy" became a landmark treatise in the then rarely entered area on 'non-public' citizens' privacy rights. Dean Roscoe Pound of the Harvard Law School commented that this piece did "nothing less than add a chapter to our law."⁹⁵

There were great changes in Louis's personal life during this

period. His favorite sister Fannie, who had been the victim of poor health since childhood, died on March 5, 1890. As previously explained, the Brandeis family was an intimate one, and one which had found the greatest intellectual stimulation within its own circle. Brandeis's great esteem for the intellectual brio of his own family is evidenced by his later comment that his sister Fannie had possessed the best mind he had ever known. This indeed was an amazing tribute from one who encountered so many remarkable people throughout life!

Despite his great love and esteem for Fannie, as in all his endeavors, Brandeis managed a realistic appraisal of his sister's situation and delineated a practical method of handling it. Louis's letter to his father about his then gravely ill sister demonstrates not a coldness or aloofness, as a cursory reading might indicate, but rather an honest, if painful, evaluation of the situation.

I hope you will conclude to let nature take its course with Fannie-- whatever that course may be. Don't force her to eat--or even induce her to eat if she does not desire to do so. If there is a Providence-- (& I believe there is)--he may be offering the great corrective for the suffering which she has borne....I cannot bear to be guilty of untruth with her any more than I would interfere with her action as to herself in regard to eating. I have heard it said that with some patients the desire to refuse food was the one sane wish.⁹⁶

Throughout his career Louis Brandeis never allowed sentiment to interfere with his careful and logical interpretation of the facts. "Brandeis was an 'unsentimental judge.' 'Brandeis was prepared to reject the claims, almost literally, of a workman, a widow, and an orphan in pursuance of what seemed to him to be a more harmonious federalism.'"⁹⁷

One would be mistaken to conclude that such an attitude was the result of an insensitive, hardened individual. Indeed, Brandeis was very sensitive. His college professor had commented, "you're too sensi-

tive. A lawyer should be made of sterner stuff. You won't be able to stand the gaft of opposition."⁹⁸ Brandeis tried to remove all traces of emotion from his decisions in order to protect himself from emotional pain. This same professor had also advised him never to reply to personal attacks: "never make any answers which would indicate any sensitiveness to abuse."⁹⁹ Brandeis carefully followed this advice; the compiler of four volumes of Brandeis correspondence could claim that "There are, in these letters, no traces of...a desire for revenge upon his opponents."¹⁰⁰

Fannie's condition worsened. In the spring of 1890 she died and Louis journeyed home to Louisville. There, while visiting his uncle, Dr. Samuel Brandeis, he met another visitor, his second cousin, Alice Goldmark. Brandeis had first encountered Alice back East in New York while visiting the Goldmarks, but a romantic relationship did not develop until this second encounter. That summer both families vacationed in the Adirondacks, where Louis and Alice's intimate relationship grew. In the fall they became engaged, and were wed by Alice's brother-in-law on March 23, 1891.

The Goldmark family was remarkably similar to the Brandeis clan. Dr. Joseph Goldmark, Alice's father, was a man of "very advanced political views in 1848,"¹⁰¹ and had participated in the Viennese revolution of that year. During that time he was falsely accused of murder and fled to America. With the instillation of a less reactionary regime in Austria, Joseph Goldmark returned to stand trial and was acquitted. He could have then resettled in his homeland with his family, but preferred to raise his children in America. Goldmark settled in Brooklyn, where he continued to be active in public affairs, and was even urged to accept

public office.

There the Goldmark family maintained the liberal tradition that had inspired the revolutions of 1848. They were abolitionists, and were deeply upset by Lincoln's death: "To the last days they preserved, each one, the bow of red, white and blue covered with crepe, which in the fashion of the time, they had worn on the day of Lincoln's funeral."¹⁰²

The family's religious beliefs, inspired by Joseph Goldmark, consisted of "scientific agnosticism." Regina and Joseph Goldmark's foremost interest was the education of their children. They succeeded in inspiring these children with their own public interest. One daughter, Josephine Goldmark, became well known as a researcher on labor legislation in the early 1900s. She worked with Florence Kelley in the National Consumer's League. Josephine later drew Louis Brandeis into the famous labor legislative regulation case of Muller v. Oregon (1908). She provided Brandeis with all the factual materials that became part of the renowned, sociologically oriented "Brandeis brief." She authored as well a book on the emigrants of 1848, which has been used extensively here.

Thus, Alice came from a family which emphasized many of the same values the Brandeis clan had held dear. She was an intellectual as well as an emotional partner to Louis. Louis' letters to her during their engagement indicates his regard for Alice's mental acumen. He wrote to her often of politics and political figures; once criticizing the Republicans, another time commending Carl Schurz for his position on the tariff question. Brandeis's favorite quote was one he had read on the fly leaf of Alice's diary: "Life is not a having and getting; but a being and a becoming."¹⁰³

Brandeis perceived his marriage to Alice as a turning point in his life. It was, because in Alice he found emotional and intellectual support:

For seventeen years I have stood alone--rarely asking--still less frequently caring, for the advice of others. I have walked my way all these years but little influenced by any other individual. And now, Alice, all is changed. I find myself mentally turning to you for advice and approval--indeed, also for support, and I feel my incompleteness more each day.¹⁰⁴

In this passage one perceives a new aspect of Louis's personality emerging. Previously Louis had so strenuously sought to be totally independent and self reliant. Now, however, he finds himself in a situation where he is constantly seeking the advice and approval of someone else. And, most importantly, he perceives this attachment to another, and hence new individual incompleteness, in a positive light: he rejoices in the attainment of a soul mate.

Psychologically, the emotional support Louis received from Alice reinforced his ego strengths and feelings of security. Such psychological reassurance mitigated that strong ego drive for independence and self reliance which involved a separation from his family. Brandeis discovered that he could be intellectually and professionally self reliant without being emotionally isolated. This awareness was a psychological turning point in Louis's life. For even though he had sought to turn his back on his family and become part of Boston society, subconsciously he never felt--nor would ever feel--truly at home there. The ties to his close knit family were too great. It is interesting to note that despite Louis's active social life and his acquaintance with many attractive and intelligent young ladies of Boston--marriage to any of whom would guarantee a slot in Boston society--Louis married a second cousin whom he met while home in Louisville.

Marriage to a relative was a common practice among German Jewish immigrants at that time. Brandeis's own advocacy of this custom was in itself an indication of his commitment to family values.

This return trip home, entailing Fanny's death and a subsequent marriage to Alice, sealed Louis Brandeis's commitment--emotionally and intellectually--to his emigrated family's values. Thus, Alice was the emotional reinforcement that Louis needed to discover that being dependent on family and wife was not an indication of weakness. His newly found emotional confidence gave Louis the strength to be more intellectually independent while emotionally attached:

'I could not have lived my life without Alice,' he had said to a few close friends after the crucifying days that followed his attack on the New Haven and United Shoe. 'If my wife had been hurt, how could I have had the strength to go on?' Theirs was a union of truly mated minds, of harmonious standards and tastes, alike in their austerity.¹⁰⁵

While engaged Louis bought his first house, and sent Alice the detailed costs for the wall papering and the shades, commenting, "You and I are very economical."¹⁰⁶ Throughout their lives the Brandeis family lived plainly and unostentatiously. All their residences were comfortable, but unassuming. In regard to his personal consumption, Brandeis believed in quality, but not quantity. He wrote to Alice concerning her dress: "I believe in good clothes; it is only the unreasonable accumulation of them which is objectionable...."¹⁰⁷

Brandeis's greatest desire was to be independent, to be free, and this entailed freedom from a large accumulation of worldly goods as well as freedom from financial ties to wealthy clients. He once remarked, "I have only one life and it's short enough. Why waste it on things I don't want most? And I don't want property or money most. I want to be free."¹⁰⁸ This attitude reflects Brandeis' readoption of

his family's values; freedom being the paramount one. In his successful practice Brandeis became a multimillionaire. Yet, he was not interested in the great accumulation of money. Brandeis never speculated economically as this practice insinuated making money for its own sake and repelled him.

Brandeis looked with disdain on the extravagance that characterized American life; conspicuous consumption disgusted him. He later commented, "The little struggling clerk must bedeck his wife with bizarre clothes...and impress upon those who behold her in all magnificence that he is making big money...."¹⁰⁹ In this life of simplicity he and his wife agreed. Brandeis wrote in his will: "I have made for my wife and daughters provision larger than will be required to that simple living which we have practiced from conviction and which I assume each will continue."¹¹⁰ This is not to say that Brandeis was a stingy man; indeed he was always monetarily most generous to those causes he deemed worthwhile.

Louis and Alice had two daughters; Susan born in 1893 and Elizabeth in 1896. Brandeis's busy schedule always included a definite period of time to be spent with his wife and daughters. His family was a source of great enjoyment and the time spent with them gave Louis the necessary total reprieve from vigorous public and private legal activities. These times were an extremely important part of Louis's life. He now saw the emotional value of the intimate family life he had experience in Louisville--a life of intellectual camaraderie as well as emotional support. The reestablishment of this element of his life in Boston was an important aspect enabling Brandeis to maintain and enhance his public service career in the face of the continually

mounting opposition of his old Boston friends and colleagues.

VII

The Warren and Brandeis partnership developed into a diversified, successful one. Although Brandeis had turned down a teaching career, in his practice the precepts of logic and justice remained paramount. Regardless of his client's claims, Brandeis sought to understand the case in light of these precepts. In one particular incident he wrote to Alfred:

We have the evidence--both practical & scientific on our side--and the chances are quite good that political influence will not be potent enough to overcome that. Popular prejudice and ignorance may make us some trouble, but we are in the right and must, in the end, come out successful.lll

Brandeis's regard for "the right side" contributed to his growing interest in community affairs. This interest was not unusual at the time. We have spoken of the cultural attitude that prevailed in Boston society during the late 1800s. Part of this attitude entailed moral leadership in the community and a belief in a duty to become involved in societal affairs. This duty was particularly attractive to Louis, who had already witnessed his own family's involvement in the public realm. Uncle Lewis had always been involved in Louisville affairs; he was an active Republican and had been among the Kentucky delegation that nominated Lincoln. Although Adolph Brandeis had not taken as active a role, he had certainly maintained a strong interest in public affairs.

This community minded outlook was perfectly congruent with the Boston of the 1880s: "The interest in public affairs and the general

betterment of the community about him, which became so intense in later years, had nothing in it abnormal in the eighties. He [L.D.B.] was in the common sense of it just a practising [sic] lawyer of the first water and an unusually attractive and cultured gentleman."¹¹²

In law school Brandeis had been a Republican. As his political interests developed, however, Brandeis became less interested in party orthodoxy. In 1884 he had declared himself a Mugwump, signing a document decrying the regular Republican candidates. As time went on, however, he supported candidates of either party according to their economic and philosophical viewpoints rather than their partisan labels. As his interest in party politics diminished, Brandeis became more and more involved in another aspect of community affairs--the various nonpartisan civic reform movements. His acquaintances in the upper echelons of the business and social communities were engaged in these affairs and they drew Brandeis into public issues on this level.

In one incident Brandeis befriended a Massachusetts legislator whose interests were similar to his own: George Fred Williams. Williams introduced Brandeis to the difficulties faced by the liquor lobby. The legislature was becoming increasingly infected with the spirit of temperance and seriously threatened the liquor business. Brandeis, with his characteristically practical nature, realized the unrealistic attitude of the legislature toward liquor consumption and consented to become counsel for the Massachusetts Protective Liquor Dealers' Association. He then called for a scientific analysis of the liquor problem.

The present law had mandated that liquor could only be sold as part of a meal. Almost all the liquor dealers in Massachusetts violated

this restrictive law. Hence, Brandeis maintained, the law was unrealistic. Worse still, it was making criminals out of essentially law-abiding citizens. Brandeis convinced the legislators to enact a more reasonable liquor law and thus destroy the corruption and bribery that had existed because of the original legislation.

In a later incident, another one of his society friends, Mrs. Alice N. Lincoln, introduced him to the problems of the poor people in Boston. Brandeis became counsel for Mrs. Lincoln who was urging drastic changes within the welfare system as a result of the many poor law abuses. Brandeis instead convinced her to call for a restructuring of the system so as to give each client more individual attention and to try to tailor work and benefits according to particular needs. Brandeis counselled Mrs. Lincoln through some fifty public hearings over a period of four months. For his efforts he was paid three thousand dollars, but he did not keep this money. Instead, Brandeis made donations to the Municipal League, the Associated Charities, the Civil Service Reform Group, and other public interest groups.

Brandeis's interest in public affairs continued to grow, and he became involved on a broader plane. In 1897 he appeared before the House Ways and Means committee as a representative of free trade. There he testified:

What I have undertaken to do is to appear on behalf of the consumer and a large number of workingmen in New England. I have undertaken to object to a change of conditions which are very far removed from free trade.

I desire to speak in behalf of those who form, I believe, a far larger part of the people of the United States than any who have found representation here. I appear for those who want to be left alone, those who do not come to Congress and seek the aid of the sovereign powers of the government to bring them prosperity.113

This desire to speak on behalf of the people of the United States was rapidly becoming Louis D. Brandeis's major concern. Throughout his noteworthy legal career Brandeis had always sought to logically analyze cases and understand the interests of the great majority of the people. This attitude of community service--of a moral responsibility toward the greater populace--was a totally orthodox, indeed, a laudable, one at that time. The contemporary intellectual climate of Boston has already been delineated. Suffice it to briefly reiterate that Brandeis's actions were not contradictory to the Brahmin tradition: "The leaders of past reformist causes had not been lower-class radicals, but middle and upper class professionals and businessmen, many of them Brahmins who took seriously their assumed stewardship of society."¹¹⁴

Brandeis had originally learned this tradition at home from his family and especially Uncle Lewis. Yet, he had 'forgotten' it in his driving search for independence and success. Brandeis' reacquaintance with public interest work through his new family made him realize how fulfilling this work was, and thus how strongly attached he was to the values he had learned at home. This attachment was reawakened as well by his return to Louisville in 1891 for his sister's death and his subsequent marriage to a second cousin whose own family's values were remarkably similar to those of the Brandeis clan.

Brandeis' reform work was accepted; it was conservative in that it protected and fostered the development of society. By becoming the reformist leaders themselves, the Brahmins' political position, necessary to maintain as well their solid financial and social status, was continually guaranteed. Brandeis himself so aptly delineated this concept: "...true conservatism involves progress, and that unless our financial

leaders are capable of progress, the institutions which they are trying to conserve will lose their foundation."¹¹⁵

Part and parcel of this reformist thrust was strong moral leadership: "Brandeis shared with the classes of his adopted city the traditional tenets of American faith: that there are certain eternal moral truths... that men of all classes can agree on and have an interest in upholding these truths."¹¹⁶ Therefore, Brandeis was carrying out that moral mandate he had been instilled with at home and in Boston. Brandeis's reformist activities were totally within the Bostonian Brahmin tradition of the 1870s and the 1880s.

Why then, did his subsequent reformist thrusts meet such strong disapproval there? Although one might claim moral truths endure forever, American society--and the Boston community within it--was changing so rapidly at this time that the Brahmins soon abdicated these 'moral truths.'

The North's victory in the Civil War not only decided the burning question of slavery in the United States; it also more rapidly put the country on the road to industrial development. In a period of unprecedented growth and development, post bellum America witnessed the country's change from an agricultural to an industrial nation. In 1860 the total horsepower produced for industrial work was 2.5 million; by the arrival of the 20th century this figure had soared to over 46 million--an eighteen fold increase. The railroad system developed. In 1866 there existed approximately 36,000 miles of railroad track; by 1900 this figure was increased to over 193,000 miles.

Industrialization--largely an urban affair--demanded a great deal of human horsepower as well. Farmers abandoned the plowshare and flocked

to the city and European and Far Eastern immigrants arrived in great numbers. Thus, the American population tripled during this era while the number of people involved in manufacturing increased by five fold.

This sudden onslaught of mostly southern and eastern European immigrants threatened the established powers in the urban centers. Although Ralph Waldo Emerson regarded immigration as an integral element in the process of creating a democratic society, the Boston Brahmins who had always respected individual achievement regardless of creed or conscience, now saw their little empire crumbling and swiftly changed their attitudes. For, capitalists in New York were challenging their industrial and financial preeminence while the newly arrived Irish immigrants with their urban machine wrested political control. In 1884 Boston had already elected an Irish Catholic mayor.

Watching in bewilderment as their world collapsed, the Boston Brahmins soon abandoned their democratic and moralistic ideals in an effort to stem the tide against them. By 1890 the bluebloods began to turn their back on the varied ethnic groups; individuals from these groups were no longer welcomed into Boston society. Anti-semitism became an element of this distaste for all ethnic groups. Immigration was now looked upon as dangerous to the integrity of the Boston community: "By 1912 those who believed in free immigration were an unheard minority in the old New England community."¹¹⁷ Thus, Louis Brandeis had indeed arrived at the right time in Boston; fifteen or twenty years later, despite his mental abilities and academic achievement, it would have been most difficult--if not impossible--for him to attain a lucrative practice and a respected social status in Boston.

Brandeis's realization that the law must be adjusted in light

of industrialization, that legislation had to protect and assist industrial workers, if for no other reason than to preserve the industrial system from socialization, met stubborn resistance from these Brahmin who viewed the new society as a zero-sum game: whatever helped these immigrant workers must necessarily hurt themselves. Their old commitment to moral leadership disappeared and their new commitment to protect their threatened position in society solidified, regardless of what changes occurred. Brandeis was resented--indeed, hated--for maintaining this moral commitment in the face of the new society.

Changes were universally evident in all spheres of life in this new society. Edward Atkinson, a contemporary American economist, described the complexion and breadth of these changes in 1891:

There has never been in the history of civilization a period, or a place, or a section of the earth in which science and invention have worked such progress or have created such opportunities for material welfare as in these United States in the period which has elapsed since the end of the Civil War.¹¹⁸

Every American institution was affected by the industrialization of American society; the role of the legal community was no exception.

Large corporations now replaced single entrepreneurs and partnerships as big business developed. These corporations utilized lawyers in a manner so as to entirely change the latter's business role. Attorneys had originally been men of affairs--generalists whose role it was to advise businessmen on policy decisions. Their knowledge extended to all kinds of law; lawyers had maintained a broad view of business and society.

As industrialization brought specialization and division of labor, corporations now required legal specialists who were knowledgeable solely in one aspect of the law, e.g. taxation, insurance, incorporation or

real estate. Such narrowly trained lawyers were not expected to be versed in areas outside their specific province, and thus were no longer sought out as general legal advisers. Corporate officials did not ask them questions entailing policy advice nor did lawyers aid in decisions requiring moral responsibilities. Instead, corporate heads presented these narrowly trained specialists with their own selfish ends and sought legal advice as to the best way to accomplish these morally questionable ends. Thus, the lawyer's role shifted from adversary to counselor. This latter job was to circumvent any future trouble; the lawyer's milieu was no longer the courtroom but rather the conference room, where private corporate negotiations were conducted. The lawyer did not answer the question, "What should I do," but now, "How should I do it?"

Thus, the lawyer became inextricably bound up with the captains of industry and his new position made him ignorant of all demands and necessities except those of the corporate world. Like the Brahmin, he became a steadfast advocate of the status quo. He welcomed this attitude as well on the part of the bench. This narrow viewpoint encouraged lawyers to endorse all corporate policies and utilize questionable legal tactics regardless of the moral implications for society at large. In effect they became the enemies of the greater part of the population. Herbert Croly commented:

The ablest American lawyers have been retained to perform tasks which must have been repugnant to honest men;...The retainer which the American legal profession has accepted from the corporations inevitably increases its natural tendency to a blend of conservatism.¹¹⁹

The lawyer became one and the same with the client rather than adviser to the latter. As Felix Frankfurter stated in his Reminiscences, "The lawyers did their clients' bidding instead of illuminating their

minds to understand something about the forces with which they were dealing."¹²⁰ Thus, the function, the spirit, and the political attitude of the legal profession had rapidly changed. Lawyers were no longer the aristocrats of society, as Alexis de Tocqueville had once maintained; now they were mere pawns to the new aristocrats--the financial leaders.

Brandeis had now reached a fork in the road. No longer could he claim himself an assimilated member of his new family in Boston and advocate its values without disavowing those standards he had grown up with. This new dissonance in Louis's life demanded that he now make a choice: either to follow the Brahmin and the law profession in their new allegiances or uphold those values he had grown up with, those values that were now being reawakened by his public interest work and his recent marriage.

Another factor had to be considered in this decision. Louis's early physical inferiorities had resulted in a strong ego drive to achieve independent success, far from family and home. In addition, Louis's ambivalence toward his parents for their strong encouragement to be so self reliant caused him to choose paths for self fulfillment that entailed independence from family as well. Now, following the Boston community would diminish this hard won independence in a very real way: he would become a legal pawn professionally. Brandeis had always been so careful to avoid this. In his dealings with large corporations he would only deal with its head as a personal client, rather than allowing himself to be put into the position of being a legal employee to the corporation itself: "I would rather have clients than be somebody's lawyer."

Psychologically, Brandeis's outlook had also changed at this time. With the emotional and intellectual support he now received from

Alice, Louis no longer depended on the attention and company of Boston society. Thus, he could look more objectively at that Boston society he had formerly so enjoyed: he could compare its new values with those recently reinforced familial ones.

These factors combined to persuade Louis to break away from his Boston colleagues and choose the path of the reformer: he committed himself to those values and beliefs he had grown up with; those values that the Brahmin were just now turning away from. This choice did not mean that Brandeis would now turn his back on Boston and his legal career. Rather, he would seek to objectively understand the new social order and its implications, just as he could now objectively examine Boston society. Previously Louis had substituted that society for his own family. Now, with his marriage to Alice, all was changed--indeed, reversed. Independence now took the form of an objective assessment of that society and its values.

Brandeis was not against industrialization or capitalism, but rather sought to preserve it as he understood it. By thoroughly examining the new economic situation he realized that several adjustments must be made in the law, as in American society, to cope with the social and economic changes that industrialization brought. "Brandeis's ability to realize the implication of the rise of big business and his desire to aid in most of the new generation's reform causes soon set him apart from most of the top ranking members of the American bar."¹²¹

Thus, in seeking to understand capitalism and industrialization, and for making moral evaluations of this system, Brandeis earned the enmity of many of his colleagues. However, it was they, not he, who were changing. His behavior was in total conformity with the legal

tradition he had been trained in and the moral tradition in which he had grown. Brandeis had always found the law fascinating; in large part due to his regard for the law as an objective science. And, with this regard, the ability of the well trained lawyer to make moral judgments. "The whole training of the lawyer leads to the development of judgment," he had said.¹²² Now he witnessed the legal profession's wholesale abdication of this role of moral judgment, but because of the factors enumerated, he refused to capitulate. Brandeis remained within the tradition he so strongly had believed in; he was the true conservative: "In his training, associations, methods, and conduct Louis Brandeis was unwaveringly orthodox. It would be hard to imagine any man more 'at home' in his chosen profession."¹²³

It has been demonstrated that by the time of his marriage in 1891 Brandeis had already become involved in public interest cases. However, these were socially acceptable ones that his society friends themselves had introduced to him. Now, with the emotional support of Alice and renewed confidence in himself and family values, he could follow this interest, even past the acceptable Brahmin boundaries. The events of the following year introduced him to the plight of the industrial laborer, and sharpened his perspective.

The labor movement had come to Brandeis's attention in a rather circuitous manner. John F. O'Sullivan, a reporter for the Boston Globe wrote several excellent articles defending free silver. Brandeis disagreed with O'Sullivan's silver position and sought the latter out in order to convert him. Brandeis thus encountered O'Sullivan's wife, Mary Kenney--the first woman union organizer. During many evenings spent

at the O'Sullivans, Brandeis became knowledgeable about labor problems and union organization.

As Brandeis held independence and individual initiative so dear to himself, he believed as well in the independent rights of laborers vis-a-vis their employers. In later correspondence he stated, "A manufacturer is no longer the master of his employee, but an associate. History records first master and slave, then master and servant, then employer and employee, and now they are as associates or contractors."¹²⁴ Brandeis assumed that the common law would be adequate in adjusting these relationships in the new industrial society.

In 1891 Brandeis accepted an invitation to give a course in Business Law at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. The adequacy of the common law was planned to be the major thread of these talks. As conscientious of accumulating specific facts in teaching the law as well as in arguing it, Brandeis began early to collect cases relating to this concept. Before the course began, however, warfare broke out between strikers and armed Pinkerton strikebreakers at the Carnegie Steel Plant in Homestead, Pennsylvania.

Brandeis's friend, Mary Kenney, had gone to Homestead before the workers' contract expired. There she observed walls erected girdling the mill, with apertures for guns. The company, refusing to continue to recognize the union, had brought in the Pinkertons to protect the strikebreakers. These brutal, ruthless methods employed by the company to break the steel workers' union and the legal superiority of the capitalists over the laborers forced Brandeis to reevaluate his faith in the existing law. He later commented on this significant incident:

I think it was the affair at Homestead which first set me to thinking seriously about the labor problem. It took the shock of that battle, where organized capital hired a private army to shoot at organized labor for resisting an arbitrary cut in wages, to turn my mind definitely toward a searching study of the revelations of labor to industry.

I had been asked to give a course on Business Law...and had gone to some pains to prepare my lectures, tracing the evolution of the common law in its relation to industry and commerce, when one morning the newspaper carried the story of the pitched battle between the Pinkertons on the barge and the barricaded steel workers on the bank. I saw at once that the common law, built up under simpler conditions of living, gave an inadequate basis for the adjustment of the complex relations of the modern factory system. I threw away my notes and approached my theme from new angles. Those talks at Tech marked an epoch in my own career.¹²⁵

Thus, Brandeis reassessed his attitudes in light of the developing industrial situation. He claimed that the Homestead incident made him a student of economics. For he realized that neither the economic situation nor the legal one was the way he had previously understood it.

As industrialization progressed its captains realized that cut-throat competition was suicidal. Mergers took place and trusts developed; a small group consisting of people such as the Carnegies, the Rockefellers, and the Vanderbilts was soon able to dominate the industry. Great concentration of wealth yielded tremendous political power; these industrialists now had absolute control over the industrial worker, the consumer, and the courts. As has been explained, lawyers became the defenders of this new economic situation and its rulers. Similarly, the courts, who perceived their role solely as defender of private property at all costs, turned a deaf ear to the sufferings of and injustices to the working class. Any measure proposed to alleviate the latter's plight was decried as socialistic or communistic.

Louis Brandeis observed this situation with continuing alarm,

and evaluated it far differently than most of his colleagues. Brandeis regarded the legal profession's abettment of this economic situation as totally immoral. Moreover, he perceived it as unrealistic and impractical as well as harmful: if the capitalists did not make adjustments in the industrial system they would soon witness the system's collapse. This was what was meant by depicting Brandeis as a conservative in the Burkean sense. Brandeis was a wholesale advocate of free enterprise, but felt that the new conglomerates were destroying any opportunities for the small entrepreneur, whom the independent, freedom-loving Brandeis regarded as the backbone of the system.

Thus, with his new awareness, Brandeis's interest in public activities grew. His early efforts had consisted largely of providing counsel to charity and welfare organizations. This avenue of municipal reform had received only praise from the Boston Brahmin who were his friends and colleagues: "So long as Brandeis confined his public activities to serving as free counsel for charity and welfare organizations...he had received practically unanimous praise from Boston's 'best citizens.'" ¹²⁶ However, as Brandeis reevaluated the economic situation and expanded his public interest work into the more direct areas of the industrialists' control, he lost favor with this group. For, while Brandeis was attempting to formulate an intelligent and realistic balance of the industrial and labor/consumer spheres, his old colleagues were attempting to cement their position, regardless of injustices and future costs. Whereas Brandeis was reasserting the traditional New England values, his Boston colleagues were abandoning these as their own immediate economic interests dictated.

VIII

In 1893 the Boston West End Railway planned to extend the tracks of its line across the Boston Common. It was generally the case at that time that transit systems were able to acquire valuable franchises at little or no cost from the municipal councils and legislatures. Public ignorance and/or apathy was partly responsible. Louis Brandeis had personally concluded, however, as early as 1883 that public franchise corporations should not be permitted to obtain these valuable rights without paying for them. In what he later called "my first important public work,"¹²⁷ he tackled the West End Railway.

