

[FindArticles](#) > [Journal of Social Issues](#) > [Spring, 1998](#) > [Article](#) > Print friendly

The perils of a public intellectual - George W. Hartmann - Experts in the Service of Social Reform: SPSSI, Psychology, and Society, 1936-1996

Benjamin Harris

Defenceless under the night
Our world in stupor lies; Yet dotted everywhere,
Ironic points of light Flash out
wherever the Just Exchange their messages:
May I, composed like them Of Eros and of dust,
Beleaguered by the same Negation and despair
Show an affirming flame.

- W. H. Auden, "September 1, 1939"

When the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues (SPSSI) met at Stanford University in September 1939, it was addressed by its chairman, George W. Hartmann. Only 35 years old, Hartmann was already a leading advocate of SPSSI's founding ethos: applying psychological expertise to social problems. In his chairman's address, Hartmann embraced this task and called for a more socially relevant psychology with which to work. Currently, he noted, "psychology has the most precise body of information concerning matters of little importance and the least to offer in fields that concern men most" (Hartmann, 1939c, p. 574). As an alternative, he called on SPSSI members to develop a "science of society by which both science and society can be 'saved'" (p. 567).

As the academic year was beginning in September 1939, there was no lack of social problems needing resolution. Internationally, the mid-1930s had seen fascist governments take power across Europe. On the same day that Hartmann spoke, the Second World War began as the German Army invaded Poland. Domestically, the U.S. economy was still recovering from the Depression. To the liberal membership of SPSSI, interrelated concerns included unemployment, industrial conflict, and the rise of domestic, neo-fascist organizations (Finison, 1976, 1979, 1986).

Although he is little remembered today, in the year of his SPSSI chairmanship George Hartmann had achieved a unique combination of public visibility and professional authority. Moreover, 1939 was the year in which his influence and fame were at their peak. Despite his youth, Hartmann had already served as program chair for the Eastern Psychological Association, was coeditor of SPSSI's first yearbook, was a leading member of the New York Teachers Union, and was editor of *Social Frontier* - the journal of the liberal wing of the progressive education movement ("School Union," 1939). He was the author of dozens of articles in prominent psychology and education journals, and had written *Gestalt Psychology*, a leading guide to that new school of thought (Hartmann, 1935/1974). Together with John L. Childs, Harold Rugg, R. L. Thorndike, and Goodwin Watson, he taught in the nation's largest teacher training program, Teachers College's Foundations of Education (Cremin, Shannon, & Townsend, 1954).

Soon, these professional successes of Hartmann's were replaced by failure. Within 5 years of his chairman's address to SPSSI, he had been fired from both Teachers College and Harvard University and was hospitalized for acute depression. Although he won back his Teachers College job after the war ended, the postwar years saw him become professionally isolated. In 1950 he moved to Roosevelt College in Chicago, further reducing his prestige and influence. In 1955 he committed suicide on the last day of the academic year ("Mayor Candidate," 1955).

Indicative of the reversal of Hartmann's fortunes as a public intellectual were his two interactions with Martin Dies' infamous House Un-American Activities Committee. The first featured Hartmann as a friendly witness, testifying about his resignation from the Teachers Union in an anti-Communist protest (Hartmann, 1939a).

Five years later he appeared in absentia, represented by his correspondence files as director of the anti-war group Peace Now.

In 1939, Hartmann was addressed as "Doctor" and treated with respect by Dies and his colleagues. In return, he suggested that the committee's anti-Communist campaign could be "an educational service of commendable magnitude" to the American public if it would only master the relevant "research scholarship" (U.S. Congress, House of Representatives, 1939; Hartmann, 1940a, p. 332).

In 1944, Hartmann thought his psychopolitical views would again receive a fair hearing from Dies and in "the national court of public opinion" (Hartmann, 1944b, p. 1). Instead, his expert opinions were denounced as academic rationalizations for Nazism in countless newspapers, national magazines, and radio programs. In the report of Dies' committee, Hartmann was portrayed as both misguided and ridiculous - a fatal combination for a public figure. According to Dies, Hartmann and his Peace Now Movement were un-American, seditious, and treasonous; his only redeeming feature was a lack of influence on the public (U.S. Congress, House of Representatives, 1944).

In the postwar United States, George Hartmann failed to regain his status as a widely respected psychological authority. At a time when psychology was booming, Hartmann found himself increasingly isolated from the forces creating opportunities for others. Although some of this isolation was caused by dispositional factors - factors which had earlier helped him gain fame - much of it related to the changing nature of psychological expertise. Accordingly, the rise and fall of George Hartmann's career offers both positive and negative illustrations of the forces transforming the field of psychology at midcentury.

In this article, I analyze George Hartmann's life and career as a public intellectual. Appropriate to someone who refused to separate science and value, Hartmann's work and life are portrayed as a unique blend of science, politics, and personal psychology. Because his public activism is forgotten today, I begin with an extensive review of his political and academic careers. Next, I describe his innovative scholarship in political and educational psychology, as well as the psychology of values. Finally, I use Hartmann's work to reflect on the issues identified in this issue's introduction: the creation of psychological technologies, the problem of objectivity, and the need of experts to make themselves useful to those with institutional power.

Family Background, Education, and Early Career

Born in Union City, New Jersey, in 1904, George Hartmann was the oldest child of second-generation German American parents. With his father working as a roofer and tinsmith and his mother staying home to raise their five children, George came from a poor working-class, nonintellectual background. Although his family expected him to quit school to earn money, George followed his teachers' encouragement and became a prize-winning high school student.

Baptized a Catholic, raised as a Lutheran, Hartmann once (1942a) described himself as a "having Quaker leanings" (p. 1), although he was known as a lifelong rationalist and skeptic. In middle age Hartmann's writing often referred to Martin Luther approvingly as an example of personal opposition to tyranny (Hartmann, 1945c, 1949c). Throughout his life he was known for his Luther-like defiance of the political mainstream, beginning in high school, when he earned the nickname "Boldie" (F. Hartmann, 1987).

After high school graduation, Hartmann attended Columbia University on a full scholarship, working during the summers as a stevedore and in other types of manual labor (E. Hartmann, personal communication, June 27, 1989; F. Hartmann, 1987; L. N. Hartmann, personal communications, June 21 and August 6, 1989). Indicative of his hard work and academic success, he received his A.B. from Columbia University at age 20, graduating Phi Beta Kappa.

At Columbia's Teachers College he received his master's degree in one year and was then sent by Robert

Woodworth to serve as an instructor under Gordon Allport at Dartmouth College for two years. He returned to Teachers College and finished his doctorate in a year, while also serving as an instructor. In the summer before this final doctoral year he married a fellow graduate student, Leah Norton, whom he had met when they were undergraduates.

Upon receiving his doctorate in 1928, Hartmann took a position at Pennsylvania State College, which he held until 1935. During this time, fellowships from the Social Science Research Council allowed Hartmann to study with the leading Gestalt psychologists in Berlin (1930-31) and Leipzig (1931-32). On his return to Pennsylvania, he was an activist in the state Socialist Party, becoming the founding editor of its monthly newspaper and a candidate for various offices (Pennsylvania Socialist, 1934; "Hartmann, George W.," 1951; L. N. Hartmann, personal communication, June 21, 1989).

In 1935 Hartmann left Penn State for a one-year fellowship at Columbia University's Teachers College. Once there, he won a tenure track appointment in educational psychology and was promoted to professor in 1940 (War Resisters League, 1951). From his base at Teachers College, he became a leading member of reform-minded organizations in education and psychology, including the New York Teachers Union, the John Dewey Society, and SPSSI. He also became active in the city and state Socialist Party and in national pacifist organizations based in New York.

Professorial Campaigning for Socialism

In the Socialist Party, Hartmann affiliated himself with the faction led by Norman Thomas, who became his friend. In contrast to the Socialist Old Guard, who passively waited for the eventual collapse of capitalism, Thomas promoted a version of the Social Gospel of Christian Socialism, stressing community betterment and civil liberties. Speaking "the language of the middle-class intellectual liberal," Thomas described the "ethical and humanitarian price [that capitalism] exacted," rather than simply condemning it as an outmoded means of production (Johnpoll, 1970, p. 86). Deciding "to appeal to workers as consumers, not producers," Thomas and his allies spoke of the freedom and brotherhood that laissez-faire capitalism denied to everyone, making the benefits of socialism sound concrete and worth struggling for (Johnpoll, p. 86).

As he had done in Pennsylvania, George Hartmann became one of the most articulate promoters of Thomas-style socialism in New York. In 1938 he and Thomas ran for lieutenant governor and governor, respectively. More prominent was Hartmann's candidacy for mayor of New York in 1941. Although he initially declined the nomination, local socialists pursued him and he eventually relented, accepting in a letter he wrote from a remote cabin where he was recovering from a difficult academic year (Hartmann, 1941e). Expressing the Socialist Party's high regard for Hartmann, Norman Thomas's nomination speech praised "my friend and comrade in a score of struggles" and thanked him "from the bottom of my heart for his loyalty to his convictions . . . and for his courage in accepting a very difficult task" (Socialist Party of New York, 1941a, p. 3).

In the summer and fall of 1941 Hartmann campaigned vigorously, reaching the public through sometimes daily press releases, through speeches at community venues, and in 15-minute talks over various New York radio stations. As a candidate, Hartmann's authority came from his scholarly affiliations, his skills as a speech writer and orator, and his claims that his campaign platform was validated by social science. Unlike most academics, he knew how to be concise and how to turn a phrase.⁽¹⁾ Unlike most local politicians, he had a coherent social vision and an aura of moral certainty.

Presenting himself as the candidate who would bring good government to New York, Hartmann proposed variations of traditional Socialist reforms such as expansion of public housing, better-mn utilities, and improved public health. "If we really want a better nourished population," he suggested at a Bronx campaign dinner, "milk ought to be a public utility" (Socialist Party of New York, 1941b, p. 3). Supporting such collectivist schemes was the Socialist notion that theirs was the only scientific brand of politics. Although this 19th-century Marxist claim could sound tired and doctrinaire, George Hartmann the university professor and psychological

expert conveyed it with convincing authority.

To promote the Socialist Party's anti-war views, for example, Hartmann peppered his speeches with statistics: polling results showing an overwhelming majority of the public opposed to U.S. involvement in a world war. Complementing this numerical evidence was Hartmann's assertion that the Party's overall approach had empirical support. "Cooperation," he told a late night radio audience in mid-August, "consistently yields superior results [to] competition . . . as attested by dozens of controlled experiments in schools and farms and factories" (Hartmann, 1941 c, p. 7). To sell this message most effectively, Hartmann affected a tone of scholarly detachment. Denying any desire for political gain, he portrayed his campaign as a form of "adult educational work which leaves one free to consider only what is true and what the public needs" (p. 1).

Making the Case for Pacifist Values

While developing his talents as a Socialist propagandist, Hartmann became associated with two more sometimes overlapping causes: pacifism and antiCommunism. Like most Socialists, he spent the interwar years opposing militarism at home and in foreign relations (Hartmann, 1940b). He promoted pacifism and anti-militarism through his teaching, his research, and his work in professional caucuses like SPSSI. He also became a significant figure in the War Resisters League (WRL) and Fellowship of Reconciliation, two pacifist groups with Christian Socialist roots (Robinson, 1981).

In 1939-40, the academic year when Hartmann served as SPSSI chairman, anti-war sentiment was widespread across the political spectrum. On the extreme right, isolationists, fascist sympathizers, and anti-Semites tried to keep the United States from joining the fight against the Axis powers. On the left, the Stalin-Hitler pact of August 1939 caused the Communist Party USA to switch suddenly from pro-war agitation to anti-war, anti-British polemics. In the center, the vast majority of adults did not wish their country to become involved in a foreign war.

Unwilling to participate with Communists in an anti-war united front, Hartmann founded the Jane Addams Peace School with the support of national pacifist organizations (Hartog, 1940b). Despite a respectable young faculty that included Otto Klineberg, Isadore Krechevsky (David Krech), and historian Merle Curti, the Jane Addams School could not compete with the Communist Party's Jefferson School of Social Science and soon closed (Hartog, 1940a). Hartmann was undeterred and ended the academic year testifying before a Senate subcommittee for a bill that would require a referendum before the United States could enter a foreign war (U.S. Congress, Senate, 1939; Hartmann, 1941f).(2)

With the German army advancing through western Europe in the spring and summer of 1940, sentiment toward U.S. involvement began to change, particularly in New York City. Alarmed by the increase in pro-interventionism he found in his Teachers College classes, Hartmann conducted research on the values of his graduate students. Developing gestalt criteria of moral validity, Hartmann believed he could show the superiority of the beliefs of those students who were opposed to all wars. When published the next spring in *The Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, Hartmann's analysis was coupled with a refutation of the concept of the morally just war, which had been articulated by psychologist Knight Dunlap. Impressed by Hartmann's mixture of scholarship and social commitment, the War Resisters League reprinted his article as a pamphlet.

