

## **G. Stanley Hall: A Priestly Prophet of a New Dispensation\***

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### **I**

Shortly before he died, G. Stanley Hall (1844–1924), who played a leading formative role in American psychology, wrote:

In the views I have attained of man, his place in nature, his origin and destiny, I believe I have become a riper product of the present stage of civilization than most of my contemporaries, have outgrown more superstitions, attained clearer insights, and have a deeper sense of peace with myself. I love but perhaps still more pity mankind, groping and stumbling, often slipping backward along the upward Path, which I believe I see just as clearly as Jesus or Buddha did, the two greatest souls that ever walked this earth and whom I supremely revere.<sup>1</sup>

G. Stanley Hall had been to the mountaintop, he had seen the promised land, he had as it were “achieved another new birth superimposed on that of adolescence.”<sup>2</sup> He had achieved a new vision, and thus a new birth, the birth of a “superman.” Hall believed that like Jesus and Buddha before him he was called to preach a new gospel, a new dispensation which would lift “Mansoul” to its next higher stage of evolutionary development. That new dispensation was, for Hall, the “New Psychology” which he helped structure and create. Thus in the end, Hall saw himself as a prophet of a new faith, indeed, a new religion. He had pierced the veil of appearances, he had seen the path that “Mansoul” must take if it was going to avoid “slipping backward along the upward path.”

Only a year after Hall wrote those words, his remains lay in state. As the local minister rose to eulogize his memory he started out with every apparent intent of praising him. Shortly, however, the minister lost control of himself and ended his eulogy by severely attacking Hall, thereby creating somewhat of a small scandal.

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Yet it was appropriate, if not customarily proper, for a Christian minister to attack Hall for the beliefs that he had propagated. Hall had passed beyond Christianity, beyond the faith of his fathers, toward a new heretical faith which he thoroughly believed represented the wave of the future. It was just a few years earlier that Hall had published his two-volume work on *Jesus, the Christ, in the Light of Psychology* (1917). A close friend advised him, "that it were better that he had died than write so blasphemous a book."<sup>3</sup> It is not surprising that the minister lost his composure, thereby unleashing a controversy which in itself very well symbolized Hall's life.

Hall was never a stranger to controversy. For example, it was Hall who stood up in a professional meeting and pointed out to Josiah Royce that his "theory of idealism was similar to, and no better than, masturbation."<sup>4</sup> It was the same Hall who, as a bright young student with unconventional ideas, so startled his congregation of faculty and students with his trial sermon at Union Theological Seminary, that the faculty member whose custom it was to criticize, despairing of mere criticism, knelt and prayed for his soul.<sup>5</sup> Well he might have, for neither the mind nor the soul of G. Stanley Hall would ever long embrace orthodoxy or be free of controversy.

Aside from Hall's unconventional religious ideas, he was unquestionably a trailblazer of American psychology. He was the first person in the United States to receive a Ph.D. in psychology (under William James), the first president and founder of Clark University, the founder of the psychological laboratory at Johns Hopkins, the founder of the American Psychological Association, and the originator of a number of journals, including the *American Journal of Psychology*, *Pedagogical Seminary*, *Journal of Religious Psychology*, and the *Journal of Applied Psychology*. Perhaps more importantly from the standpoint of education, he can broadly be considered one of the founders of educational psychology and, more specifically, of the child-study movement which by the twentieth century evolved into the field of child psychology. A good case can also be made that Hall was one of the key founders of genetic psychology in America. His study of the child, the adolescent, or the adult was always conducted within the structural framework of biological and cultural evolution. For good or ill, his primary research method remained historical. Hall, however, was just as much a purveyor of unconventional psychoreligious pedagogical thought as he was a founder of organizations.