The specifics of this complicated, long drawn out municipal struggle are unimportant in our context. Suffice it to say that the West End Railway was superseded by the Boston Elevated Railway Company, which was able to secure from the legislature a ninety-nine year lease--a virtually permanent franchise--in many of the principal Boston streets. The Boston Elevated Company represented that concentrated corporate wealth that Brandeis viewed with growing alarm; it was owned by a group of New York capitalists backed by J. Pierpoint Morgan. The deal the Elevated proposed for the city would have drawn the surface, elevated, and underground rail transport into one group's control.

This deal was contrived by and handled through the well known and respected Boston banking house of Kidder, Peabody & Company. The Boston Elevated's stockholders and promoters included some of Boston's best families: the only individuals who would be hurt by the consummation of this deal were the consumers, that is, the subway riders. Brandeis, formally representing the Municipal League, took up this unrepresented

group's cause, and soon discovered how difficult and unpleasant it could be to challenge the monied interests.

Brandeis argued for a shorter lease and compensation to the city for the cost of construction of the elevated. These moderate demands were given little attention by the press; the newspapers devoted many columns to arguments supportive of the Boston Elevated and then would tersely note that Brandeis objected.

As one would expect, the Elevated had retained the most sophisticated legal counsel in its efforts to secure its ends. Brandeis realized just how strongly the legal system favored these corporate groups. For, while these powerful companies hired the most able counsel to win favors from the state, the public usually went totally unrepresented. Even worse, the enormous fees charged by private counsel were eventually passed on to the unsuspecting public. This disparity troubled Brandeis so much that he then made a personal resolution; to draw a firm line between private and public cases, and accepted no monies for the latter. "Hereafter, in entering controversies which appealed to him as opportunities for public service he would fight for the Commonwealth--no retainer to encumber him."¹²⁸ This 'plan' was originally viewed by Brandeis's Boston colleagues as noble, though eccentric. Later on, though, as his activities further infuriated them, this refusal was regarded as a cover-up for some sinister purposes.

Brandeis's publicly-minded stance against the Boston Elevated Company soon won him the disdain and hostility of the Boston families with whom he and Alice had formerly socialized. "Brandeis got his first taste of newspaper hostility and some of his friends cut him."¹²⁹ Thus, Brandeis's position here had now put him irreversibly beyond

acceptable boundaries of reform; his public interest commitment was now hurting some of his old associates. Representing the public at large and opposing the banking interests was a radical departure from accepted Brahmin behavior. It was assumed that no one would act solely in the 'public interest.' Corporate interests in Boston believed that Brandeis must have been retained by some substantial enemies of the Elevated, such as F. Lee Higginson, a leading Boston financier whose banking firm was in competition with Kidder, Peabody & Company. To these charges Brandeis replied in a letter addressed to William Ames Bancroft, the chairman of the board of the Boston Elevated:

I have been retained by no person, association or corporation, directly or indirectly in this matter, and I have opposed it solely because I believe that the bill, if passed, would result in great injustice to the people of Massachusetts, and eventually great injustice to the capitalist classes whom you are now representing, and with whom I, as well as you, are in close connection.¹³⁰

This passage indicates Brandeis's firm new commitments and his stern belief that his position was helpful rather than harmful to the capitalists, whom he regarded as his associates. In this case, as in all subsequent cases, Brandeis attempted to save capitalism as he envisioned it, not destroy it. What created friction was that his conception of the true mode of capitalism--the small, independent entrepreneur--was not congruent with that conception of the small band of capitalists now gaining control. His public service activities were geared to control this group while aiding the small entrepreneur.

Thus, Brandeis's activities earned him the label of 'radical' in Bostonian, and later, national circles. Brandeis, however, believed he was preserving the system rather than obliterating it. And, the changes he proposed in an effort to preserve the system were so moderate that he could not understand how they were construed as any sort of

radicalism. In 1888 he expressed these feelings to his mother: "You often said, dearest mother, that I find fault, but I always told you candidly that I felt and sought to change only that little which appeared to me to be possible of improvement."¹³¹ (Emphasis added.)

This possibility, however, cut into the power of that small elite accruing economic and political power. This elite did not desire any challenges, however small, to their supremacy. All such challenges and challengers were promptly labelled radicals. Thus, despite his own perception of his role in capitalist society, Brandeis was tagged as such. Of course, as later events would demonstrate, the elite was right in fearing this threat. Brandeis had many later successes against them, the West End Railway Case being the first example of this. The Boston Elevated's franchise was reduced to twenty years and the company was obliged to pay an annual rental fee for its lease of the railroad.

Brandeis now had successfully pitted himself against those interests he had once been allied with. Such a decision radically changed his own personal life. He and Alice were no longer invited to the best Boston dinner parties and many old business colleagues would not deal with him now. Thus, several sacrifices were made in following his new commitment. These sacrifices had made it difficult for some observers to understand Brandeis's activities. In their introduction to the Brandeis correspondence, Urofsky & Levy state:

That Brandeis might have lived out his life as a successful corporation lawyer, respected, comfortable and secure, is a certainty. That he chose not to do so is at once the central enigma of his life....Motivated by some mysterious social conscience, driven by some nagging insensitivity to injustice, inspired by some vision of what American society ought to be, Brandeis entered into a life of public service.¹³²

Hopefully this analysis, delineating Brandeis' relationship with his family and his emotional growth, has helped to decipher that central enigma.

IX

Among our three case studies, Louis Brandeis is the only representative of the Jewish faith. The preceding analysis of why Brandeis became a reformer has not attributed any causative role to this factor, largely because of the lack of religious training in the Brandeis household. However, the traditionally pronounced prejudice against this group and the knowledge that Brandeis became actively involved in the Zionist movement in later life forces the author to deal with this issue in greater detail here.

Louis's early years were devoid of any religious training. Several factors accounted for this. The forty-eighters, as many European immigrants, were impressed with the spirit of freedom in their new home and sought to become Americans as rapidly as possible. Thus, there was a strong thrust toward assimilation, a thrust that often entailed minimizing one's Jewish heritage. This attitude was reinforced by the Sabbatian heritage of the Dembitz family.

Frederika's attitude toward formal religious doctrines has already been indicated. Indeed, the entire Brandeis family except for Uncle Lewis, consisted of free thinkers. Louis himself discussed the absence of religious training in his youth: "My early training was not Jewish in a religious sense, nor was it Christian. While naturally interested

in their race, my people were not so narrow as to allow their religious beliefs to overshadow their interest in the broader aspects of humanity."¹³³ This passage indicates that Brandeis believed there was an inherent contradiction between advocacy of particular religious doctrines and a concern for all humanity.

It seems here that Brandeis had a positive aversion to religion. Indeed, it would be more accurate to say that Brandeis was an agnostic or an atheist rather than merely a disinterested Jew. At least one later incident justifies this position.

While visiting a friend in Boston, Glendower Evans, the topic of religion entered the conversation. As Alfred Lief describes this incident: "He [L.D.B.] insisted that man's mind could not know what was beyond life and he had no use for religion. When Glendower pressed the possibility of after life he picked up his hat and left with a tart 'Good Evening.'"¹³⁴

Throughout history the Jewish people have had to face unusually severe ethnic prejudice. Indeed, one of the reasons Adolph Brandeis emigrated to the United States from Austria was to avoid the economic restrictions placed on Jews there. Louis Brandeis was fortunate in being unexposed to this prejudice until the time of his nomination to the Supreme Court. When Brandeis arrived at Harvard, the Boston community was open minded and welcomed talented individuals regardless of ethnic heritage. His good friend, Elizabeth Evans, commented: "Prejudice against the Jews was unknown in Boston when he first came....he has never suffered from racial discrimination."¹³⁵ Brandeis himself said, "My Jewishness has always been an absolutely uninfluentia quality...it has never injured me."¹³⁶

Part of this attitude was Brandeis' own denial, or rather disregard, of his Jewish background. Louis was very anxious to become a full fledged member of Boston society while declaring total independence from his family. This desire encouraged him to minimize his background, particularly his Jewish heritage. Thus, due to personal psychological reasons, family training, and the absence of societal harassment, Brandeis was estranged from religion and uninterested in Jewish activities. "He had not sought to evade the fact that he was a Jew; it had not been necessary. But the interests, the association, the purposes of his life had brought him into no direct contact with things Jewish."¹³⁷

The question then remains, if Brandeis had no early religious consciousness nor was subsequently personally subject to anti-Semitism, why did he become interested and involved in the Zionist movement later in life? It is difficult to date the emergence of Brandeis's interest in 'things Jewish.' It has been reported that during the 1890s while travelling in the West Brandeis wrote to his wife, remarking that he was pleased about the plan to rebuild Palestine. It is the belief of this observer, however, that Brandeis' interest in his Jewish heritage emerged when he reinstituted family ties and married his Jewish cousin Alice. His union with Alice and their common ancestry rekindled his interest in his heritage. It is reported that together with his fiancée and future sister-in-law, Josephine Goldmark, he studied his family's genealogy. This interest in his heritage was reinforced by his first contact with Jewish American laborers. In 1910 Brandeis was invited to serve as chairman of the Arbitration Board of the Garment Workers' Strike in New York. Prior to this experience the only Jews Brandeis had encountered were socially conservative, successful ones.

These working Jews, however, were quite different. They were "intellectually keen, with a passion for social progress and a sense of deep spiritual dissatisfaction...."¹³⁸ Brandeis felt a strong sense of kinship with these Jews and became interested in their problems. Thus, for the first time he became conscious of "his people" and this consciousness led him to become interested as well in the plight of Jews in other parts of the world. Seeing favorable characteristics in the New York laboring Jews, he now looked with respect and fellowship to the greater part of the world Jewish population. In this vein, he commented in 1914:

Throughout long years which represent my own life I have been to a great extent separated from Jews. I am very ignorant of things Jewish. But recent experiences, public and professional, have taught me this: I find Jews possessed of those very qualities which we of the twentieth century seek to develop in our struggle for justice and democracy; a deep moral feeling which makes them capable of noble acts; a deep sense of the brotherhood of man; and a high intelligence....¹³⁹

These qualities Brandeis had formerly seen embodied in his Uncle Lewis. He had always felt particularly close to this relative, even during that time that he had sought to become independent of his own family. Perhaps what so attracted him was Uncle Lewis's own intellectual and social independence, his startling reversal to Jewish orthodoxy from a Sabbatian family heritage. Anything Uncle Lewis was connected with merited some attention.

In August, 1912 Brandeis received a visitor, Jacob de Haas. De Haas was secretary to Theodore Herzl and had been sent to America to organize Zionists there. In Boston de Haas became editor of a newspaper, the Boston Jewish Advocate. He had come to speak to his fellow Bostonian about the forthcoming presidential campaign.

After their political discussion, Brandeis accompanied his guest

to the train station. There de Haas asked him if he were related to Lewis Dembitz, whom de Haas described as "a noble Jew." Louis replied affirmatively and asked de Haas what he had meant by this expression. Thereupon de Haas launched into an explanation of Zionism. Brandeis became so interested that he asked de Haas to return home with him for lunch, and they spent the rest of the afternoon discussing Zionism. Thus, Brandeis was introduced to Zionism directly through the interests of Uncle Lewis.

Lewis Dembitz was one of the first American Jews to support the Zionist movement. This respected uncle's devotion to the Jewish religion and Jewish culture must not have gone unnoticed. For, however scornful young Louis was of religious principles, he was always interested in the study of culture and history. Uncle Lewis's emphasis on this aspect of Judaism and his Zionist activities must have naturally linked these two elements in Louis's mind. This link is evidenced by Louis's remarks when dedicating his collection of Palestinian and Hebrew literature to the University of Louisville Library in honor of Lewis Dembitz. Louis had written to Dembitz's daughter at this time:

...the deepest of his [Dembitz] studies were those allied to the Jewish religion. He was orthodox. He observed the law. But he was not satisfied with merely observing it. He sought to understand the law in order to find its reason; he studied deeply into the history of the Jewish people. His was not the drive of intellectual curiosity into the realm of dead knowledge. He recognized in the past the mirror of the future; a future which would be a noble and glorious one for his people. It was natural that he should have been among the first in America to support Herzl in his effort to build a new Palestine.¹⁴⁰

Many biographers have ignored this stimulus in Brandeis's Zionist activities. Uncle Lewis's affiliation with Zionism created the attitude in Louis's mind that this movement was associated with intellectual ideas--with knowledge and learning--rather than mere blind religious

obedience. Thus, Uncle Lewis's work, while not in itself committing Brandeis to Zionism, predisposed a positive attitude toward it. Brandeis's subsequent attachment to Zionism became an intellectual one as well.

Zionism, as Brandeis perceived it, was philosophically consistent with his economic and political viewpoints. After an analytical examination of the Jewish laborers' problems in the United States, Brandeis concluded that this movement, with the establishment of a Palestinian homeland for Jews, was a measure that could improve the economic and social conditions of Jewish laborers throughout the world.

Brandeis conceptualized the solution to many problems he had observed in the American capitalist system in the much smaller Palestinian state. He envisioned this small country as free of the 'curse of bigness.' Its size would enable it to conduct social experiments and to rapidly evaluate the success or failure of these experiments. And, even more importantly, Palestine's size would permit that independence and social equality that growing American capitalist society was destroying.

Another factor was involved in Brandeis's intellectual attachment to the Palestinian state. Brandeis believed that the poverty of the country would make it difficult for its inhabitants to become those conspicuous consumers he so detested. As his close friend Norman Hapgood commented:

The very lack of wealth in Palestine--the impossibility of there ever being wrung from that soil much of luxury--has been an attraction to Mr. Brandeis; for part of his greatness has been his interest in material necessities for all and his contempt for material excesses for anybody.¹⁴¹

Thus, Brandeis's attitude toward Zionism was totally conciliatory

with his progressive outlook. His past experiences and assessments as well as his strongly held values pointed Brandeis in a Zionist direction. His conversion to Zionism was "a demonstration that one could become a devoted Zionist by force of conviction, logic and reason as well as through mental and emotional attachments and loyalties."¹⁴² Brandeis differed from most other Zionists in this regard; many attributed his later split with another faction of the Zionist leadership to this disparity.

While discussing Brandeis's intellectual advocacy of Zionism, one must not lose sight of that fact that this movement fulfilled psychological needs as well. Louis's commitment to Zionism, his active and vocal support of it, demonstrates finally his break with total assimilation. His rekindled interest in his Jewish heritage indicates that reattachment with his Louisville family and its values and, conjointly, the renunciation of that previous ardent desire to become part and parcel of Boston society. Zionism was Brandeis's nonreligious link with his past and his family. It was his method of declaring himself a Jew, a discrete element from his New England surroundings. Later he would say, "Let us all recognize that we Jews are a distinct nationality of which every Jew, whatever his country, his station, or shade of belief, is necessarily a member."¹⁴³ His membership here declared him now culturally as well as intellectually separate from that Boston community he had once so adored.

Thus, Louis Brandeis's arrival at and adherence to Zionism was congruent with the other activities in his life. His attachment to this movement was an intellectual and a psychological one. It was not a religious awakening. Indeed, Brandeis remained irreligious the

rest of his life. Rather, his adoption of Zionism reiterates Louis's psychological growth; his return to his family and his ethnic heritage and a reassertion of his intellectual--and now cultural--independence from his adopted home of Boston. Hence, his chosen path as a reformer. Louis perceived Zionism as part and parcel of this chosen path, as did others. "The important point of his Zionism is that he carried out his leadership in the best of the progressive traditions, capitalizing on all he had learned in previous battles. In sum, Zionism was a reform."¹⁴⁴

FOOTNOTES

¹Josephine Goldmark, Pilgrims of '48 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1930), p. xi.

²Quoted in Goldmark, Pilgrims, p. 199.

³Ibid., pp. 199-200.

⁴Ibid., p. 202.

⁵This attitude was not an uncommon one for a German emigre. Carl Schurz, who also came to the United States at this time, praises his new home for "having a condition of real freedom where man manifests himself." Carl Schurz, Reminiscences, Vol. II, p. 16.

⁶Quoted in Goldmark, Pilgrims, p. 207.

⁷Ibid., p. 209.

⁸Ibid., p. 212.

⁹Ibid., p. 285.

¹⁰Ibid.

¹¹Frederika Dembitz Brandeis, Reminiscences of Frederika Dembitz Brandeis, written in 1880 to 1886, translated from the German by Alice G. Brandeis, privately printed, 1943.

¹²Ibid., p. 25.

¹³Ibid., p. 31.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 34.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 42.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 44.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 8. In a similar vein Jacob de Haas comments, "[There was] enough misery to arouse a craving for the occult." Jacob de Haas, Louis D. Brandeis: A Biographical Sketch, (New York: Bloch Publishing Co., 1929), p. 33.

¹⁸Jacob de Haas, Louis D. Brandeis, p. 34.

¹⁹Frederika Brandeis, Reminiscences, p. 32.

²⁰Ibid., p. 33.

²¹Ibid., p. 33.

²²Ibid., p. 1.

²³Ibid., p. 45.

²⁴Ibid., p. 46.

²⁵Ibid., p. 47.

²⁶John Lysle King's Diary, April 14, 1849, quoted in Alpheus T. Mason, Brandeis: A Free Man's Life (New York: The Viking Press, 1946), p. 20.

²⁷Abraham Flexner, I Remember (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1940), p. 20.

²⁸Alpheus T. Mason, Brandeis, p. 27.

²⁹John Lysle King's Diary, December 5, 1849, quoted in Mason, Brandeis, p. 20.

³⁰Goldmark, Pilgrims, p. 228.

³¹Gershon Scholem, The Messianic Idea in Judaism (New York: Schocken Books, 1971), p. 357.

³²Bernard Flexner, Mr. Justice Brandeis and the University of Louisville (Louisville: University of Louisville Press, 1938), p. 36

³³Melvin I. Urofsky & David W. Levy, "Introduction," p. xxvii in Letters of Louis D. Brandeis, ed. by Melvin I. Urofsky and David W. Levy (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1971), Vol. I. (1870-1907). Hereinafter referred to as Letters.

³⁴Letters, p. 1.

³⁵Louis D. Brandeis to Frederika Brandeis, November 12, 1888, Letters, p. 75.

³⁶Alfred Adler, Über den nervösen Charakter, 1912, p. 3, quoted in The Individual Psychology of Alfred Adler, ed. by Heinz L. Ansbacher & Rowena R. Ansbacher (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1964), pp. 108-9.

³⁷Bert Ford, "Boyhood of Brandeis--An Early View of the Man," Boston American, 4 June 1916, p. 2.

³⁸Ibid.

³⁹Alfred Adler, "Trots und Gerorsam," 1910, p. 89, in Ansbacher & Ansbacher, Adler, p. 55.

⁴⁰Bert Ford, "Boyhood of Brandeis," p. 2.

⁴¹Quoted in Ernest Poole, "Introduction," p. xi in Louis D. Brandeis, Business--A Profession (Boston: Small, Maynard & Co., 1914).

⁴²Mason, Brandeis, p. 26.

⁴³See, for example, L.D.B. to Alfred Brandeis, March 20, 1909, Letters, Vol. 2 (1972), p. 235. Hereafter, referred to as Letters II.

⁴⁴Louis D. Brandeis to Alfred Brandeis, March 16, 1909, Letters II, p. 230.

⁴⁵Edgar Clifton Bross, "An Analysis of Louis D. Brandeis," Eastern and Western Review, 9, (August 1916), 15.

⁴⁶Bross, "Analysis," p. 15.

⁴⁷Ford, "Boyhood of Brandeis," p. 2.

⁴⁸Quoted in Mason, Brandeis, p. 31.

⁴⁹Quoted in Poole, "Introduction," p. xi.

⁵⁰Ibid.

⁵¹Louis D. Brandeis to Alice Goldmark, December 4, 1890, Letters I, p. 95.

- ⁵²Erikson, Young Man Luther, p. 14.
- ⁵³Idem, Childhood and Society, p. 96.
- ⁵⁴Frederika Brandeis, Reminiscences, p. 34.
- ⁵⁵Quoted in Alden Todd, Justice on Trial: The Case of Louis D. Brandeis (New York: McGraw Hill, 1964), p. 41.
- ⁵⁶Louis D. Brandeis to Otto Wehle, March 12, 1876, Letters, I, p. 6.
- ⁵⁷Louis D. Brandeis to Amy Brandeis Wehle, January 20, 1877, Letters, I, p. 15.
- ⁵⁸Louis D. Brandeis, "The Harvard Law School," Green Bag, I, (1889), 23, 21.
- ⁵⁹James Landis, "Mr. Justice Brandeis and the Harvard Law School," Harvard Law Review, 55, (December 1941), 184.
- ⁶⁰Louis D. Brandeis to Alfred Brandeis, May 26, 1927, in Mason, Brandeis, p. 592.
- ⁶¹Louis D. Brandeis to Alfred Brandeis, May 29, 1906, Letters, I, p. 441.
- ⁶²Edgar Clifton Bross, "Analysis," pp. 15-16.
- ⁶³James Landis, "Mr. Justice Brandeis," p. 185.
- ⁶⁴These quotations cited in Mason, Brandeis, pp. 39-40.
- ⁶⁵Melvin I. Urofsky, A Mind of One Piece: Brandeis and American Reform (New York: Scribner, 1971), p. 9.
- ⁶⁶Louis D. Brandeis to Amy Brandeis Wehle, December 12, 1877, Letters, p.19.
- ⁶⁷"An Interview with Louis Dembitz Brandeis," The American Hebrew (2 December 1910), p. 135.
- ⁶⁸See Stephen Birmingham, "Our Crowd" (New York: Harper & Row, 1967), Chap. 16.

⁶⁹For more information, see Burton C. Bernard, "Brandeis in St. Louis," St. Louis Bar Journal, 2, (1964), pp. 53-68.

⁷⁰Charles Nagel to Louis D. Brandeis, November 27, 1877, in Mason, Brandeis, p. 49.

⁷¹Carl Schurz, The Reminiscences of Carl Schurz, Vol. II (New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1909), pp. 40-41.

⁷²Frederika Brandeis to Louis D. Brandeis, August 7, 1878, in Mason, Brandeis, p. 51.

⁷³Adolph Brandeis to Louis D. Brandeis, August 11, 1878, in Mason, Brandeis, p. 51.

⁷⁴Louis D. Brandeis to Otto Wehle, February 10, 1879, Letters, I, p. 32.

⁷⁵Louis D. Brandeis to Amy Brandeis Wehle, January, 1879, Letters, I, p. 29.

⁷⁶Louis D. Brandeis to Amy Brandeis Wehle, February 1, 1879, Letters, I, p. 30.

⁷⁷Louis D. Brandeis to Amy Brandeis Wehle, February 1, 1879, Letters, I, p. 30.

⁷⁸Louis D. Brandeis to Samuel D. Warren, Jr., May 30, 1879, Letters, I, p. 35.

⁷⁹Louis D. Brandeis to Walter Bond Douglas, July 6, 1879, Letters, I, p. 36.

⁸⁰Louis D. Brandeis to Charles Nagel, July 12, 1879, Letters, I, p. 37.

⁸¹Louis D. Brandeis to Charles Nagel, July 12, 1879, Letters, I, p. 39.

⁸²Louis D. Brandeis to Frederika Brandeis, July 20, 1879, Letters, I, pp. 41-42.

⁸³Louis D. Brandeis to Alfred Brandeis, July 31, 1879, Letters, I, p. 44.

⁸⁴Louis D. Brandeis to Amy Brandeis Wehle, November 11, 1880, Letters, I, p. 59.

⁸⁵When Brandeis was twenty-eight his mother wrote in her Reminiscences to him: "I had always been sorry that the seriousness of life had been impressed on you at too early an age...." p. 22.

⁸⁶Louis D. Brandeis to Amy Brandeis Wehle, January 2, 1881, Letters, I, p. 62.

⁸⁷Ibid., p. 61.

⁸⁸Louis D. Brandeis to William Harrison Dunbar, February 2, 1893, Letters, I, pp. 107, 108.

⁸⁹Ibid., p. 109.

⁹⁰Lewis Dembitz to Louis D. Brandeis, April 16, 1882, quoted in Mason, Brandeis, p. 66.

⁹¹Louis D. Brandeis to Adolph Brandeis, April 30, 1883, Letters, I, p. 65.

⁹²Alfred Lief, Brandeis: The Personal History of an American Ideal (New York: Stackpole & Sons, 1936), p. 28.

⁹³I am indebted to Philippa Strum who supplied these letters.

⁹⁴Mason, Brandeis, p. 71.

⁹⁵Roscoe Pound to William Chilton, 1916, cited in Mason, Brandeis, p. 70.

⁹⁶Louis D. Brandeis to Adolph Brandeis, December 16, 1889, Letters, I, p. 84.

⁹⁷Paul Freund, On Understanding the Supreme Court (Boston: Little Brown & Co., 1950), p. 67, quoted in Samuel Konefsky, The Legacy of Holmes and Brandeis; A Study in the Influence of Ideas (New York: Macmillan, 1957), p. 117.

⁹⁸Norman Hapgood's report to Woodrow Wilson of a conversation with Louis D. Brandeis, February 13, 1913, quoted in Mason, Brandeis, p. 117.

⁹⁹Ibid.

- ¹⁰⁰Melvin Urofsky, "Introduction," Letters, I, p. xxxi.
- ¹⁰¹Josephine Goldmark, Pilgrims, p. 276.
- ¹⁰²Ibid.
- ¹⁰³Matthew Arnold, see Louis D. Brandeis to Alice Goldmark, October 10, 1890, Letters, I, p. 94.
- ¹⁰⁴Louis D. Brandeis to Alice Goldmark, December 12, 1890, Letters, I, p. 95.
- ¹⁰⁵Mason, Brandeis, p. 637, quotation in Elizabeth Glendower Evans, "Alice Goldmark Brandeis," The Progressive, Vol. 1, No. 34, (26 July 1930), 3.
- ¹⁰⁶Louis D. Brandeis to Alice Goldmark, January 1891, Letters, I, p. 98.
- ¹⁰⁷Louis D. Brandeis to Alice Goldmark, February 26, 1891, Letters, I, p. 100.
- ¹⁰⁸Quoted in Irving Dilliard, ed., Mr. Justice Brandeis: Great American (St. Louis: The Modern View Press, 1941), p. 17.
- ¹⁰⁹Louis D. Brandeis quoted in New York Herald, 3 March 1912, cited in Mason, Brandeis, p. 424.
- ¹¹⁰Quoted in Mason, Brandeis, p. 639.
- ¹¹¹Louis D. Brandeis to Alfred Brandeis, March 20, 1886, Letters, I, p. 67.
- ¹¹²Edward F. McClennan, "Louis D. Brandeis as a Lawyer," Massachusetts Law Quarterly 33 (September 1948), 10.
- ¹¹³Louis D. Brandeis, quoted in Mason, Brandeis, pp. 91-92.
- ¹¹⁴Melvin Urofsky, A Mind of One Piece, p. 6.
- ¹¹⁵Louis D. Brandeis to Henry Morgenthau, Sr., December 5, 1906, Archives of the Division of Savings Bank Life Insurance, Boston, quoted in Urofsky, Mind, p. 6.

¹¹⁶Richard M. Abrahms, Conservatism in a Progressive Era (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1964), pp. 55-56.

¹¹⁷Barbara Solomon, Ancestors and Immigrants: A Changing New England Tradition (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1956), p. 195.

¹¹⁸Quoted in David W. Levy, "The Lawyer as Judge: Brandeis's View of the Legal Profession," Oklahoma Law Review, 22 (1969), 374.

¹¹⁹Herbert Croly, quoted in David W. Levy, "Lawyer as Judge," 379.

¹²⁰Felix Frankfurter, Felix Frankfurter Reminiscences (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Co., 1960), p. 128, quoted in Melvin Urofsky, A Mind of One Piece, p. 21.

¹²¹Irving Katz, "Henry Lee Higginson vs. Louis Dembitz Brandeis: A Collision Between Tradition and Reform," New England Quarterly, Vol. XLI, No. 1 (1968), 72-73.

¹²²Quoted in David W. Levy, "Lawyer as Judge," 389.

¹²³Ibid., 381

¹²⁴Louis D. Brandeis to Lorin F. Deland, February 9, 1895 (paraphrase), Letters, I, p. 121.

¹²⁵Livy S. Richard, "Up from Aristocracy," The Independent 79 (27 July 1914), 130.

¹²⁶Ibid., p. 131.

¹²⁷Louis D. Brandeis to E. F. McClennen, February 17, 1916, quoted in Mason, Brandeis, p. 106.

¹²⁸Alfred Lief, Brandeis, p. 54.

¹²⁹Ibid., p. 56.

¹³⁰Louis D. Brandeis to William Ames Bancroft, May 20, 1897, Letters, I, pp. 130-131.