For his sabbatical in 1942-43, Hartmann was offered a position as research supervisor for the Cambridge Sommerville Youth Study, an investigation of juvenile delinquency begun by the Ella Lyman Cabot Foundation (Hartmann, 1941d). Thanks to Gordon Allport, who sat on the Cabot Foundation's board, Hartmann eventually landed both the Youth Study job and a course to teach at Harvard. By the time that these plans for 1942-43 were finalized, the United States had entered the war, graduate enrollments at Teachers College had plummeted, and Hartmann began to arrange for his work in Cambridge to be extended for the war's duration (War Resisters League, 1951).(3)

Shortly after Hartmann interviewed for the Youth Study job, his anti-war advocacy at a Progressive Education Association meeting earned him coverage in *The New York Times* and his own subheadline: "Dr. Hartmann Is Hissed" ("Educators Split," 1941). Wishing to avoid their project's association with Hartmann's quixotic campaigning, the Cabot Foundation made him promise "to engage in no political activities while working with the [Youth] Study" (Allport, 1941, p. 1). He agreed to this for the duration of his initial, one-year contract and planned to renegotiate the arrangement in summer 1943. In the interim, he interpreted the term "political" to suit himself. Perhaps because he wanted a respite from his Socialist Party work, he telephoned the Party leadership and "made [it] clear to everybody that I am 'in hiding' from now until the Fall of 1943" (Hartmann, 1942c, p. 1). At the same time he served on the board of *The Conscientious Objector*, was a vice-chairman and keynote speaker for the War Resisters League, and wrote a major piece of WRL propaganda: the pamphlet *A Plea for an Immediate Peace by Negotiation* (Hartmann, 1942b, 1942d).

The Peace Now Movement

In the first half of 1943, pacifists struggled to make their voices heard above the clamor of war. One strategy for increasing their influence was to create a united front of anti-war forces. To traditional pacifists this was as heretical as the Popular Front had been to left-wing Marxists in the 1930s. In practical terms it meant that absolute pacifists like George Hartmann would unite with those who opposed only the current war. In 1943 the latter category included the revolutionary defeatists of the Socialist Workers Party, whose leadership had been indicted under the Smith Act and to whose defense Hartmann had contributed. Much more significant among these non-pacifists, however, were the remnants of the reactionary America First movement, plus miscellaneous Franklin Roosevelt haters, fascists, and Nazi sympathizers. It was these forces with which George Hartmann allowed himself to become associated in 1943-44. The resulting fiasco undermined his scientific authority, ruined his health, and crippled his career.

It began on the weekend of July 10-11, 1943, when Hartmann and a small group of anti-war activists met at the Whittier Hotel in Philadelphia to launch the Peace Now Movement (PNM). On that Friday the Cabot Foundation had freed him to speak publicly on political issues, and by Sunday Hartmann had become chairman and chief publicist of Peace Now (Allport, 1943; Peace Now Movement, 1943).

In many ways, Hartmann seemed the perfect choice to lead this group and convey its demand that the Allied governments negotiate a peace with Germany and Japan. As a propagandist, he was at his best exposing the hypocrisy of his opponents. During World War II, that was not difficult, given the political compromises required for the war's pursuit. As Hartmann pointed out, the Allies were not fighting for a set of principles (e.g., anti-fascism, national liberation) as much as for a single goal: to defeat their enemy. This provided pacifists and the PNM much to decry within the war effort, from the racial segregation of the U.S. military to the colonial ambitions of Britain and its European allies (Hartmann, 1942d).

As he had done as a Socialist candidate in New York, Hartmann articulated this message in concise, hard-hitting speeches, pamphlets, and press releases. In both his rhetoric and speaking style he conveyed the same moral imperative that had marked his work in the Socialist Party, SPSSI, and the progressive education movement. The result, according to the FBI and U.S. military intelligence, was that he "[emerged] as the dominant leader of the peace propagandists in the United States and has become their most effective spokesman. . . . On the platform he is artful and often dramatic. . . . He has a forceful, impressive personality and is affable and quick-witted" (U.S. Army, 1944, pp. 1-2). As pacifist Rosika Schwimmer-Lloyd (1944) exclaimed to a friend, "It is a thousand pities that the Campaign for World Government never had the funds to employ a man like this. His sincere enthusiasm, his physical appearance - have you ever met him? - I think over 6 feet, a picture of health, with a booming voice and a window shaking laughter; his oratorical ability!" (p. 1).

Unfortunately for Hartmann, his Peace Now campaigning suffered from three essential weaknesses. First, to the non-pacifist, non-socialist public, his professorial style would soon become a liability. Where before he had

used it to distance himself from the personalities and pettiness of urban politics, most people now viewed the U.S. war effort as neither petty nor personalized. As a result, his dispassionate, social scientist approach was easily caricatured as ivory-tower abstentionism in a time of moral peril. Before, Hartmann's wire-rimmed glasses, honest suit, and upright posture contrasted with the image of the shifty-eyed politician skulking around in flashy clothes. Now a hostile press could use Hartmann's professorial demeanor and credentials to make him look bookish, aloof, and obstinately impractical.

Second, Hartmann's call for a negotiated peace enraged militarists and pacifists alike. Militarists knew that the Allies were united only by the goal of defeating the Axis, rather than agreeing to a political program to be furthered by a limited engagement. As a result, they correctly saw Hartmann's slogan of "negotiated peace" as a threat to the entire war effort. Though Hartmann understood that intellectually, he was unprepared for the result: a united front of pro-war forces - from Communists to conservative Republicans - created for the single goal of destroying the Peace Now Movement.

To the pacifist movement, the Peace Now Movement's program seemed equally threatening. For those committed to a personal, moral protest against the nations waging the war, Hartmann's strategy violated a basic ethical tenet. By advocating a negotiated peace, he ceded authority and responsibility to exactly those governments that had begun the war for their selfish interests. As a result, noncooperating pacifists like David Dellinger looked at George Hartmann as a betrayer of their cause.

Hartmann's third flaw was his political naivete. Despite a lifelong involvement in political campaigning, he was a bad judge of character, unskilled in the psychology of small organizations, and unaware how much his own prejudices distorted his judgment. His anti-Communism was so extreme, for example, that it led Hartmann to proclaim that Nazi Germany "contains more hope for the future of at least European mankind than the degenerate Soviet system" (Hartmann, 1941-42, p. 25). Likewise, his anger at Franklin Roosevelt was so strong that he failed to realize that others' dislike of the New Deal was part of a coherent, reactionary political program. As a result he corresponded with, and took advice from, followers of Father Coughlin, Bundists, and former activists in the America First Movement ("Hartmann Is Grilled," 1947; Jeansonne, 1996).

Among the officers of Peace Now, Hartmann had one sensible ally: a young Quaker named Dorothy Hutchinson, whose pamphlet *A Call to Peace Now* provided the group with its organizing momentum and name. Unfortunately, her credentials were overshadowed by those of the other two officers, who gave the PNM its most visible ties to ultra-right and neo-Nazi movements. The group's secretary was Bessie Simon, a Theosophist who had held a staff position with the America First Committee and wanted Charles Lindbergh to run for President (FBI, Los Angeles Field Office, 1944; Hartmann, 1944j). Largely unsupervised by Hartmann, she ran the PNM's office in New York, and her off-the-cuff, reactionary statements became part of the organization's public face. As a correspondent of Hartmann's noted: "Miss Simon is very what the French call 'exalte' and most unwise. . . . She [says] 'I have intuitions, and I follow my intuitions because I know then I am following Jesus'" (Graves, 1944, p. 1).

The fourth officer of Peace Now was John Collett, a refugee whose background suggested a connection to the German espionage services. He arrived in the United States on a passport issued by the government of Nazi-occupied Norway; immediately he declared himself a conscientious objector and pacifist. Later, Collett revealed a history of psychiatric problems that he and Hartmann hoped he could sublimate into anti-war activism (Simon, 1943).

Troubled From the Beginning

For Hartmann and Peace Now, difficulties began as soon as they tried to function as an organization. In late summer 1943, they sought the funds necessary for a national publicity campaign. Significantly, their first request for money was rejected by the largest pacifist organization in the country, the Fellowship of Reconciliation. Next, they appealed to a national coalition of pacifist groups, the Peace Strategy Board, and

were again turned down. In both cases, the reason for rejection was the association between Peace Now's officers and the forces of anti-Roosevelt fanaticism, isolationism, and anti-Semitism (Zeitzer, 1978).

Deprived of institutional support, Simon and Collett pursued individual recruiting campaigns that further reduced Peace Now's moral authority. Operating out of the organization's New York office, Simon sent out literature, contacted politicians, and solicited support from her network of friends and former backers of America First - a connection soon exploited in press attacks on the PNM. Collett went on a tour of the East and Midwest, distributing literature, making lists of contacts, and meeting with local groups of pacifists who might align themselves with Peace Now (Collett, 1943). In Chicago, members of the Fellowship of Reconciliation established a PNM chapter and passed out 10,000 anti-war flyers in the Loop (U.S. Navy, 1943). Groups in other cities made similar plans to establish chapters.(4) Within a month, however, Collett was arrested as a Peeping Tom outside a sorority house bathroom in Cincinnati (Simon, 1943), forcing him to demote himself from national field secretary to field worker, then to quit the movement (Zeitzer, 1978).

As chairman of Peace Now, George Hartmann spent the fall of 1943 writing fund-raising letters and trying to answer critics of the PNM from within the socialist and pacifist communities (Hartmann, 1943c). In October of that year he confided to the War Resisters League's Evan Thomas that Peace Now "does attract a larger assortment of nuts than one would like, but I plan to stick by it so long as there is any reasonable chance of its surviving and doing some good" (Hartmann, 1943d, p. 1). With his organization criticized by media ranging from the leftist tabloid PM and the Christian Science Monitor to the New York Journal American (Garlin, 1943; Stringer, 1943) Hartmann pressed on. As he described to his fellow pacifist Anna Melissa Graves, he was driven by inner forces:

My pessimism is probably as deep as yours concerning the actual effectiveness of our work in changing the deadly course of international events. . . . Is it worth the effort we must expend [and] the punishment we must take? I am sure you have often asked that question. The only answer I can give is that some of us are so constituted that we can't do otherwise. (Hartmann, 1943b, p. 1)

In December 1943 Hartmann led Peace Now into the spotlight of national publicity. In midmonth he wrote members of Congress, asking them to prevent the U.S. invasion of Europe and end the war ("Negotiated Peace," 1943). Next, the PNM officers and a small group of supporters organized a grand event to publicize their cause.

On the evening of December 30, Peace Now filled an auditorium at Carnegie Hall with a rally of opponents of the war. The evening featured a variety of speakers who read poetry, sang an anti-war appeal written for the occasion, and represented groups from the Catholic Worker to the Mayflower Society (Peace Now Movement, 1944). For the 325 "largely middle-class" folk in attendance, it was Hartmann's keynote address that turned the evening into a memorable occasion (FBI, New York Field Office, 1944a). Life magazine described Hartmann as "a spellbinder [who] compares favorably with [the fascist demagogue] Joe McWilliams" ("Peace Now' Is New," 1944). The FBI's informants were even more generous, noting that

the audience was more or less indifferent up to the time of Hartmann's address . . . [which] was received . . . very enthusiastically and ended with the entire audience standing and cheering for several minutes. . . . He is a brilliant speaker and appeared to more than sell an already partially-sympathetic audience on his ideas.(5) (FBI, New York Field Office, 1944a, pp. 80, 111)

In his address, Hartmann analyzed the war from a socialist-pacifist viewpoint, with added themes of brotherhood and equality. In his view, German and Japanese war making was a natural reaction to trade barriers and lack of natural resources. "By artificially creating scarcity, we created war," he explained (U.S. Army, 1944, p. 7). Believing that the Roosevelt administration was needlessly continuing the war to compensate for a weak domestic economy, Hartmann sounded a Marxist chord:

Our capitalist world order did not know how to abolish unemployment except by giving the people guns and

sending them off to shoot each other. Prosperity returned as soon as the killing began, and as soon as the killing ceases, the depression cycle starts again. (U.S. Army, p. 6)

After a year of war, he explained, it was the Allies' demand of unconditional surrender that prolonged the conflict and made the Axis fight so fiercely. Attributing equal blame to all countries, he proposed that all enter into a world peace conference and urged his audience to action:

Because all the warring nations have been selfish and stupid in roughly equal measure, we must now spend one-half of our incomes murdering one another. But - we can wage peace as well as war. Its weapons are action, not fireside talks, toward the satisfying of human needs, and the ending of misery and privation wherever men are found. (U.S. Army, p. 7)

Peace Now Under Attack

Following Hartmann's performance at Carnegie Hall, governmental and pro-war groups recognized Peace Now as "the youngest of the pacifist groups [but] the most prominent and potentially the most dangerous" (U.S. Army, 1944, p. 1). In response, Hartmann and the PNM were subjected to 6 months of intense political, institutional, and personal pressure. Characteristically, Hartmann's response was to defend his positions, attack his critics, and expand the scope of his campaign. This increased his public exposure, invited further retaliation, and isolated him from his more moderate colleagues. Eventually, it led to his breakdown and the dissolution of the PNM.