G. Stanley Hall had a profound effect on the shape of American psychology particularly in the areas of child psychology and adolescent development. Through more than 11 books, hundreds of articles, and 2,500 lectures in over forty states, as well as the effect his teaching had on thousands of students, Hall made an impact on American educational thought which was powerful and lasting.<sup>6</sup> As founder of the child study movement which became the Department of Child Study of the National Education Association in 1893, Hall directed the attention of educators toward child growth and development. When this movement began to decline after the first decade of the century, many of Hall's students became leaders in the new field of child psychology. Among the most important of these was Arnold Gesell

who not only fully adopted his mentor's view of the recapitulation theory, but also went on to coin the term "maturation," which reflected Hall's emphasis on the integration of physiological and social growth.

Perhaps Hall's most important work came in 1904 when he helped shape America's conception of adolescence with his two-volume work entitled *Adolescence, Its Psychology and Its Relations to Physiology, Anthropology, Sociology, Sex, Crime, Religion and Education*. This massive work of 1,337 pages sold over 25,000 copies.<sup>7</sup> The most influential books on psychology, however, remained those written by William James. Merle Curti once estimated that nine-tenths of American teachers who studied psychology at all in the period from 1890 to 1910 read James. Although James's two-volume *The Principles of Psychology* and his *Psychology: The Briefer Course* may be considered benchmarks for the field of psychology in the 1890's, it is important to recognize that the term "adolescence" does not appear as a significant category in either work. It was Hall, rather than James, who helped create adolescence as a distinct discipline of psychology and it was Hall who substantially shaped its content.

The professionalization of the category of adolescence took place during the period when child labor laws were being enacted and compulsory education laws were being enforced. The high school was also coming into existence and was the most rapidly growing educational institution of the first half of the twentieth century. Delayed entrance into the job market meant delayed entrance into adulthood. Adolescence also meant that awkward state of being sexually mature according to nature while remaining socially immature according to the needs of society. The professional psychologist of the twentieth century not only helped mediate the problem by propounding the "scientific" existence of adolescence, but also propagated the illusion that it was in fact caused by nature itself. More than any other single individual, Hall helped conceptualize that development. To be sure, not all of Hall's ideas were accepted by other educators, yet in a very real sense, he pointed the way. William H. Kilpatrick seems to have been correct when he asserted, "America believes, as does no other country, that education must be based on a study of psychology. That this is so is due in no small degree to the influence of President Hall."<sup>8</sup>

Hall's profound influence upon the fields of psychology and education came not only from his extensive organizational activities and writings, but also, and perhaps even more importantly, through his teaching and lecturing. Hall was a charismatic personality who left a significant imprint on his students. One of his students, Lewis M. Terman, who influenced the testing movement and study of the gifted child, spoke of Hall as a "source of inspiration." Another, Arnold Gesell, who left his mark on early childhood study, said of Hall, "There were giants in them thair days!"<sup>9</sup> There were still others who felt more atune to the Hall student who said, "I only touched the hem of his garment, and yet it was a healing touch. I would not give the months I spent at Clark for any other period of my life."<sup>10</sup> As hundreds and then thousands of his students who had "touched" the hem of his garment took up posts in normal schools, universities, and child development

institutes around the country, they invited Hall to give literally thousands of sermon-like lectures to ever wider audiences of uninitiated early childhood teachers.<sup>11</sup> Thus this priestly prophet of a new dispensation preached a gospel of a new psychology, a new faith, indeed, a new religion across an economic, social, and religiously troubled cultural landscape. This paper, then, will focus primarily on some selected key tenets of Hall's psychoreligious ideology, considering both the personal and cultural conditions which seemed to play a part in the development of this new dispensation, and will attempt to critically analyze some of the social significance these ideas have had in the context of twentieth-century history.