¹³¹Louis D. Brandeis to Frederika Brandeis, November 11, 1888, Letters, I, p. 75.

- ¹³²Urofsky and Levy, "Introduction," Letters, I, p. xxviii.
- ¹³³"An Interview with Louis Dembitz Brandeis," The American Hebrew, p. 135.
- ¹³⁴Alfred Lief, Brandeis, p. 31.
- ¹³⁵Elizabeth Glendower Evans, "Mr. Justice Brandeis," p. 140.
- ¹³⁶"An Interview....," The American Hebrew, p. 135.
- ¹³⁷Elizabeth Glendower Evans, "Mr. Justice Brandeis," p. 140.
- ¹³⁸Acceptance of Chairmanship of Zionist Provisional Emergency Committee, August 30, 1914, quoted in Jacob de Haas, Brandeis, pp. 161-62.
- ¹³⁹James Waterman Wise, "Louis D. Brandeis," in his Jews are Like That! (New York: Brentano's Publishers, 1928), p. 17.
- ¹⁴⁰Quoted in Bernard Flexner, "Mr. Justice Brandeis," p. 36.
- ¹⁴¹Norman Hapgood, The Changing Years (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, Inc., 1930), p. 198.
- ¹⁴²Louis E. Levinthal, "Louis Dembitz Brandeis," The American Jewish Yearbook, 5703, Vol. 44 (1942), p. 44.
- ¹⁴³Alfred Lief, Brandeis, p. 119.
- ¹⁴⁴Melvin Urofsky, A Mind of One Piece, p. 103.

CHAPTER IV

The Youth of William Jennings Bryan, Political Reformer

Silas Lillard Bryan, William Jennings' father, was the seventh child begotten of John and Nancy Lillard Bryan, of Scottish and English descent respectively. The forebearers of John Bryan had come to America in the 1600s during a wave of Scotch-Irish immigration. Part of the family had settled in Virginia, where the John Bryans resided until Silas's birth in 1822. Thereupon, John and his family moved to Point Pleasant, in what later became West Virginia, the site of Silas's boyhood.

Little is known of these years. Suffice it to say that although few pioneer families had leisurely, comfortable lives, the Bryan family seemed to have had more than its share of misfortunes. When Silas was nine his mother died; three years later his father also passed away.¹ After the untimely death of his parents Silas and his numerous siblings were taken care of by aunts and uncles.

Silas himself had two distinct memories of this orphaned youth. One was the presidential victory of Andrew Jackson, which indicated the triumph of small midwestern farmers over the Eastern monied interests. When older, Silas continued to regard Jacksonian principles as the sole solution to whatever ailed the nation. The second memory was of those impressive Virginia estates located between the Blue Ridge Mountains and Richmond. The Virginia squires, as Silas recalled, relaxed in their comfortable, spacious mansions while common laborers cultivated their extensive land holdings.

When Silas reached the age of eighteen he followed in the rest

of his family's--indeed, in the rest of America's--footsteps and journeyed westward. From West Virginia he walked to Troy, Missouri, to live with his older brother William, a farmer. It was after this brother that Silas's famous son was named. The following year he moved to Marion County, Illinois, where his married sister Nancy Baltzell resided. There, to support himself Silas worked as a farmhand and a woodchopper. He quickly realized the value of an education and saved whatever money he could from these jobs in order to attend school. He managed to set aside enough funds, and after trying several institutions Silas chose McKendree College, a small Methodist school in nearby Lebanon, Illinois. Lebanon was a very small midwestern town with only two hundred residents. McKendree College itself had only twenty-one students!

While studying at McKendree Silas continued to support himself by his farmhand activities. He shaved expenses wherever possible. With a fellow student Silas built a cabin in the woods near the college in order to avoid the lodging expenses.

Silas was a determined young man. For, not only was he physically apart from the other students; he was chronologically as well: when he graduated in 1849 he had already reached the relatively advanced age of twenty-seven. He forfeited many pleasures of young manhood to achieve his goals. "...[E]ducation was Silas Bryan's mistress. He was a single track individual to whom promiscuity of any kind was repugnant."²

Yet, there was still some time for enjoyment. His son William claims in his memoirs that, "As a young man he [Silas] was fond of fun and took delight in the frivolities of his day."³ In his youth Silas was a confirmed tobacco chewer who successfully stood his ground against a teacher who criticized this vice.

Despite these "frivolities" Silas became a devout Christian early

in life. According to William, "There came a day, however, when he was a young man, when religion took a very strong hold upon him and held him and became a controlling influence in his life."⁴ As William relates the incident, after attending a party his father caught a cold that developed into pneumonia. His condition became critical and the doctor in attendance warned Silas that "it would be the part of wisdom for him to make such provision for the future as he might think best."⁵ The stricken Silas then began to pray fervently and promised God that if he recuperated he would continue to pray thrice daily so long as he lived. William commented, "He was restored to health and kept the promise."⁶

One Bryan biographer, Paxton Hibben, claims that Silas had become critically ill as the result of his own cooking while living in the cabin. The important point, at any rate, is that William believed that his father became ill because of an early "promiscuity"⁷ of some sort and henceforth reformed and became a devout Christian who renounced all vices. Silas did not indulge in and disapproved of drinking, smoking and gambling.

After completing college, Silas continued in his educational pursuits at McKendree until he received a master's degree. He then became a teacher at the Walnut Hill school, twelve miles outside of Salem, Illinois. At this time no public schools existed in lower Illinois. Education was paid for by private subscriptions and schoolhouses consisted of abandoned log cabins. Teaching was not a respected profession; educating children was largely regarded as a feminine chore. This newly trained teacher resented this attitude and started campaigning for public schools. As a result of these efforts Silas was elected county superintendent, his first political office. During this time Silas was also studying law and was admitted to the Illinois bar at the age of twenty-nine. Thereupon he began a legal career in Salem.

The following year Silas married a local resident and ex-student, Mariah Elizabeth Jennings. Silas was twelve years Mariah's senior; the latter was a youthful eighteen at the time of their marriage. Physically Mariah was not extraordinarily attractive. She had gray eyes, high cheekbones and a long, prominent nose. She was poorly schooled as compared to her husband. However, other factors made her a desirable mate for orphaned Silas.

Mariah came from a well established, politically influential family in Salem. In 1819 her grandfather, Israel Jennings, had made the second purchase of government land in Marion County. He subsequently became the largest landowner in the county and served several terms in the Illinois General Assembly in Vandalia, Illinois. "For a number of years Israel Jennings held worthy prestige among the prominent citizens of Marion County and took an active and influential part in the development of the county. He was a leader in many enterprises for the social and moral advancement of his fellow man, a liberal contributor to churches and educational institutions and all laudable measures."⁸ Israel's son Charles--Mariah's father--inherited one thousand acres of prairie land from his successful father.

Despite the family's wealth and prestige Mariah was a modest young woman, simple in dress and style. She proved herself capable of household management and, like her new husband, was devoted to the church.

The expedience of this marriage for Silas soon became apparent. With the financial backing of Mariah's family as well as the benefit of the family's connections, Silas Bryan was elected to the Illinois State senate representing the whole northeastern section of Lower Illinois. This section was known as 'Egypt' because of the chronic shortage of food there. Following this successful campaign Silas and his bride moved into

Salem, the county seat.

William's description of this marriage is interesting. He comments correctly that his mother's education was inferior to her mate's. However, "Her studies after marriage and her companionship with him enabled her to make up somewhat for the shortness of her school days."⁹ (Emphasis added.) Clearly William regarded his father as Mariah's guide and continual superior. In discussing Mariah's prominent grandfather as well as the rest of the Jennings family, William elaborates upon their ancestral heritage yet makes no mention of their wealth or prestige. From an examination of William's memoirs alone, one gets a very different perspective on this marriage. Hence, one can see already that Silas Bryan was the dominant parent in the Bryan household; he subsequently became the dominant influence in William's life. William does comment, "Mother was a very competent woman, of rare native ability, of lofty ideals, and as devout as my father."¹⁰ (Emphasis added.) Thus, although he compliments his mother, William's father is still the yardstick against whom she is compared.

Silas Bryan stayed in the State Senate in Springfield for eight years, during which time he witnessed the development of those issues which would cause the Civil War. There in Springfield he was in contact with such notables as Lyman Trumbull, who had examined him for the bar. Silas was a staunch Democrat and supported his party's candidate--Stephen A. Douglas--in the close senatorial elections of 1853 and 1859. Although he believed in the popular election of senators, his party loyalty won out and he voted for Douglas even though Abraham Lincoln was the people's choice. Silas respected and admired Lyman Trumbull, but he disapproved of the latter's anti-slavery stand and would not vote for him either when Lincoln stepped aside in 1858.

In 1860, the year of the birth of William Jennings, the Republicans were victorious and Silas Bryan was retired. However, back home in his native 'Egypt' the Democrats still reigned and Silas was elected circuit judge. This position, which entailed Silas's riding circuit over six counties and hence being absent from home much of the time, paid him one thousand dollars annually. This salary, together with the income from his private practice which he maintained during the twelve years of his tenure as judge, enabled Silas to ably care for his expanding family.

Silas Bryan was a devout Christian and religion played a central role in his life. In addition to his political and legal activities, Silas was deacon of the Baptist church. He saw no conflict in these two spheres, indeed he believed they complimented each other. Silas advocated the application of Christian principles to the current political controversies. He was a diligent student of the Bible and was prone to cite the Good Book often. As a trial lawyer Silas had been known to extensively quote the scriptures in his argument to the jury.

Silas believed in a prayer-hearing and a prayer-answering God. While attending the Illinois Constitutional Convention of 1870, another member proposed that the printing of the daily prayer be henceforth omitted from the convention journal. Silas immediately and passionately protested. He himself prayed aloud three times a day, as previously related. This practice he carried through into his tenure on the bench; Silas would pray before the opening of court and at noon would halt the proceedings in order to do so.

Invoking God's aid before making judicial decisions, Silas believed, made such decisions immutable. Error was on the part of the others, not he. Once when informed that the Illinois Supreme Court had reversed one of his

decisions, Silas Bryan snapped, "The Supreme Court is wrong."

Someone so sure of himself who regarded God as a personal advisor must have been hard to approach indeed. Silas has been described as "very dignified and aloof."¹¹ In this regard, it is interesting to note that William learned the reason for his father's praying three times a day from a third party rather than from his father directly. Some little boy had asked Judge Bryan to explain this behavior and related the story to William many years later. One must ask why William never asked about this behavior himself. This reticence of William and his siblings reflects something of the nature of Silas Bryan. It is premature at this time to discuss the complex relationship between William and his father. Suffice it to say at this point that Silas's piousness, his unshakable certainty in the righteousness of his decisions--at home as well as in court--must have made him an austere and strict person indeed.

Silas's honesty was as famed as his strictness. The many unsolicited obituaries appearing after Silas's death credited him as being a totally honest man during an age when politics and honesty did not often mix. A local genealogist succinctly summed up Silas's reputation while describing the Bryan family: "First as a family whose veracity is never questioned; second they are noted for being strictly honest in every detail of social, political and business life; third, those who are Christians are very devoted, believing emphatically in a prayer hearing and a prayer answering God...."¹²

Yet, it did not seem that God was answering too many of these prayers during Silas's early married years.

II

Soon after their marriage Silas and Mariah moved into a modest house near the center of town. These early years together could not be characterized as happy ones. Their first two children, John and Virginia, both succumbed to whooping cough and died within two weeks of each other. Silas was deeply grieved by these losses and became so despondent that he believed he would soon join them. He wrote in his Bible at this time:

I made the above record this 10th of February 1858 in great distress of mind about my beloved children not feeling that I can ever be reconciled to their loss or that the Lord will ever bless me hereafter with children that will give me so much satisfaction as these precious children. Thank God that I feel that I am their father still and that I will be with them soon.¹³

The children had died the previous Christmas, and this holiday would never again hold much joy for Silas.

Despite his pessimism, Silas did become a father again--six times in fact. In 1858 Frances was born, followed by William Jennings on March 19, 1860. These births were subsequently followed by Russell Jones, Charles Wayland, Nancy Lillard and Mary Elizabeth. No doubt these new arrivals were gladly welcomed by Silas and Mariah. In this regard William comments in his memoirs: "A letter written just after my birth conveyed... the fact of my birth. My father, who was suffering from a serious attack of diabetes, wrote...that the birth of a son had increased his desire to live."¹⁴

In the theoretical framework of the Eight Ages of Man, Erik Erikson delineates the crucial importance of the development of trust via the tender care and nurturance received by the child during his or her first years. This is primarily the maternal realm. As the child matures, however, other elements of his environment also become important: the father, siblings, peers, the community and social values.

As in most historical cases, there is little information concerning the first stage of William's life. From a knowledge of Mariah Bryan's personality--a warm and loving one--as well as certain incidents William later relates about her, one can assume that baby William was nurtured and tenderly cared for.

In one such later incident, William indicates his deep reverence for the intimacy of the mother-child relationship. In a 1916 interview, discussing the paintings that most influenced him, William claimed that any Madonna and child portrait--regardless of the artist--was his favorite as "it deals with the tenderest human relationship." This, one can assume was a reflection of his own experience.

However, as William grows, and the stage shifts so that Silas Bryan becomes a more focal element in Williams's life, love is then demonstrated primarily through instruction and discipline rather than physical affection. William comments, "I became the oldest son and had all the care that a mother could bestow upon a child and all the interest that a father could feel."¹⁵ (Emphasis added.)

According to William's perception, the mother's role is nurturance and affection--"care." The father's role is the rather distant sounding one of "interest"; it appears to be more an intellectual concern for one's offspring. Along these lines it is hypothesized here that William's development was primarily affected by his relationship with this "interested (as distinct from "caring") father and that this "interest" was not sufficient emotional reassurance to provide William with a happy, loving, secure childhood.

William divides the recollections of his childhood into two periods: "The incidents of my boyhood are roughly classified as having occurred while we lived in town or after we moved to the country."¹⁶ William's

memories of the town years are scant indeed. The primary recollections in this regard are William's three childhood ambitions.

Williams's first desire was to become a Baptist preacher. This was due, he stated, "doubtless to the fact that my father was a member of the Baptist church."¹⁷ This ambition was promptly retired when young William first witnessed an immersion. "...[A]fter that they never could get me to say that I was going to be a Baptist preacher."¹⁸ The phraseology here indicates a family--or one may speculate fatherly--encouragement for the oldest son to become a preacher. Young William, it turns out, actually had no memory of this incident: "Of course I was too young to have any distinct recollection of either this ambition or its abandonment, but the record as given by my parents...."¹⁹ (Emphasis added.) A specific age is not given for this incident; all that is known is that it was prior to the age of six. William had few recollections of his early childhood and convinced himself that early childhood memories were "of course" impossible.

His second ambition was to become a pumpkin farmer. Bryan explains, "This did not last long...It may have been due to the plans we were making to remove to the country."²⁰ His third ambition--a more permanent one--was to become a lawyer. "My third ambition was probably due to the fact that my father was a lawyer...."²¹ Already at this young age we can see the influence of Silas Bryan. This strong identification of a young son with his father is not unnatural of course. Yet, it will be demonstrated that the more mature Bryan continued in many important ways to imitate his father. And, as the story of the second era of William's youth unfolds--that time after the family moved to the country--it becomes increasingly clear that this imitation was not the sincerest form of flattery, but rather a staunch effort by William to submerge his feelings

of hostility toward his father.

When William was six Silas moved his family from the modest house in town to a large, imposing mansion in the country. The new Bryan homestead became the showplace of Marion County. Silas remembered those impressive estates owned by the Virginia squires and he modeled his new home after them. Set on 520 acres, the large house had a front and back porch and a center hall which allowed summer breezes to cool the house. The rooms were big and the ceilings high. In the southern gentry style, each of the rooms had a fireplace. The balustrade was of maple, smartly fashioned to make it an object of beauty as well as a sturdy fixture. A piano graced the living room. The quarter mile walk to the house was lined with rows of cedars and maples. There was an enormous yard three hundred feet long by two hundred feet wide.

This imposing edifice must have greatly pleased Silas. But the most treasured facet of his new living quarters was an extravagant luxury--a deer park that Silas built for himself. As William put it, "We had a park of fourteen acres adjoining the farm where my father indulged his fancy for deer, the number running up at times as high as twenty." ²² (Emphasis added.) This Silas maintained and treasured until a buck attacked him.

Owning a large estate complete with a deer park, Silas finally realized his childhood dream. Now he truly resembled those Virginia squires he had so often admired--indeed, envied--when he was a poor, orphaned youth. The estate contained many arable acres, but Silas stayed true to that tradition he sought to follow and became a gentleman farmer. "Although he stocked his farm with horses, cattle, hogs, sheep and a full

selection of poultry, Silas was not a farmer like his neighbors. Most of his land he rented out, cultivating only a few acres for himself."²³

At this time Silas was traveling the circuit court, and was away from home much of the time. Hence, the responsibility for maintaining that farmland Silas did save for himself fell largely to the eldest son, William. "The boys had the wood to cut and the chores to do. I, being the oldest, used the laboring oar, so to speak, and learned to milk and care for the stock and to do the general chores."²⁴ Thus, while Silas was working as a judge, enjoying the status of a gentleman who rented out his land to be cultivated, his son was the poor farmer who was left with the onerous, physically demanding farm work chores.

Silas could afford some hired help to cultivate his farmland. Yet, he made his son bear the burden of the farm work. William, who generally speaks of his only partially remembered childhood in glowing terms, does admit that the farm chores were not his favorite: "If I were required to select the days of my boyhood which were least enjoyed the lot would fall on the winter days of this period."²⁵ During this time William had to arise early, light the Franklin stove, go out to the barn and feed the horses, cows, and hogs and finally, milk the cows. Only after completing all these chores could he come in for breakfast. William's hazy memory becomes very clear when he recalls those early, arduous mornings: "More than fifty years have passed since those days and I can see myself engaged in this drudgery, my nose running, my fingers numb, and possessing feelings for which the Sunday-school songs I knew did not furnish fitting expressions."²⁶

No doubt William greatly resented his father for the assignment of these onerous tasks. However, he could not allow these negative feelings toward his father to surface; it was necessary to bury these

feelings, as the following explanation indicates.

Children adopt the superego of their parents; this is the way a culture and a society perpetuates itself. Charles Brenner explains, "...the superego is the introjected parental images."²⁷ Therefore, one can assume that William developed an overbearing superego, similar to the one of his stern, moralistic father. This strong superego would not tolerate William's negative feelings toward his father. Hence, there existed an internal danger of becoming aware of these feelings.

Secondly, there was an external danger of admitting these feelings. Silas was bigger and stronger--he could and did use corporal punishment to discipline his children. It would not be hard for William to imagine that an expression of his inner feelings toward his father would result in physical injury; he could be harmed, maimed, perhaps even castrated. With these internal and external dangers present in becoming conscious of his hostility, ego defenses developed to relieve William's anxieties. These defenses were repression and identification. William repressed his negative feelings toward Silas and kept these feelings repressed by identifying with Silas. Alexander and Juliette George explain this process in describing Woodrow Wilson's attitude toward his father:

Some children...are afraid to express negative feelings openly, commonly out of fear of what reprisals the parent would take if he knew. Sometimes the child is so terrified that he dares not even recognize the existence of such feelings within himself, but, rather, seeks constantly to persuade himself of unsurpassing devotion to his parent.²⁸

In this vein, William submerged all negative feelings toward Silas and later rationalized that the latter's orders were in his best interest. He goes on to say that in later life he realized the great physical stamina this work had given him. "My physical strength has been an invaluable asset and I feel that I am indebted to work upon the

farm for the strength that has enabled me to endure fatigue and withstand disease." 29

This repression-rationalization is a common theme throughout the memoirs. Thus, William reports that these chores taught him "industry and obedience" and provided him with exercise. "I am sure that the indictments which I would have framed about the time the chores were done are very unlike the judgments that I now render in retrospect." 30 This is the most overt expression William makes of any dissatisfaction with his father's decisions.

In a similar vein of rationalization, William explains that the reason why his father originally bought the farm was that "he thought a farm a better place to raise a family." 31 The evidence, however, clearly indicates that Silas's primary interest in purchasing the farm was to satisfy his own desire to live in a certain style that he had admired from boyhood. Family considerations were secondary. It seems highly unlikely that someone who was thinking primarily of his family would buy a house so far from town that there were no other children for his own to play with. "The children were more or less isolated, cut off from the common play of town youngsters." 32 So far too that there was no school close enough to attend. Because of the family's distance from the school-house, William Jennings did not attend public school until the age of ten. Prior to that time he was taught solely by his mother.

The young Bryan children must have found it lonely in their new home. William sought ways to overcome the resulting isolation. "Tradition has it that I used to disobey the injunctions of my mother and slip away from home to play with other children." He would conceal himself behind a broad board in the fence yard and was able to get to the side of the fence without being observed. "More than once I was brought back and

chastised and tied to the bedpost as punishment."³³

This incident brings forth another important point in the discussion of William's youth. It is true that the pioneer attitude toward discipline was much stricter than the modern one. Yet, it seems clear that Silas Bryan was even stricter than most of his contemporaries. One of William's boyhood friends commented, "Judge Bryan was pretty strict. I guess he brought up his boys under closer rules than most of our fathers did." ³⁴

Being tied to the bedpost indicates the severity of the corporal punishment that existed in the Bryan household and the reality of William's fears of physical harm for his inner feelings. William admits that his father's strictness was resented during his boyhood. But, in his usual mode of rationalization, he argues that with maturity he learned to appreciate this. And, as with the farm chores, he finally turned the tables so completely in his mind that he thanked his father for these severities:

My parents believed in the old adage, 'Spare the rod and spoil the child,' and as they loved me too well to risk my being spoiled they punished me. As I look back upon these punishments, I find myself more tolerant in passing judgment upon them than I was at the time, although I recall instances where I recognized the punishment as just....They were quite strict with me and I sometimes considered the boys more fortunate who were given more liberty, but on reflection I am not prepared to say that I would have done better under a different system....I am not only satisfied but grateful for the punishment I received." ³⁵ (Emphasis added.)

His strong superego continues here to forcefully repress those hostile feelings toward his father.

Although Silas was away much of the time during William's youth, Mariah followed her elder husband's lead and the atmosphere of strict discipline prevailed even in his absence. One biographer comments, "Mariah reinforced Silas's way of life, accepted his temporal and spiritual leadership, and administered its principles faithfully in his absences." ³⁶

Or, as William himself put it, "Her husband set an example in word and conduct that she could always invoke in the training of the children."³⁷ This quote again indicates that Silas was the prototype against whom others either were measured against or took their leadership from. Thus, although Mariah was a softening influence in the Bryan house, Silas's strict nature prevailed.

This strictness not only related to corporal punishment. Silas was an extremely religious, God-fearing man and intended that his children be so likewise. Every noon Judge Bryan would return to his stately residence where his son William came in from the fields to meet him for the additional daily task of reading and discussing the Bible. These instructional periods were clearly not enjoyed by William: "He [Silas] was especially fond of Proverbs and was in the habit of calling me in from work a little before noon to read a chapter and comment upon it. I cannot say that I shared his enthusiasm at the time...."³⁸

Silas's concept of God was one of a revengeful, omnipotent being rather than a loving, forgiving one. This concept he instilled strongly into his children. "Both mother and father taught him to obey them and to fear God."³⁹ After travelling the circuit, Silas returned home with a present for his children, as many fathers would. Silas's gifts, however, consisted of catechisms which would have to be read and then discussed with Silas. Hardly the kind of surprise a child would look forward to!

A strict, religious man with a strong superego, Silas expected only obedient, good behavior from his children. Hence, the natural mischievousness of children, which William would sometimes demonstrate, was punished quickly and soundly. Having few playmates and not attending public school until ten, William was no doubt incapable of judging what was natural behavior for children. In addition, having identified so

strongly with Silas and thus adopting the latter's strong superego, he must have assumed that whatever transgressions he made were exceptionally bad ones, especially in light of the "perfect" behavior exhibited by his father.

Thus, it is not surprising that William's self perception was at great variance with the description of him by others. He regarded himself as a normally mischievous child: "I was not a perfect child by any means unless the word 'perfect' is used to describe a boy with all the natural inclinations to mischief."⁴⁰ Yet the evidence indicates that William was an exceptionally well behaved little boy. A thorough biographer comments, "Not a single wayward episode can be unearthed about his childhood."⁴¹ Likewise, an acquaintance of the Bryan family in Salem observed: "He never argued or refused to do what was required of him. He was always truthful and obedient. Sometimes a look of sadness came into his face when he was refused things or pleasure. There was never a word of unkindness or impudence."⁴² This unusually obedient behavior in itself testifies to the severity of William's superego; to its forbiddance of any release of anger or feelings of hostility.

The strictness and the extreme religious nature of the Bryan household was further accentuated by the children being taught at home for several years. Although Silas had been a teacher by profession, Mariah became the family educator as Silas was away from home much of the time. As indicated, Mariah followed her husband's precepts in regard to discipline. Yet, she remained softer and more affectionate than Silas. It seems certain that she was a more tolerant, encouraging teacher than Silas might have been. William stated, "I would learn my lessons until I could repeat questions and answers without the book and then I

would stand up on this little table and declaim them to my mother. My first audience, therefore, was a receptive, appreciative, and enthusiastic one."⁴³

It must be confining for any child to receive his education at home. For, at this age children usually become involved in school, with its own separate environment and its own authority figures. Youngsters are now exposed to a new social and cultural reality that is totally apart from the one experienced at home. In Erikson's description, the child now "has experienced a sense of finality regarding the fact that there is no workable future within the womb of his family."⁴⁴ The child begins to learn the tools that he will need to later function independently in the world. In addition, being in a new situation, he learns of the increasing complexity of the world he lives in. "[T]he more complicated the social reality [becomes], the vaguer are the father's and mother's role in it. School seems to be a culture all by itself, with its own goals and limits, its achievements and disappointments."⁴⁵

William was not able to experience this new social reality until he was ten; the role of his parents did not become "vague" until then; the experiencing of other goals was not yet a reality. The experience of being isolated from the rest of the community and studying at home until the age of ten inhibited a more critical perspective on the values and mores learned at home as well as inhibiting any improvement of William's negative self image.

The reason for William's so thorough adoption of his father's viewpoint was psychologically motivated. For when other perspectives were seen William would not adopt them because he wanted to so totally bury those feelings of hostility he felt toward his domineering and rigid

father that he would wholeheartedly identify with the latter and adopt his values. In psychological terms, the act of repression creates in the mind a chronic antithesis between the ego and the id at the locus of the repression. The repressed material contains its own drive energy known as cathexis which is continually pressing for the material's exposure. Thus, the ego must counteract this force with its own drive energy, or countercahexis. This countercahexis insisted that William continually identify with his father. Thus, whereas one might expect William to have a harsh judgment of his authoritarian father, instead one finds adulation and rationalization.

In light of William's repression, one should not be surprised that his memories of this era in his life are indeed limited. In the beginning of his memoirs William states, "I did not, until after the Chicago convention hear much about the incidents of my childhood."⁴⁶ Bryan assumes--or would like the reader to assume--that one only knows of one's youth what others have told him. It is curious that the man who in his lifetime met literally thousands of people and would never forget a face, could not remember more than the most glaring incidents of his youth.

Following his admission of recalling so little of his youth, William quickly goes on to say, "I only know that I was blessed with as happy an environment as a child could hope for or ask."⁴⁷ The reader wonders whether this is part and parcel of those incidents he "heard about" after the Chicago convention or William's standard rationalization; the kind of comment the consummate politician would feel obligated to make to his audience. For, there are numerous incidents in the memoirs which even with a superficial reading indicate less than a totally care-free, happy environment. William's early experience as a laboring farm

hand is one example. Another important one is William's interest in music and his father's attitude toward this interest.