Immediately following the Carnegie Hall rally, the Communist Party and its allies ratcheted up their anti-PNM campaign. First, the Daily Worker and New Masses urged the Justice Department to investigate the PNM and Harvard to fire Hartmann ("Hitler's Doves," 1944; "Smoking out Treason," 1944; "Socialist' OK's Defeat," 1944). In the labor movement, the Communist Party told the unions it controlled to pass anti-PNM resolutions, offering to write the text if the officers were too busy ("Insist 'Peace Now' Rally Be Banned," 1944). And across the country, local unions reprinted an attack on Hartmann by a journalist for the leftist Federated Press named Betty Goldstein (later Betty Friedan).(6) Under pressure from Communist Party- dominated groups, a February talk by Hartmann at a prominent New York church was cancelled (Holmes, 1944).

Within the non-Communist left, Hartmann's relations with the Socialist Party, Fellowship of Reconciliation, and War Resisters League became increasingly strained. In January 1944, the Socialist Party formally declared itself opposed to a negotiated peace, and the WRL drafted a statement condemning the PNM's ties to the ultra-right (Fleischman, 1944). The next month, the Newark and Boston locals of the Socialist Party charged Hartmann with breaking Party discipline, a complaint accepted by most members and a majority of the Socialist leadership (Meyer, 1944; National Action Committee, 1944). Although the Socialist Party and WRL did not publicly denounce him, even his friends became weary of the problems created by his poor judgment in administrative and political matters.(7)

Closer to the political mainstream, early 1944 saw Hartmann and the PNM attacked by newspapers, magazines, and radio commentators across the country. In mid-January, Life featured two pages of dramatic photos from the PNM's Carnegie Hall rally, selected to make the participants look like misguided cranks. Hartmann's image was given pride of place [ILLUSTRATION FOR FIGURE 1 OMITTED], and next to his head appeared a subheading, "U.S. Indicts Fascists" - referring to an adjacent article.

A few days after the Life spread appeared, the New York office of Peace Now was burglarized, apparently by the New York Post in collaboration with the local FBI office (Conroy, 1944c). Soon the Post launched a week of articles directly stating what Life's errant subhead implied: that the PNM was a front for German Bundists, Japanese spies, and the ultra-right ("Firsters Enlist Congressmen," 1944; "'Peace Now' Seeks Help," 1944; "'Peace Now' Tried to Enlist a Nazi," 1944; "'Peace Now' Wants to Be Political Party," 1944; "Washington Office Workers," 1944). Peace Now files were also given to Colliers, PM, the New York Worm Telegram, Walter

Winchell, and other syndicated columnists. In a coordinated campaign that was cleared in advance with the FBI (Conroy, 1944b; Ladd, 1944), anti-PNM diatribes appeared simultaneously in all these venues (e.g., Johnson, 1944a, 1944b, 1944c, 1944d; Lawrence, 1944; Marberry, 1944; Winchell, 1944).

What the Peace Now files showed were the names of Bundists, America Firsters, and Coughlinites on Peace Now mailing lists. More damning, Simon had regular contacts with such types, listening to their advice and accepting their support. Hartmann, in turn, was overly generous to suspected reactionaries - while he was blindly condemning of anyone sympathetic to the Communist Party. To him, reactionaries were unconnected individuals, harmless flora of the political verge.

In Hartmann's response to criticisms within the Socialist Party, he showed an ivory-tower indifference to dangerous forces on the political right. First, he was dismissive toward the political and psychological extremists that the PNM attracted: "some of our mail comes from simon-pure crackpots of the kind I first encountered in my Socialist campaigning . . . money cranks, anti-Masons, etc. . . . We can't help it if astrologers and numerologists give us some unsolicited advice" (Hartmann, 1944j, p. 2).

Hartman then tried to explain something that the media had used to label the PNM as seditious: his and Simon's correspondence with someone that Hartmann recognized as a possible Nazi sympathizer.

An old gent from NJ, apparently . . . of German origin, wrote Bessie a number of letters [with advice]. I wrote her [saying] that his attitudes, so far as I could tell from reading between the lines, were a bit like those of a person sympathetic to the Bundist or Coughlinite position. . . . He was a persistent pest, so I ultimately broke off the correspondence. . . . Of course, we were nice to the old duffer, but so far as I know, we never got a cent from him. (Hartmann, 1944j, p. 2)

Though Hartmann urged Simon to be careful about relations with this "old gent," their cordial correspondence allowed the press to portray the PNM as accommodating to neo-fascists. Consistent with that portrayal was the revelation that its Carnegie Hall rally was attended by known Nazi sympathizers, mixed in with political cranks, pacifists, and others. Thanks to Life's photographer, who gave the FBI his unpublished photos, individual members of the audience were identified along with their political backgrounds (FBI, New York Field Office, 1944b).

If these revelations weren't enough, Japanese shortwave radio broadcasts began to praise the work of Peace Now just as the Allies released news of the latest Japanese war atrocities ("Tokyo Radio," 1944). As noted in an article on Hartmann and the PNM in Newsweek, the mainstream press now rejected the assurances of Peace Now's officers that the "resemblance between the basic beliefs of the Peace Now Movement and those expressed by pro-Fascist propagandists is coincidental" ("Behind Peace Now," 1944; see [ILLUSTRATION FOR FIGURE 2 OMITTED]).

In addition to the press's disapproval, Hartmann and the PNM were attacked by various radio commentators and programs. Most prominently, millions heard Walter Winchell fume

This outfit yaps about loving peace. Its leader is George W. Hartmann. . . . [It] blames America for killing children in Europe and Asia. But they do not discuss the children murdered by the Sneakinees and the Nazis. Peace lovers my eye! They never talked about peace when Hitler was winning. Instead of a dove [their] symbol [ought] to be a jackass - or a skunk. (Hartmann v. Winchell, p. 760)

Simultaneously with these media attacks, the House Un-American Activities Committee announced its investigation of the PNM for subversion and subpoenaed its files.

Hartmann Forges Ahead

Overwhelmed by the volume and "downright viciousness" of this criticism, Hartmann's attempts to reply left

him "a tired comrade, physically and spiritually" (Hartmann, 1944h, p. 1). He persisted, however, motivated by feelings of moral correctness and innocence of political error. Expansively, he told fellow pacifists that no one but he could lead Peace Now and contrasted his excellent health with that of the rest of the PNM's (female) staff. He also expressed his sense of responsibility and an inability to put aside his work:

I dislike spending my energies on futile controversies that unduly worry a sensitive wife and a susceptible adolescent daughter who has to bear the brunt of school chums' criticisms. Long ago, I recognized that if one values a peaceful academic career, i.e., a quiet one, one should avoid the PNM like a plague. But then there is that strange sense of duty . . . and the inability to forget the cries of wounded humanity all over the globe (Hartmann, 1944e, p. 1).

I think it would be unmanly to say the least to drop my [PNM] colleagues now when they are tiding through a sea of trouble (Hartmann, 1944i, p. 2).

By the end of February, Hartmann's feeling that he was uniquely responsible for creating political change seems to have increased. In private correspondence and in a verbal slip at a pacifist conference, Hartmann revealed his plans to organize a socialist-pacifist American Peace Party and run 100 pacifists for public office (Hartmann, 1944j; Lovejoy, 1944a, 1944b; Special Agent in Charge, San Antonio Office, FBI, 1944). He also began to prepare lawsuits against his detractors, eventually seeking damages from the likes of Walter Winchell, the Boston Herald, Life and its Midwest distributor. His goals were "not only to vindicate my professional good name, but also to defend the right of pacifists to accurate reporting of their views [and] deeds in the press, even in wartime" (Hartmann, 1944d). In a typical, expansive miscalculation, he also thought that the courts could award him enough money to fund a national political movement.

In February 1944 an eviction order forced Peace Now to move its national office (Graham, 1944); soon it settled in a room in Hartmann's basement in Cambridge. Meanwhile in New York, Simon maintained her ties to the isolationist and nativist right wing, corresponding on star-bordered, red, white, and blue office stationery of her own design. Still, Hartmann refused to repudiate or censure Simon, rationalizing that motivational psychologists prefer praise to blame. Impatient with friends who urged caution, he complained, "It is next to impossible for me to go on explaining indefinitely - I have more than ordinary energy, but there are frankly limits to both my time [and] my patience in dealing with criticisms, no matter how well meant or from whom they come" (Hartmann, 1944c).

By late April, Hartmann was feeling isolated and burdened by his self-imposed responsibilities. Writing to Anna Melissa Graves, he confessed

Just as the aloofness of most Socialists and pacifists toward the Peace Now Movement was painful to behold, so their present willingness to let me bear alone the financial burden of [my] litigation against powerful corporations is a source of profound regret to me. Utter cynicism is hard to avoid under such circumstances. . . . all the world's in a desperate state and I see no way to alleviate the tragedy. (Hartmann, 1944d, p. 2)

Two weeks later Hartmann learned that Teachers College and Harvard were both severing their relationships with him (War Resisters League, 1951).(8) Facing the loss of an academic base for his social activism, Hartmann became severely depressed and was hospitalized for a month (Murphy, 1945; Stagner, 1945). Upon his release, he and the Peace Now officers acknowledged that he could no longer combine an academic career and work for the PNM. Because of the harassment that the PNM had suffered, being its chairman resulted in too many "demands on his time, on his intellectual and emotional powers and on his physical resources" ("The Situation," 1944, p. 1). Others would have cracked earlier, an internal Peace Now report concluded, and eventually it was too much for even the vigorous George Hartmann: "Even Sampson had long hair and Achilles a heel" (p. 1). Without Hartmann's ability to "transform [the contributions of others] by the alchemy of [his] inner fire" (p. 1), Peace Now dissolved.

Postwar Career

Following his breakdown, Hartmann and his family moved back to State College, Pennsylvania, and he spent the fall of 1944 recovering his mental health. The reduced work schedule that his psychiatrists urged was difficult for Hartmann, who was proud of his physical vigor and used the terms "manly" and "lustiness of temperament" as his highest compliments (Cobb, 1944; Cunningham, 1944; Hartmann & Payne, 1953). In September he told Gordon Allport, "I am disturbed to find myself such a lazybones - a mere idle hanger on around the household, a mere consumer without any power of productive service for the time being" (Hartmann, 1944f, p. 1). By November he felt restored psychologically, and his friends enjoyed his new style, which was "mellower" and "somewhat more subdued" than before his breakdown. Hartmann himself enjoyed experiencing an "inner feeling of greater tolerance and modesty" (Hartmann, 1944g, p. 2).

Within a month, Hartmann's feeling of emotional balance had been replaced by impatience and anger over his failure to win back his job at Teachers College. This developed into grandiose plans for retaliation against his antagonists (Allport, 1945c). As Allport (1945b) described to a colleague, Hartmann "has gone into a euphoric phase . . . and is making a general nuisance of himself. He is trying to force Teachers College to take him back or make amends and he is suing Life magazine and engaging in various other manic activities. I hope he calms down pretty soon" (p. 1).(9)

For the next two semesters he took classes at Columbia Law School, worked on his lawsuits, and sought the support of SPSSI and the American Association of University Professors (AAUP) for his attempt to win reinstatement (Hartmann, 1945b). He also found part-time work at the Newark College of Engineering and taught summer school at Alabama Polytechnic University ("Memorandum on Organization," 1945; B. Powers, personal communication, June 2, 1989). In November 1945, Teachers College suddenly gave in to pressure from the AAUP and reappointed Hartmann to his old job. Following that success, he spent years pursuing other lawsuits, some of which made it into legal reference books, and eventually won a year's back pay from Teachers College.