## II

Hall, like his mentor William James, lived and felt the tension existing between a God-centered world view which appeared to be on the wane and a man-centered scientific world view which appeared in the ascendant. Although both men perceived the same problem, each man responded to it differently. James's peculiar personality structure as well as his unique personal family experience led him in his search for resolution of the tension between these two world views to adopt, as he did in *Varieties of Religious Experience*, a pragmatic, therapeutic justification for religious beliefs. He did so, it seems, out of his own admitted personal need to have meaning inherent in his universe. His "God," his "More," one recalls, was a "helping," a healing "More," which made it possible for James to travel that dark, lonely road back to mental health. Thus James pragmatically opened wide the door of religious belief. Virtually any belief could be counted as true so long as it "works." The meaning of "works" was to be found in the criteria of "help" or healing. Thus one might conclude that a mystical experience like that which James had was true for the individual. Hall disagreed with this thinking and saw James as a mystic who was "hungry for the supernatural," whose very "splendid individuality also passionately craves immortality."<sup>12</sup> Hall further complained that James virtually expelled "every sexual element from religion,"<sup>13</sup> whereas Hall pictured himself as laying considerable stress on the subject. Hall thoroughly rejected James's pragmatic epistemology as well as his personal quest for immortality.

From James's perspective, Hall seemed to seek an "ultra phenomenal identity." Here he was perceptive. James came to the *Varieties of Religious Experience* position having had a mystical experience and having felt its healing effect. He thus came to the conclusion that there just might be something "More" to the universe, even immortality. Hall, however, as a naturalistic evolutionist believed

that the soul is freighted with traces of everything that life has experienced from its first dawn, that the experience of the individual now is the tiniest outcrop in consciousness of his entire psychic life. Hence he does not bank much upon the philosophy of experience, but regards the mind from the natural history point of view and says that nine-tenths of all our processes are submerged.<sup>14</sup>

Thus, Hall accounted for all the strange religious rites, practices, and beliefs of mankind as links in the great evolutionary chain of being and saw Christianity as

one, but "consummate religion" based on love, which could not adequately be studied or fully understood without taking into account not just the great ethnic religions "but the very lowest savage forms" as well. Hall furthermore believed that James saw religion as primarily the individual's "inner life and struggle from the efforts of the soul to become at one with itself."<sup>15</sup> While Hall conceded that that, too, was the case for him, he also insisted that religion was "the largest thing in the world including all aspects for truth which the scientist feels and the desire for purity."<sup>16</sup>

Thus Hall passed beyond Christianity, beyond a belief in the supernatural, beyond a belief in personal immortality. This became clear when in *Jesus, the Christ, in the Light of Psychology* he sought to psychoanalytically explain away the divinity of Christ. The new faith that Hall came to preach was the faith that, "Man is the only divinity, or at least God is only a collective term for man."<sup>17</sup> What immortality one might gain was only a collective immortality to be found in the concept of "Mansoul." To Hall, all scientific evidence pointed to the fact that the only life that existed after death was to be found in the next generation, which carried with it the whole history of the racial experience. With a Vico-like timelessness Hall's scientific genetic psychologist, as the high priest of "Mansoul," could read and ultimately understand the total anthropological record of life from the lowest form of amoebic life to the highest development of a superrace. Thus through this superior scientific knowledge of the past, the present might be understood and the next higher stage of evolution might yet be collectively realized. This, then, was a glimpse of that "ultraphenomenal identity" which James thought he saw in Hall.

Hall's disagreement with James was more than a personality difference. In philosophic and religious outlook, they were poles apart. As early as 1891, when reviewing James's *The Principles of Psychology*, Hall praised James for his breadth of view and numerous insights but went on to criticize his work for being too introspective and not based substantially enough on hard experimental data from the laboratory. The new psychologist, Hall insisted, is a scientific researcher who is imbued with the "spirit of reverence, and a sense of unity and law at the root of things" which is "religious to the core, in every sense which the best philosophy of religion makes basal."<sup>18</sup> "Psychology," he further asserted,

is even to be the means of rescuing religious oracles from degradation and re-revealing them as sublime ethnic verbal editions of God's primitive revelation in his works. It will also show what is in man, and may some day become veritable anthropology, the science of man in fact as well as in name, a gospel of love and work, where the heart is not subordinated to the head, and the emotions are not slighted, or the great ethical lesson of hereditary good and ill, psychogenesis and adolescence doubted and disparaged . . . the new psychology of the present and future is based less upon introspection than upon observation, experiment and experience, individual and ancestral.<sup>19</sup>