Although he does not explicitly say so, it is evident that William loved music. Despite his general amnesia about his youth, William remembers fondly the specific songs his mother sang to him:

Some of the tunes still run through my mind and the words of the songs are still recalled....The words came back to me when I was for a little while a soldier and I found myself time and time again humming the tune that I heard her sing when I was a boy.⁴⁸

Another favored memory was the Sunday afternoon song fest that the Bryan family enjoyed:

A piano was the principal piece of furniture in the parlor and is often recalled. One of the pictures most clearly outlined in my memory is the picture of the family gathered in this room on Sunday afternoon, singing Sunday-school songs and church hymns. The Bryan Choir, as father called it, joined with youthful enthusiasm. Father's favorite piece was 'Kind Words' and we were wont to close the singing with his favorite song. To these Sunday afternoon exercises...I am indebted for these tunes that have run through my mind ever since.⁴⁹

William enjoyed this tradition so much that he carried it over into his own family. His son later wrote, "Our family often gathered at the piano Sunday night to sing hymns."⁵⁰

The particular song being sung was often an important element of a childhood memory. For instance, William recalled that the time he and a friend accidentally almost shot themselves they were singing "O, you must be a lover of the Lord, or you can't go to heaven when you die." "Our musical program was suspended by the discharge of the gun."⁵¹ Music was also important in connection with religion. When describing the church he joined, Bryan remembers the man who led the singing: "He had one of the sweetest tenor voices I have ever heard; his notes still ring in my ears "⁵²

In light of these incidents it is not surprising that William

desired to take piano lessons. Silas Bryan, however, made short shrift of this desire. "He [Silas] checked my ambitions in this direction with the brief but firm suggestion that the girls in the family could take lessons on the piano but the boys would learn to make music with the hand saw."⁵³ Thus, whereas girls could participate in this sort of entertainment, boys could not. At least Silas Bryan's boys could not. Despite rigorous work as a farmhand, William was not permitted the small luxury of piano lessons. Yet, Silas, who did not do any of the farm chores--he never made music with a hand saw--indulged in his expensive and totally frivolous hobby of maintaining a deer park. One is hard pressed to explain why one is permissible and the other is not. It seems unlikely that William distinguished between the two. He must have bitterly resented the judge's unfair verdict in this instance and his hostility toward him no doubt grew correspondingly. Indeed, he was probably reminded of it every time he saw the piano, "the principal piece of furniture in the parlor."

However, consistent with his other responses to his father, William repressed his hostility and maintained that this tart refusal was in his own best interest. It seems though that the usually glossy rationalization is only half-hearted here:

I have only inherited half of his [Silas'] views on this subject. When I hear a song that appeals to my heart I envy those who are able to sing. But experience has confirmed in me the views of my father about music in general. One has only so much time. If it is spent on instrumental music sufficient to become proficient it occupies time that must be taken from other things....⁵⁴ (Emphasis added.)

One cannot believe that the young, musically-inspired Bryan was so practical. It must have been even more onerous to William that his father's decision was not based on financial factors. Silas Bryan could well have afforded to give his son piano lessons just as he could have

afforded to hire a farmhand rather than making William do all the work. Thus, William little benefitted from his family's favorable financial position. Indeed, it seems to have created more hard work in numerous farm chores without any compensating benefits. One who perceives William's childhood as a financially comfortable one really does him a grave disservice. Examining the realities of William's youth, one ought not to be surprised that he became the champion of the poor, hard-working farmer.

The only diversion William was allowed at home was the one common to the pioneer: hunting, and at this he became quite proficient. Such an activity would be doubly entertaining as it allowed William to get outside, away from his strict father as well as providing an outlet for those aggressive feelings he unconsciously felt toward him; at least William could make music with the gun occasionally instead of always with the hand saw.

William finally attended public school at the age of ten. His first school was a worn, recycled structure known as the Old College; it had formerly housed a girl's seminary. William's early scholastic efforts were only mediocre, although, as might be expected, he was, in his own words, "well toward the front in deportment." In the pioneer tradition, William's teacher believed that learning required the strictest discipline, not excluding an occasional swat. Mary Putnam Reed Lemon was her name, and not surprisingly, William does not have any harsh words for her. However, interestingly, he changes her name from LEMON to LAMB: "Mrs. Lamb was the teacher, a woman somewhat advanced in years at that time but an enthusiast on education and a strict disciplinarian."⁵⁵ Is this insignificant incident an example of William's effort to erase, or at

least ameliorate, unpleasant memories?

Freud, in The Psychopathology of Everyday Life, found that these slips of memory were most often the direct consequence of repression. Brenner explains the Freudian dynamic behind such slips: "Though the specific details of motivation may vary...it is basically the same in all cases, that is, to prevent the possibility of the development of anxiety or guilt, or both."⁵⁶ From a description of Mrs. Lemon it is not difficult to see her resemblance to Silas Bryan. One can assume William developed feelings of hostility toward this new and demanding authority figure. However, the subsequent anxieties and guilt that resulted from these feelings demanded that they be repressed. The name Lemon too dangerously resembled these repressed feelings: changing it to one with an innocuous, or perhaps even favorable, connotation helped William to keep these feelings buried. Thus, such a seemingly inconsequential slip reinforces the thesis here that William repressed many uncomfortable feelings. His hazy memory further indicates this repression. As to his schooldays, William comments "During these five years in public school I do not recall much that is worth recording."⁵⁷

William does recall the long walks to school; obviously the result of his father's choice of a home so far from town. He also remembered being studious as a result of his parents' discipline: "I was regular in attendance and studious, having behind me the coercive power of parents who were determined that I should have an education."⁵⁸ (Emphasis added.) Thus, William attributes whatever early success he had in school to the drive--"coercive power"--of his parents. The rigid, extremely structured atmosphere created by his father did not encourage self motivation nor development of an image of self worth. William worked in

school because his father made him, just as he worked as a farmhand because his father ordered it.

William seems to have believed that he needed this structure to succeed. His father's attitude of expecting, thus not rewarding good behavior while harshly punishing bad made William insecure as to his own worth. Thus, he wanted to succeed to elicit that grudging praise his father so rarely meted out. He soon learned that the only way to impress his father, hence "succeed," was with tangible signs. These Silas respected and these the now outwardly motivated William could relate to. When William's college career is examined, it will become evident that the prizes and awards he received in debating stood out so clearly in his mind. An early example of this phenomenon was William's mention of his early efforts in poetry: "It was during my high school days that I made my first venture in poetry, but while the jingle was praised by the schoolmates who saw it, the success was not sufficient to turn my head or my mind in that direction."⁵⁹ Clearly, William regarded his own satisfaction or enjoyment in writing poetry as only secondary as compared with whatever outside 'success' it achieved.

William's insecurity led him to seek success not for its own sake, but in an effort to convince himself as well as his father of his own worth. To William his father was omnipotent; as omnipotent as Silas claimed God to be. Indeed, there seemed to be little distinction between parental and religious authority. "In the Bryan home there was no distinction between religion and parental authority, for parental edicts were largely founded on religious prescription."⁶⁰

Silas exhibited total control and mastery of the Bryan household. Young William must have assumed, as all children do, that this

mastery extended to the outside world as well. Thus, it must have come as a great shock to William that his father lost his Congressional bid in 1872.

The campaign was a heated one, with the liberal Republicans challenging the policies of the Grant administration. Silas Bryan lost by a mere 240 votes. Although he had obtained both Greenback and Democratic support, Silas was narrowly defeated by the Republican candidate. This event exposed the twelve year old William to politics and also to those negative feelings he had toward his father.

It is interesting to note that William does not even mention the fact that Silas lost the election in his memoirs. It must have been very difficult for William to accept this defeat. Yet, on a deeper psychological level, it is not unlikely that William, who resented his father, got great pleasure in seeing the latter defeated. In psychological terms, William's id wishes against his father were finally gratified. When such unconscious wishes are fulfilled, the psyche does not distinguish between external and internal fulfillment. In other words, it regards the individual as responsible for the attainment of such a wish. Thus, this id gratification could only lead to anxiety and guilt feelings which would cause William to redouble his efforts to repress these feelings and identify with his father. Such identification took the form of reinforcing his earlier stated desire to follow in his father's footsteps and become a lawyer, and possibly a politician. In his memoirs, William comments: "This ambition [to become a Senator] received encouragement from my father's race for Congress when I was twelve years old."⁶¹

Most observers concur that Silas's unsuccessful bid encouraged

William onto his future path. "William showed no remorse; indeed his father's defeat provided him with a new ambition. Now when grown-ups asked...what he would do someday for a living, he would answer, 'I am going to be a lawyer and go to Congress!...'"⁶²

Although William scarcely mentions this incident, it was an important aspect of his development for several reasons. Firstly, it guided William toward his future career. Secondly, it was important in that this instance of id gratification energized the id to press for further gratification. It demanded some release for those feelings of hostility, some expression of rebellion against the domineering father. The reality situation encouraged such a rebellion. For the impossible had happened--his seemingly omnipotent father had become vulnerable. "That his father should not be elected was inconceivable to young Bryan."⁶³ William must have realized that although Silas ruled his own household with an iron hand, he was neither able to dominate nor punish the outside world as well. Perhaps it unconsciously dawned on William that his innermost feelings towards his father--his hostility toward him--were felt by others as well. One anecdote has it that Silas lost the election because he refused to contribute five hundred dollars to the party's war chest. This refusal dimmed the efforts of party workers. Honest Silas Bryan would not conform to political corruption, no matter how small the amount. Young William, however, was no doubt much more impressed by his father's miserliness rather than his honesty. Louis Koenig comments, "It [not giving these monies] was another lesson that William noted. In all his campaigns, he offered not only superb oratory but financial gifts as well."⁶⁴

Hence, just as Silas had been so stingy with William--making

him work as a farmhand and refusing to give him music lessons--so he had been stingy to the party. And this stinginess caused defeat; it had antagonized other people as it had antagonized William.

These people that had rebelled against Silas--that had not voted for him--they were not punished--they were neither maimed nor harmed. Silas was impotent against these voters. Hence, one could rebel against Silas in certain ways and one need not worry about external dangers.

This realization encouraged William to rebel against his father. Not directly, of course, but in one particular aspect that would certainly 'hit home'; in that area that was probably most central to Silas's authority and to his life--religion.

III

One of William's more remarkable understatements was: "My religious training was not neglected at any period of my life."⁶⁵ Mariah Bryan was a Methodist; Silas Bryan was a Baptist. As a result William attended two Sunday schools. "The only advantage that I know of that can come from the parents belonging to the different churches is that the Sunday-school opportunities are doubled."⁶⁶ This is probably another one of William's rationalizations; it seems unlikely that most young boys would welcome the opportunity to attend two Sunday school classes. At any rate, William attended both as well as daily prayer sessions and Bible readings at home.

Protestant Evangelicalism was sweeping the Mid West at this time. Thus, Silas and Mariah were not unlike their neighbors in being devoted to this movement. Evangelicalism claimed the Bible as the fundamental

source of salvation and strove to create an immediate, although crude, intimacy as it elicited adult confessions of lust, greed and sin in the heated atmosphere of the popular revival meetings. "The Protestant evangelist religion--the gospel service, the revival, the emphasis upon missions, and the appeal to the heart rather than to the mind in soul-winning--amply sufficed for them [Silas and Mariah], the community, and the Middle West."⁶⁷

Within this general spirit of religious fervor there were several distinct denominations. And Silas, as deacon of his church, was particularly devoted to the Baptist sect. This devotion, as well as Mariah's respect for her elder husband, led her to convert; she soon became as staunch an advocate as he. Perhaps this conversion was interpreted by William and his elder sister Frances as an abandonment of them by their mother through her spiritual union with their father. This spiritual "seduction" by Silas reinforced William's feelings of hostility toward him and hence encouraged the now pressing id drive for gratification. Such gratification could be attained through any kind of rebellion against the father. William comments, "After my mother joined the Baptist Church with my father, about 1872, I began to attend the Cumberland Presbyterian Church in the afternoon. It had one of the largest congregations in the city and a great many children in that church were my companions in school."⁶⁸ (Emphasis added.) William was twelve at this time.

In his church William finds a totally different kind of father figure and religious mentor:

The superintendent was the best Sunday-school superintendent I have ever known--at least he seems to me as I look back through the years and recall his devotion to the school, his friendly attitude toward all the children, and our intimate acquaintance with him. He seemed like one of the family....⁶⁹ (Emphasis added.)

William's hazy memory of his youth seems to have improved remarkably when remembering this individual. His description of the latter starkly clashes with that of William's previous religious mentor--his father.

William goes on to elaborate the superintendent's devotion to and affection for the children in the community: "If in the world beyond, he knows...how affectionately the children remember him....it will be abundant reward for the time he devoted to his work."⁷⁰ This affection is the characteristic that was most glaringly absent in William's relation with his father. For, although he often reiterates his respect and admiration for his father, he does not describe any warmth or affection between them. Nurturance and affection he believed to be solely in the maternal realm. William's mother had just deserted him in this area, so it was doubly appropriate that he should find a religious leader who gave him that same maternal affection. Indeed, this affection, along with Silas's fresh defeat in politics, and his spiritual seduction of Mariah Bryan, gave William the encouragement to reject his father's church. And this rejection could not be interpreted as anything less than a rejection of Silas himself.⁷¹

Rejecting Silas' religion was a means, finally, of fighting back against that strong authority and winning a strong measure of id gratification. If the electorate of Marion County could do it, so could William. And the simplicity of this rejection, the lack of all the dire consequences that William must have conjured up, indeed were surprising to him. For, although Silas had often advocated individual freedom in his preachings, his strict attitude at home did not encourage the actual exercise of such freedom. Once executed, however, the lack of external repercussions was surprising. As one biographer put it, "In short, the

iron rung of discipline in which William Jennings Bryan felt himself enclosed was not real, after all, but a fantasy of his own creation."⁷²

Though his father's defeat in politics had eased William's fear of the external dangers of admitting his hostility (of being physically punished or maimed), there was still the internal problem of dealing with an overweened superego. Thus, his rebellion here must have created great anxiety and guilt feelings.

As William was wont to do, he rationalized and repressed certain elements of this most important incident. In an effort no doubt to relieve these feelings of guilt, William claimed that he never knew until after his father's death that the latter was disappointed by his son's choice here. It is impossible to believe that William would not realize that his selection of a different church would deeply sting his staunch Baptist father. His refusal to become aware of this again indicates his repression. William comments that this experience indicated his "parents willingness to allow me to choose at that early age a church different from their own. It was an evidence of their liberality in denominational matters...."⁷³ Thus, William seeks to praise his father as he pains him.

An interesting point to add in regard to William's decision here is that directly following his adulatory description of the superintendent, William goes on to say in a passage already quoted, "Then there was Sam Chance, who led the singing. He had one of the sweetest tenor voices I have ever heard; his notes still ring in my ears."⁷⁴ Here William could enjoy singing; here it was accepted, indeed encouraged, to participate in a musical program.

This whole experience indicates William's first effort to rebel against that strict authority that ruled his home--to fulfill his innermost

id desires. On one level this break gratified William; on another it frightened him. For, Silas Bryan's attitude toward his children could not increase their sense of self worth; it could only destroy it.

Silas inculcated in William an overbearing superego which issued harsh demands that were virtually impossible for young William to meet. The gap between the superego's unrealistic expectations and William's behavior created feelings of guilt and a strong sense of inferiority. As Freud explains this process:

...it [the ego] is observed at every step by the strict super-ego, which lays down definite standards for its conduct without taking any account of its difficulties from the direction of the id and the external world, and which if those standards are not obeyed, punishes it with tense feelings of inferiority and of guilt.⁷⁵

Hence, one should not be surprised to discover that William had a low measure of self esteem. This negative self image was previously demonstrated by the divergence between William's self evaluation and the observations of friends and neighbors: he perceived himself as mischievous while others regarded him as unusually obedient.

Thus, while seeking to get away from his father's authority, William also felt that he needed this authority in order to meet those demands of his superego, to control that bad behavior his father was always punishing for him. This ambivalence reflects William's general attitude toward his father; although he resented Silas for his strictness, his rigidity and his miserliness, he still loved him and identified with him while feeling that he himself was not inherently good enough to earn his father's love. William felt he would need material evidence of his own worth to prove his ability to himself as well as to win his father's love. For, although Silas spoke loftily about the superiority of spiritual values, material goods seemed to be exceedingly important to him. His

miserliness has been demonstrated. When Silas felt that his children deserved a reward, he seemed to regard a material gift as more valuable than an emotional one, i.e., his approval and affection.

One particularly interesting incident in this light is related by William in his memoirs. At this point he is discussing the importance of telling the truth:

I remember that one day we children were playing in the sitting room, and noticing father's pocketbook upon the bureau, it occurred to some one of us...to count the money, so we locked the door and proceeded to inform ourselves upon the amount in the pocketbook. When we were just finishing we heard his footfall in the hall. We hurriedly crowded the money into the pocketbook and opened the door, but not soon enough to avoid suspicion. When he found me alone he asked me what we were doing. I told him we were counting his money, whereupon he took me down town and bought me a saddle, presenting it and telling me, as he presented it, to remember I received it for telling the truth. I do not know of any similar amount of money that ever made so great an impression upon my youthful mind and heart.⁷⁶

Was it Silas's tightfistedness that induced his children to count his money? And, was this act of curiosity so terrible a deed as William and Silas assume it to be? At any rate, William's reward for telling the truth was the acquisition of a saddle. In this way Silas indicated that telling the truth was so important that one earned a material reward for doing so. Rather than a compliment or a physically affectionate gesture, such a reward was concrete proof of Silas's approval. Thus, William 'learned' the value Silas placed on concrete rewards. Insecure as to his own worth, William soon sought these kinds of rewards to convince both his father and himself of his abilities. His educational experience--the subject of the following section--afforded many opportunities to attain these.

IV

Silas Bryan had always believed in the value of an education and there was no question in his mind that his children would get one. As was his usual approach, he would not count on the example he set for his children, hoping that his values would be incorporated in their own personal decisions; he was too exacting for that. Instead, of course, he made the decision for them. As William recalls: "I cannot remember when I decided to go to college--in fact I do not recall that I ever did decide to go to college. It was decided for me by my parents when I was too young to fix the day. All I know is that I was going to college from my earliest recollection."⁷⁷ (Emphasis added.)

Silas had originally planned for William to attend a Baptist college. However, the existence of a distant relative who was also a close friend residing in Jacksonville--the home of Illinois College--caused Silas to change his mind. This relative, Dr. Hiram K. Jones, was a prominent local physician as well as the head of a literary circle and lecturer at the Concord School of Philosophy. Thus, in 1875 William went to Jacksonville where he enrolled in Whipple Academy, the preparatory school for Illinois College. His educational background placed him in the junior year; hence, he would spend two years at Whipple before entering Illinois College.

Although disappointed that his son was not attending a Baptist school, Silas was relieved that he had at least put William in the care of someone he trusted and respected. William was welcomed into the Jones household. Dr. Jones and his wife Lizzie did not have any children of their own, and treated William with all the kindness and affection they

might have given to their own son. Hiram Jones had a brother who also spent much time with William. Of the entire Jones family William comments, "These were my most intimate friends during those delightful days."⁷⁸

Yet, even though he dearly loved the Joneses, William must have resented his father's selection of a school where rather than staying in a dormitory he would be subject to the personal supervision of a relative. This reflected to William Silas's lack of faith in the personal integrity of his son. Indeed, although William was away from Salem, his authoritarian father still actively directed William's behavior in many ways.

Firstly, as Silas had decided that William should attend college and chose the particular institution to attend, he likewise decided the course of study his son would follow:

I took the classical course, not as a matter of choice, because I had no choice in the matter. My father and mother decided the question and told me what I was to do as they had decided for me the question of going to college....When I left home, father took from his library two of the largest books, a Greek lexicon and a Latin lexicon, and told me that I was to use the former for six years in the study of Greek and the latter five years in the study of Latin.⁷⁹
(Emphasis added.)

Clearly, although William first states that his mother and father decided the question, it was Silas alone who decided. This choice was not to William's liking. He does not complain in his memoirs; however, in her own biographical account, his wife Mary comments, "His parents wished him to take a classical course and while sometimes grumbling over his Latin and Greek, he has since recognized the wisdom of their choice."⁸⁰
(Emphasis added.) William's usual technique of subsequent rationalization seems to be in evidence here.

Secondly, Silas continued in his penurious attitude towards his son's spending. William comments:

When I left home for school father told me that he was able to furnish me with the money that I actually needed but that he could not afford to have me waste money, and then he suggested what I have always believed to be a good rule, that I should keep an account and report to him the use I had already made of the money when I wrote for more.⁸¹ (Emphasis added.)

Silas, although financially secure could not afford to have his son 'waste' money. So William was subject to the indignity his father 'suggested' of reporting when and how he spent every penny. As was William's usual method of repressing those feelings of hostility toward Silas, he immediately explains the benefits of this rule.

As expected, William sent the 'suggested' itemized listing to his father. The items that reappeared most often in William's reports were candies and food. Throughout William's life he had a large appetite; his continual strenuous physical activity kept him trim. One particular accounting included monies spent for boot blacking and a church donation. Silas commented, "I notice you spent forty cents for blacking and five cents for the church. It seems to me that this is travelling toward the Dead Sea pretty fast." William adds, "I can imagine that there was a smile upon his face when he wrote this reproof, but it answered the purpose."⁸² Hence, William was not only limited in how much money he spent, but how he allocated those monies. Most young men are more interested in their physical appearance than in their spiritual well being, and allocate monies accordingly. William was put on short notice that for him this was unacceptable.

In another incident of this nature, William wrote home requesting the money to buy a new pair of pants as he was growing so rapidly. He explained to his father that his pants were so short that he was ashamed to attend the church sociables. Silas responded that he would not send him the money now, but that he could get a new pair when he came home for

the holidays. Silas then added, "But you might as well learn now that people will measure you by the length of your head and not by the length of your breeches."⁸³ An interesting criticism from someone who seemed so concerned about appearances himself, from the time he first envied the dress and style of the Virginia squires. William's concern with his appearance is a normal preoccupation of the adolescent at this stage of development.

At this time many internal and external changes are occurring. The adolescent understandably becomes very concerned about his rapidly changing body. He is self conscious and seeks to be sure that his clothes do not draw any added attention to himself; they must be exactly right, usually meaning exactly like those of his contemporaries. Erikson comments in Identity: Youth and Crisis: "They [adolescents] are sometimes morbidly, often curiously, preoccupied with what they appear to be in the eyes of others as compared with what they feel they are...."⁸⁴ Thus, having to wear slacks that are too short makes the awkward feeling adolescent doubly self conscious. This self consciousness was no doubt exacerbated by William's already formed insecurities. In this manner, Silas continued to foster the development of William's low self esteem even after William was seemingly out of his clutches. William however, managed to alleviate these feelings through his activities at Whipple Academy and Illinois College.

Illinois College in Jacksonville was founded by Julian M. Sturtevant, a prominent economist. Sturtevant was a Yale man who went west and many members of the faculty were Yale graduates. With this eastern influence, Illinois College became a Midwest center of abolition.

Indeed, its president for many years had been Lyman Beecher's son Edward, who had witnessed the mob murder of his abolitionist friend, Elijah P. Lovejoy, at the latter's printing presses in Alton. After this incident Edward returned to the school even more zealous against slavery.

The curriculum at Illinois College was strongly geared toward the classics. William studied Latin for three years, Greek for all four. The English classics were conspicuous only in being uniformly ignored. The student was introduced to the social sciences in his senior year. Hence, all subjects except for the classics and mathematics were all dealt with in introductory courses only. "Outside the classics there was no opportunity for training in research methods of even the most elementary character...the work consisted of recitation and discussion of the textbook."⁸⁵ This should not be construed as a singular criticism of Illinois College; it was standard fare at American colleges at this time. Most contemporary schools did not encourage independent analytical thought; an understanding of the standard assigned texts was sufficient.

William was a good student. As in Salem, however, his success was due more to perseverance and diligence rather than sheer intellectual ability. He was the valedictorian of his small class of eleven. His achievement here must be viewed in light of the size and evenness of his class. It was so evenly balanced that William was first with an average of 8.93, while the lowest ranking student's average only fell to 8.07. An observer comments, "On the face of the record, Bryan's place as valedictorian was won by consistent industry and uniform application rather than exceptional brilliance."⁸⁶

William's grades as a lower classman were uniformly good, but not exceptional. His favorite subject at this time was mathematics; he

felt that it led to accurate thinking and clarity in speaking. William found value in the classics only for their training in etymology and diction. However, in his senior year, when William was introduced to the social sciences, he really excelled. As his school paper, The College Rambler, pointed out, William was fourth in German, third in Greek, Latin, science and math, second in English, and first in social studies. William's unparalleled achievements in this last area indicate where his interests lay.

At this time William was introduced to Alexis de Tocqueville's Democracy in America. Earning a perfect 10 in this course, he quickly absorbed the concepts of political equality and liberty, and the importance of economic equality in attaining the former. William studied as well George Bancroft's History of the United States. This popular work defined democracy as "the voice of God as it breathes through the people." Bancroft believed that God had a direct influence in the success experienced by the American government. According to Bancroft's logic, civilization depends on morals, morals depend on religion, religion depends on a faith in God, and a faith in God depends on the Bible. This line of thought is one William would later devoutly hold to.

Probably the most impressive course to the Illinois College students --and certainly to William--was Julian Sturtevant's economics seminar. President Sturtevant's book, Economics, was published in 1877 by Putnam's and immediately became the accepted textbook at Oberlin and many other schools. Sturtevant was an independent thinker; he analytically argued for free trade and monetary stability. He was also lay leader of the Congregational Church, thus reinforcing Bancroft's concept of the connection of government and religion.

In concluding the discussion of William's academic achievements, William's grades were good, but due more to perseverance, to the driving energy of his strong superego, than inherent ability. His outstanding performance in the social sciences senior year indicated his future path.

More important though for this analysis than William's school activities were his extracurricular ones. These fall under two main headings: (a) declamation and debating, and (b) William's religious ponderings. The following discussion of these aspects of William's college experience will help explain William's psychological development during this time.

Students at Whipple were permitted to participate in many of the clubs and societies affiliated with Illinois College. William, first admitted as a junior at Whipple, immediately took advantage of this policy by joining Sigma Pi, the college literary society. The major activities of such literary societies were declamations, essays, orations, and most important, debates.

William was drawn to this activity as he had had some declamatory experience in Salem. However, college debating was in another league altogether; it was a vital element of the Midwest college experience at this time. One of William's contemporaries commented, "In the colleges of Ohio, Michigan, Illinois, Iowa and adjacent states the intercollegiate oratorical contest awakens the enthusiasm which at some more famous eastern institutions of learning is only aroused by victory on the football field."⁸⁷ Success in debating assured wide renown at school. But, even more important for William, honors and rewards awaited the most

successful masters of this art.

These awards William hungrily sought; by his own admission they were the primary incentive for his efforts here. William stated, "I felt the lure of prizes from the start and took part in every contest for which I was eligible. A prize always stirred me to activity."⁸⁸ Indeed, he entitles this chapter in his memoirs, "The Lure of the College Prize." William's hazy memories of his childhood cleared immediately when he recounted his declamations and debates and the respective honors and awards achieved. William's thorough delineation of his accomplishments here attests to the selective retention of his memory as well as the importance of these accomplishments. It is not difficult to realize why.

As outlined, William was an insecure adolescent. He sought to alleviate his insecurities by the attainment of tangible prizes and rewards. These items were particularly appropriate as they could be shown to his father. They would be constant, concrete reminders of William's achievements. They were building blocks of self esteem; even his skeptical father would be impressed by these. For, awards were like money: a tangible item that in some way measures a man's worth. Silas would respect the former as he so clearly did the latter.

The importance of pleasing his father is evident in one of William's own statements. Discussing his first prize, which was received for an essay written on labor, William commented, "This pleased my father more than the previous prizes won."⁸⁹ Nowhere else in his long discussion of his college debating had William mentioned that these prizes were sought for anyone else's approval. Conspicuous by its absence is any mention of his mother. Neither she nor his teachers nor his fellow

students were singled out as was his father. And the sentence itself is interesting: "These pleased my father more than the previous prizes won." Obviously, his father's approval had always been important. William assumes the reader understands, indeed, has always understood, the importance of pleasing this particular individual.

Aside from material rewards, debating afforded other attractions for William. Public speaking allows the debater to convince a large audience in an impersonal manner rather than just another individual on a personal basis. This technique seems perfectly tailored for the insecure individual. For an individual such as William, a strong measure of self worth is gained by being the center of attention while addressing a large number of people. On an entirely pragmatic level, debating was also important for an aspiring lawyer and/or politician. All these factors make it easy to understand William's devotion to oratory.