In fall 1950 Hartmann was forced to leave Teachers College for Roosevelt College in Chicago, a politically progressive but lower status institution. There he became department chairman and established an applied psychology center to consult with businesses and counsel students ("George Hartmann," 1950). He also resumed his leadership of the War Resisters League and integrated his pacifist concerns into his teaching. Bringing the world's problems into his classroom, however, reminded him of their enormity, made social science seem futile, and brought on a "mood of despair" (Hartmann, 1955, p. 61). In 1954 his older daughter was stricken by a debilitating illness while a medical resident, at the same time that Hartmann was despondent over his career and the world. Suffering a recurrence of his earlier depression, he committed suicide at his home in Flossmoor, Illinois ("Former Dartmouth Professor," 1955).

Hartmann's Innovative, Expansionist Psychology

In contrast with Hartmann's marginalization in the 1950s, his early work was influential and well respected by his peers. What made it so was, in part, Hartmann's energetic and forceful self-presentation. In the midst of the Depression, he personified social scientific rationality, planfulness, and the energy needed for national rejuvenation. With both laissez-faire capitalists and Third-Period Communists seeming to operate by political reflex, Hartmann offered a more cerebral alternative. As a researcher and educator, Hartmann could speak with professorial concern and empirical authority.(10) Furthermore, he was no faceless, pencil-pushing policy drone. With his scientific paternalism leavened by youth and athleticism, he seemed poised to lead the citizenry out of their socioeconomic funk.

Equally important to Hartmann's success, his research presented an expansionist program for psychology. Looking at his publications from the 1930s and 1940s, one sees the conviction that little in the intellectual or social world cannot be illuminated by the application of psychological expertise. Compared with that of his

colleagues in SPSSI and at Teachers College, Hartmann's work was also remarkable for combining three types of concerns: social psychological, moral, and philosophical. Analyzed separately they show Hartmann's consistent intellectual style regardless of topic. Together they show his holistic, integrated approach to psychological phenomena - including himself.

Social Psychology

Today, it is Hartmann's writing on social psychological topics that is most likely to be cited in texts. Within the overall category of "social," the topics he addressed are myriad, from the psychology of clothing to the myth of the Black Hole of Calcutta - which Hartmann exposed as a rumor-based, imperialist atrocity story. He also made a pioneering attempt at what would today he called sports psychology, earning \$1,000 in 1928 as a consultant to the Penn State football coach (Brown, 1952; G. Hartmann, 1929, 1948, 1949a; Riley, 1977).

As befitted an activist-scholar, Hartmann most often used social psychology to analyze problems relevant to his own dual careers in education and electoral politics. Out of this analysis came a series of pioneering studies in educational and political psychology, the results of which were consistent with Hartmann's optimistic plans for social change.

In his studies of teaching and students, Hartmann found support for the tenets of progressive education. He improved a Carnegie study in the early 1930s that complained of undergraduate cultural ignorance and replicated its findings on his campus. Critical of the original study, he suggested that its results were likely due to the conservatism of those constructing the survey's questions. Their overly narrow definition of "cultural," he argued, excluded areas of interest to students in the midst of the Depression (Hartmann & Barrick, 1934). Showing his own liberalism and cultural knowledge, Hartmann supported his argument with a quotation from Anatole France: "In order that knowledge be properly digested, it must have been swallowed with a good appetite" (p. 263).

Later, Hartmann published surveys of a line of research popularized by SPSSI members: teaching students the benefits of democratic decision making. Drawing on his knowledge as both a scholar and activist, Hartmann reviewed works ranging from the publications of Kurt Lewin's students to Saul Alinsky's guides for radical community organizing (Hartmann, 1946, 1949b).

The Social Psychology of Political Behavior

In applied political psychology, Hartmann was imaginative in his measurement of, and attempts to change, political attitudes. One of his contributions was a scale of liberalism and conservatism, which he developed and validated on a variety of samples, including students, teachers, and psychologists. Typical of progressive educators, Hartmann was optimistic about teachers' greater liberalism than the norm, hoping that educators would become the era's secular priests, leading their flocks toward a more liberal social order. To provide the supporting evidence for this strategy of peaceful social change, Hartmann diligently measured the attitudes of teachers and attempted to correlate them with demographics such as salary and grade level taught (Hartmann, 1938a, 1938c, 1938d, 1939b, 1941a).

Hartmann's studies of political party preferences among voters in the 1930s were his major contribution in applied political psychology. The first was an early study of political stereotyping with relevance to Hartmann's future career as a Socialist Party candidate. In the summer of 1934, Hartmann toured rural Pennsylvania [ILLUSTRATION FOR FIGURE 3 OMITTED] and found that a strong majority agreed with collectivist political reforms such as the public ownership of utilities. However, when the same citizens were asked to rate the names of various political parties, they gave low ratings to the Socialist Party and other parties that supported the reforms that they had endorsed (Hartmann, 1936a).

Since Hartmann had planned to run for office on the Socialist Party ticket, these results were of more than

academic interest. (He also asked the citizens how they felt about a college professor running for public office.) He was encouraged by the populace's apparent desire for fundamental social change, but disappointed by their rejection of his party - which he believed to be the only effective vehicle for such change. To an optimist such as Hartmann, however, this dissonance could be used to create support for the Socialist Party. Thus, the appeal, "You are a Socialist at heart. Why not start to be a Socialist in deed?" would later appear in Hartmann's campaign speeches (Hartmann, 1941h, p. 7).

Empirical campaigning in Allentown. A year later Hartmann performed a follow-up study, often cited as the first self-conscious experiment in political psychology. In the study, he tried to measure the effects of rational versus emotional political leaflets on voters.

Although the dichotomy "rational versus emotional" may sound naive, the study's political purpose was far from unsophisticated. Hartmann was the Socialist Party's candidate for Supreme Court judge in Pennsylvania and wanted to try two new campaign pitches. One, which he termed "rational" (Figure 4), attempted to break down the stereotype that citizens seemed to have for the Socialists, using as leverage the party platform planks that Hartmann had earlier found to be endorsed by the average citizen. The flyer took the form of a combined IQ test and political questionnaire, asking people to agree or disagree with various reasonable-sounding reforms and viewpoints. At the bottom it said

If the number of agreements is larger than the number of disagreements, you are at heart a Socialist - whether you know it or not!

Now that you have tested yourself and found out how much of a Socialist you really are, why don't you try voting for the things you actually want? . . . Do you get the point? (Hartmann, 1936b, p. 104; italics in original)

The other leaflet, termed "emotional" (Figure 5), was a simulated letter written by adolescent children to their mothers and fathers about local social problems: low wages, lack of jobs, poor housing, and the threat of war. It referred to the concrete, human costs of such problems, such as Cousin Bob who didn't come back from World War I. It spoke of the Socialists as the party of hope for the future and concluded with the sentimental appeal,

Our generation cannot enjoy the beauty and justice of the New America if you block our highest desires. There was a time when you too were young like us. We beg you in the name of those early memories and spring-time hopes to support the Socialist ticket in the coming elections!

Your Sons and Daughters (Hartmann, 1936b, p. 102; italics in original)

To study these leaflets' effects, Hartmann split the wards of Allentown, Pennsylvania, into a control group, an "emotional" group, and "rational" group. In the latter two sections of the city, he and his supporters went door to door, distributing the appropriate leaflets (5,000 copies of each). On election day, voting patterns seemed to show the comparative effect he desired: The wards receiving the "emotional" leaflets voted the most heavily Socialist. Unfortunately, the experimental variable was confounded with wealth and previous voting record: "Rational" wards had dramatically higher property values and had previously been the least sympathetic to the Socialist Party.

To Hartmann the candidate, this lack of a clear effect for "emotional" versus "rational" was less important than the fact that the emotional leaflet was effective; it increased the Socialist vote by a factor of five over that of the control wards (Hartmann, 1936b). Clearly, this was a refutation of the strategy of the Socialist Party's Old Guard. Unlike Norman Thomas, the Old Guard placed the party's absolutist platform before the masses in its most abstract form. Then, rather than campaign on local issues, they waited for those workers who attained class consciousness to flock to the Socialist Party. Hartmann, by contrast, wanted to propose more concrete reforms to the public, and ones that would appeal to the middle classes. He was also eager to show that vigorous, rationally designed election campaigns could help revitalize the Party - even if his experiment cost

approximately \$3 per vote obtained.

A failed leaflet study. Following this first leaflet study, Hartmann attempted a second, which failed, but is nonetheless noteworthy for showing his characteristic stance as a risk-taking scholar-activist, his identification with Norman Thomas's brand of socialism, and also his poor sense of timing and tactics. Moving his research to Altoona, Pennsylvania, Hartmann again distributed two Socialist Party leaflets, tallied vote totals in the corresponding wards, and compared them with Socialist votes in the control wards (Hartmann, 1938b).

In this study, Hartmann changed the experimental variable to what he described as the leaflets' immediate versus long-term political demands. The difference in the leaflets, however, seems to have been between the pie-in-the-sky social reorganization that the Old Guard Socialists were passively waiting for and an urgent call for militant action (e.g., overturning reactionary Supreme Court decisions). Accordingly, the variable actually tested seems more like militancy versus complacency and passivity, rather than simply immediate versus long term. Most likely, Hartmann preferred the more youthful, militant, Norman Thomas-style leaflet.

Hartmann's second leaflet experiment failed because Franklin Roosevelt's massive victory swamped the Socialists' electoral effort. In Altoona, the Socialist Party vote in 1936 dropped to one eighth of what it had been in the previous Presidential election. Because the citywide Socialist vote was so small, no comparative difference between the leaflets could be measured. In fact, both sets of leaflets, 10,000 in all, produced no more than 10 additional votes compared with what could be extrapolated from the control (no leaflet) wards.

Another result of the dismal Socialist vote was that any plea by Hartmann for reform within the Socialist Party was preempted by his justification of the Party's very existence. Rather than discuss the internal splits that had decimated the Party and caused even its members to vote for Roosevelt, Hartmann (1938b) railed at the public, which he characterized as "a vast army of Esaus [who at every election] sell their birthright for a mess of potage" (p. 99). Excusing the Party's failures, he portrayed the public as complacent, rather than anxious but trusting Roosevelt to avert catastrophe. Rationalizing that the even the best propaganda needed to fall on receptive ears, Hartmann claimed that "Communist or fascist agents could flood America with pretty girls, gifted orators and enthusiastic demonstrations in 1938, but the effect would certainly be negligible" (p. 97).

The Psychology of Morality and Value

In such field research on political attitudes and voting, Hartmann analyzed politics as a social psychological phenomenon. How people voted and what opinions they held, he showed, could be analyzed like any other consumer behavior and preferences. By 1939, however, Hartmann had decided that psychology could also address the morality and values that underlay political life. Rejecting the dichotomy between fact and value, Hartmann applied Gestalt psychology and frustration-aggression theory to questions that psychologists had previously ceded to philosophers and political scientists.

Political programs, Hartmann explained, are basically statements of their authors' values. As such they could be tested and evaluated scientifically, once psychologists move beyond narrow empiricism and admit value as a psychological variable. The result, he promised, would be a hierarchy of political beliefs and systems, or put most simply, an explanation of "what constitutes worthy behavior" (Hartmann, 1939c, p. 569). Such a program of scientifically judged political morality was ambitious, to say the least. When he first proposed it in his SPSSI chairman's address, Hartmann admitted that any value hierarchy produced would necessarily be relative to the current political situation. Nonetheless, he was willing to go ahead and test political reforms using Gestalt notions of life space and a form of frustration-aggression theory.

The result was that radical changes of society appeared superior to feeble reforms because they promised to promote economic democracy and reduce the frustrating effects of competitive, laissez-faire economics. To Hartmann, most New Deal programs failed this test of values, as did fascism and communism. All such systems, he asserted, misdiagnosed the disease and attacked the wrong symptoms, resulting in a reduction

rather than an increase in freedom. Thus he believed that the United States under the Roosevelt administration was moving toward a fascist state, so that "the [U.S. Office of War Information] is just the equivalent of [Josef] Goebbels, though Elmer Davis [of the OWI] may be a nicer man" (U.S. Army, 1944, p. 10).

Although Hartmann sometimes expressed ambivalence about such simplistic value comparisons, the militarization of the United States increased the urgency with which he pursued a psychology of political values. No one on the world scene, in his eyes, was operating on anything but the basest system of ethics. His response was a pair of surveys by which he claimed to prove scientifically the superiority of pacifist morality.

Pacifist versus militarist morality. Hartmann's method in both studies was to elicit essays from his graduate students in which they explained their attitudes toward war. He separated these essays into militarist and pacifist, and compared the values of each - as one would, he said, analyze the "efficiency" of psychiatric patients or criminals compared with normal subjects. This pacifist versus militarist comparison was based on criteria that Hartmann had developed, such as the permanence of a political belief, its congruency with the individual's other beliefs, and its contribution to the survival of the race. On each of these criteria the pacifists' beliefs were judged superior. Militarism was judged to be less permanent, for example, since the U.S. Civil War was now judged by Southerners to have been a mistake (Hartmann, 1941g, 1941i).