Hall thus rejected James's psychology as largely misdirected. By the opening of the century, James had lent his support to both psychical research and

Emmanuelism. In a draft article on "Eddyism and Emmanuelism" in 1909, Hall critically and pointedly attacked James's pragmatic solution to the religious crisis of the times.<sup>20</sup>

Pragmatism, Hall argued, is "roughly speaking the doctrine that the criterion of truth is practicality, as we said, that is true that works well and that is truest that works best. This is a new touch-stone or test of truth very distinct from many others that have been proposed: viz, the easiest and simplest way of thinking the universe coherent, with a system of reason, clearness and certainty, and all the rest."<sup>21</sup> What "works well" is ultimately that which helps one "attain pleasure and escape pain; to live and not to die."<sup>22</sup> In other words, if a belief in God, the virgin birth, St. Christopher, or any kind of fetish worship has a healing effect, it therefore works and is therefore true. James's pragmatic test of truth, when applied to religious experience, Hall argued, would lead directly to the justification of Eddyism and Emmanuelism as well as any other kind of faith-healing cult. "Just as Eddyism is absolute idealism taken literally and put to work, so Emmanuelism is pragmatism taken literally and put to work. Just as pragmatism is the inevitable consequence of absolute idealism, so Emmanuelism is the inevitable consequence of Eddyism. Both are the shadows of things academic thrown athwart the popular mind."<sup>23</sup> Continuing in this vein, he argued that the church might open "a department of comparative therapeutics" where definite information might be obtained to determine the healing power of "fetishism, atomism, invocation of ancestors, incantation, or Christian doctrines."<sup>24</sup> Pushing his point even further, he said, "In a word, if Hoodooism works better, then if we converted the Hoodooist into an Emmanuelist and his patients into church patients, so that the healing power would be lost, would not some truth also be lost if pragmatism be sound?"<sup>25</sup> Thus he concluded that in the field of therapeutics, "Emmanuelism is the department of applied pragmatism, the theoretical part of which is on the other side of the Charles."<sup>26</sup>

The pragmatist, Hall insisted, held a basically selfish view of knowledge in which the investigator "goes in for truth because of what he can get out of it."<sup>27</sup> While the test of truth for James is to be found in its "cash value," the pragmatic investigator, Hall argued, invariably asks, "What is there in it for me or mine? Its only possible morals is Eudaemonism. Its religion is to get post-mortem pleasure and avoid post-mortem pain. It seeks God to enjoy Him, to use Him, and profit by Him in this world and the next, to enlist Him to work serviceably."<sup>28</sup> In contrast to James's therapeutic faith in something "More," Hall argued the case of the realist by arguing that truth "is not a matter of taste or of personal edification; but that which holds for all, everywhere, at all times, and under all conditions."<sup>29</sup> In the end truth may not heal, and may, in fact, be nauseous if not lethal. In the broadest sense of the term, the "pure science"<sup>30</sup> researcher functions beyond pleasure and pain, good or evil. Reflecting his own views, he wrote:

No one has known what real truth is who is not convinced of something that is independent of all, even the highest anthropomorphization, something that would be the same for all conceivable persons or orders of being, the same

if man had never existed or that would survive if he were to become extinct, something utterly indifferent to all his wants, prayers, or pains. Even if no such truth is yet attained, the belief that it exists, because possible, makes pragmatism only a philosophy of pedagogy, of the stages of Wården, evolution, or recapitulation. It deals with the phenomena of the way and not with those of the goal.<sup>31</sup>