One should not assume, however, as many have done, that William was a "natural" public speaker whose oratorical abilities were innate. As in the academic arena, William succeeded by diligence and perseverance rather than sheer ability. It is true that William had a strong voice: "His larynx and nasal passages were so formed that they produced a baritone of clarity and resonance rarely heard."⁹⁰ But, it took a great deal of practice and training for William to couple this voice with natural gestures, a pleasant vocal modulation, and effective speaking material. It is as much a tribute to William's diligence as his abilities that he became so great a public speaker and debater. In his memoirs, William comments "...they [the public] do not know how hard and for how many years I worked as a college boy and as a young man when I was in training."⁹¹

William's first efforts in Sigma Pi were declamatory. At this time he was not the confident and effective public speaker that history knows. An insecure, bashful young man pushing himself in an effort to please his father is more in evidence here. William recalled, "...before this new body of critics I found myself embarrassed by a feeling of timidity. My first appearance called forth more applause from my trembling knees than from the audience."⁹²

Despite his acknowledged nervousness, William entered a declamatory contest at Whipple using as his theme Patrick Henry's famous speech "Give Me Liberty or Give Me Death." "The judges did not seem to regard me as especially promising. At any rate, I was not near enough to even second place to give me any intense interest in the returns."⁹³ The next year he again entered the declamation contest, this time speaking of "The Palmetto and the Pine."

He came in third. "Dr. Jones thought my failure may have been due to indistinctness of articulation. I do not know whether that was true or not but it spurred me up...and...became a controlling passion with me."⁹⁴

As a college freshman, William entered several other declamatory contests, placing "toward the last," third, sharing, and then winning, second. For his dramatic rendering of Bernardo del Carpio William won second prize, which consisted of books to be chosen by the student. "I selected an Oxford Bible with a Concordance and a volume of Shakespeare."⁹⁵ These books remained in William's library throughout his long and active career. How proud he was of them! And, how proud he must have been to show them to his father! Particularly in light of his selection of a Bible.

During this time William took advantage of the tutelage available. "I received the usual training....Professor Hamilton trained us in modulation of the voice, gesticulation, etc., and I presume that his instructions were beneficial to me, although I have been so much more interested in the subject matter than in the form of presentation...."⁹⁶ Yet, William did not shrug off the importance of form. Indeed, he practiced for hours standing on a stump in the woods, honing and refining his style. Bryan relates one humorous incident where a neighboring farmer, observing William speaking and gesturing to himself in the woods, warned others of the escaped mental convict he spied. Other times his college classmate, Granville Hulett would be his sole audience and critic.

In an effort to improve his diction, William went so far as to try Demosthenes' device of speaking with pebbles in his mouth. A critical biographer aptly comments, "Will Bryan moved slowly, without striking brilliance, but with a diligence and pertinacity which commanded respect."⁹⁷ These early tireless efforts help one to understand William's later pertinacity in politics, even in the face of repeated electoral defeats.

These arduous efforts finally began to reap rewards. Sophomore year William won his first first prize with an essay on Labor, the prize that pleased his father so much: "He said that he would rather have me gain prominence for my own thought than by repeating the words of others."⁹⁸ Junior year William entered the oratorical contest. His success here enabled him to achieve a much desired goal--to represent Illinois College in an intercollegiate debate: "My subject was 'Individual Power' and I left nothing undone that would contribute towards success. I had had in mind for five years the honor of representing the college in the oratorical contest."⁹⁹

Thus, the following October (1880) William went to Galesburg, Illinois, to represent Illinois College at an intercollegiate contest. William's speech on "Justice" earned him second place and fifty dollars. "The local paper had a complimentary account of my speech...these early bits of eulogy are very satisfying to participants in contests--especially those who fail to win prizes."¹⁰⁰ Again, William indicates his consciousness of the external reinforcements available.

As the next contest was to be held in Jacksonville, William was made vice president of the interstate debating association. He was, of course, a debating contestant as well and placed second. Senior year, he had another opportunity as he participated in the intercollegiate contest at Monmouth, Illinois. Here, William was awarded first place by two judges, but the third judge rated him fifth, and thus William again dropped to second place. The Galesburg Plain Dealer was more generous than this last judge: "His full voice, his clear articulation, good and not affected modulation, his natural style of gesturing and delivery made him from the first a favorite with the audience...."¹⁰¹ This quote indicates William's progress in debating. His overall debating record in the intercollegiate contest, however, was not outstanding. William's experience in Sigma Pi was similar: he participated in twelve debates there, winning only six. In these successes he had upheld the negative; he preferred that side.

Debating and declamation also gave William the opportunity to discuss the controversial political issues of the day. This was certainly a plus as William's interest in politics was growing daily. Among the topics debated were: 'Should the United States Adopt Free Trade?,' 'Should the State Control the Liquor Traffic Legislation?,' and, of course,

the money question. Moral issues were tackled as well. In one essay entitled "Master Motives" William discussed the relative worth of various incentives. Ambition, desire for wealth, and knowledge were beneficent motives, but, William concluded that the sense of right was the greatest and most powerful motive of all.

The political and moral values William developed at this time remained with him throughout life. It is useful to juxtapose these two categories of politics and morals as William utilized the same process in developing his political attitudes as he did in developing his moral ones. A political attitude would be reached early, even before attaining any great knowledge of the subject. Debate and discussion were expedient afterward so as to explain the righteousness of his position. "Sigma Pi permitted him to expound and defend conclusions he had already reached-- taxes were too high, monopolies...should be regulated...there should be an increase in the amount of money in circulation."¹⁰² Indeed, William's success in debating was due more to his certainty and enthusiasm than the cleverness of his arguments. "He was not outstandingly curious or imaginative but he would argue vehemently against whatever he thought wrong."¹⁰³ This characteristic reflects William's strongly developed superego which did not allow for any uncertainties in these matters. William's process of selecting moral and political attitudes results directly from his psychological development in college. This development will be the central focus of the following discussion of William's religious experience in college.

V .

William's move from Salem to Jacksonville was a great one indeed. Jacksonville was 100 miles away; far enough so that William was no longer cloistered beneath Silas's protective wing. William was still supervised as he was now living with a distant relative, but there was no similarity between this life and his past one at home. Indeed, Dr. Jones was a very different man from Silas.

Dr. Jones was not only a physician but also an intellectual with a broad range of interests. A desire to seek out the proper technique of medical conduct led Dr. Jones to become interested in philosophical concepts. He later formed the well known Plato Club. Dr. Jones had lectured at the Concord School of Philosophy and knew Bronson Alcott and Ralph Waldo Emerson. His personal philosophy was incompatible with fundamentalism, and hence the atmosphere in the Jones household was very different from the one William had known at home. William was now confronted with a father figure who he respected and loved, yet whose values were far removed from those he had grown up with.

Although William was away at school, Silas continued to direct his son's behavior as much as possible: William's academic and fiscal decisions as indicated were still closely supervised. However, his moral and religious decisions could now finally be his own. Thus, William was more independent than he had ever been. He now had the opportunity to rebel against his father; to gratify those inner id feelings. He had already once moved in this direction by his selection of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church. Now, if he so chose, William could go further in renouncing Silas's dominance by removing many forms of that authoritarian patriarchal control that had been so odious, that in many ways continued

to be so odious. The religious avenue of rebellion and self assertion was most appropriate as: (a) it was so central to Silas' life, and (b) it was already being threatened by Dr. Jones's beliefs as well as the new scientific findings that were being discussed on campus. William was bewildered and distressed by what he was learning in chemistry and physics. In addition, Charles Darwin's theories had reached Illinois College and the evolutionary debate had begun.

These facets energized those strong id wishes against Silas that William had worked so hard to repress. The comfort and security of his new father figure's approval mitigated those external fears of punishment by Silas, just as the Salem voters had mitigated such fears following Silas's unsuccessful congressional campaign.

With the id wishes energized, the external threats lessened, and the superego's firmly held values questioned, William 'revolted.' He postponed joining a church in Jacksonville. Indeed, his ego defenses were so reduced that William went so far as to write to a well known agnostic, Colonel Robert Ingersoll.

The selection of this particular individual to communicate with is interesting as Ingersoll, known as the "notorious infidel," was himself the son of a Congregational minister. Ingersoll was also a great orator who had fired the Republican convention of 1876 with his famous 'plumed knight' speech nominating James G. Blaine for the presidency. Hence, here was an orator interested in politics who had totally rebelled against his own religious father. It is not difficult to surmise that William must have identified strongly with Ingersoll: to behave like him would fulfill William's id desires as well as his external political ones.

With these desires now surfacing, William wrote to Ingersoll

and asked him for his views on God and immortality. He describes this incident in his renowned speech, "The Prince of Peace:" "When I was a young man I wrote to Colonel Ingersoll.... His secretary answered that the great infidel was not at home, but enclosed a copy of a speech of Colonel Ingersoll's which covered my questions. I scanned it with eagerness..."¹⁰⁴ William goes on to say that "...I found that he had expressed himself about as follows: 'I do not say that there is no God, I simply say I do not know. I do not say that there is no life beyond the grave, I simply say I do not know.'" ¹⁰⁵

William was terribly disappointed in this reply. He comments, "How could can anyone find pleasure in taking from a human heart a living faith and substituting therefore the cold and cheerless doctrine, 'I do not know?'"¹⁰⁶ For, though William sought to rebel against his father, his still strong superego demanded some belief structure to alleviate those anxieties and guilt feelings that such a rebellion generated. Ingersoll did not offer William an alternative framework that he could 'convert to,' rather he indicated that William should live without one at all. This the insecure, morally driven William could not do.

William's anxieties and his psychological quandary were compounded by the stage of development he was going through. William was now experiencing great changes in himself physically, intellectually, and emotionally. Physically, William's whole body was changing as he matured from adolescence to adulthood. In his own words, Bryan himself said after two years at Whipple, "I felt well on the road toward manhood. I had developed so rapidly during the years preceding that I had almost reached my growth."¹⁰⁷ As he was growing rapidly, he was sexually developing as well. As Erikson describes these startling and rapid changes:

"...the body changes its proportions radically,...genital puberty floods body and imagination with all manner of impulses...."¹⁰⁸ Intellectually, William was exposed to many new ideas through school, his companions, and Dr. Jones. And, emotionally he was no longer in a tightly structured, authoritarian environment: for the first time he was experiencing a heady measure of freedom.

During all these startling changes, one must recall William's psychological make-up--that of an insecure individual with an over-developed superego, trying hard to repress those inner feelings of hatred toward his domineering father. Now, this insecure boy was thrown on his own resources at an especially difficult time in one's life when one seeks to determine who one is and what one will become in adulthood; in Erikson's terminology the stage of Identity Crisis.

The confident, secure individual draws from those values he has learned at home and his own experience and those of his peers, integrates them and creates an image of himself that helps him to determine what he shall be in the world. In deciding what one is and what one will become, one must have already determined what one's values are; what one believes in. Erikson states, "If the earliest stage bequeathed to the identity crisis an important need for trust in oneself and in others, then clearly the adolescent looks most fervently for men and ideas to have faith in, which also means men and ideas in whose service it would seem worthwhile to prove oneself trustworthy."¹⁰⁹ (Emphasis added.)

Explaining this concept in more detail elsewhere, Erikson comments, "It is in adolescence...that the ideological structure of the environment becomes essential for the ego, because without an ideological simplification of the universe the adolescent ego cannot organize experience according

to its specific capacities and its expanding involvement."¹¹⁰

William hardly trusted in himself; he had sought out prizes and rewards to prove to himself as well as his father that he was worth loving, worth respecting, worthwhile. Intermingled with these desires to win his father's love and respect were great feelings of hostility toward Silas. The accompanying guilt feelings redoubled William's efforts to identify with his father.

This same ambivalence that William felt toward his father was evident in his religious quandary. William sought freedom from Silas's strict fundamentalism; his new experiences were also encouraging him to question those strict religious values he had learned at home. William had already taken the first step toward total religious freedom by selecting a church different from his father's; now if he so chose he could reject church and religion altogether. Yet, his own feelings of low self esteem, his belief in his inherent badness, and his superego's demand for structure to help keep his negative feelings repressed, scared him from making such a break. Religion was like Silas; it was authoritarian; it gave structure to one's life. As much as William desired to be free from these as well as Silas's bonds, he greatly feared this freedom. As indicated, Erikson points out that while experiencing all kinds of changes, adolescents need a strong faith. This was especially true in William's case.

Even though William sought to rid himself of Silas' bonds and his own internal ones, reflected in religion's demands, he searched for some other structure he could be secure in--some structure that would alleviate his guilt of such riddance. In this search William wrote to the man who had successfully rebelled against his own father. He hoped that Colonel Ingersoll would provide him with an alternative framework

that would supply that structure that William so fervently needed.

For this reason Ingersoll's reply, "I do not know" was very disappointing. Though it seems unlikely that William's psyche would allow him to embrace the agnosticism he was flirting with, his disillusionment with this concept was certainly hastened by this reply. The conceptualization of no belief and hence no structure was just too frightening to insecure and guilt ridden William; he recoiled from such a possibility. The id feelings that had come so dangerously close to surfacing were once again buried by Bryan's reidentification with his father and re-adoption of fundamentalism. Although belonging to a different sect, William was as devout in his worship as was his father. Thereafter he joined the Presbyterian church in Jacksonville, attended Sunday school, and "was not ashamed to carry his Bible under his arm."¹¹¹

Summarizing at this point, one can see that the newly reinforced belief in fundamentalism provided many psychological benefits for William:

(a) It assisted in keeping William's hostile feelings toward his father repressed. As explained, repression sets up a chronic opposition between the ego and the id. The repressed material is charged with its own cathexis, which the ego confronts with a counter cathexis. Adopting fundamentalism was a means of identifying with Silas. Such identification helped to keep the negative feelings repressed; in effect it energized the counter cathexis.

(b) William had adopted Silas's strong superego. Fundamentalism provided an airtight belief and value system which would satisfy the demands of this strict superego.

(c) William was experiencing that stage of the life cycle known

as the identity crisis. During this stage the adolescent looks for something to believe in as he determines his values and seeks to find his place and function in society. Fundamentalism provided William with those beliefs and values and thus assisted him in making clear cut choices as to his future.

Henceforth, William's religious beliefs were invulnerable. He would staunchly defend these beliefs at all costs. In his memoirs William discusses this crucial college experience:

As I look back over the years, I am increasingly grateful for the religious environment that surrounded me in my youth and the devotion of my parents and for the influence that the Church had upon me in my school days. The period through which one passes in the journey from youth to maturity is quite likely to be accompanied by some religious uncertainty. In the course of nature the child will substitute the spirit of independence for the spirit of dependence. Instead of doing things because he is told to, he must do them upon his own responsibility and from his own convictions. During this transition period the pendulum is apt to swing too far and he sometimes finds himself more self-reliant than he ought to be and less disposed to be influenced by advice of others. It is just at this time when the parental authority is weakening that usually the student begins in the study of the physical sciences....It is a matter of profound gratitude to me that during these days I was associated with Christian instructors so that the doubts aroused by my studies were resolved by putting them beside a powerful and loving God.¹¹²

As has often been the case, William's recollection of a particular experience is conveniently altered so as to make that recollection more comfortable, less painful. For, rather than alleviating William's religious uncertainty, his parents--particularly his father's--devotion abetted it. William, however, does discuss independence in a manner that enables the reader to perceive his uneasiness with it. Whereas most individuals regard independence as a favorable attribute, a necessary element of maturing, William focuses on the negative side of this concept.

Even with William's selective retention, he recognized the great importance of this religious crisis. This recognition was reflected in

his later continual efforts to enlighten college students on the importance of religion. In his aforementioned well known speech, "The Prince of Peace," he relates his own religious uncertainty. This speech was widely delivered to college audiences in an effort to help the students with their own doubts. In William's own words, "Knowledge of the experiences of students has made me very sympathetic with students in college and has led me to go from college to college in the hope of helping young men to find solid ground upon which to stand."¹¹³

This experience had a profound influence on his life. During a psychologically difficult period when the adolescent is coming to terms with his universe, is evaluating himself and his values and is determining what he will become, an insecure William found that he could not afford to question those beliefs and values that had been thrust upon him; the painful uncertainty was too great and would be avoided at all costs. Therefore, throughout his life, William would never--indeed, could never--critically examine his fundamentalist beliefs. He could never alter nor even reinterpret these no matter what scientific findings were made. This steadfastness was reinforced by an event that took place early in 1880.

Silas Bryan developed diabetes and dyspepsia in middle age. Feeling ill, he made several trips to Dr. Jones; there he could receive treatment as well as visit his son. On March 29th, 1880, during one of these visits, Judge Bryan suffered a paralytic stroke. Dr. Jones had found Silas in bed unconscious. William stayed with his father while Mariah was summoned. She arrived in time to see her husband before he died although he never regained consciousness.

Silas's local importance was evidenced by the large crowd that followed his casket from the railroad station to his home. He was laid in state at the county courthouse where thousands came to pay their last respects.

Perhaps because of his illness, Silas had prepared well for his sudden demise. He had left a will as well as very specific instructions for his funeral service. In this will Silas stipulated, "It is my will that all my sons and daughters shall receive the highest physical, intellectual and moral education to be had in our generation and especially the moral and religious education of my children shall be sacredly attended to."¹¹⁴ This reflects his lifelong respect for the value of an education. Silas had also wanted William to study at Oxford in England after completing his work at Illinois College. This particular desire was part and parcel of Silas' long standing wish to emulate in all ways those Virginia squires he had so envied in his youth. An Oxford education would provide the proper credentials to the future owner of Silas's country estate.

Silas had bought steer which he hoped to sell at a profit to enable William to do this. However, he had generously signed security notes for a friend for almost \$15,000. This 'friend' defaulted. There existed the possibility that through legal action the Bryans could avoid repayment. Silas believed, however, that the family's 'just debts' should be paid, and William's trip abroad evaporated. William never mentions whether he had desired to go to Oxford himself. Whatever his feelings, however, he must have resented his father's incredible generosity to a 'friend' in face of his continual stinginess to his own family.

Thus, in his father's death, William must have experienced the

same hostility, the same ambivalence, he had felt toward his father in life. William was now faced with a reality which, somewhere in the dark recesses of his mind, he must have often wished for. As explained, the unconscious regards the fulfillment of id wishes as if the person himself were responsible for the accomplishment of these wishes. Hence, the accompanying guilt for such an id gratification is great.

This guilt demanded that all William's negative feelings toward his father be destroyed. Thus, whatever ill feelings William had felt toward his father for all those mornings of milking the cows, for all those music lessons he had been denied, for all those accounting reports he had to send home--these feelings would be buried forever.

This repression would be accomplished by William's now redoubled efforts to identify with his father--to imitate Silas even more thoroughly than before. William was now certain that he wanted to become a lawyer and his fundamentalist beliefs were reasserted. William himself innocently, yet astutely, recognizes the importance of his father's death in reinforcing his own fundamentalist beliefs as well as effectively repressing any animosity toward Silas. He comments, "My father being a very devout man, lost no opportunity to impress upon me the value of the Bible. I cannot say that I shared his enthusiasm at the time....But when he died, soon after I was twenty, the Biblical truths that he sought to impress upon me grew in value...."¹¹⁵ (Emphasis added.)

Thereafter, the uncertain adolescent William was gone forever. In his memoirs, William observes, "I was rather a patriarch among the boys during my last year in college." Recalling that his father died toward the end of his junior year, one can see William's adoption of his father's personality directly afterwards--now he was the patriarch. On

another level, it is also interesting to note that Silas was much older than his classmates in college, so one can speculate that he too had become a patriarch already at this time of life.

Thus, what had formed during William's identity crisis was now sealed by Silas's death. This formulation applies to William's political beliefs as well, as the following discussion indicates.

VI

Political issues were particularly interesting to William as he had always been attracted to politics. His youthful interest that had been created by his father's congressional campaign in 1872 continued in prep school and college. In 1876 he managed to attend the Democratic national convention in St. Louis. Silas and Mariah were attending the Philadelphia Exposition at the time. As William relates the events, "...my enthusiasm reached a point where I decided to go to the convention with some other boys....I sold enough corn to secure the small amount of money necessary, the railroad fare being only a few dollars and my other expenses being small."¹¹⁶

The farmers wanted greenback dollars badly. The Greenback Party, however, had nominated Peter Cooper who looked like a farmer, but had earned his sizeable fortune through shrewd trading. These desperate farmers, therefore, pinned their hopes on the Democratic convention in St. Louis. It was aboard a train with these disillusioned, yet still hopeful, farmers that William journeyed to St. Louis. "I had the pleasure of hearing John Kelly make his famous speech against Tilden. That was

my initiation into national politics."¹¹⁷

Although William did not seem to have a deeper insight than his classmates as to the farmer's problems, his interest in national politics led him to focus on how the political parties proposed to deal with them. William subsequently became active in Democratic politics in Salem and Jacksonville.

In this regard, one C. K. Marsh maintains that William made his first political speech in Chapin, Illinois--a town near Jacksonville--while working with the Democratic Party there in the Spring of 1880. Supposedly, the local Democratic club was unable to come up with a suitable speaker for a local political campaign. The organizer spied William across the street and, as he knew the young man had a reputation as an orator, he asked William if he would like to make a political speech. Although he had never made one before, William jumped at the opportunity. Much to the organizer's surprise, this political novice gave an outstanding speech."...[T]he young college man had just simply electrified that crowd of democrats. [sic] Every sentence of Bryan's was punctuated with the applause of his delighted hearers."¹¹⁸

During the summer of 1880 William helped to organize a Democratic club in Salem. It was then that William attended his first political meetings. At one of these he was picked to make the Democratic speech at a farmer's picnic near Salem. The turnout at this picnic was not exactly encouraging. There were only four people there when William arrived: two were speakers, a third was head of the gambling concession, and the fourth was the gentleman who owned the grove. Consequently, everyone went home and William's chance to deliver a prepared political speech had to be postponed.

William actively stumped two counties including his own--Marion--for the Democratic incumbent of the 13th Congressional District of Illinois, William J. Springer. During this effort he actually delivered his first prepared speech. William was a little overenthusiastic. His lengthy oration met a more critical audience here than in Chapin. "When he asked his mother...what she thought of it [his speech], she replied with wit worthy of the Judge, 'Well there were a few good places in it--where you might have stopped.'" ¹¹⁹

This local campaigning did not deter William from following his main interest--national politics. That year there was a national convention. William, however, was not able to attend it due to geographics: "I was still a college boy in 1880 and Cincinnati was so far from Salem that I was able to withstand the temptation which overpowered me four years before." ¹²⁰ Though not able to attend his party's convention, William actively followed the whole campaign through newspaper reports. He was particularly fascinated by the way a dark horse named James A. Garfield skillfully outmaneuvered Roscoe Conkling to win the Republican nomination at that party's convention in Chicago that June.

When William returned to Jacksonville that fall his political activities continued. There he worked hard for the Democratic presidential nominee, Winfield Scott Hancock. Concurrently, while becoming more active politically, William's political ideas crystallized. These ideas were affected as well by William's debating activities. As indicated, issues such as railroad regulation, the break-up of monopolies and the money question were among the topics debated in Sigma Pi. Geographical factors also encouraged William's political interests.

Living in the center of the Mid West, the Illinois college student

could not help but ponder the farmer's plight. Ever since the Depression of 1873 the farmer's fate had worsened. After years of toil, the farmers faced bank threats of foreclosure on their mortgages. The only salvation seemed to be in the utilization of depreciated greenback dollars. Silas Bryan advocated this path, and so now did his son.

Thus, William's personal background along with the particular historical situation makes it easy to understand William's ideological growth, or rather his lack of it. That fall (1880), the year of his social science studies, William became intensely interested in Thomas Jefferson. He decided that the solution to the farmers' problems lay in the return to Jefferson's agrarian principles. The following January William made a speech in the college chapel in which one finds his first written references to Jefferson.

This speech, "A Defense of Democracy," was essentially a partisan speech supporting the fallen Democratic platform of 1880. Included in this political statement was the Jeffersonian faith in the people to govern themselves, and hence an ardent call for democracy. William also indicated a strong belief in the Jeffersonian tenet of intellectual and moral development being the only safeguards against corruption.

William so liked Jefferson because the latter believed--as did William from his narrow perspective--that American society should remain rural, homogeneous, and uncomplicated. As he perceived the situation, the midwestern farmers were hurting--hurting badly--while the Eastern industrialists basked in enormous profits made at the former's expense. His political solution to right this situation must be understood in terms of his environment. As Paul Glad perceptively comments:

Bryan's career had its origins in the milieu of agrarian unrest which swept the Middle West in the late 19th century....Throughout his long public life he fought for principles he regarded as fundamental and his conception of what was fundamental was conditioned to a significant degree by the environment of his youth. 121

One would expect that William's perspective would broaden when William was elected to Congress and thus had the opportunity to travel east, to meet different people, and hence understand the economic situation in a more sophisticated manner. This never did come to pass. For, whatever new environments William was exposed to, and however much the world changed as he grew, he remained fixed in his image of it and the solution to right its problems. The political beliefs he formulated in college he would cling to with as much tenacity as the religious beliefs he had formulated there, and for the same reasons: William was psychologically unable to question these beliefs he adopted while young. As one contemporary observer put it, "it is with him something like a point of honor never to discard an opinion he has once adopted." However, this observer erroneously goes on to analyze this as a "marked rigidity of mind as well as a healthy self confidence."¹²² It was William's great insecurities as well as his guilt feelings that led to this doggedness. Any alteration of these beliefs created too much uncertainty; seeing those staunchly erected structures crumble would reintroduce that ugly fear.

William was a reformer in that from an early age he was genuinely concerned about an economically oppressed group in American society. This group--the Midwest and Farwest farmers--he strongly identified with because of his own farming experience, and later fought with all his heart and soul to assist them. He supported and campaigned for many innovative policies in order to assist this group. Among these were

the regulation of the banks and railroads, personal income tax, the popular election of senators and the granting of suffrage to women. These policies indicate as well his faith in the Jeffersonian conception of democracy. Bryan's inability to change, to reassess certain political viewpoints in light of changing times, made him appear as a reactionary in his old age. The dogmatic, seemingly simple minded defender of pure fundamentalism in the Scopes trial appears so different from the young, crusading "commoner." Yet it was the world, not William, that changed. In his well documented study, Defender of the Faith, Lawrence Levine demonstrates that the elder Bryan was perfectly consistent with the earlier one.¹²³ It has been the goal of this analysis to explain William's personality, and hence understand this dogged consistency.

VII

Several other interesting aspects of William's college career deserve mention here. Despite William's strong interest in politics, his success as a politician in college was rather limited. William had aspired to be the president of his literary society, Sigma Pi. Junior year he was elected vice president and, according to tradition, should have easily won the presidency the following year. However, it seems that an unidentified personal enemy fomented a movement against William and cost him the election. William did manage to get a personal friend elected instead, and in the best tradition of log rolling politics, was promptly appointed chaplain.

It was this same enemy that is believed to have written in the bogus commencement program--a rather nasty satire of the actual one--

that Bryan's college career was "one continuous endeavor to secure place and power."¹²⁴

This student's attitude, however, was not representative of that of most of William's college classmates.

William seemed to be genuinely liked and respected by most of his peers. He was elected valedictorian and was regarded as an extremely moral young man. One classmate commented, "morally he was a thorough Christian--generous, kind, charitable and having no bad habits."¹²⁵

Another classmate, Jeremiah Donahue, wrote years later, "He was very good, but for some reason Bryan's goodness was not the kind that rubbed against you and turned the fur the wrong way."¹²⁶ This is partly due no doubt to William's choice of friends in college. One of his college professors commented, "...his chosen companions were not the crude roistering elements among the students, but those of quiet, studious tastes and refined manner." He adds, "Yet, he was in no way exclusive or snobbish."¹²⁷

The same perseverance that was seen in William's debating activities was evidenced in William's college athletic experience. Although William was big, muscular, and had excellent physical endurance, he was not much of an athlete. His proficiency in baseball faltered significantly when the round bat appeared. "When I played baseball I was usually assigned to the right field where my inefficiency would least embarrass the club."¹²⁸ However, William did show marked ability in one area: jumping. And here one can see his diligence coming into play. William's specialty was the standing broad jump. "I would commence jumping as soon as the frost was out of the ground and jump until I was sore and then I would continue jumping until the soreness disappeared."¹²⁹ With these efforts, William lengthened his jump from nine feet when he entered the academy to a record twelve feet, four inches.

Probably the most rewarding event of William's college life was his attending an open house at the neighboring Jacksonville Female Academy. At this occasion William was instantly attracted to a comely, graceful girl, Mary Baird. Mary had large gray/brown eyes and soft brown hair as well as a lively personality and a good sense of humor. Mary, however, was not as quickly taken with William. Reflecting back to her first impression of William, she said: "His face was pale and thin, a pair of keen, dark eyes looked out from beneath heavy brows; his nose was prominent--too large to look well, I thought; a broad, thin-lipped mouth and a square chin."¹³⁰

William was as persistent in pursuing Mary as he had been in debating and jumping. He seized every possible opportunity to see her, although the Victorian moral code adopted by the Jacksonville Academy did not afford too many of these. William sought to increase these encounters, and beseeched the wife of his Latin professor to allow both of them to visit the professor's house simultaneously. Their opportunities to see each other increased as well when Mrs. Baird--Mary's mother--entered a Jacksonville sanitarium. Both William and Mary would conscientiously visit her at the same time. William also took Mary for buggy rides, which were in flagrant violation of the academy's rules. The Illinois College men had nicknamed Jacksonville Academy "Jail for Angels," and with good reason!