In retrospect, these studies are striking in the subjectivity with which Hartmann established an "empirically verifiable objective hierarchy of values" (Hartmann, 1941i, p. 151). One of Hartmann's criteria, for example, was "irrevocability" - an inherently anti-war quality because it opposed any behavior that could not be reversed (e.g., killing). His criterion of "cognitive completeness" was also applied subjectively, as Hartmann claimed that pacifists made their decisions based on a more complete set of facts. This could only be judged later, and in the case of World War II, the Nazi death camps are a good example of a discovery that strengthened the militarist position.

Despite this subjectivity, Hartmann's 1941 value studies showed his creative use of psychological metaphor to back a political argument. To explain how pacifist beliefs develop, Hartmann adapted the Gestaltist idea that learning proceeds by insight, made famous by Wolfgang Kohler's study of chimpanzees trying to reach a banana. Given the right environmental conditions, Hartmann explained, ordinary people can leap to the pacifist's "broader and deeper insight" concerning the frustrations caused by power politics and war (Hartmann, 1941g, pp. 209-210).

This political application of experimental psychology was creative because it would also help George Hartmann answer a classic question faced by political minorities: "How can you ever become a majority, since the public shows no incremental signs of accepting your program?" The Gestalt answer was that the preconditions for a political "aha" had not yet arrived. If, Hartmann explained, the right background forces come together, the majority can quickly gain the political insight (socialism, pacifism) that is now held only by the minority. Later, he used this metaphor to explain the reelection of Socialist politicians in a few U.S. cities. Voting for a Socialist even once, he proposed, was the collective, civic equivalent of an "aha" experience. Once that occurred, the learner was unlikely to lose the insight, so Bridgeport, Connecticut - for example - was unlikely to go back to a Republican or Democratic administration (Hartmann, 1952).

The values of socialists and communists. After World War II, Hartmann's uses of psychology to support his political values lost most of their creativity and charm. In Cold War America, however, his strident, psychologized anti-Communism still found receptive audiences. In 1952 and 1953, two of his treatises on the psychology of socialism were published - one as the psychological portion of the now-classic *Socialism and American Life*, and the other as a pamphlet titled *Socialism versus Communism*.

In the former, more moderate account, Hartmann presented various arguments showing the distinctive characteristics of social democrats. For example, he noted that cities rated highly by R. L. Thorndike for their quality of life were also cities where the population had elected Socialist officials (Milwaukee, Bridgeport,

Reading). Rather than attribute this better civic life to political reform that concentrated on the mundane ("sewer socialism"), Hartmann suggested that it might be due to the mental and moral superiority of those cities' socialist residents (Hartmann, 1952).

In *Socialism versus Communism*, his belief in the superiority of socialists became absolute. The problem with promoting socialism, he noted, was that men are rarely "as bright or as good as the Socialist society requires"; few develop the necessary "inner sense of rightness" (Hartmann & Payne, 1953, pp. 14, 20). Here, Hartmann's previous field theoretical emphasis on the environment was replaced by an almost exclusive attention to inner qualities.

Hartmann claimed, for example, that a "completely ethical social order... can only be produced by fully ethical personalities." In a section titled "The Socialist Mind," that organ is said to be distinguished by its "superior intelligence," greater "sensitivity to social evils," and "superior ethical motivation." Socialists themselves tend to be wealthier, better educated, and in better health. Correspondingly, someone who has lived "too long upon a low standard of living" will unfortunately lack the "vitality and power" to spread socialism (Hartmann & Payne, 1953, pp. 9, 20-21).

Finally, in contrast to the socialist, the communist personality was said by Hartmann to be "properly a part of abnormal personality." The "formal insanity" of emotional detachment from behavior, hyperactivity, and delusions are "invariably present" in Communist Party functionaries (Hartmann & Payne, 1953, p. 39). Though such armchair diagnoses might be statistically possible in the United States, however reductionist and unflattering, even the most ardent anti-Communist would not be able to extend them to Western countries where the Communist Party was truly a mass organization. So in those countries Hartmann analyzed Communists as obeying the Party as they had an authoritarian church. It was no accident, he concluded, that Italy and France both had huge Communist Parties and were largely Roman Catholic.

A Philosophical Psychologist

In addition to his work in social psychology and social ethics, Hartmann was a pioneer at bringing the philosophy of science to bear on psychology. This he did to support his stance as activist-scholar. Echoing his Gestaltist teachers in Germany, he criticized American psychology for its narrow empiricism, based on outmoded, 19th-century philosophy. In its place he advocated a more relativist epistemology and a nonidealist view of the relation between science and society.

To the philosophically sophisticated, Hartmann explained, science consists of more than the accumulation of facts. Psychologists, for example, clearly had facts enough. What was needed was to "to consolidate and give significance to those [facts] that we already have," rather than accumulate more (Hartmann, 1934, p. 601). This would come as scientists integrated them with social forces, human needs, and values (Hartmann, 1935). The result would be a more accurate "psychology of psychologist," and an appreciation of how it shapes the "content, procedures, and conclusions" of the field (Hartmann, 1939c, p. 567).

Hartmann stated his philosophical program most directly in his 1939 SPSSI chairman's speech. In that address he agreed with the science and society movement that "the great tragedy - and the great discovery - of our age" was the socioeconomic determination of individual scientists' attitudes and behavior (1939c, p. 567). Most social scientists were still ignorant of this fact, Hartmann complained, and were being dragged toward enlightenment by biologists and physicists.

This concern about the social relations of science was not new to Hartmann in 1939, but had long been part of his persona as a leader in the radical, "social reconstruction" wing of the progressive education movement. In 1934, for example, he pointed out the similarity between the anarchy of *laissez-faire* capitalism and the anarchy of research supervision in graduate schools of psychology. This anarchy, he noted, might be preferable to a fascist dictatorship (both in politics and graduate education), but was wasteful. Most efficient, he believed,

would be the orchestration of research so that individual experiments contributed to a grand synthesis.

Holding up the German Gestalt school as a model, Hartmann noted how poorly U.S. psychological work was coordinated in comparison. In a surprisingly militaristic metaphor, he complained: "[S]o far our educational activities have been hit-or-miss shotgun forays into the territory of the unknown; henceforth, we must have mass invasions moving toward the deliberately arranged conquest of key positions" (Hartmann, 1934, p. 603).

SPSSI's yearbook on industrial conflict. True to this emphasis on research coordination, Hartmann served as coeditor of SPSSI's first major, collective project: a "yearbook" on industrial conflict. In it, two dozen authors offered case studies and theoretical analyses of this single topic of contemporary interest. In presenting this volume to both lay and professional audiences, Hartmann was expressing his belief that fact and value should guide scholarly work. His goal, he later explained, was to "lift [a] bitter mass struggle to a higher plane," by applying scientific expertise (Hartmann, 1944k, p. 2).

Stating his own preference for old-fashioned liberalism, Hartmann steered a center course between conflicting approaches to labor-management relations. On the right, corporate lawyers tried to pressure SPSSI into dropping chapters that described the human costs of ruthless industrial practices (Finison, 1979). On the left, class struggle Marxists argued that the needs of management and labor were inherently antagonistic. Hartmann's alternative was first, to acknowledge the anguish and frustrations in most workplaces: then to argue for businesses to be run by enlightened administrators, who would consult their employees and manage their companies like modern, progressive schools. If this were done, he promised, seemingly incompatible needs could be satisfied, reducing frustration and creating an "industrial Utopia" (Hartmann, 1940/1977, p. 544).

In this optimistic prediction, one can see Hartmann's expansionist program for psychology wedded to his own expansive mood and self-evaluation. With his typical candor - charming to some, reckless to others - Hartmann made no effort to hide the elitism inherent in his and SPSSI's social vision between the World Wars. Thus, at the end of his chairman's address Hartmann told his colleagues that they "should cease apologizing to others or to their own egos for their desire to establish a World State" and to abolish war, poverty, ignorance, and ugliness. They also shouldn't shy away from helping the country modify its often incorrect, albeit democratically determined values. Because experts were so valuable, he suggested, perhaps "the deep convictions of 10 per cent ought to prevail against the feeble views of the opposing 90 per cent" (Hartmann, 1939c, p. 573).

Hartmann and Problems of Psychological Expertise

As a case study in the deployment of psychological expertise, Hartmann's career of embodies both success and failure. In the 1930s, Hartmann was a model of the progressivist educator and public intellectual. He helped steer psychology in a more politically conscious direction and expand its brief to include all manner of social phenomena. In the postwar era, however, he largely failed at maintaining himself as a psychosocial expert.

Innovative Psychological Technology

Hartmann's successes in the 1930s illustrate two essential qualities of the psychological expert. First is the mastery of an innovative technology. In his eclectic research, Hartmann showed how the methods of psychology could be applied to myriad questions under dispute in civic life. Not only did he address problems from the classroom and football field to the ballot box, he did so with self-consciously rigorous methods. Billing itself as empirical science, the social psychology of Hartmann and his colleagues promised superior guidance to that offered by common sense and tradition. To liberals during the Depression, these traditional methods of problem solving needed replacing because they thwarted reforms in the schools, government, and business world. By promising the mastery of attitudes, opinions, and political values, Hartmann offered technological solutions to problems facing New Deal social reformers.

After the Second World War, Hartmann's promise was no longer credible, contributing to his professional decline. In the late 1940s and 1950s, for example, there was less call for scales of liberalism and conservatism of the sort that Hartmann had helped develop in the 1930s. He was still interested in using them to find the precursors of liberalism, but that project made little sense in Cold War America. Institutions trying to cobble together an anti-Communist consensus were not interested in differentiating the political values of the public. Rather, they appropriated new political dimensions - such as patriotism and Americanism - that were useful in creating a consensus and isolating the Left.

Within social psychology, the 1950s saw the attitude measurement of the 1930s replaced by research on attitude change. Leading these investigations were psychologists who had worked for the military or the government, learning how to mold attitudes in pursuit of the war effort. Not only did Hartmann exclude himself from that network of applied social psychologists during the war, he spent his time failing at a grand project in attitude change: the Peace Now Movement. Although he actually had a small, loyal following that helped him reach hundreds of thousands with his appeals, the media were successful at portraying Hartmann as bumbling and ineffectual. Furthermore, he didn't so much change attitudes as help a few thousand pacifists maintain theirs during wartime. Although that made him a valuable asset for pacifist organizations in the 1950s, he offered moral certainty rather than skill with psychological technology. Thus, his ability as a social science expert became questionable.

The Problem of Objectivity

The second attribute of the expert that Hartmann embodied in his early career was objectivity. In the 1930s, Hartmann not only made "objective scientist" part of his persona but also tried to educate his colleagues about the proper meaning of "objective." In doing so he hoped to expropriate the term from conservative critics of social issue research.

Objectivity, Hartmann argued, is not created by purging the experimenter's values from his or her research program. Not only is that impossible to accomplish, but attempting it yields a decontextualized science, useful only to advocates of the status quo. In Hartmann's view, psychologists should be partisans of social, cultural, and ethical progress. As long as they were honest in their motives and rigorous in their methods, researchers could be both objective and politically engaged. Thus, he urged the SPSSI membership to reject the idea that "we forfeit our academic respectability by confessing to a vital passion for making our institutions and our total environment more logical, more ethical, and more esthetic" (Hartmann, 1940c, p. 215). An objective view of science, he added, would also be self-reflective, acknowledging its socially imbedded nature. As he saw it, a true science was one that "must penetrate into every segment of the psycho-social structure in which it is embedded" (p. 215).

In making objectivity a theme in his writing, Hartmann was participating in a debate taking place among progressive psychologists before World War II. Of SPSSI's members, approximately 45% disagreed with Hartmann and considered objectivity and partisanship to be opposites. Within that group, a few wanted SPSSI to renounce all activist research. Most, however, endorsed a more liberal proposal:

Whenever freedom of research is endangered, or whenever public policies are being framed on the basis of known psychological error, it is the duty of the Society to take a militant stand officially; but on other occasions scientific detachment should prevail in all official undertakings (Hartmann & Newcomb, 1940/1977, p. vii).

Counterposed to this view was Hartmann's belief that "values are as much a part of the real world as facts" and so scientific detachment was not possible (Hartmann & Newcomb, 1940/1977, p. vi). Agreeing with Hartmann, almost 40% of SPSSI members considered it "more realistic and in a sense more objective to adopt a frankly militant progressive position on current controversial social issues, provided that only work of high quality is accepted as evidence for the progressive position adopted" (p. vii).