From the perspective of "true" philosophic thought, however, "Man must believe in something absolute, non-relative, subspeciatermitis, something above volition and desire. He at least tends to believe in that which at its highest parallels and participates in being."<sup>32</sup> The new scientific psychologist thus will not rest easy with pragmatic truth but will cut beyond the veil of appearances and continue his quest for "evolving a larger composite photograph of the entire kingdom of man's soul."<sup>33</sup> Hall's scientific psychologist had passed, he believed, beyond the old philosophies of idealism, realism, and pragmatism, the last of which only "fits old men and over-ripe civilizations."<sup>34</sup> Turning directly to James and Dewey, he asserted that pragmatism

is an asylum for those who have long and earnestly striven with the riddles of the Sphinx and found them insoluble, who have much preferred the pursuit of truth over its possession and had but little experience with the latter, who have seen the fondest hopes of their prime decay, who have, to be more definite (like James), been ignored by their tribe in Germany, and who so condemn the choicest products and methods of Teutonic philosophy, or like Dewey have found that too many of the problems he most loved to cultivate were aborting, or like Schiller that the systems in which they were reared were slowly losing vitality and interest.<sup>35</sup>

While Hall seemed to confuse philosophy with personality, he firmly believed that his conception of the new psychologist as a scientific researcher was a conception born to a new stage of evolution, the superman stage, which was in tune with youth itself and the coming new order.

Hall's reaction to Eddyism and Emmanuelism, however, was more than a reaction to James's pragmatic philosophy of religion. More importantly, it reflected the sensitivity which Hall shared with James concerning what really was at stake in the contest between a scientific naturalistic interpretation of human experience and the traditional religious interpretation.

For Hall, this most fundamental issue was reflected in the birth of the new Christian Science faith of Mary Baker Eddy. As evolutionary doctrine swept the cultural belief system of the West, the rising scientific secular explanation for human affairs seemed more and more plausible. Even the traditional conception of sinful behavior often seemed better explained as sickness. Under these circumstances, many in the traditional Christian faith reached back to attempt to recover the faith of the early Church fathers and with it the healing function of the early Church. The teaching and preaching of Mary Baker Eddy fell on welcome ears. The very use of the two terms which many found a contradiction in terms—Christian and Science—was a masterpiece in symbolic construction. Christian Science seemed

to fit the times and, especially, the American cultural landscape. Hall argued that the rise of Christian Science on American soil was entirely understandable, for it incorporated both the absolute idealism that was implicit in New England transcendentalism and the Yankee practicality which ideologically took the form of American pragmatism. When James spun out the pragmatic roots of his faith in terms of healing and Bronson Alcott asserted that "a thing is in fact only a think,"<sup>36</sup> the twin roots of Christian Science were thus firmly set in fertile American soil.

As Hall put it, "If mind, idea, or God is all in all, it follows that there can be no real error or sin and so no true defect or disease."<sup>37</sup> While most Christians believe evil is the absence of good, some further believe that, like evil, defect or disease can have no intrinsic reality. Mrs. Eddy was the "boldest of idealists" because "she takes the idealistic theory of knowledge, on the one hand, and the healing ministry of Jesus, on the other, literally and puts them to work in the service of man. Never was there such a masterpiece of pragmatism. Not only is it true because it works well; but because it heals, it seems personally true to those who could never otherwise have understood."<sup>38</sup>

Eddyism, Hall argued, was the "crassification" of idealistic metaphysics and the healing ministry of the early Church. For Hall, the turning back to the early Church, and its traditional function of faith healing by casting out demons and calling for divine intervention, is only a way of cutting behind the more excellent way of science on the one hand, and the more sophisticated cultural complex theological interpretation of Scriptures on the other. "But for the masses and for the half cultured, it is a fortress of refuge. They can now be both Christian and scientist in a cheap and easy way, and glimpse and feel in their vague, dumb, essentially vulgar wise, the verities of both."<sup>39</sup> This movement, he argued, is propelled by the strongest of all motives, "to be well." Here, too, is to be found the impulse of the "Yogas" and the "Mahatmas," as well as other "faith healers." Emmanuelism as a healer's ministry is, he argued, only a weaker version of Eddy's idealism and faith healing. They stop short of Eddy's logic and fall back on the traditional Christian Church practices when it becomes convenient.