William's persistent and not quite orthodox methods of meeting Mary finally reached the ear of Jacksonville's principal, E. F. Bullard. He summoned William and harshly informed him that he and Mary had glaringly violated Jacksonville's code. Since he had no authority over William Mary must assume the burden of the punishment; she was suspended for the

rest of the spring term and ordered to go home at once.

The distraught Mary wrote to William, "Am going on the seven o'clock train, but it would not be safe for you to go down would it (?)". Principal Bullard personally took Mary to the train station, seated her, and watched the train depart so as to be sure that William did not try to escort his sweetheart. Mary must have assumed that Bullard was successful and William had taken her half hearted advice as to not coming. Suddenly, however, William appeared! He explained to the surprised and delighted Mary that he had hidden in the baggage car. In the euphoria of the moment, the young lovers exchanged rings. Thus, William's arduous amorous efforts had not been in vain. This whole unpleasant experience made Mary see how much she really cared for this serious minded young man.

William wanted to continue home with Mary and ask the Bairds' permission to become engaged. Mary believed, however, that this difficult situation should not be further complicated and she persuaded William to return to Jacksonville.

At home in Perry, Illinois, Mary convinced her father that her relationship with William was an honorable one. Likewise, Bullard himself wrote to Mr. Baird, referring to the "thoughtless rather than evil" mistake made by the young couple. Both returned to school that fall and the romance continued by letter. In October William won second prize in a debating contest and used the fifty dollar reward to purchase a garnet engagement ring. Inside he had inscribed, "Will to Mamie, June 4, 1880"--the date he and Mary had exchanged rings on the train.

William returned home with Mary that Thanksgiving to ask for her hand in marriage. Not surprisingly, he used his intensive knowledge of

the Bible to legitimize his proposal; he told Mr. Baird, "I have been reading Proverbs a good deal lately and find that Solomon says that 'Who so findeth a wife, findeth a good thing and obtaineth favor of the Lord.'" John Baird, a fairly good student of the Bible himself, replied, "Yes, I believe Solomon did say that. Yet Paul suggests that 'he that giveth her in marriage doeth well, but he that giveth her not in marriage doeth better.'" William, who was momentarily stumped by this reply, showed his debating ability by his own rejoinder: "Solomon would be the best authority upon this point because Paul was never married while Solomon had a number of wives."¹³¹ John Baird took an immediate liking to this clever young man and approved of the engagement.

It is interesting to note William's use of Proverbs here--that section of the Bible that Silas had forced upon him. Bryan said that the Biblical truths his father had impressed upon him grew in value after Silas' death. Now he utilized these 'truths' often; another indication of his strong identification with his dead father. William quoted them as well to his college minister when the latter suggested to William that he pursue a career in ministry. William said, "To do justice and judgment is more acceptable to the Lord than sacrifice." Thus, the young man had clearly decided to become a lawyer like his father and utilized his father's own source of reasoning to defend it. This career selection was known among William's classmates; at graduation the class historian stated that William intended to study law and become a politician. He also remarked that plans for William's marriage were in the offing.

Thus, upon completing college, William's plans for the future were well mapped out. There was no uncertainty now in William's life,

as there was no uncertainty in his political and religious beliefs. These unambiguous plans, combined with William's diligence, produced a well plotted political career. William's later claims of stumbling into politics in Nebraska are inaccurate. One of his more astute contemporaries comments, "Trace his career from county school to supreme political leadership and it will reveal at every point the patient planning of a wholesome ambition for public life. There was never a political career less accidental."¹³²

VIII

It has been argued here that William's later behavior can be understood, indeed predicted, by his psychological development in college. This development was influenced primarily by William's ambivalent relationship to his authoritarian father, Silas Bryan.

Silas Bryan's stern nature created an overpowering superego in his son. As is often the case in individuals with a strong superego, William developed feelings of inferiority. Coupled with these feelings was a hostility toward authoritarian and domineering Silas. This hostility surfaced when William at a young age joined the Cumberland Presbyterian Church in Salem rather than his father's Baptist church. This was a particularly fitting rebellion as religion was so important an element in Silas's life.

One would expect that William would continue to rebel from Silas's bonds when he was away at school. Yet, those entrenched feelings of guilt and insecurity prevented such a break. In addition, this was that

critical period of his life, when William's images of himself were coming into focus and were becoming integrated so as to enable William to determine what would be his place and function in society; William's identity crisis. During this important turning point, William especially needed a sound framework to guide him: this he found in an unquestioning belief in fundamentalism. This belief served the twofold purpose of giving William the security he so desperately needed while conceptualizing his future and alleviating through identification with his father the guilt feelings he had developed because of his hostility toward the latter. Silas's sudden demise gratified William's id desires and increased those guilt feelings and hence reinforced the tenacity of those beliefs.

William's negative self image created by an overpowering superego as well as his strong belief in God and the Divine Providence help explain why William credited fate and fortune with so many of his own accomplishments. In the preface to his memoirs William states, "It is my purpose to show that in my case good fortune has had more to do with such success as I may have achieved than any efforts of my own."¹³³ William goes on to say that in an effort to purge his memoirs of "...every trace of egotism or self assertion...I shall endeavor to interweave the action of others with my own acts as to make the results appear as the result of a joint effort in which I have played but a part, and often but an inconsequential part."¹³⁴ William's modesty, his inability to take credit for himself, to admit the intense planning and labors that his successes came from is a result of his inner negative feelings.

Likewise, William emphasizes the importance of ancestry in one's achievements. "Ancestry counts. We inherit more than we ourselves can add."¹³⁵ A strong adherence to the importance of ancestry as well as

fate and fortune and divine providence makes the person an object rather than the subject; a passive recipient of what befalls him rather than the active participant in these events. William, in effect, was unable to override what he believed to be Silas's judgment of him. His resulting low self esteem prevented him from assuming the credit for what was rightfully his. William commented, "If one is tempted to boast that he is self-made, a few reflections will puncture his pride." William's advocacy of forces outside himself--God, fate, ancestry--would force him to continue to "puncture his pride"--to deny his own accomplishments--as Silas had consistently punctured it earlier.

This punctured pride made William seek out reassurance of his own worth. One early avenue was the attainment of awards and prizes in debating. Debating itself was also useful as it enables one to convince a multitude of others, to win their affections in one particular sense.

William enjoyed other people around--the more, the merrier, for the respect and adulation given him by his fellow man was the greatest form of reassurance. He was an intensely public person. A contemporary noted, "He has a quite bubbling affection for his fellow-men; he can never have too many of them around him; one can hardly conceive of him as alone and meditating."¹³⁶ William came alive when surrounded by others. The eminent journalist, William A. White, in describing William's public life, noted, "Bryan is more natural there than in private life (indeed he has little private life)."¹³⁷

As he sought their reassurance, William truly enjoyed people. For this reason he relished campaigning despite the physical rigors involved. Before the advent of the mass media, campaigning was especially

arduous. One had to continually "press the flesh," travel hundreds of miles by rail, make many speeches, and abandon all semblances to a normal life. Yet, this was a minor sacrifice indeed for the continual reassurance brought by the thundering applause that followed every whistle-stop and auditorium speech.

As a result of his childhood labors William was physically strong and the psychological benefits derived from campaigning added to that strength. Hence, despite the strenuous activity, he found the whole experience of campaigning exhilarating. In light of this, one should not be too surprised by William's astounding campaign schedule in 1896; he travelled 18,000 miles and delivered 600 speeches in a period of one hundred days. The daily audience was estimated at 50,000! This remarkable pace was surpassed at that time only twice--by Bryan himself in his 1900 and 1908 campaigns. His manager in 1908 commented, "I have never seen such magnificent physical endurance, never heard so tireless a voice."¹³⁸ No doubt fueled by those 50,000 daily. Edward Lowry perceptively declared, "He likes it all: the early rising, the crowded days, the bands, the turmoil, the shouting and applause."¹³⁹

All of William's behavior was geared toward these applauders--his beloved audience 'out there.' He seemed always to be addressing himself to his ardent followers. Willa Cather described Bryan's conversation as rich and powerful, "Yet one always felt that it was meant for the many, not the few, that it was addressed to humanity, and that there should be a stenographer present to take it down."¹⁴⁰ William's manner was indeed pedantic. His memoirs were written to guide and instruct young readers as much as to inform them about his life. William himself stated, "...it is my purpose to make my memoirs as useful as

possible to the young people who read them."¹⁴¹

This pedantic attitude was not due to any feeling of superiority over his fellow man, but rather to an earnest and sincere desire to help him. Bryan had a genuine interest in the common people and he was able to relate this so effectively because he truly felt he was one of them. It was his own personal experience with farming as well as his Midwest environment that made him lead the farmer's cause. Unfortunately, though, he was as steadfast in all aspects of his politics as he was in his religion. William could not later question the values and beliefs he grew up with, as he could not question the rightness of his father. His cloistered Midwest training pointed to certain political solutions that William would never--indeed, could never--alter. These solutions became religious beliefs as William's guilt feelings and insecurities forbade any tampering with them. Such tampering, William feared, would lead to the destruction of the whole authoritarian framework he so heavily relied upon to satisfy his demanding superego, and to keep those dangerous feelings toward Silas repressed. A fellow representative in Congress accurately captured William's political attitude: "Free Silver with him was not so much an economic policy as it was a means of righting what to his mind was a great wrong."¹⁴²

William Jennings Bryan was a reformer because despite his psychological inability to grow, to adjust to new realities, and hence find new solutions, he was truly dedicated to helping those whom the new society trod upon. Louis Koenig terms him "the apostle of the politically deprived."¹⁴³ And this group he never deserted, never even compromised his faithfulness to them in order to get elected. As George Norris so

aptly put it, "Mr. Bryan's whole life was devoted toward increasing the happiness of his fellow man according to the theories and doctrines he believed would best promote and bring about this condition."¹⁴⁴ Some of William's theories and doctrines became inaccurate as the world changed. Yet William was psychologically unable to reexamine those beliefs that he held so dear. For this reason critics were regarded as ignorant or dishonest, just as Silas Bryan had regarded his.

Secure in his beliefs, William had a placid temperament. He was never despondent over a defeat, as he believed in the essential righteousness of his cause and his eventual ascension with it. His strong convictions gave him the energy to work longer and harder for what he sought. But he found that diligence and perseverance paid off; just as he had repeatedly faced defeat in debating before he finally succeeded, so he always expected to eventually succeed in other areas as well. He was right. For, despite his electoral defeats, many of his doctrines were ultimately adopted. Among these are the regulation of banks and railroads, the creation of a personal income tax, the popular election of senators, and the granting of suffrage to women.

From these causes one can see that Bryan was not the political reactionary many believed him to be. He clung to his causes unquestioningly as he clung to the political and economic outcasts who could never manage to elect him. He fought for these outcasts during a political career that spanned three decades, and he maintained a high sense of morality throughout. As Josephus Daniels, a long standing personal friend, observed, "No temptation ever induced Bryan to sell the truth to serve the hour."¹⁴⁵

FOOTNOTES

¹There seems to be a great deal of confusion as to the exact age of Silas at the time of his parents' deaths. William Jennings states in his Memoirs that his father was 12 when his mother died and 14 when his father died. However, many other sources cite the ages I have given: Paolo E. Coletta, William Jennings Bryan I. Political Evangelist 1860-1908 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1964), p. 1; J. H. G. Brinkerhoff, Brinkerhoff's History of Marion County, Illinois (Indianapolis: B. F. Bowen & Co., 1909), p. 822; Louis Koenig, Bryan: A Political Biography of William Jennings Bryan (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1971), p. 18. Paxton Hibben, at the other extreme, states that these deaths occurred when Silas was six and eight years old. Paxton Hibben, The Peerless Leader, William Jennings Bryan (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1929), p. 6. Since there is no definitive proof of which date is accurate, the ones that were cited most often were selected.

²Paxton Hibben, Peerless Leader, p. 17.

³William Jennings Bryan, with Mary Baird Bryan, The Memoirs of William Jennings Bryan (Philadelphia: John C. Winston Co., 1925), p. 23.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Ibid.

⁶Ibid.

⁷The reader should not confuse the modern day meaning of this word with its 19th century one. The 1857 edition of Webster's dictionary defines promiscuous as: "consisting of individuals united in a body or mass without order...indiscriminate." Noah Webster, An American Dictionary of the English Language, (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1857).

⁸J. H. G. Brinkerhoff, History of Marion County, p. 601.

⁹W. Jennings Bryan, Memoirs, p. 26.

¹⁰Ibid.

- ¹¹Paxton Hibben, Peerless Leader, p. 15.
- ¹²Anna Torrence, "The Bryan Family," in Brinkerhoff's History,
p. 411.
- ¹³Quoted in Paxton Hibben, Peerless Leader, p. 22.
- ¹⁴William Jennings Bryan, Memoirs, p. 16.
- ¹⁵Ibid.
- ¹⁶Ibid., p. 17.
- ¹⁷Ibid.
- ¹⁸Ibid.
- ¹⁹Ibid.
- ²⁰Ibid., p. 18.
- ²¹Ibid.
- ²²Ibid., p. 34.
- ²³Louis Koenig, Bryan, p. 20.
- ²⁴William Jennings Bryan, Memoirs, p. 35.
- ²⁵Ibid.
- ²⁶Ibid.
- ²⁷Charles Brenner, An Elementary Textbook of Psychoanalysis (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Co., 1957), p. 135.
- ²⁸Alexander and Juliette George, Woodrow Wilson and Colonel House (New York: John Day, 1956), p. 9.
- ²⁹William Jennings Bryan, Memoirs, p. 35.
- ³⁰Ibid., p. 32.
- ³¹Ibid.

- ³²Paxton Hibben, Peerless Leader, p. 29.
- ³³William Jennings Bryan, Memoirs, p. 17.
- ³⁴Paxton Hibben, Peerless Leader, p. 31.
- ³⁵William Jennings Bryan, Memoirs, p. 40.
- ³⁶Louis Koenig, Bryan, p. 23.
- ³⁷William Jennings Bryan, Memoirs, p. 29.
- ³⁸Ibid., p. 43.
- ³⁹Paolo Coletta, Bryan, I, p. 5.
- ⁴⁰William Jennings Bryan, Memoirs, p. 17.
- ⁴¹Koenig, Bryan, p. 23.
- ⁴²Mary Webster, August 5, 1912, Bryan Papers, Library of Congress, Box 28, cited in Louis Koenig, p. 23.
- ⁴³William Jennings Bryan, Memoirs, p. 40.
- ⁴⁴Erik Erikson, Childhood and Society, (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1963), 2nd Edition, p. 259.
- ⁴⁵Ibid.
- ⁴⁶William Jennings Bryan, Memoirs, p. 16.
- ⁴⁷Ibid.
- ⁴⁸Ibid., p. 29.
- ⁴⁹Ibid., p. 33.
- ⁵⁰William Jennings Bryan Jr., "My Japanese Brother," Reader's Digest, 66, (June 1955), p. 19.
- ⁵¹William Jennings Bryan, Memoirs, p. 36.
- ⁵²Ibid., p. 48
- ⁵³Ibid., p. 39

⁵⁴Ibid., pp. 39-40.

⁵⁵Ibid., p. 41.

⁵⁶Brenner, Psychoanalysis, p. 143.

⁵⁷William Jennings Bryan, Memoirs, p. 41.

⁵⁸Ibid., p. 42.

⁵⁹Ibid., pp. 42-43.

⁶⁰Louis Koenig, Bryan, p. 21.

⁶¹William Jennings Bryan, Memoirs, p. 42.

⁶²William Jennings Bryan statement in Mrs. Mary Nickell to Mrs. William Jennings Bryan, October 15, 1912, Bryan Papers, Library of Congress, Box 28, cited in Louis Koenig, Bryan, p. 25.

⁶³Louis Koenig, Bryan, p. 25.

⁶⁴Ibid.

⁶⁵William Jennings Bryan, Memoirs, p. 44.

⁶⁶Ibid.

⁶⁷Paolo E. Coletta, Bryan, I. p. 5.

⁶⁸William Jennings Bryan, Memoirs, p. 47.

⁶⁹Ibid.

⁷⁰Ibid.

⁷¹It is also interesting to note the history of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church. It broke away from orthodox Presbyterianism in 1802 as the latter disapproved of its lenient academic requirements for its ministers. "It encouraged everybody who had a call to preach and had a special concern about revivals to make application for a license or ordination...it did not bother about such incidental items as the educational background of the ministers." Mendell Taylor, Exploring Evangelicism (Kansas City: Beacon Hill Press, 1964), p. 415. The Cumberland Presbyterian Church had a more democratic flavor than its parent organization. This kind of atmosphere would certainly appeal to someone trying to break out of a strong paternal framework.

⁷²Paxton Hibben, Peerless Leader, p. 49.

⁷³William Jennings Bryan, Memoirs, p. 48.

⁷⁴Ibid.

⁷⁵Sigmund Freud, New Introductory Lectures in Psychoanalysis, translated and edited by James Strachey (New York: Norton & Co., 1965), p. 78.

⁷⁶William Jennings Bryan, Memoirs, pp. 44-45.

⁷⁷Ibid., p. 52.

⁷⁸Ibid., p. 54.

⁷⁹Ibid., p. 58.

⁸⁰Mary Baird Bryan, "Biography," in W. J. Bryan, The First Battle: A Story of the Campaign of 1896, 1896, reprinted by Kennikat Press, New York, 1971, p. 38.

⁸¹William Jennings Bryan, Memoirs, p. 54.

⁸²Ibid., pp. 54-55.

⁸³Ibid., p. 55.

⁸⁴Erik Erikson, Identity: Youth & Crisis (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1968), p. 128.

⁸⁵George R. Poage, "The College Career of William Jennings Bryan," Mississippi Valley Historical Review, 15 (September 1928), 169.

⁸⁶Ibid., p. 171.

⁸⁷Willis J. Abbot, "William Jennings Bryan--A Character Sketch," American Review of Reviews, 14 (August 1896), 163.

⁸⁸William Jennings Bryan, Memoirs, p. 85.

⁸⁹Ibid., p. 87.

⁹⁰Paolo Coletta, Bryan, I, p. 18.

- ⁹¹William Jennings Bryan, Memoirs, p. 88.
- ⁹²Ibid., p. 59.
- ⁹³Ibid., p. 85.
- ⁹⁴Ibid., pp. 85-86.
- ⁹⁵Ibid., p. 86.
- ⁹⁶Ibid., p. 87.
- ⁹⁷Paxton Hibben, Peerless Leader, p. 72.
- ⁹⁸William Jennings Bryan, Memoirs, p. 87.
- ⁹⁹Ibid., p. 88.
- ¹⁰⁰Ibid., p. 91.
- ¹⁰¹Quoted in Poage, "College Career," p. 177.
- ¹⁰²Paolo Coletta, Bryan, I, p. 51.
- ¹⁰³Ibid., p.18.
- ¹⁰⁴William Jennings Bryan, The Prince of Peace (New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1909), p. 34.
- ¹⁰⁵Ibid.
- ¹⁰⁶Ibid., pp. 33-34.
- ¹⁰⁷William Jennings Bryan, Memoirs, p. 55.
- ¹⁰⁸Erikson, Identity: Youth and Crisis, p. 132.
- ¹⁰⁹Ibid., pp. 128-9.
- ¹¹⁰Ibid., p. 27.
- ¹¹¹Poage, "College Career," 173.

- ¹¹²William Jennings Bryan, Memoirs, pp. 50-51.
- ¹¹³Ibid., p. 51.
- ¹¹⁴Quoted in Paolo Coletta, "The Youth of William Jennings Bryan-- Beginnings of a Christian Statesman," Nebraska History, 31 (March 1950), p. 17.
- ¹¹⁵William Jennings Bryan, Memoirs, p. 43.
- ¹¹⁶William Jennings Bryan, Memoirs, p. 97.
- ¹¹⁷Ibid.
- ¹¹⁸"Bryan's First Political Speech," The College Rambler, Vol.19, (24 October, 1896), p. 113.
- ¹¹⁹Ibid.
- ¹²⁰William Jennings Bryan, Memoirs, p. 97.
- ¹²¹Paul Glad, The Trumpet Soundeth: William Jennings Bryan and his Democracy, 1896-1912 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1960), p. vii.
- ¹²²Sydney Brooks, "Mr. Bryan," The Nineteenth Century and After 78, (July 1915), p. 97.
- ¹²³Lawrence Levine, Defender of the Faith: William Jennings Bryan; The Last Decade (New York: Oxford University Press, 1965), passim.
- ¹²⁴Poage, "College Career," 182.
- ¹²⁵Granville Hulett, clipping from Illinois State Register in Illinois Scrapbook, Illinois State Historical Society, quoted in Coletta, "Youth," p. 23.
- ¹²⁶Jeremiah Donohue, College Rambler, p. 112.
- ¹²⁷Professor Henry Storrs, quoted in Poage, "College Career," p. 173.
- ¹²⁸William Jennings Bryan, Memoirs, p. 56.
- ¹²⁹Ibid.

- 130 Mary Baird, "Biography," p. 40.
- 131 Mrs. Ruth Bryan Rohde to Paolo Coletta, October 14, 1948, cited in Bryan, I, pp. 22-23.
- 132 James Creelman, "Bryan the Man," The Independent, 52, (26 July 1900), 1770.
- 133 William Jennings Bryan, Memoirs, p. 9.
- 134 Ibid., p. 10.
- 135 Ibid., p. 18.
- 136 Brooks, "Mr. Bryan," p. 97.
- 137 William A. White, "Bryan," McClure's Magazine, Vol. 15 (July 1900), 233.
- 138 Boyce House, "Bryan: The Orator," Illinois State Historical Society Journal, Vol. 53 (Autumn 1960), 278. Arthur F. Mullen, Western Democrat (New York, 1940), p. 132.
- 139 Edward G. Lowry, Washington Close-ups: Intimate Views of Some Public Figures (Boston & New York, 1921), p. 34, quoted in House, "Bryan," p. 28.
- 140 Willa Cather, "The Personal Side of William Jennings Bryan," Prairie Schooner, Vol. 23 (Winter 1949), 332. (First published in the Library [Pittsburgh], July 14, 1900).
- 141 William Jennings Bryan, Memoirs, p. 90.
- 142 Representative Tilson
- 143 Louis Koenig, Bryan, p. 10.
- 144 George W. Norris, "Bryan as a Political Leader," Current History Vol. 22 (September 1925), 859.
- 145 Josephus Daniels, quoted in Koenig, Bryan, p. 13.

CHAPTER V

Conclusions

In the preceding pages the early lives of Jane Addams, Louis Dembitz Brandeis, and William Jennings Bryan have been examined. The purpose has been to provide knowledge about a particular political type; the reformer. The hypotheses formulated in the first chapter explicitly indicate the knowledge we seek to gain here. These hypotheses are:

1. There are distinct psychological characteristics or, in other words, distinct individual personality attributes that are correlated with the development of the active reformer.
2. The social environment is an important influence on the philosophical as well as the psychological development of these reformers.
 - a) Peer influence, authority figures outside the immediate family, and the larger social context, i.e. the culture, as well as the immediate family are important in influencing the philosophical and the psychological development of the American reformer.
3. These environments--the immediate family and the larger social context--are supportive of the intellectual growth of the reformer. The reformer is not rebelling against an environment diametrically opposed to his own beliefs.
 - a) The environment also lends support to the individual to think independently and be his own man (or woman).

In order to confirm, negate, or modify these hypotheses, a brief summary of our case studies will be presented, followed by the conclusions. These conclusions will also be examined in light of the important literature in the field of 'politics and psychology.' Examining our findings in view of this literature will make possible a better evaluation of this literature and also, hopefully, will provide new hypotheses

for future study.

Jane Addams was an extremely serious, morally driven individual. Born with a slight spinal defect, she was physically weak and suffered from chronic back trouble. Jane was plain looking and perceived herself as unattractive. This negative self-perception was enhanced by Jane's self-comparison to her handsome and morally superior father. As a result, she was an insecure child with strong feelings of inferiority.

Jane Addams was a reserved person. She had a few, intimate friends whose company she enjoyed; with persons beyond the circle of friends Jane was aloof and impersonal. Addams was not a physically affectionate person; she disliked any overt display of affection, even within her intimate group. It seems that this reserved nature extended to her relationship with men: Jane never married. It appears that she did have suitors, though; at least two proposals of marriage are known of. It is virtually impossible to discover the nature and extent of Jane's romantic relationships, as the contemporary Victorian culture discouraged any written--or indeed spoken--discussion of these. Therefore, any discourse of these relationships or the reason Jane chose not to marry would be highly speculative. And, in fairness, one must recall that her decision to remain single was not an unusual one within her milieu; fully half of the first generation of college women did not wed. For this reason, I believe it would be unfair and misleading to conclude that some unique personality characteristic of Jane's accounted for her spinsterhood. Consequently, this aspect of her life will not be dwelled upon.

Although egalitarian in thought and spirit, Jane was patrician

in many aspects of living; a result of her stepmother's influence. Dining at Hull House was always a formal event and Jane's settlement worker colleagues, rather than Hull House's clients, were perceived by Jane as her peers; only the former she referred to as "Miss." Jane was a religious person, but in a nondenominational context.

Jane Addam's mother died when Jane was only two years old; her subsequent development was influenced most by her morally stern and religious father, John Huy Addams. Addams was a mill owner who through hard work and shrewd investments had become a wealthy and prestigious member of his Midwest community. Politically active, he represented Marion County, Illinois in the State Senate for sixteen years.

John Addams was egalitarian in theory and practice. He was against slavery and helped to smuggle slaves to Canada--and freedom. So too he advocated equality for women. Addams sincerely believed in the importance of moral duty and enjoyed the reputation of the strictest honesty and integrity. It was this unwavering moral integrity, rather than a strong sense of paternal affection, that his daughter Jane remembered most.

This moral integrity resulted in a strict attitude toward his children, an attitude Jane resented as a child. Such resentment was repressed, however, through Jane's attempts to identify with her father. Although Jane did adopt many of her father's moral values, she had certain different ideas of her own and conveniently altered her recollections of her father so as to suit her own psychological and intellectual needs. Identifying with, and hence imitating, her father also served the purpose

of alleviating those early feelings of insecurity. Jane's father remarried when Jane was eight, presenting her with a temperamental and domineering stepmother, Anna Haldeman Addams.

Anna Addams was a sophisticated and high spirited woman who introduced Jane to culture and style. Despite her temperamental nature, Anna developed a close bond with her stepdaughter, Jane, who quickly referred to the former as "Ma." Anna treated Jane as an equal to her own beloved son George, six months younger than Jane. The two children were constant companions from the time of the marriage until Jane departed for college.

Anna and George encouraged Jane to be more active physically and intellectually; they helped her develop the self confidence needed to attain later goals. Thus, although different in temperaments, a close relationship developed between them. Jane's niece commented, "They loved and respected each other, but their rich companionship was often marred by friction."¹ A later and irreversible rift developed between Jane and her stepmother when Jane refused to marry Anna's adored son George and subsequently, against Anna's wishes, used her share of her father's estate to open a settlement house in a poor, rather unsavory, neighborhood of Chicago.

Jane left the stern moral and intellectual tutelage of home when she went away to college at the age of eighteen. There she gained a strong measure of confidence as she became a leader in her own right. So too she received emotional reassurance as she developed close relationships with other young girls who shared similar values and similar moral ideals.

This newly found confidence and moral ambition was rapidly shaken upon graduation, when Jane and her classmates found themselves in a society

society that had no place for them or their moral ideals. Also, back home in Cedarville Jane felt herself to be hidden beneath her father's shadow; she was no longer in the limelight as she had been at Rockford College. Not surprisingly, she started to feel physically weak again; she resented the re-establishment of her old situation.

John Addams' sudden death at this critical time caused severe emotional problems for Jane. Naturally, Jane was very sad; she greatly mourned her father's unexpected death. She had been so close to him; he was her only biological parent as her mother had died so long ago. These feelings of sorrow were complicated by other ones. There existed as well as guilt feelings, which necessitated repression of that reawakened resentment of her father. So too feelings of insecurity as to whether she would be able to function without her father's guidance and direction. Jane doubted that her own moral purpose was worth anything apart from that which she could identify with her father. Examining her life in terms of her father's moral values, she perceived herself as aimless and purposeless. Although these feelings of aimlessness and uselessness were shared by Jane's classmates as well, the untimely death of her morally stern father made them especially severe for her.