In the 1930s such questions were important for public intellectuals because of the opposition they faced when they spoke as experts on social issues. As coeditor of SPSSI's first yearbook, Hartmann became chief critic of narrow definitions of objectivity used to libel SPSSI and its work. When McGraw-Hill charged "lack of objectivity" and cancelled its contract to publish SPSSI's volume on industrial conflict, Hartmann asked them sarcastically, "[A]re we to infer that a work is objective only if [Bethlehem Steel and Ford Motor Company] raise no objection?" (Hartmann, 1940c, p. 215). Asserting his alternate view of objectivity, he explained that "honest scientific methods of inquiry often [produce] findings which may seem 'one sided,' at variance with popular or common assumptions, or unwelcome to powerful interests" (p. 215). "If a report is a thoroughly honest one," he explained, "I am prepared to adopt this as one of the soundest criteria of objectivity" (1939c, pp. 574-575).

Honesty as the best policy? Key to Hartmann's view of objectivity was his requirement that scientists honestly state their values. This he did reflexively, filling his scholarly work with moral self-revelation and taking pride in the integration of his scientific and ethical selves. As he explained to a comrade in the Socialist Party, "my chief values in community life have centered around socialism, pacifism, and psychology, [which] have ordinarily been harmonious with each other, the only conflict being one of time to devote to each" (Hartmann, 1944h, p. 1).

Unfortunately for Hartmann, few people agreed that honesty guaranteed objectivity. When he was defending SPSSI's work against a conservative publisher, his excessive faith in truthfulness was not a problem. At that point he seemed to combine sincerity with objectivity and moral correctness. Later, however, he appeared to lose the latter two qualities as his political and personal values sharply diverged from his colleagues'. When his work with Peace Now brought his judgment into question, his response was to become even more outspoken - becoming known "for a certain impulsiveness in what he says and does that distinguish[es] him for candor rather than discretion" (Allport, 1945 a, p. 1). What Hartmann failed to understand was that no amount of frank self-revelation could restore his reputation as a rational, objective expert.

Increasingly, the values that Hartmann endorsed seemed to be based on prejudice or ignorance - qualities opposite to expertise and objectivity. His antiCommunism, for example, was so unconditional and immoderate that it led to foolish decisions and statements. In the classroom, his rants against the Communist Party were so "vituperative... that the students at Columbia were driven towards the Party instead of away from it," as one pacifist friend noted (Graves, 1944, p. 7). Rather than accepting his share of the responsibility for Peace Now's difficulties, Hartmann made the Communist Party into his "own special scape-goat," blaming it for all his problems. Such an anti-Communist "phobia," his friend explained, kept him from being able to "judge calmly . . . without animus, without becoming exalte" (pp. 6-7).

Despite his comrades' warnings, Hartmann's anti-Communism drove him into associations with reactionaries and anti-Semites (Jeansonne, 1996).(11) These he saw as political underdogs, victimized by Communists trying to stir up class hatred. While defending extremists on the right, Hartmann lacked empathy for the poor, Jews suffering oppression, and those workers who didn't fit his socialist ideals. In contrasting his views with those of the Communist Left, he asserted (1943a) that "the poor and weak cannot be absolved from some responsibility for permitting themselves to be hood winked and dominated by the cleverer and more powerful" (p. 1). In the "good life [and] good society" that positive eugenics would eventually produce, Hartmann saw no place for those who failed to measure up (Hartmann, n.d., p. 2).(12)

In the 1950s, Hartmann's anti-Communist mania robbed him of whatever political objectivity he had left. He viewed Joseph McCarthy, for example, as "obviously diligent and persistent" but a "Johnny-come-lately" to the job of exposing the "Commies and fellow-travellers" that had been running Washington for 20 years (Hartmann, 1954, p. 16). According to Hartmann, McCarthy's liberal antagonists were motivated by repressed guilt for their years of subservience to international Communism. Echoing the charges of the extreme right wing, Hartmann accused the Roosevelt "regime" of having done "more to advance the world-wide cause of the

Stalinist dictatorship than a million dedicated Communists working day and night for a generation could have achieved" (p. 16). Finally, Hartmann did not endear himself to the postwar leadership in the social sciences by characterizing them as "totalitarian liberals" whose World War II service "all but erased the practical and ethical gap between them and whole-hog Stalinists" (p. 16).

The Disposition of the Psychological Expert

Concluding on an explicitly psychopolitical note, it seems as if Hartmann also lacked the dispositional qualities of the successful psychological expert. His moral certainty and energetic demeanor equipped him well to launch campaigns for minority political causes. He was ill prepared, however, to be a collaborator, patient listener, or consultant. As a public speaker, he inspired audiences with his enthusiasm and conviction. In personal interactions, however, his impatience and zeal could turn him into "a damn fool who talks too much . . . [is] clumsy socially . . . a bull in a china shop" (FBI, Boston Field Office, 1944, p. 4).(13) He was also inflexible and easily offended when confronted by conflict and opposition. Eventually, he despaired of his career's trajectory and his inability to influence the public as either expert or political gadfly.

Ever the public intellectual, in 1941 Hartmann alluded to his own psychological limitations in his analysis of the psychology of creating social change. Using drive-reduction theory and Gestalt psychology, he first argued for the superiority of socialism and rationalized the Socialist Party's lack of followers.(14) Normally, he explained, radical social reforms are psychologically preferred because they rearrange the social field more effectively to reduce economic frustrations. Being a reformer in conservative times, however, adds to one's personal frustrations rather than decreases them. Thus, pacifism and socialism may not be attractive in the short run (Hartmann, 1941b).

Showing insight into the personal costs of his quixotic campaigning, Hartmann made a thinly veiled request for public sympathy. Rarely, he noted, is there consideration given to the frustrating effects of backing a losing candidate in an election, or of being such a candidate. The former condition is bearable, since a nontotalitarian society doesn't punish followers of the losing side. However, being a candidate results in more "focalized and intense" frustration, the exact nature of which depends on one's "temperament." With tragic prescience, Hartmann raised the issue of the "mental hygiene" problems of a chronically unsuccessful advocate of social change. Although most political figures are usually extroverts with community support who aren't harmed by failure, he noted, some may be constitutionally unable to withstand such "high level frustration" (1941 b, p. 363). Eventually, Hartmann lost that ability and succumbed to the fate that he forecast.

Bibliographic Note

Archival collections consulted for this essay include the Gordon W. Allport Papers at the Harvard University Archives; the Anna Mae Davis Papers at the State Historical Society of Wisconsin; the Socialist Party of America Papers at Duke University; the Peace Now Movement Records and Schwimmer-Lloyd Collection (Rosika Schwimmer Papers) at the Manuscripts Division, New York Public Library; the papers and records of Dorothy Hutchinson, Anna Melissa Graves, the War Resisters League, and the Peace Now Movement at Swarthmore College; and the SPSSI Papers at the Archives of the History of American Psychology, University of Akron. Important material was also found in the records of the Cambridge Sommerville Youth Survey, William James Hall, Harvard University; files on Hartmann maintained by the FBI, Army, and Navy Intelligence Services (expurgated copies obtained by the author under the Freedom of Information-Privacy Act); and the collections of Hartmann's family. Gratitude is expressed to the above-named archives, to SPSSI for access to its papers, to the Hartmann family, to Robert C. Davis for help with his mother's papers, to Eugene Taylor for facilitating access to the Youth Survey records, to Don Dewsbury for finding and interpreting miscellaneous Hartmann correspondence, and to Sam Parkovnick for guidance with the Allport Papers

Fig. 4. The "rational" leaflet distributed by George Hartmann in Allentown, Pennsylvania, fall 1935

You've heard of intelligence tests, haven't you! Well, we have a little examination right here which we are sure you will enjoy taking, even if you didn't care much for school when you were a youngster. The beauty of this test is that you can score it yourself without any teacher to tell you whether you passed or failed.

This is how it works. First read each one of the seven statements printed below. If you approve the idea as it stands, underline the word AGREE; if you disapprove of the idea, underline the word DISAGREE. Simple, isn't it! All right, then. Get your pencil ready. All set? Go!

1. We would have much cheaper electric light and power if this industry were owned and operated by the various governmental units for the benefit of all the people. AGREE - DISAGREE.
2. No gifted boy or girl should be denied the advantages of higher education just because his parents lack the money to send him to college. AGREE - DISAGREE.
3. The Federal Government should provide to all classes of people opportunity for complete insurance at cost against accident, sickness, premature death and old age. AGREE - DISAGREE.
4. All banks' and insurance companies should be run on a non-profit basis like the schools. AGREE - DISAGREE.
5. Higher income taxes on persons with incomes of more than \$10,000 a year should be levied immediately. AGREE - DISAGREE.
6. The only way most people will ever be able to live in modern sanitary homes is for the government to build them on a non-profit basis. AGREE - DISAGREE.
7. Many more industries and parts of industries should be owned and managed co-operatively by the producers (all the workers) themselves. AGREE - DISAGREE.

Have you answered them all? Fine. Now go back and count the number of sentences with which you AGREED. Then count the number with which you DISAGREED. If the number of agreements is larger than the number of disagreements, you are at heart a Socialist - whether you know it or not!

Now that you have tested yourself and found out how much of a Socialist you really are, why don't you try voting for the things you actually want? The Republicans and Democrats don't propose to give these things to you, because a mere look at their records will show that they are opposed to them. Do you get the point!

HELP BUILD THE AGE OF PLENTY!

VOTE: SOCIALIST X

Fig. 5. The "emotional" leaflet distributed by George Hartmann in Allentown, Pennsylvania, fall 1935.

Allentown, Pennsylvania November 1, 1935

Dear Mother and Father:

We youngsters are not in the habit of giving much thought to serious things. You have often told us so and we admit it.

But while we like to play football and have a good time dancing and cause you a lot of amusement as well as worry with our "puppy loves," we sometimes think long and hard. You ought to know what many of us young folks are quietly saying to ourselves.

Our future as American citizens in 1940 looks dark. We want jobs - and good jobs, too - so that we can help in the useful work of the world. But we know that many of our brightest high-school and college graduates find it absolutely impossible to get any kind of employment. We also know that this condition is not temporary, but that it will last as long as we stick to harmful ways of running business, industry and, government.

We want to continue our education, but we haven't the heart to ask you to make that sacrifice. With Dad working only part-time on little pay and Mother trying to make last year's coat and dress look in season, we feel we ought to pitch in and help keep the family's neck above water. But we can't. The world as it is now run has no use for us.

Many of our teachers know what is wrong, although we can see that most of them are afraid to say what they really think. Luckily, the text-books and school magazines keep us in touch with new ideas, and we have learned how to read between the lines of the ordinary newspaper. Please don't be frightened if we tell you what we have decided!

We young people are becoming Socialists. We have to be. We can't be honest with ourselves and be anything else. The Socialist Party is the only party which is against all wars - and we have learned from our history courses what awful wars have taken place under both Republicans and Democrats. We refuse to be slaughtered (like Uncles Bob and Charles were in 1918) just to make profits for ammunition manufacturers.

The Socialist Party seeks to create a world in which there will be no poverty. In our science classes we learn how power machinery and other modern inventions make it possible for all of us to have enough of all the goods and services we need. Yet look at our town with its unpainted shacks, suffering parents, half-starved children! We might have everything, but we continue to live on next to nothing.

It is all so unnecessary. You have had to lead a poor workingman's life, because you and most of the workers and farmers of this country have regularly voted for either the Republican or Democratic parties, between which there is no real difference. These old machines are not for us.

The youth of 1935 want to Build a Better America, in which there will be no poverty, no fear of unemployment, no threat of war. We ask you to follow the lead of the Socialist Party this year because that is the most direct way for you to help hasten the day when Peace and Plenty and lasting Prosperity will be the lot of all men. Good parents such as you desire these things for us. But we can never have them as long as you are controlled by your old voting habits.

We are profoundly earnest about this. Our generation cannot enjoy the beauty and justice of the New America if you block our highest desires. There was a time when you too were young like us. We beg you in the name of those early memories and spring-time hopes to support the Socialist ticket in the coming elections!

Your Sons and Daughters

VOTE: SOCIALIST X

1 As the editor of *School and Society* noted, Hartmann's speeches were full of epigrams that colleagues found inspirational (Bagley, 1939).

2 He also pretended that the Jane Addams Peace School was still a viable organization (FBI, New York Field Office, 1944a).

3 At the time of his sabbatical, Hartmann appears to have been trying to find a position elsewhere (Gates, 1942). Because Goodwin Watson was a senior colleague doing similar work and because of conflict with other faculty in the Foundations program, Hartmann was the target of department cutbacks before the start of World War II (Murphy, 1945).

4 The most promising groups were those established in Detroit and Los Angeles (see Conroy, 1944a).

5 The stenographic record of Hartmann's speech - the lecture hall was bugged by the FBI - shows him to have been interrupted at least 41 times by applause or sympathetic laughter.

6 On Goldstein's work as a labor journalist, see Horowitz (1996).

7 One group that maintained friendly relations with Hartmann was the Boston chapter of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, whose anti-war advertising campaign he organized.

8 The dean at Teachers College announced that Hartmann's appointment would not be renewed. Harvard declined to renew Hartmann's half-time position and told him to cease identifying himself with the university (Murphy, 1945).

9 Unfortunately for him, advisors from Norman Thomas to Senator Burton Wheeler encouraged Hartmann's litigious mania, motivated by their own resentment of the media (Hartmann, 1945a; Simon, 1944).

10 For an example of attitude polling as a source of political propaganda, see the Peace Now Movement's Newsletter, issue no. 8, November 24, 1943, p. 1.

11 Although Hartmann protested that he was free of anti-Semitic bias (1944a), his actions led many observers to conclude otherwise (Katz, 1945; U.S. Army, 1944). Also, FBI files show the national office of Peace Now was unconcerned about an open anti-Semite becoming a leader of its Los Angeles chapter (FBI, Los Angeles Field Office, 1944).

12 Although Hartmann doesn't refer to eugenics in his published writing, it is an implicit feature of the positive socialist future (Hartmann & Payne, 1953). It also appears in his private reflection, circa 1944, on the future of liberalism. In a sketch he made of a table with "UTOPIA" written across its top, Hartmann marked the four table legs "Socialism," "Pacifism," "Democracy," and "Science (Eugenics)" (Hartmann, n.d., p. 2). For insight into the compatibility of socialism, elitism, and eugenics, see Freedland (1997) and Wooldridge (1996).

13 Although the name of this informant has been masked in the released version of this FBI report, internal evidence points to Hartmann's mentor Gordon Allport.

14 This article was based on Hartmann's contribution to a symposium on "The Effects of Frustration" held at the Eastern Psychological Association meeting following the publication of the classic Frustration and Aggression. As evidence of Hartmann's stature in the field, his fellow participants were a uniquely talented group of young scholars, all of whom went on to international fame: Neal Miller, Robert Sears, Saul Rosenzweig, Gregory Bateson, David M. Levy, and Abraham Maslow.

References

Allport, G. A. (1941, December 17). Letter to George W. Hartmann. Box 5, Folder: "Hartmann, George W." Gordon Allport Papers, Harvard University Archives, Cambridge, MA.

Allport, G. A. (1943, July 9). Letter to George W. Hartmann. Box 5, Folder: "Hartmann, George W." Gordon Allport Papers, Harvard University Archives, Cambridge, MA.

Allport, G. A. (1945a, June 27). Letter to Alfred A. Albert. Box 1, Folder: "Hartmann, George W." Gordon Allport Papers, Harvard University Archives, Cambridge, MA.

Allport, G. A. (1945b, February 9). Letter to Arthur Jenness. Box 5, Folder: "Jenness, Arthur." Gordon Allport Papers, Harvard University Archives, Cambridge, MA.

Allport, G. A. (1945c, January 29). Letter to William Russell. Folder: "Hartmann, George W." Gordon Allport Papers, Harvard University Archives, Cambridge, MA.

Bagley, W. C. (1939, November 30). Letter to George W. Hartmann. Hartmann family collection.

Behind Peace Now. (1944, February 7). Newsweek, 80.

Brown, R. (1952, May 10). The great "Black Hole" hoax. Sydney Herald Saturday Magazine, p. 7.

Cobb, S. (1944, October 4). Letter to George W. Hartmann. Box 5, Folder: "Correspondence." Dorothy Hutchinson Papers, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, PA.

Collett, J. (1943). Report - Minneapolis, September 7 and 8, 1943. Box 5, Folder: "Field Reports." Peace Now Movement Records, New York Public Library, New York, NY.

Conroy, E. E. (1944a, January 17). Re: The Peace Now Movement, George W. Hartmann et al.; Seditious. Letter to Director, FBI (Bureau file 100-202534-84, FBI Headquarters, Washington, DC).

Conroy, E. E. (1944b, January 19). Re: The Peace Now Movement, George W. Hartmann et al.; Seditious. Letter to Director, FBI (Bureau file 100-202534-57, FBI Headquarters, Washington, DC).

Conroy, E. E. (1944c, January 28). Letter to Director, FBI (Bureau file 100-202534-86, FBI Headquarters, Washington, DC).

Cremin, L. A., Shannon, D. A., & Townsend, M. E. (1954). A History of Teachers College, Columbia University. New York: Columbia University Press.

Cunningham, B. (1944, February 8). Peace Now'er asked for it: However sincere, group gives enemy aid, comfort. Boston Herald, p. 12.

Educators split on going to war. (1941, 6 December). New York Times.

Federal Bureau of Investigation, Boston Field Office (1944, March 17). Peace Now Movement; George W. Hartmann, et al. Report (Bureau File no. 100-202534-139, FBI Headquarters, Washington, DC).

Federal Bureau of Investigation, Los Angeles Field Office (1944, November 28). Peace Now Movement; George W. Hartmann, et al. Report (Bureau File no. 100-202534-218, FBI Headquarters, Washington, DC).

Federal Bureau of Investigation, New York Field Office (1944a, January 10). Peace Now Movement; George W. Hartmann; Frederick J. Libby; Dorothy Hutchinson; John A. Collett; Bessie Simon; Marjorie Ewbank. Report (Bureau File no. 100-202534-51, FBI Headquarters, Washington, DC).

Federal Bureau of Investigation, New York Field Office (1944b, March 22). Peace Now Movement; George W. Hartmann, et al. Report (Bureau File no. 100-202534-140, FBI Headquarters, Washington, DC).

Finison, L. J. (1976). Unemployment, politics, and the history of organized psychology. *American Psychologist*, 31, 747-755.

Finison, L. J. (1979). An aspect of the early history of the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues: Psychologists and labor. *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences*, 15, 29-37.

Finison, L. J. (1986). The psychological insurgency, 1936-1945. *Journal of Social Issues*, 42, 21-34.

Firsters enlist congressmen in nationwide peace drive (1944, January 24). New York Post.

Fleischman, H. (1944, January 28). Letter to George W. Hartmann. Reel 48, microfilm edition. Socialist Party of America Papers, Duke University, Durham, NC.

Former Dartmouth professor dead. (1955, June 13). [Lawrence, MA] Eagle.

Freedland, J. (1997, September 7). The dirty little secret of the old British Left. Manchester Guardian Weekly, p. 23.

Garlin, S. (1943, September 26). Norman Thomas 'Socialists' open new peace-with-Hitler campaign. Worker, p. 1.

Gates, A. I. (1942, December 17). Letter to Gordon Allport. Box 5, Folder: "Hartmann, George W." Gordon Allport Papers, Harvard University Archives, Cambridge, MA.

George Hartmann new psych head. (1950, October 2). Roosevelt Torch.

Graham, J. F. (1944, February 15). Peace Now under ground - a basement. New York Post.

Graves, A. M. (1944, February 19). Letter to George W. Hartmann. Reel 74.1, microfilm edition. Anna Melissa Graves Papers, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, PA.

Hartmann, F. (1987, May 4). Letter to Leah Norton Hartmann. Hartmann family collection.

Hartmann, G. W. (n.d.). "Is American Liberalism Dead?" [handwritten outline]. Hartmann family collection.

Hartmann, G. W. (1929). What constitutes a good football team? Research Quarterly, 85-94.

Hartmann, G. W. (1934). Laissez faire versus planning in educational research. School and Society, 39, 600-603.

Hartmann, G. W. (1935). National welfare, business profits and individual benefit. Science, 81, 341.

Hartmann, G. W. (1936a). The contradiction between the feeling tone of political party names and public response to their platforms. Journal of Social Psychology, 7, 336-357.

Hartmann, G. W. (1936b). A field experiment on the comparative effectiveness of "emotional" and "rational" political leaflets in determining election results. Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 31, 99-114.

Hartmann, G. W. (1938a). The differential validity of items in a liberalism-conservatism test. Journal of Social Psychology, 9, 67-78.

Hartmann, G. W. (1938b). Immediate and remote goals as political motives. Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 33, 86-99.

Hartmann, G. W. (1938c). Research projects and methods in educational sociology. Journal of Educational Sociology, 11, 506-510.

Hartmann, G. W. (1938d). Some assumed determiners of teachers' attitudes. Journal of Educational Research, 31, 357-362.

Hartmann, G. W. (1939a, June 10). Democratic unionists forced out of CP-controlled teachers group. New Leader, pp. 2, 7.

Hartmann, G. W. (1939b). The functions of liberal educational journalism. School and Society, 49, 691-697.

- Hartmann, G. W. (1939c). Value as the unifying concept of the social sciences. *Journal of Social Psychology*, 10, 563-575.
- Hartmann, G. W. (1940a, April). The behavior of Communists in unions. *Ethics*, 50, 329-332.
- Hartmann, G. W. (1940b, November 15). Has the progressive education movement become militarist? *Frontiers of Democracy*, 7, 43-44.
- Hartmann, G. W. (1940c). Report of the Industrial Conflicts Yearbook Committee. *Journal of Social Psychology*, 11, 209-216.
- Hartmann, G. W. (1941a). A comparison of the public attitudes of 711 eminent business executives with those of 65 distinguished professors. *Psychological Bulletin*, 38, 541.
- Hartmann, G. W. (1941b). Frustration phenomena in the social and political sphere. *Psychological Review*, 48, 362-363.
- Hartmann, G. W. (1941c, August 18). A humanitarian program for New York [Address over WBNX radio]. Reel 104, microfilm edition. Socialist Party of America Papers, Duke University, Durham, NC.
- Hartmann, G. W. (1941d, October 8). Letter to Gordon Allport. Box 5, Folder: "Hartmann, George W." Gordon Allport Papers, Harvard University Archives, Cambridge, MA.
- Hartmann, G. W. (1941e, May 31). Letter to Irving [Barshop]. Reel 104, microfilm edition. Socialist Party of America Papers, Duke University, Durham, NC.
- Hartmann, G. W. (1941f, November 15). Let's all vote before going to war? "Yes" . . . says George W. Hartmann. *Frontiers of Democracy*, 8, 41-43.
- Hartmann, G. W. (1941g). Motivational differences between pacifists and non-pacifists. *Journal of Social Psychology*, 14, 197-210.
- Hartmann, G. W. (1941h, August 12). New directions in city affairs [Address over WHOM radio]. Reel 104, microfilm edition. Socialist Party of America Papers, Duke University, Durham, NC.
- Hartmann, G. W. (1941i). Pacifism and its opponents in the light of value theory. *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 36, 151-174.
- Hartmann, G. W. (1941-1942, Winter). A personal reinterpretation of socialist aims and methods. *Modern Socialism*, no. 2, 21-26.
- Hartmann, G. W. (1942a, March 14). Data sheet. Box 14, Folder: "Hartmann, George." War Resisters League Papers.
- Hartmann, G. W. (1942b, December). Letter to Abe [Kaufman]. Box 14, Folder: "Hartmann, George." War Resisters League Papers, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, PA.
- Hartmann, G. W. (1942c, July 11). Letter to Irving Barshop. Reel 104, microfilm edition. Socialist Party of America Papers, Duke University, Durham, NC.
- Hartmann G. W. (1942d). A plea for an immediate peace by negotiation. New York: War Resisters League.
- Hartmann G. W. (1943a, January 20). Letter to Anna Melissa Graves. Reel 74.1, microfilm edition. Anna Melissa Graves Papers, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, PA.