Jane tried medical school, but did not like it. Subsequent trips to Europe and living the life of the daughter of a society matron only increased these feelings. During these idle years she often felt physically weak as well as emotionally depressed. The only activity Jane found that gave her some measure of emotional and intellectual satisfaction was some charity work she did while in Baltimore.

During her second European sojourn, Jane observed a London institution where college men lived together and worked among the poor. These young men emphasized the subjective benefits of such work to themselves--the charity workers--rather than the objective benefits to the recipients

This concept helped to crystallize similar ideas in Jane's mind. So too, this living arrangement offered as well a structure which permitted the reestablishment of the intellectual and emotional camaraderie that Jane had enjoyed during her college years. Psychologically, it enabled Jane to fulfill that driving moral ambition that she had adopted--and adapted--from her father.

The establishment of Hull House along these lines enabled Jane to find a purpose for herself and her classmates in a society which had had neither place nor function for them. It was a purpose that incorporated Jane's formerly conflicting roles as woman and college graduate, and hence solved in a new and different way an identity crisis that had existed since her college graduation.

By his own attitude and example, John Huy Addams had early introduced his daughter to the concepts of moral duty and egalitarianism. These values were prominent ones in the contemporary Midwest environment. Hence, the social and cultural milieu that Jane grew in was one consonant with her home environment.

Small Midwestern towns were "relentlessly egalitarian." Social distinctions there were mitigated by a common sense of intimacy. So too community ethics emphasized a sense of moral duty as part of the Christian spirit. In the narrowest sense this entailed neighbors helping each other to overcome the common rigors of pioneer life.

Jane's stepmother, patrician in dress, style, and attitude, was clearly out of step with her Cedarville neighbors. Jane was influenced by this stepmother as well, and although she later lived among the poor people of Chicago, she was never truly of them.

Although by her own admission, Jane had been early made aware

of the moral concerns of life, her particular moral values were not formulated until college. There she pondered long and hard over the concepts of moral duty, religion, and the beneficence of missionary work. Such ponderings, common among college students developing their minds, were exaggerated here as conflicts now appeared in the values Jane was exposed to. The administration at what was then Rockford Female Seminary maintained that good works were the result of religious zeal; one helps one's fellow man in order to better show one's devotion to God. However, many of Jane's classmates and the younger and favored teachers rejected this: they believed that service to man in and of itself was the paramount goal.

Jane's own religious and moral ponderings, largely expressed through her correspondence with her closest friend, Ellen Gates Starr, led her to emphasize the importance of moral duty as a service to one's neighbor. Charity rather than missionary work was the keynote of her valedictory address, as it was the chosen theme of her graduating class. The class adopted for itself the name "bread givers," the Anglo-Saxon derivation for the word lady. Thus, although Jane's basic values--her emphasis on moral duty and her belief in egalitarianism--were learned at home, the philosophy behind such values was refined by her college experience.

Jane's adoption of these new intellectual ideas was reinforced by the emotional reassurance that Jane received from her college classmates. After four years of living together in the closest proximity and sharing hopes, dreams, and ideals as well as homework and gossip, these girls were deeply bound to each other. In this supportive environment Jane shone. She was the leader of her class; class president and

valedictorian. During these happy, successful years her self confidence grew enormously.

Throughout her college years, Jane felt physically as well as emotionally stronger. For, although these four years were physically active ones, she was never bothered by back trouble at school.

The desirability of the reattainment of this emotional support-- of again living together with college classmates in a dormitory situation--was an important psychological motivation in the establishment of Hull House. Thus, peer influence played an important philosophical and psychological role in Jane Addams' life as an active reformer. This peer influence did not negate earlier held values; rather it refined and modified them.

One can conclude that both at home and in school Jane developed in an environment that encouraged the concept of good works and moral duty. In this sense she grew in a supportive environment. However, the channelling of that moral duty into the particular avenue of settlement work presents a different conceptual theme entirely.

John Addams clearly supported the idea of moral duty and the value of an education for women. Yet, he regarded that education as primarily valuable in preparing women to be better wives and mothers. He did not advocate total equality for women. For, whereas John Addams did accept certain traditional careers for women such as missionary work or teaching, he did not accept women in politics or business. For this reason it is very uncertain as to whether he would have supported his daughter's innovative venture in Chicago.

And, indeed, even though John Addams had a progressive attitude

toward women in theory, this by no means assures that he would have approved of his daughter's living in the poorest neighborhood in Chicago. Yet, in order to fulfill her own psychological as well as intellectual needs, Jane manipulated her memory of her father so as to truly believe that John Addams would have enthusiastically supported her settlement work. This assumed support, along with the encouragement of her closest friend, Ellen Gates Starr, gave her a strong measure of self confidence and dwarfed the disapproval of her stepmother and her sister.

Louis Dembitz Brandeis was an unusually aggressive, ambitious young man who sought to obtain--before all other things--professional excellence and personal self-sufficiency. His remarkable innate intellectual capabilities enabled him to succeed in these two major aspirations.

The dynamic element underlying Brandeis' ambitious nature was a strong internal drive for enhancement of self esteem. This drive, it is believed, found its genesis in Louis' boyhood. Young Louis was an insecure child. He was physically weak with poor muscular tone. Louis was also the youngest and smallest member of his peer group. Hence, feelings of inferiority developed.

Alfred Adler describes in detail the dynamics of this personality in his work on organ inferiority. Adler explains that the physically inferior child often becomes aggressive in order to compensate for this weakness. By demonstrating that he is capable of not only normal, but superior, strength the child is able to overcome these feelings of inferiority.

In line with Adler's theory, Louis became physically aggressive;

he was always the one in his group to take on the newcomer and soon developed the reputation of a scrapper. However, as he matured, Louis realized that there were other even more effective avenues of self assertion; he began to prove himself intellectually as well.

In this avenue he was most successful; Louis was an outstanding elementary school student in Louisville. He won academic awards and honors there, followed by similar achievements in Germany, where he completed his secondary schooling. He was the first and youngest in his graduating class at Harvard Law School. Through these remarkable accomplishments, Louis was able to gain emotional security and independence.

Among Louis' other personality characteristics was his reserve. Louis enjoyed primarily the company of his close friends and family and disliked socializing in larger groups. He was conservative in economic investments and personal spending. He never invested his earnings in speculative ventures nor partook of conspicuous consumption. Although the Brandeises referred to this way of life as 'simple living,' they did live well, as they travelled extensively and bought quality if not quantity.

Louis perceived himself as being as conservative in the political and legal arena as he was in the economic and social realm. He was not in any sense a revolutionary; Brandeis believed in capitalism and attempted to modify only those parts of the capitalist system which he regarded as faulty.

Louis' family was a close knit group consisting of German Jews who emigrated during the unsuccessful European revolution of 1848. They were strongly intellectually and culturally oriented and believed in public service. Freedom and independence were primary values of

this group; they had emigrated to America for just these reasons. The Brandeis family, especially mother Frederika, emphasized moral values rather than religious conventions. Thus, young Louis was raised in an atmosphere that focused on individual self assertion and intellectual independence.

Perhaps the physically weak child Louis perceived that the family's emphasis on self achievement and self reliance was in a certain sense a rejection of him. In light of this perception, it is hypothesized that Louis accepted these values and strove to become entirely independent and self sufficient for two different reasons. Firstly, Louis perceived independence as entailing separation from his family. Thus, by becoming independent he would "punish" his parents for their rejection of him. Secondly, becoming self reliant would satisfy that strong internal drive for self enhancement.

Although perhaps overzealous in encouraging independence, Louis's family was a warm and loving one. His mother, Frederika, was the dominating influence in the household; she was the ambitious, driving force. Louis's father Adolph was a businessman who had suffered several reverses and perceived himself as a failure.

The most influential figure of the extended family was Frederika's brother, Lewis Dembitz. He was a well known lawyer, an intellectual, and a recognized Judaic scholar. Louis changed his middle name from David to Dembitz in his honor. His choice of a legal career as well as his later interest in Zionism, Brandeis credited to this uncle.

Louis adopted the family's respect for independence and regarded himself as entirely self dependent and self sufficient from the age of seventeen onward. He later wrote, "For seventeen years I have stood

alone--rarely asking--still less frequently caring for the advice of others. I have walked all these years but little influenced by any other individual." Louis's own perception of this time as a turning point in his life reinforces the thesis here that this period constituted an "identity crisis." It was not a crisis in the sense of a lengthy and arduous period of rumination, rather a crisis in the sense of a crucial moment in his life. Regarding himself as entirely self reliant, Louis chose at this time to return to America, but to Boston, not Kentucky, and to study law, not medicine as his family had hoped. In these choices he carved out his future place and role in society.

At Harvard Louis became involved in Boston society and substituted that society for his own family. This was a comfortable transition since the values of the Boston community so closely mirrored those values that had been emphasized at home: individual worth judged on the basis of intellectual achievement, and the importance of moral values and public service. Thus, Brandeis was soon assimilated in his new home.

However, dissonance appeared in Louis' life when industrialization and immigration changed the values of the Boston bluebloods and those of the legal profession as well. Boston became an insulated, close minded, and prejudiced community where bluebloods turned their backs on the needs and the rights of workers and lawyers became pawns of the large industrialists. These developments went against the values Brandeis had been raised with: he now had to make a choice whether to follow Boston society's new policies or remain true to those of his family.

Brandeis opted for the latter course and thus incurred the wrath of his new 'family.' This choice was psychologically abetted by Louis'

restrengthening of family ties at this time due to his sister Fanny's death and his subsequent marriage to his second cousin, Alice Goldmark. This marriage gave him the emotional support as well as the intellectual confidence to persevere in what he believed in. This reinforcement of family ties was later evidenced in Brandeis's interest in Zionism; it indicated his renewed identity as a Jew. This interest, true to his family's values, was in a cultural and social context rather than a religious one.

One can conclude that Louis Brandeis' decision to become a reformer was in part motivated by his desire to remain independent and self sufficient and thus satisfy a strong internal drive for self-enhancement. This decision also reflected Louis' reidentification with his family and his adoption of their values.

This psychological analysis has centered on Louis' family. One cannot avoid the conclusion that Louis' psychological development was almost entirely influenced by his relationship with his family: his parents and brother and sisters, his Uncle Lewis, and later, his wife. The secondary group (peers, teachers) did not play an important role in Louis's psychological development.

It has been hypothesized here that the larger social context, i.e. the culture, is an important influence in the philosophical as well as the psychological development of the reformer. However, in the Brandeis case it is unfair to contrast the primary group to the larger social context.

Louis grew up within a distinctive, close knit and homogeneous subgroup of German Jewish emigres that was to a great extent isolated

from the larger native, Southern community. The larger social community spoke a different language, practiced a different religion, and had different customs. Thus, it was largely an alien culture which young Louis was unexposed to.

So too it is difficult to contrast the primary group to the secondary group, but for the opposite reason: these two groups were largely homogenous. Louis went to a German-English academy and thus all his schoolmates and teachers were German Jews. His playmates were his brother and his cousin, and his family's contact was limited to other members of the family group and other German Jewish emigres. These emigres, like Louis' parents, had fled from a tyrannical situation in Europe and emphasized the importance of freedom and individual intellectual achievement. Thus, the values his family extolled were largely reinforced by the other elders Louis came in touch with.

Louis travelled to Germany and at sixteen enrolled in a boarding school in Dresden. At the Annen-Realschule in Dresden Louis was exposed to new values: paternalism and authoritarianism. He immediately rejected these: "I was a terrible little individualist in those days and the German paternalism got on my nerves." Thus, Louis was already firm in adopting those values that had been emphasized at home. These values, including independent thought and social involvement, were supportive of his intellectual growth as a reformer.

One can readily perceive that there were strong philosophical and psychological factors motivating Louis to become a reformer. However, one must look as well for environmental stimuli. In this regard, it seems fair to say that Louis Brandeis' unique situation in Boston society must have played some role here. Brandeis was totally accepted by Boston's

upper crust, but he was an assimilated member of that society. He was an individual from a German-Jewish background who had grown up in the Mid West and Germany rather than in New England.

Brandeis had felt so totally at home in Boston not because he was born and bred there, but because its intellectual and moral values were consonant with his own. Thus, he was acutely conscious of these values, and could more readily--and more objectively--perceive alterations in them by the Boston community. Perhaps the native Boston blue-bloods, even the well meaning ones, were too emotionally attached to their society to rationally perceive the changes occurring at this time.

Thus, Louis' unusual environmental situation encouraged him to become a reformer. But, without his psychological predisposition at this time--the reinforcement of family ties through Fanny's death and his marriage to Alice--this encouragement would have not been brought to fruition.

William Jennings Bryan was an industrious, persevering young man. He gave no evidence of intellectual distinction, but succeeded rather by hard work, doggedness, and faith. Bryan was a religious person, a Cumberland Presbyterian who in college became a steadfast fundamentalist.

He was an intensely public person. William loved large groups of people and enjoyed himself most while campaigning. He was tall, handsome, and robust; with his exceptional physical endurance he was able to far outstrip the activity of his political opponents.

William was a talented public speaker who had been first drawn to oratory because of the prizes it offered. By his own admission, the young Bryan was motivated largely by these external rewards. Such rewards it is believed would help mitigate feelings of inferiority: William was an insecure adolescent and sought the reassurance of these prizes. Later, the reassurance of the adulatory audiences substituted for these prizes. William was an even tempered individual who never lost--indeed, who never permitted himself to lose--his temper. He enjoyed music and art, but was pedestrian in his tastes.

William's negative self-comparison to other children as well as to his own father indicates his feelings of inferiority. However, it is easier to perceive these feelings than it is to specify their cause; such a specification is, of course, speculative. We hypothesize here that these feelings of inferiority were caused by several factors, explained below.

Firstly, it is believed that William adopted the strong, over-demanding superego of his rigid, morally stern father, Silas. Since it was impossible to live up to the demands of this overweened superego, William developed feelings of inferiority. As evidence of this severe superego, William's self perception was far lower and more critical than the perception of him by others. These feelings of low self esteem also stemmed from his self comparison to his father, whom on the conscious level he regarded as intellectually, morally and physically superior.

Silas Bryan was indeed the dominating force in the Bryan household. He was a stern, morally rigid, religious individual who believed in a prayer hearing and prayer answering God. Silas was deacon of the

Baptist church and saw no conflict between this position and his political career. He was unusually strict with his children and allowed them only the smallest measure of independence.

Mariah Bryan, William's mother, was a warmer, softer person. She was an affectionate and attentive mother to her children. William himself indicates the different roles played by his parents in the telling autobiographical remark: "I became the oldest son and had all the care a mother could bestow upon a child and all the interest that a father could feel." (Emphasis added.)

Mariah Jennings came from a wealthy and politically influential family that substantially helped Silas in his political career. However, she too came under his domination. This is not surprising as Silas was twelve years her senior; indeed, he had been her teacher in school and no doubt continued to regard himself as her teacher in marriage. William's perception of this is indicated by his comment about Mariah: "Her studies after marriage and her companionship with him [Silas] enabled her to make up somewhat for the shortness of her school days."² (Emphasis added.)

As the children grew, Mariah enforced Silas' strict code of discipline even in his absences, although no doubt it was tempered by her more affectionate nature. Thus, although William's infancy was dominated by a warm and loving mother, his stern, cold father soon became the primary influence in his life.

The Bryan family moved to a large farm when William was six years old. As William grew, Silas demanded that he attend to all the onerous farm chores. He was not rewarded for this hard work; Silas refused to permit his son to take music lessons although the latter so

eagerly desired these. It is believed that William developed intense feelings of hostility toward his demanding, penurious father. However, it was necessary to repress these feelings for several reasons.

First, there existed an internal danger of admitting these hostile feelings. William had developed his father's overdemanding superego which would not permit the awareness of these "bad" feelings. Likewise, there existed the external danger of retaliation from the object of hostility. Silas might harm, maim, or even castrate his rebellious son. I hypothesize here that such feelings were repressed and William rationalized his father's actions.

When William was twelve years old these repressed feelings towards his father became energized when Silas was defeated in his 1870 congressional campaign. William's negative feelings partly surfaced at this time and William rebelled against his father by leaving the latter's Baptist church and becoming a Presbyterian.

One could also hypothesize that William's generally repressed aggressive feelings surfaced again later in a verbal mode, as evidenced by his later forceful, perhaps even hostile, oratory. A good example is Bryan's famous presidential nomination speech of 1896. While attacking the gold standard, he virulently declared that farmers would not be "crucified on a cross of gold." On the dynamic level, one could further hypothesize that Bryan's choice of the reformer's path--rather than the radical's or the revolutionary's--indicated a reaction formation towards these internal aggressive feelings. Instead of acting severely and violently as one might expect, Bryan acted in the opposite manner in a peaceful and piece-

meal fashion; he chose to work within the system rather than destroy it.

Soon after his father's congressional defeat William boarded with a family friend in Jacksonville, Illinois, where he completed his high school and college studies. It is perceived that these surfacing id wishes against his father encouraged him to abandon religion altogether; such an abandonment would surely wound his deeply religious father. These negative feelings appeared at a particularly critical time in William's life; during his "identity crisis."

William was experiencing great changes physically, emotionally and intellectually at this time. Psychologically, William was then seeking to get an awareness of himself; to integrate all his previous identifications and self images and determine a place and a role for himself in society. During this same time, William was seeking to gratify these surfacing id wishes and continued to rebel against his father. He postponed joining a church in Jacksonville and even went to far as to write to a well known agnostic, Colonel Robert Ingersoll. The selection of Ingersoll is particularly interesting as he himself had been a rebellious son: his own father was a Congregational minister.

To William's queries about God and faith, Ingersoll replied, "I do not know." This answer was terrifying to the insecure, guilt ridden Bryan whose strict superego no doubt demanded well delineated

substitute values for these temporarily rejected religious rules. These values were especially necessary during this critical period in William's life: great internal changes and uncertainty during the identity crisis make ideologies particularly appealing to the adolescent. These ideologies offer internal as well as external structure and organization.

Thus, because of William's fear of uncertainty, he quickly buried these dangerous feelings and reidentified with his father by adopting a strong fundamentalist faith. Thereafter he joined the Presbyterian Church in Jacksonville and "was not ashamed to carry his Bible under his arm." Fundamentalism thus provided William the psychological benefits of: (1) keeping his ambivalent feelings toward his father repressed, (2) satisfying the need for an airtight belief system and behavior guide which William's strict superego demanded, and (3) providing a faith or belief system which is particularly necessary to the adolescent at this stage of development.

These fundamentalist beliefs were reinforced by Silas' death in 1880, when William was a junior in college. Silas's death no doubt caused guilt feelings in William and hence encouraged an even stronger identification with him and his values. Because fundamentalism satisfied deep-seated psychological demands William was unable to later modify or reevaluate these beliefs. In a similar vein, he would not be psychologically capable of reexamining the political beliefs he adopted at this time.

All this evidence suggests that William's psychological development was influed primarily by his relationship to his dominating father. The psychological importance of peer groups and outside authority figures was as avenues through which William could react to his father. One could say that they reinforced rather than caused otherwise determined psychological development. This is evident in William's early religious rebellion.

After William began to attend public school, he also began to attend the Cumberland Presbyterian Church after school. There he was surrounded by his own friends from school. In his own words, "a great many children in that church were my companions in school." So too there he encountered a warm, affectionate religious mentor who was remembered by William primarily for his friendly attitude toward the children. Thus, this group was emotionally supportive; it gave William the assurance he needed to rebel against his father. A rebellion that was instigated not by this group, but by William's energized id wishes against his father following the latter's Congressional defeat in 1872.

In evaluating the psychological importance of the peer group and outside authority figures, one should recognize that William was largely unexposed to the influence of this group until the age of ten. For, prior to that time William was taught at home by his mother. So too, the Bryan farm was geographically isolated from the rest of the community and hence William's play with other children was restricted.

However, one could effectively argue as well that it was part and parcel of Silas' total domination that this element was nonexistent in William's early years; that precisely because of Silas' determined actions--rather than other accidental or unintentional causes--William was isolated from his peers.

The more important role played by William's peer group was in the philosophical realm. The attitudes of William's classmates and teachers became extremely important intellectually during his college experience. Of course, William had already been exposed to the contemporary political issues before his college years. His father's political activities, especially his Congressional campaign, made William aware of political concerns. So too the farmers' plight and the Midwest's political unrest at this time--the Greenback Party and the nascent populist movement--was within William's frame of reference.

However, it was not until William's college debating experience that he began to seriously think about specific political issues. Through his declamations and debates William formulated opinions as to free trade, liquor traffic legislation, monopoly regulation, and the currency question. In the social science classes at Illinois College, William was exposed to broader political concepts as well.

He studied Thomas Jefferson, Alexis de Tocqueville's Democracy in America and George Bancroft's History of the United States. These theoretical works encouraged William to reflect upon the concept of democracy itself. This reflection, along with his increasing awareness

of the surrounding political atmosphere, as seen through his classmates' discussions, determined William's political values and explicit policy choices. These values and choices became steadfastly implanted in William; he maintained them throughout his long and varied political career.

Thus, in William's case one would strongly assert that peer influence and the larger social context were important philosophical influences. However, as demonstrated by his religious quandary, William's psychological development in college--as formerly--was still dominated by his relationship with his overbearing father, Silas.

Certainly, one would classify the peer group and the larger social context as supportive of the political values so zealously adopted by William Jennings Bryan. So too, it seems fair to conclude that Silas Bryan would have supported his son's mature moral values and political decision if he had lived to see them.

However, Silas Bryan did not encourage his children to think or act independently. Indeed, Silas did all in his power to keep them under his control; to make all their decisions for them as long as possible. Along these lines, Silas decreed which college William would attend and even what courses he would study. This attitude was diametrically opposed to that of the Brandeis family. So too, whereas the Brandeises shunned religious conventions, Silas demanded religious orthodoxy.

Thus, although William came from a family that supported his particular views, it was not a family that encouraged independence--emotionally or intellectually. This lack of independence was a logical

and necessary correlate to Silas' authoritarianism. It is theorized here that it was this authoritarianism that created William's hostility toward Silas and, hence, his subsequent repression and rationalization.

Interestingly, Alexander and Juliette George found a similar personality dynamic in their study of Woodrow Wilson, another politically oriented individual who fits into the classification here of turn-of-the-century American reformers. In this dynamic, young Wilson was also overwhelmed by an authoritarian, rigid, and religiously orthodox father. The Georges hypothesize that Wilson's later continual devotion to his father--as Bryan's--was the result of an active repression of his negative feelings toward this father.

So too, the Georges argue that because of this home environment, young Wilson was an insecure child. These similarities reinforce the hypothesis to be presented here of the correlative role of early feelings of inferiority and insecurity in the development of the reformer.

Bryan's repression of negative feelings toward Silas, I suggest, are the source of his later inability to modify the political and moral values he had formulated in college.

It was hypothesized that these reformers developed in an atmosphere that encouraged independence. This has not held true in the Bryan case. However, the important results of Bryan's lack of independence show how crucial this factor is in affecting subsequent development.

Our first hypothesis is that distinct individual personality attributes exist that can be correlated with the development of the active reformer. The research here, as summarized above, has indicated that only one major personality attribute is shared by these three

reformers: all manifested early feelings of insecurity and inferiority. These feelings were later overcome through psychological adjustment, and all three went on to become well adjusted, unusually productive adults. In this adaptation process William Jennings Bryan and Jane Addams both repressed ambivalent feelings by identifying with their fathers, while Louis Brandeis compensated for early feelings of inferiority by unusual physical and intellectual attainments and markedly independent behavior.

Of course, feelings of insecurity are not uncommon among children. However, it seems reasonable to assert that these three individuals experienced a greater sense of inferiority and insecurity than one would normally expect. So too the possibility exists that although not universal, these feelings of insecurity might be common to all 'great' people, or perhaps all 'great' people who choose a public life (as distinct from that of the artist or scientist). I cannot refute this possibility. Indeed, it does seem logical that an individual who seeks psychological reassurance would choose that avenue that offers the greatest magnitude of that reassurance. However, it is not clear in the psychobiographical literature that this emotional characteristic is a politically universal one. For instance, E. Victor Wolfenstein does not indicate the importance of this factor in his study of three revolutionaries--Lenin, Trotsky, and Gandhi. For this reason I maintain the importance of this factor. Subsequent research in the broader field of psychobiography--of all persons, those who choose public lives--could confirm or refute this. Other than this characteristic, individual personality differences are striking here.

William Jennings Bryan was an extrovert. He was an outgoing

and gregarious fellow who loved to be among large groups of people. Addams and Brandeis were much more reserved and introverted; both preferred the company of their intimate friends and family to larger groups and both were regarded as aloof and impersonal by outsiders of these groups.

So too Bryan was physically robust and had great endurance whereas Addams and Brandeis both suffered from physical defects. Addams was born with a spinal deformity which caused chronic back trouble; Brandeis was constitutionally weak and had poor eye sight.

Religion played a varied role in all three lives. Bryan and Addams grew up in religious households. This was not unusual, as religion played a far greater role in the lives of 19th century inhabitants than it does today. Indeed, Bryan and Addams' collegiate preoccupation with religious beliefs was to be expected in a society that so steadfastly respected and accepted these beliefs. Thus, one would not conclude that a religious experience is one uniquely connected with a reformer, or even a political personality. That these two had an important experience with religious values and ideas when young tells one more about the turn-of-the-century life style than about the personality of the reformer. And, indeed, although all three dealt with religious precepts sometime in their lives, the chronological time of this experience, the respective content of, and the reaction to this experience varied significantly. Bryan went through a prolonged religious crisis in college and emerged a devout Fundamentalist. Addams pondered about religion in college and developed strong religious beliefs, but similar to her father, these were couched in a relatively nondenominational framework. The Brandeis family shunned religious conventions entirely;

Louis's later interest in Zionism was largely a cultural and social concern rather than a religious one. All three developed early a strong sense of moral duty. This sense of moral duty is a logical and necessary factor in the development of the active reformer; it is unrelated to religious convictions.

Intellectually too, there was diversity among these individuals. Brandeis was the most intellectually gifted of the three; throughout his life he excelled in academic and legal achievements. Addams was also a gifted student, but her achievements were more in the direction of creativity rather than logical achievement. Bryan was only of average intelligence, succeeding more by diligence and perseverance than sheer ability.

Just as many of their personality characteristics differed, so too did the paths of their psychological development. Although all experienced an early atmosphere of maternal nurturance and developed trust, their later psychological growth varied. All three went through identity crises of different lengths at different times in their lives wherein they grappled with diverse issues.

Jane Addams' crisis was a particularly lengthy one which was due in part to the common social and psychological difficulties faced by the first generation of college women. This crisis occurred the summer following her college graduation and was exacerbated by her father's death at that time. It was not resolved until Jane found a productive career for herself and her classmates eight years later.

William Jennings Bryan's crisis was largely a religious quandary. It involved strivings for independence from his overbearing and religiously orthodox father. This crisis was resolved by William's adoption

of and strict adherence to fundamentalism. Louis Brandeis' 'crisis' was the most minimal of the three. It occurred while he was studying in Germany. There, at seventeen, contrary to his parents' wishes, he decided to return to America and study law.

That these identity crises could be so clearly charted confirms the existence of this construct. This identity crisis--the critical psychosocial period between childhood and adulthood--is crucial to Erikson's whole theoretical scheme of human psychological development. He perceives this crisis as a universal one: "...a life crisis aggravated in patients, yet in some form normal for all youth."³ Erikson's assertion that the individual determines his or her future place and function (vocation) in the wider society during this adolescent period is also confirmed by our research. For, at this time, Addams, Brandeis, and Bryan formulated their career choices. Subsequently, all three persevered so as to fulfill this choice and their individual moral commitments.

Just as Erikson's utilization of this concept helped him to understand young man Luther, so too its utilization here has helped to better understand these three young reformers. Indeed, the identity crisis helped to clarify the subsequent psychological development as well as the adolescent experience of these individuals. For this reason, it is perceived as a valid and worthwhile concept in psychobiographical research.

One could argue that this crisis is not the universal one Erikson has maintained it to be, but rather one related to the psychological development of the unusual, or "great" person. Or, perhaps, more conservatively, that this universal concept is experienced to a greater

degree by these special individuals. The evidence of this study suggests that this is not objectively the case. Brandeis' identity crisis was not a long or arduous one; it could only be considered a crisis in the sense of an important turning point in his life.