- Hartmann G. W. (1943b, December 13). Letter to Anna Melissa Graves. Reel 74.1, microfilm edition. Anna Melissa Graves Papers, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, PA.
- Hartmann, G. W. (1943c). Letter to "Dear Friend." Box 14, Folder: "Hartmann, George." War Resisters League Papers, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, PA.
- Hartmann G. W. (1943d, October 27). Letter to Evan Thomas. Box 14, Folder: "Hartmann, George." War Resisters League Papers, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, PA.
- Hartmann G. W. (1944a, January 28). How to abolish anti-Semitism [Mimeographed press release]. Reel 48, microfilm edition. Socialist Party of America Papers, Duke University, Durham, NC.
- Hartmann G. W. (1944b, February 7). Letter to Anna Melissa Graves. Reel 74.1, microfilm edition. Anna Melissa Graves Papers, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, PA.
- Hartmann, G. W. (1944c, March 17). Letter to Anna Melissa Graves. Reel 74.1, microfilm edition. Anna Melissa Graves Papers, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, PA.
- Hartmann, G. W. (1944d, April 19). Letter to Anna Melissa Graves. Reel 74.1, microfilm edition. Anna Melissa Graves Papers, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, PA.
- Hartmann, G. W. (1944e, February 7). Letter to Fred Libby. Box 3, Folder: "PNM/Correspondence - Letters to, Hart-Hof." Peace Now Movement Records, New York Public Library, New York, NY.
- Hartmann, G. W. (1944f, September 21). Letter to Gordon Allport. Box 5, Folder: "Hartmann, George W." Gordon Allport Papers, Harvard University Archives, Cambridge, MA.
- Hartmann, G. W. (1944g, November 8). Letter to Gordon Allport. Box 5, Folder: "Hartmann, George W." Gordon Allport Papers, Harvard University Archives, Cambridge, MA.
- Hartmann, G. W. (1944h, January 26). Letter to [Harry] Fleischman. Reel 48, microfilm edition. Socialist Party of America Papers, Duke University, Durham, NC.
- Hartmann, G. W. (1944i, January 30). Letter to [Harry] Fleischman. Reel 48, microfilm edition. Socialist Party of America Papers, Duke University, Durham, NC.
- Hartmann, G. W. (1944j, February 15). Letter to Irving [Barshop]. Reel 104, microfilm edition. Socialist Party of America Papers, Duke University, Durham, NC.
- Hartmann, G. W. (1944k, January 26). Letter to the editors of the New York World Telegram, New York Post, and all Scripps-Howard newspapers. Box 5, Folder: "Correspondence, 1940-1944." Dorothy Hutchinson Papers, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, PA.
- Hartmann, G. W. (1945a, April 7). Letter to Augie [August Gold]. Reel 104, microfilm edition. Socialist Party of America Papers, Duke University, Durham, NC.
- Hartmann, G. W. (1945b, March 14). Letter to Daniel Katz. Box 187, Folder: "Hartmann." SPSSI Papers, Archives of the History of American Psychology, University of Akron, Akron, OH.
- Hartmann, G. W. (1945c). [Review of the book Human Nature and Enduring Peace]. *Journal of Social Psychology*, 22, 221-236.
- Hartmann, G. W. (1946). Interrelations of education and democracy. *Review of Educational Research*, 16, 81-93.

- Hartmann, G. W. (1948). The "Black Hole" of Calcutta: Fact or fiction? *Journal of Social Psychology*, 27, 17-35.
- Hartmann, G. W. (1949a). Clothing: Personal problem and social issue. *Journal of Home Economics*, 41, 295-298.
- Hartmann, G. W. (1949b). Democratic behavior and the educative process. *Review of Educational Research*, 19, 21-31.
- Hartmann, G. W. (1949c). Pacifism and democracy. *The American Mercury*, 68, 223-229.
- Hartmann, G. W. (1952). The psychology of American socialism. In D. D. Egbert & S. Persons (Eds.), *Socialism and American life* (pp. 557-598). Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Hartmann, G. W. (1954, September). The roots of McCarthyism. *Socialist Call*, pp. 15-17.
- Hartmann, G. W. (1955). Introducing a new course on the psychology of war and peace. *Bulletin of the Research Exchange for the Prevention of War*, 3, 60-62.
- Hartmann, G. W. (1974). *Gestalt psychology: A survey of facts and principles*. New York: Greenwood Press. (Original work published 1935)
- Hartmann, G. W. (1977). Summary for psychologists. In G. W. Hartmann & T. Newcomb (Eds.), *Industrial conflict: A psychological interpretation* (pp. 541-544). New York: Arno Press. (Original work published 1940)
- Hartmann, G. W., & Barrick, F. M. (1934). Fluctuations in general cultural information among undergraduates. *Journal of Educational Research*, 28, 255-264.
- Hartmann, G. W., & Newcomb, T (1977). General introduction: The nature of this enterprise. In G. W. Hartmann & T. Newcomb (Eds.), *Industrial conflict: A psychological interpretation* (pp. v-viii). New York: Arno Press. (Original work published 1940)
- Hartmann, G. W., & Payne, R. (Eds.). (1953). *Socialism versus communism*. New York: Three Arrows Press.
- Hartmann, George W. (1951). In *Who Was Who* (Vol. 6, p. 377).
- Hartmann is grilled over libel claims. (1947, May 21). [Madison WI] *Capitol-Times*.
- Hartmann v. Winchell. 171 *American Law Reports* 759 (1947).
- Hartog, E. (1940a, March 30). Letter to Eleanor A. Eaton. Folder: "Jane Addams Peace School." Swarthmore College Peace Collection, Swarthmore, PA.
- Hartog, E. (1940b, January 26). Letter to planning committee. Folder: "Jane Addams Peace School." Swarthmore College Peace Collection, Swarthmore, PA.
- Hitler's doves. (1944, January 4). *New Masses*, pp. 7-8.
- Holmes, J. H. (1944). Letters and telegram to George W. Hartmann. Box 3, Folder: "PNM/Correspondence - Letters to, Hog-Hy." Peace Now Movement Records, New York Public Library, New York, NY.
- Horowitz, D. (1996). Rethinking Betty Friedan and *The Feminine Mystique*: Labor union radicalism and feminism in Cold War America. *American Quarterly*, 48, 1-42.
- Insist 'Peace Now' rally be banned. (1944, January 29). *Daily Worker*, p. 1.

Jeansonne, G. (1996). *Women of the far right*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Johnpoll, B. K. (1970). *Pacifist's progress: Norman Thomas and the decline of American socialism*. Chicago: Quadrangle.

Johnson, T. M. (1944a, January 24). *America Firsters in movement for a compromised peace now*. New York World Telegram.

Johnson, T. M. (1944b, January 25). *Ex-Bundists join 'Peace Now,' agitating parley with Axis*. Washington News.

Johnson, T. M. (1944c, January 24). *Pacifists press Congress to end war immediately*. Washington Daily News.

Johnson, T. M. (1944d, January 25). *'Peace Now' accepts help of ex-Bundists*.

Katz, D. (1945, April 18). Letter to Ernest R. Hilgard. Box 187, Folder: "Hartmann." SPSSI Papers, Archives of the History of American Psychology, University of Akron, Akron, OH.

Ladd, D. M. (1944, January 20). Memorandum for Mr. [Quinn] Tamm. Federal Bureau of Investigation, Washington, DC (Bureau File 100-202534-56, FBI Headquarters, Washington, DC).

Lawrence, D. (1944, January 26). *Today in Washington*. New York Sun.

Lovejoy, C. E. (1944a, March 20). *Peace Now Movement. Information Summary, Second Service Command, District No. 1., Army Security and Intelligence Division, U.S. War Department, Washington, DC.*

Lovejoy, C. E. (1944b, March 2). *United Pacifist Conference, held at Labor Temple, 242 East 14th Street, New York, N.Y., 26-27 February, 1944. Information Summary, Second Service Command, District No. 1., Army Security and Intelligence Division, U.S. War Department, Washington, DC.*

Marberry, M. M. (1944, January 26). *The 'heil' folks help fill Peace Now's till*. PM.

Mayor candidate in '41 found dead. (1955, June 12). New York Times, p. 57.

Memorandum on organization of Veterans Selection and Guidance Division. (1945, September 19). Archives, New Jersey Institute of Technology, Newark, NJ.

Meyer, M. (1944, January 28). Letter to National Action Committee, Socialist Party, USA. Reel 48, microfilm edition. Socialist Party of America Papers, Duke University, Durham, NC.

Murphy, G. (1945, May 18). Letter to Ernest R. Hilgard. Box 187, Folder: "Hartmann." SPSSI Papers, Archives of the History of American Psychology, University of Akron, Akron, OH.

National Action Committee, Socialist Party, USA. (1944). *Minutes of Meeting of February 29, 1944*. Reel 48, microfilm edition. Socialist Party of America Papers, Duke University, Durham, NC.

Negotiated peace urged on Congress. (1943, December 19). New York Times.

Peace Now Movement (1943, Summer). Statement. FBI File 100-202534, p. 15, FBI Headquarters, Washington, DC.

Peace Now Movement (1944, January 6). Newsletter, No. 8.

"Peace Now" is new propaganda drive to prevent U.S. victory. (1944, January). Life.

'Peace Now' seeks help of German-American groups (1944, January 25). *New York Post*, p. 5.

'Peace Now' tried to enlist a Nazi held at Ellis Island (1944, January 26). *New York Post*, p. 5.

'Peace Now' wants to be political party (1944, January 28). *New York Post*.

Pennsylvania Socialist (1934, June 1). Editorial, p. 1.

Riley, R. (1977). *Road to number one*. Garden City, NJ: Doubleday.

Robinson, J. A. O. (1981). *Abraham went out: A biography of A. J. Muste*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

School union held communist tool. (1939, November 27). *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*.

Schwimmer-Lloyd, R. (1944, February 29). Letter to Lola. Folder: "George W. Hartmann and the Peace Now Movement." Schwimmer-Lloyd Collection, Manuscripts Division, New York Public Library, New York, NY.

Simon, B. (1943, September 29). Letter to Dorothy Hutchinson and George W. Hartmann. Box 4, Folder: "Correspondence - Letters to, She-Sou." Peace Now Movement Records, New York Public Library, New York, NY.

Simon, B. (1944, January 20). Letter to Dorothy Hutchinson and George W. Hartmann. Box 1, Folder: "Correspondence - Letters by, G-H," Peace Now Movement Records, New York Public Library, New York, NY.

The situation: The Peace Now Movement owes its good influence to just one man: George W. Hartmann (1944, May 22) [Handwritten note]. Box 6, Folder: "Reports and Minutes, 1943-44." Peace Now Movement Records, New York Public Library, New York, NY.

Smoking out treason. (1944, February 8). *New Masses*, p. 17.

'Socialist' OK's defeat at 'Peace Now' rally. (1944, January 1). *Daily Worker*, p. 3.

Socialist Party of New York (1941 a, June 5). Press release. Reel 104, microfilm edition. Socialist Party of America Papers, Duke University, Durham, NC.

Socialist Party of New York (1941b, September 29). Press release. Reel 104, microfilm edition. Socialist Party of America Papers, Duke University, Durham, NC.

Special Agent in Charge, San Antonio Office, FBI (1944, April 7). Letter to Director, FBI (Bureau File 100-202534-159, FBI Headquarters, Washington, DC).

Stagner, R. (1945, January 30). Letter to Ernest R. Hilgard. Box 187, Folder: "Hartmann." SPSSI Papers, Archives of the History of American Psychology, University of Akron, Akron, OH.

Stringer, W. H. (1943, August 20). U.S. means unconditional surrender. *Christian Science Monitor*, p. 16.

Tokyo radio calls U.S. troops yellow. (1944, January 30). *New York Times*.

U.S. Army, First Service Command. (1944, February 19). George W. Hartmann and the peace propagandists. Domestic Intelligence Memorandum No. 3. Unpublished report, Boston, MA.

U.S. Congress, House of Representatives, Special Committee on Un-American Activities. (1939). *Hearings on H. Res. 282 (Vol. 10, pp. 6839-6855)*. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.

U.S. Congress, House of Representatives, Special Committee on Un-American Activities. (1944). Report on the Peace Now Movement. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.

U.S. Congress, Senate, Subcommittee of the Committee on the Judiciary. (1939). Hearings on S.J. Res. 84 (pp. 133-140). Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.

U.S. Navy, Intelligence Service, Third Naval District (1943, December 15). Topical study memorandum on Peace Now. Unpublished report, New York, NY.

War Resisters League (1951, January 23). Press release. Box 10, Folder: "Hartmann, George." War Resisters League Papers, Swarthmore College, Searthmore, PA.

Washington office workers caught in 'Peace Now' net. (1944, January 27). New York Post.

Winchell, W. (1944, January 24). Walter Winchell. Philadelphia Inquirer, p. 13.

Wooldridge, A. (1996). Measuring the mind: Education and psychology in England, c. 1860-c. 1990. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Zeitzer, G. (1978). The American peace movement during the Second World War. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, PA.

BENJAMIN HARRIS is a Professor of Psychology at the University of Wisconsin, Parkside, and Executive Officer of the International Society for the History of Social and Behavioral Sciences. In 1983-86 he chaired SPSSI's History Task Force and edited Fifty Years of the Psychology of Social Issues (Journal of Social Issues, 42, no. 1, 1986) with Rhoda Unger and Ross Stagner. His publications include "Repoliticizing the History of Psychology," in Dennis Fox & Isaac Prilleltensky (Eds.), Critical Psychology: An Introductory Handbook (London: Sage, 1997).

COPYRIGHT 1998 Plenum Publishing Corporation

COPYRIGHT 2000 Gale Group