However, what I would conclude as valid in this regard is that these great individuals were more intelligent, observative, and introspective than the populace at large. Thus, they were probably more conscious of their inner feelings, more aware of their relation with and reaction to their environment. This heightened sensitivity would allow them to better perceive internal changes, and in this sense seem to experience the identity crisis to a fuller extent than their "ordinary" brethren.

Both Addams and Bryan wrote autobiographies. This introspective literary experience--obviously, not a common one--also encouraged these individuals to reflect upon their early inner feelings. This brings to mind another point: these individuals were more articulate than most people, and, hence, could more ably express their internal perceptions. Therefore, I believe that in this subjective sense--of perceiving and being able to articulate one's internal experience more acutely--one could hypothesize that exceptional people experience a greater, or heightened identity crisis. This only logically conforms with other aspects of the great person's life; one assumes that a great person will experience more fully, or in a different way, all common human activities.

Is this crisis experienced in a greater or particularly unique way for our specific subgroup of exceptional individuals, that is, public people? I can only hypothesize that this is not the case. There

does not seem to be any logical basis for such a supposition. Indeed, one would expect the more creative and introspective individual, such as the writer or the artist, would experience a greater, or particularly heightened identity crisis. Explicit comparative research of public persons to creative individuals would be able to confirm or deny our tentative hypotheses here.

Therefore, it is maintained here that Addams', Brandeis' and Bryan's adolescent experiences, or identity crises, were not unusual ones. Rather, perhaps, their unusual capabilities enabled them to more fully perceive them. So too, these capabilities helped them to solve these crises in a particularly creative and psychologically fulfilling manner.

Discussing Erikson's concept of identity, it is worthwhile to mention another theoretical construct that contributes to the understanding of this 'sense of identity.' While Erikson explains the development of this identity in adolescence, another noted psychoanalyst discusses the very early development of this identity. Or, perhaps it would be more accurate to say that the precursors of a successful development of the sense of the identity are discussed.

Margaret Mahler in her work on children explains that a successful separation from the mother between eighteen months and three years is a necessary precondition for a positive sense of self identity. This separation, or 'separation-individuation' as she refers to it, requires as a prerequisite a strong and adequate symbiotic phase between mother and child, incorporating a narcissistic and mutually libidinal relationship. This symbiotic relationship

heightens between the ages of six to eight months. The emotional availability of the mother at this stage is essential if the child's autonomous ego is to function optimally.

With the demise of the symbiotic stage and the maturation of the ego apparatus, the young child is able to draw upon his now advanced physical autonomy. The autonomous processes of locomotion, perception, and learning must be accompanied by emotional growth; the child now perceives himself as differentiated from the mother. This emotional development of the self as differentiated from the object (mother) is what Mahler specifically means by the term 'individuation.'

This separation-individuation presents threats to the toddler of object loss (mother loss), but the great pleasure in functioning autonomously enables the child to overcome his or her separation anxiety. This psychological process of ego development and autonomy is described by Mahler herself. In her words:

It is amazing to observe to how great an extent, and with what resiliency, the child's autonomy unfolds from within his own ego....One can recognize in the toddler's increasingly concentrated, less motor minded and less diffuse play, in which manipulation and fantasy have become an integral part, the consolidation and organization of what shortly before were unintegrated islands of ego.⁴

This growth, Mahler asserts, is the crucial prerequisite for the development and maintenance of a sense of identity. Infantile autism and symbiotic psychoses are the two extreme disturbances of lack of identity.

Thus, the normal, healthy child at a very early age perceives himself as an independently functioning individual, discrete from the objects around him. Mahler specifically defines this identity

as "the earliest awareness of a sense of being, of entity--a feeling that includes in part...a cathexis of the body with libidinal energy. It is not a sense of WHO I am but THAT I am; as such, this is the earliest step in the process of the unfolding of individuality."⁵

As described here, the adequate development of this early sense of individuality is a precursor to Erikson's more specific, vocationally oriented concept of adolescent identity. Of course, it is most difficult, if not impossible, to know much about the relationship between our subjects--or any historical subjects--and their mothers during this early period. Yet, it is theoretically valuable to realize that Erikson's concept of identity is not an isolated one; that it represents a continuity in development that can be perceived at an early age, in an orthodox Freudian analysis. So too, Margaret Mahler's concept of early identity further withdraws this concept from any claim of cultural bias.

Utilizing Erikson's methodology to analyze three successful and productive life histories indicates the validity of another aspect of his methodology: its emphasis on ego strengths. Although Erikson accepts orthodox Freudian psychoanalytic concepts, he extends these so as to emphasize these ego strengths rather than ego defenses. In the preface to Young Man Luther he asserts, "This book will more or less explicitly take account of recent thinking about the ego's adaptive as well as its defensive functions. Sigmund Freud's monumental work is the rock on which such exploration and advancement must be based...we will concentrate on the powers of recovery inherent in the young ego." (p. 8).

This emphasis has proven invaluable for the research here. In the case histories of three successful reformers, one sees how individual psychological problems were resolved in a functional and con-

structive manner during the identity crisis. Addams, Brandeis, and Bryan were able to select desirable values from the previous experiences and mold a future incorporating these values with individual psychological needs. Thus, Erikson's human life cycle demonstrates both the positive aspects of the ego and the validity--and utility--of employing psychoanalytic theory to help understand the healthy, productive personality as well as the deviant, malfunctioning one.

In examining these reformers' discrete personality characteristics, one can hypothesize why each chose his or her particular avenue of reform. Bryan was the extrovert who loved oratory and the company of people, whereas Addams and Brandeis shunned such company. Thus, it is not surprising that Bryan chose a political approach which entailed campaigning, speech making, and constant social contact. These activities provided psychological reinforcement. This approach also fulfilled Bryan's psychological need to identify with his politically active father.

Brandeis was unusually intellectually oriented and had a great love of logic and precise thinking. From an early age, he equated this mental activity with the legal profession. This belief was reinforced by his identification with his Uncle Lewis who was himself a well known lawyer and scholar. Jane Addams actually created a new avenue of reform. Her conception of social work was an effective solution to the problems of the first generation of college women. It created a new productive career that at the same time was related to the traditionally accepted female careers of missionary work, medicine, and teaching. So too, psychologically it enabled her to attain the emotional support she had enjoyed in college by reestablishing in Hull House her collegiate dormitory experience and it fulfilled that driving moral ambition "inherited"

from her father.

The presence of individual psychological motivations as well as philosophical ones confirms Harold Lasswell's theorem about the political personality type. This theorem describes the political type as one who had private motives which are displaced onto a public object and rationalized in terms of the public interest. It is illustrated as such: $p \} d \} r=P$. Lasswell's theorem defines the political type as one whose principal value is the pursuit of power. "The essence of power is understood to be the capacity, and usually the will, to impose one's own values as permanent or transitory motives upon others." ⁶ Hence, our three reformers all fit within the confines of this definition, although pursuing different avenues of reform.

What differentiates political types, Lasswell explains, is not the existence of private motives, rather the particular displacement of these motives onto public objects. The theorem in itself does not assert that there is anything uniquely pathological about public persons.

Addams, Brandeis, and Bryan all had personal, psychological motivations that were displaced onto public objects. By this displacement, a twofold gain was achieved: the public interest was indeed served and these private motives were fulfilled. Thus, Lasswell's hypothesis is confirmed.

However, although this hypothesis is confirmed here, I am not convinced that it is universally applicable to all political types. It is possible that these private motives are particularly strong in the successful political type. Perhaps the difficulty in succeeding in the public arena--in being able to assert one's will upon another--

demands a greater personal commitment that is maintained by the added psychological motivation that some individuals have. It may be the case that the unsuccessful political type is the "uninspired" political type; his motivation is not as psychologically as well as a philosophically compelling one.

To test this, one would have to study the case histories of unsuccessful political types. This is not to say political types who are defeated, for although Bryan was electorally defeated many times, he was still a success in many senses. Indeed, his continual efforts in face of these defeats--his perseverance--indicates his remarkable motivation and ambition. Rather, the unsuccessful political type I would define as one who gives in quickly, who after an initial defeat removes himself from the public arena. Obviously discovering this individual and then interviewing or researching him presents methodological difficulties. It seems worthwhile, however, in further clarifying Lasswell's theory.

The second hypothesis seeks to determine the philosophical and psychological influence of the social environment in which these individuals developed. In examining the environments of Addams, Brandeis, and Bryan one interesting similarity was discovered. Prior to detailed research it was known that these three individuals all came from upper class backgrounds, as it was felt desirable to keep the socio-economic factor constant as well as the regional and historical one. However, only upon closer examination did it emerge that all three grew up in an environment in which an intimate family member--indeed, the person most influential in our reformers' young lives--was a politically active individual. William Jennings Bryan's father was an Illinois State

Senator, a circuit judge, and an unsuccessful candidate for the United States Congress. Jane Addams' father was also an Illinois State Senator; he served there for sixteen years. John Addams was present at the famous meeting in Ripon where the Republican Party was founded. Louis Brandeis' beloved uncle, Lewis Dembitz, was a politically active lawyer who was among the Republican delegates who nominated Abraham Lincoln to the presidency.

The evidence of this study suggest that this is an important factor. I propose that the political role model of a close relative gave Addams, Brandeis and Bryan a personal sense of political efficacy which was an important motivational factor in their decisions to become active reformers. E. Victor Wolfenstein's study of three revolutionaries-- Lenin, Trotsky and Gandhi--reveals no comparable factor. Nor does Kenneth Keniston's study of college radicals. In fact Keniston found that although there was a continuity between the values of the radicals and their parents, the radicals desired to "avoid the ineffectuality...the failure to act, or 'compromise' of these same parents."⁷ The reformers' belief in the political effectiveness of their own family is perceived as an important factor in their opting to work within the system rather than choosing to drastically change or destroy it.

Apart from this factor, the home environments of Addams, Brandeis, and Bryan were diverse. The Bryan and Addams households were both headed by strong, dominating men. The Brandeis household, however, was dominated by Frederika Dembitz Brandeis who was a more ambitious and forceful personality than her husband Alfred. Her brother Lewis was the center of a large, yet intimate family group that had emigrated from Vienna after the failure of the revolution there in 1848.

Other aspects of our subjects' home environments differed as well: core values varied. The Brandeis household was one in which culture was emphasized. Frederika encouraged reading, music and appreciation of the arts. As for the family's political and social values, the Dembitzes and Brandeises had emigrated from Europe because of a strong desire for political freedom, and they inculcated their children with the importance of this freedom. They were adamantly against slavery and had the courage of their convictions. Louis' earliest memory was of his family crossing the river so as to avoid harassment by Southern sympathizers.⁸

These two facets were notable in the Addams household as well. Culture and refinement were emphasized by Jane's patrician stepmother. She insisted upon the acquisition of a piano and encouraged culturally and intellectually relevant dinner conversation as well as aloud evening readings from the classics. Similar to the Brandeises, John Addams was a stout advocate of emancipation and Jane remembered her father secretly helping slaves to escape to Canada--and freedom.

These cultural and political values were not evident in the Bryan household. Silas Bryan did not have any similar devotion to personal freedom. While in the State Senate he would not vote for Lyman Trumbull to fill Lincoln's Senate seat in 1858 as he disapproved of Trumbull's anti-slavery position. Nor was there much emphasis on cultural activities other than Bible reading. In fact, Silas Bryan expressly forbid his son to take music lessons, which the latter ardently desired.

Therefore, while the attitudes and values of the Addams and Brandeis families were similar in many different ways, those of the Bryan family were markedly different. This difference is reflected

particularly in the families' respective attitudes toward political freedom; this attitude is felt to be a most important one. We suggest here that the family's attitude toward political freedom is highly correlated with the family's attitude toward personal freedom at home. In other words, the measure of independence given to one's own children indicates that measure perceived as rightful for society members in general: more politically liberal families will probably be more permissive ones as well.

Thus, one would expect that the more politically liberal Addams and Brandeis families, as evidenced in their attitude toward slavery, would provide environments more encouraging to independent intellectual and moral growth than the Bryan family, headed by a Southern sympathizer. This was in fact the case.

Although John Addams did not advocate total independence for his daughter, he was significantly more progressive in his advocacy of political and social rights of women--his daughters included--than most of his contemporaries. The Brandeis family's emphasis at home on the value and importance of independence has been a major theme here.

In contrast to these attitudes, Silas Bryan discouraged all forms of independent behavior on the part of his children. He frowned upon any independent intellectual thought or self formulated moral ideas. Silas made all the decisions for his children as long as he could. This distinction was important in the later psychological and philosophical development of these three individuals.

For, although Addams and Brandeis were able to adapt to changing times and to reformulate some of their ideas, Bryan was never able to diverge from the political, moral, and fundamentalist beliefs he adopted

in college. I believe it was this parental discouragement of independence that caused William's rigidity. On the psychological level, it is theorized that William had to forcefully repress negative feelings toward his dominating and controlling father. This repression demanded a constant and unwavering identification with his father and a strict advocacy to certain fundamentalist beliefs.

Thus, it was not uniformly found to be true as suggested in the third hypothesis that the environments of these individuals lent support to them to think independently. This negative finding, however, should not be interpreted as discounting the importance of independence as a facilitating factor in the development of the reformer. For it does seem to be the case that Addams and Brandeis were more successful reformers as they were personally able to realize more of their reformist objectives, whereas many of Bryan's were attained subsequently by others. Among these latter objectives were the direct election of senators, woman suffrage, and regulation of the railroads.

Bryan was personally unable to attain these objectives as he was unsuccessful in three tries for the presidency. Many observers maintain that Bryan was defeated in these three presidential bids because of his rigidity; he stubbornly refused to modify his platform in any way, shape or form so as to appeal to a larger electorate. This rigidity, I believe, was caused in part by the authoritarian environment he was raised in. Thus, although Addams and Brandeis were able to adjust certain policy orientations as the political and economic situation warranted, Bryan was not able to do so. This lack of adjustment is indicated not only by his presidential defeats, but also by his later appearance at the Scopes Trial. There, Bryan was cast in the role

of a reactionary due to his total inability to alter his fundamentalist beliefs.

In light of these facts, it is fair to conclude that an environment that encourages independence in moral and intellectual thought and behavior is one important to the development of the successful reformer: it facilitates later growth and adjustment.

It was the case, as our third hypothesis suggests that these three individuals matured in environments supportive of their intellectual and political growth. There was a strong continuity between the political and moral values of these three reformers and those of their families. These value similarities had been elaborated upon in the individual case studies. This entailed congruity not just in the broader area of party identification, but in the narrower area of specific political and economic policies.

This finding is consistent with Kenneth Keniston's findings in regard to contemporary college radicals. Keniston discovered that for these youths becoming a radical did not involve any fundamental changes in the individuals' core values. In his words, "[E]ach of those interviewed was brought up in a family whose core values are fully congruent with his present radical activities...the great majority of these radicals' parents applaud, approve or accept their activities." ⁹

Our research also supports the major finding of political sociology that the parents are the primary agents in influencing the political development of the child. This finding has been discussed in the first chapter, and will only be briefly reiterated here.

Most political socialization studies have concluded that indivi-

duals are likely to have those same political attitudes and values as their parents. Herbert Hyman, in reviewing the data from some one hundred political socialization studies reports that there exists a clear pattern of correspondence between parents and their children for a wide range of politically relevant attitudes and values.¹⁰ In this same vein, Richard Dawson and Kenneth Prewitt comment, "The family's socialization task is to pass on to its offspring knowledge and values concerning its particular political culture."¹¹ So too, they indicate that politically involved individuals tend to be the products of politically interested families. This has been evidenced in our case studies.

The primary role of the family in the political socialization process is not surprising as such a process is not separate from other childhood learning experiences. Roberta Sigel explains that, "Political socialization is a learning process which begins very early and is most influenced by the same agents or forces which influence all social behavior: first and foremost the family...."¹²

However, despite the congruity between our findings and those of political socialization, it should be clarified that there is an important distinction here. Most studies of political socialization operationally define political similarities between parents and children in the broader terms of party affiliation rather than in the narrower, more specific terms of explicit political and social values adhered to that we have identified here.

Hyman himself asserts that, "[I]ntra-family correlations in party preference...yields a median value of .9 in contrast with the usual value of .5 for attitudes...we have suggestive evidence that the socialization

of the individual into a party is a much more direct process than the socialization of the logically congruent area of ideology."¹³ (Emphasis in original.) Along these lines, in reference to the findings in political sociology, Lewis Froman asserts that, "the most useful knowledge...so far relates to party identification."¹⁴ In their research, M. Kent Jennings and Richard Niemi found that when they shifted from party identification to other sorts of political values the parent-child correlation decreased significantly.¹⁵ This result was also consistent with Kenneth Langton's findings in investigating Jamaican high school students: "[W]hile party identification...may be transmitted, the ability of the parents to directly pass on a wider range of political values and issue orientations to their children is less obvious."¹⁶

Peer groups, political sociologists asserts, are more influential in determining the adolescent's political ideology than the parents. For, although parental influence was primary to the young child, and most important in determining party affiliation, political sociologists believe this influence wanes during adolescence.

The discrepancy between our findings and those of political sociology, however, might be due more to historical distinctions rather than any theoretical or methodological ones. The economical and sociological differences between our three reformers and the contemporary subjects of political sociology could be a critical one. S. N. Eisenstadt asserts that peer groups, or "age homogeneous groups" as he refers to them, are "necessary supplements to the family for socialization in complex modern societies."¹⁷ Addams, Brandeis, and Bryan grew up in Midwestern communities that were only beginning to experience the effects of postbellum industrialization. One would not describe their

environments as "complex, modern," ones. Thus, it is likely that peer groups, who generally played a less significant role then, in turn played a smaller role in defining these adolescents' political and social values. In this vein, one would expect to find a more influential role played by the peers of contemporary reformers than those of our subjects. Research on the former group would be able to confirm or deny this hypothesis.

Our second hypothesis has suggested that the larger social context as well as the immediate family is important in influencing the psychological and philosophical growth of the American reformer. This larger social context is defined as peer groups, teachers, and community and cultural values. This definition has been adapted from Erikson, who refers to this factor as "the widening social radius." As concerns the psychological realm, this was not confirmed by the research here.

Of the three, Jane Addams was most influenced psychologically by her peer group. The experience of living among other women gave her the confidence and desire to initiate the Hull House experiment. Without this input, it is doubtful that Jane would have had the psychological strength--or motivation--to pursue her plans. However, aside from this factor it appears that the psychological development of these three reformers was much more affected by their relationships with their intimate families than their relationship with any peers or authority figures outside the home.

Earlier chapters have elaborated upon Addams' and Bryan's relationships with their dominating fathers and Brandeis' with his mother and his beloved Uncle Lewis. It is not sought here to ignore or discount

the role of the other parent. Rather, it is desired to emphasize the more important psychological--and philosophical--role of this parent. The greater quantity of source materials available about this parent and his or her relationship to the reformer further facilitates this emphasis. I hypothesize that this situation as to the source material is not coincidental: the reformer, perhaps unconsciously, is preoccupied with the relationship with this parent, and divulges more information about him or her. Thus, in his memoirs, Bryan concentrates on his father, Silas. So too, Jane Addams mentions her father--rather than her mother or stepmother--on the very first page of her autobiography, and continues this emphasis throughout. These family members more greatly influenced the psychological development of these reformers than anyone else they later encountered. This holds true for the philosophical realm as well.

Peer groups and teachers were influential in helping to determine and refine particular political opinions and social beliefs, although the central core of values had already been formulated earlier at home. It was discovered that community, or cultural values were consonant with these core values; hence the wider environment supported the former smaller social radius. This is evident in the case histories.

The Midwest community in which Jane Addams grew up emphasized egalitarianism and moral duty as her father had. So too did her classmates and favorite teachers at Rockford College. Bryan developed in a Midwest populist environment. The plight of the midwest farmer, and the currency and tariff issues were the constant topics of conversation in college, both in class and outside.

Louis grew up in a close knit community of German emigres who

shared the same values of political independence and social duty as did his parents. These values were reinforced by his Harvard experience. When Louis was exposed to contrasting values; first in a paternalistic school setting in Germany, and second, in his beloved adopted city of Boston, he rebelled vigorously. This leads one to believe that the values of the secondary group are more important either as (1) specifying or refining already adopted values, or (2) reinforcing those same values, rather than formulating, or drastically reformulating them.

Erik Erikson's framework, the human life cycle, emphasizes later development, particularly childhood and adolescence. This is reflected in the primary importance of Stage V, Identity vs. Role Confusion. This later emphasis has proven to be valuable here. Indeed, the application of this stage to our reformers' lives has significantly helped to comprehend the psychological development of these three individuals. It has held true here that these later years--going beyond the orthodox Freudian psychology of concentrating on infancy and early childhood--are important ones in the psychological development of the individual. Hence, our research confirms Erikson's theory in the human life cycle as to the importance of continual growth.

In addition, by studying the individual's later development Erikson widens the focus and emphasizes peers, the community, and society. This has been termed the "exterior" approach. Elsewhere Erikson refers to the "widening social radius." "Personality...can be said to develop according to steps predetermined in the human organism's readiness to be driven toward, to be aware of, and to interact with a widening radius of significant individuals and institutions."¹⁶ This wider radius has not been found to influence the individual's development as significantly

as hypothesized here.

Our research has demonstrated that although this later period of development is important, the primary group--the intimate family--is still of far greater importance in influencing the psychological and philosophical growth at this time. Therefore, orthodox Freudian analytical theory is confirmed in this regard.

Since the primary and secondary groups manifested similar core values, it is difficult to weigh their respective philosophical impact. It is perhaps the case that a self selection process occurs whereby individuals--here we speak of our subjects' parents--locate environments which are compatible with their values. More likely, though, individuals within a common milieu have common interests and common problems, and hence share common values. It is efficacious to recall at this point that in all three cases either a father or uncle was a politically active and respected member of the community. This indicates that in a very real sense this person's values were ones endorsed by the rest of the community.

In Childhood and Society, Erikson emphasizes that a culture's childbearing practices are geared to foster values appropriate to that environment. In an individual application of this principle, it makes sense that the value of the reformer's parents were in accord with the values of the larger social radius.

In reflecting upon these three individuals, it seems fair to say that Brandeis and Addams could be more accurately described as innovators. They themselves formulated original and creative policies to improve the existing political and social situation. Bryan was

the leading political spokesman for a reformist cause, however, he was not the initiator of the policies adopted by this cause. Interestingly, separating Addams and Brandeis from Bryan in this vein, in reviewing the young lives of the former two, certain psychosocial similarities are perceived. One important similarity consists of a definite sense of distance from the community in which they lived.

That Brandeis was an adopted rather than native member of his Boston community is evidence of this distance. Unlike other New England luminaries who were born and bred there, Brandeis grew up in the Mid West and Germany. So too he was a German Jew in a White Anglo-Saxon Protestant community. Thus, although an accepted member of this community, his relationship to it was different from that of his colleagues. This distinction created a certain distance--indeed, perhaps a critical distance in determining his later activities.

So too this distance can be observed in the life of Jane Addams. Addams was among the first generation of college women. These women now lived in a society which had educated them for new roles that did not yet exist, while simultaneously withdrawing any meaning or function from the old ones enjoyed by their pioneer mothers.

This distance enabled Addams and Brandeis to more objectively evaluate the surrounding community, to perceive more acutely its weaknesses and hypocrisies. Yet, despite this distance there was not a break from that society in which they lived. Addams and Brandeis both had a close rapport with their communities--they both

felt a bond with many of its prominent members and many of its values and beliefs. This rapport, I believe, is the element that maintained these individuals' positive ties with their environment; that resulted in their desire to alter and amend that environment rather than destroy it. Bryan too had this rapport with his environment.

... These two factors of a critical distance from the community, and a good rapport with it are believed to be important environmental conditions facilitating the development of the innovator. These factors, I hypothesize, precluded either a wholesale acceptance of the political and/or social system or a desire to totally destroy it. These shared environmental conditions, combined with other psychological and sociological characteristics, further determined the future reformist path of these individuals.

In reviewing the findings here, I would like to emphasize the three elements found common to Addams, Brandeis and Bryan. The only psychological similarity noted has been a strong sense of inferiority and insecurity in childhood. Individual psychological differences seemed more significant. Thus, as a result of the findings here, it is impossible to assert that there exists a "reformist personality" comparable to Wolfenstein's claims of a revolutionary one.

However, further research on other reformers is needed so as to determine whether this factor of an early sense of inferiority is a universal one for reformers. That Alexander and Juliette George uncovered this same trait in another turn-of-the-century American reformer--young Woodrow Wilson--suggests such broader implications. If so, this would indicate that although there does not seem to be a reformist personality, there does exist an early psychological predisposition correlated with the later development of the reformer.

One could then speculate as to why this correlation exists. One possible hypothesis I would formulate is that an early sense of inferiority is repressed and later projected onto the political system. Hence, the environment rather than the self is now perceived as inferior.

In addition, it was discovered that all three shared a strong sense of moral duty. This element is regarded as a necessary factor, logically and by definition, in the development of the reformer. For this reason, it is not viewed as a correlated individual psychological attribute.

A third, particularly interesting, finding was the uniform existence of an immediate family member who was politically active, resulting in what has been termed here an early, personal sense of political efficacy. It is felt that this factor might be a crucial element in the development of these three individuals as political and social reformers; that this factor encourages the individual to work within the system rather than outside. This political role model

leads one to believe that meaningful changes can be effected by legitimate political activities.

So too it was discerned that a critical distance from the environment, combined with a positive rapport with it was an important factor influencing the development of these individuals. This factor specifically relates to the environments of our two innovators--Addams and Brandeis.

These conditions suggest that elements of a sociological nature rather than a strictly psychological one were as important in influencing the political commitments and activities of these individuals. Perhaps it is more accurate to say that these sociological elements provided crucial environmental predispositions that helped determine our subjects' future paths. Research on other innovative reformers could indicate whether these environmental conditions are universally present in this group.

Both philosophical and psychological factors were involved in motivating Addams, Brandeis and Bryan to become reformers. This two-fold motivational source, reinforcing Lasswell's thesis as to the private motives involved in public interest activities, is believed to have given all three the extra measure of strength and ambition needed to enable them to rise up to great heights, and in so doing, helping all others to be lifted up a little.

The joint existence of these two motivational elements indicates the conjunction of politics and psychology, in theory and in fact. And, as in the understanding of three reformers--Jane Addams, Louis Dembitz Brandeis, and William Jennings Bryan--these two disciplines employed together here explain much more than either could separately.

FOOTNOTES

- ¹Marcet Haldeman-Julius, "Jane Addams," p. 5.
- ²William Jennings Bryan, Memoirs, p. 26.
- ³Erikson, Young Man Luther, p. 8.
- ⁴Margaret Mahler, "Thoughts about Development and Individuation," The Psychoanalytic Study of the Child, Vol. 18 (New York: International Universities Press, Inc., 1963), p. 321.
- ⁵Margaret Mahler, Fred Pine, and Anni Berman, The Psychological Birth of the Human Infant (New York: Basic Books, 1975), p. 8.
- ⁶Lasswell, Psychopathology and Politics, p. 50.
- ⁷Kenneth Keniston, Young Radicals, p. 221.
- ⁸This factor is reminiscent of one mentioned by Keniston in his work on young radicals. He discovered that in the early youth of these radicals, "history did not exist for them as a separate category....[they] were more attuned to the historical currents in their lives than are most children." Keniston, Young Radicals, p. 75. Obviously, this was so in the case of young Louis.
- ⁹Keniston, Young Radicals, p. 113.
- ¹⁰Herbert Hyman, Political Socialization, p. 72.
- ¹¹Richard Dawson and Kenneth Prewitt, Political Socialization, p. 124.
- ¹²Roberta Sigel, "Assumptions About the Learning of Political Values," in Political Socialization, ed. by Edward S. Greenberg (New York: Atherton Press, 1970), p.
- ¹³Hyman, Political Socialization, p. 56.
- ¹⁴Lewis A. Froman, Jr., "Learning Political Attitudes," Western Political Quarterly, 15 (1962), 306.
- ¹⁵M. Kent Jennings and Richard G. Niemi, "The Transformation of Political Values from Parent to Child," American Political Science Review, 62 (March 1968).

¹⁶ Kenneth D. Langton, Political Socialization (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969), p. 22.

¹⁷ Eisenstadt, S.N. From Generation to Generation, (New York: The Free Press, 1956), p. 54, cited in Dawson & Prewitt, Political Socialization, p. 128.

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