The issue between a "man-centered" view of the universe and a "God-centered" view was implicit in the argument over whether Christian Scientists and other irregulars should be prohibited from practicing medicine. Exactly where the roles of the medical doctor and the religious doctor began, and where they left off, was not at all clear. Hall was highly critical of a practice in Boston which required patients received by Emmanuelists to have been diagnosed beforehand and referred to them by a family physician. This made the psychotherapeutic healing ministry of the Church dependent on the secular medical physician. Hall fully appreciated the problem that the modern scientific approach to healing was at odds with the traditional function of the Church. Clearly a supernatural vs. a naturalistic diagnosis was at stake: was the afflicted individual to be accounted sinful or was he or she sick? Standing on the brink of that wide and deep chasm which separates a naturalistic world view from a supernaturalistic view, Hall took his stand implicitly on the naturalistic side and went on to finally argue explicitly that that was



the only "real" side. First he chided both sides for their failure to train their experts properly. Neither the minister nor the physician, he argued, has the expertise necessary for the task. In these matters "only the trained and experienced psychologist is competent. And it is to him and not the clergy that the chief appeal should be made."<sup>40</sup>

The patient's consciousness must often be operated on and reconstructed in the way demanding the utmost expert skill. The average medical practitioner is usually quite as incompetent to make this diagnosis as the clergyman is to apply the cure; and error is dangerous in both processes. This, then, is the place for the psychological clinic. Unfortunately, neither in theological seminaries nor in medical schools is psychology generally taught; and the members of each profession are therefore incompetent to orient themselves properly in this vast and complex field. It would seem almost a commonplace that those whose profession it is to cure or save souls should have given a little attention to the study of what the soul is; and it would seem equally obvious that, as there are mental complications in every disease almost no attention is paid to this subject in medical education.<sup>41</sup>

At the very time Hall was writing this, William James was writing to John D. Rockefeller and asking for a million dollars to support the care of the insane. In the decades ahead, the mental hygiene movement would take form, supported by foundations, just as the psychological training of doctors would be sponsored and nourished by the foundations, bringing into existence the professional psychiatrist.<sup>42</sup>

Hall argued that the upper, more culturally sophisticated classes ought to learn an object lesson from the emergence within their midst of such sects as Christian Science and Emmanuelism. Hall believed the three great dangers which they must learn to resist in the future were: "1. the dreamy metaphysics that exalts mind as something supreme and aloof from matter rather than its yoke-fellow in the world; 2. a habit of gross, literal verbal interpretation of scripture that sometimes falsely passes for orthodoxy; 3. a medical therapy that, however erudite, addresses the body only."<sup>43</sup>

His solution to the problem was, then, as follows: "Each camp—doctors, philosophists, religionists—should admit its own share of responsibility for this curious excrescence of culture, and also at the same time should profit by the modicum of truth in and go on to develop a therapy that does justice to the psyche, a thought system that does justice to the soma, and a faith that not only comports with but supports science."<sup>44</sup> Man is, as Schleiermacher and Hegel have each shown, delicately balanced upon a sense of utter dependence on the ultimate powers that rule the world. Power is conceived of respectively as "God or laws of nature, on the one hand, and a sense of freedom and independence, on the other."<sup>45</sup> Hall argued:

Man is the only divinity, or at least God is only a collective term for man. Now the average man oscillates more or less between, but usually well within, these extremes. Perhaps he is rather humble toward what he feels above and arrogant to what is beneath him. Religion inclines him toward the dependent, and science toward the independent, term of these antitheses.<sup>46</sup>

The faith curist, Hall contended, tends to rely too much on supernatural intervention and thus dissuades the sufferer from taking the hygienic action necessary to work out a cure. Often the cure depends upon the strengthening of character, and thus a religion of the heart which overflows into free and easy helping can be most destructive. Jesus freely healed the sick "without price and effort on their part."

The new ecclesiastical dispensaries should surely now require more of their patients than Jesus did of His. To faith must be added works, and the diligent use of all the now multifarious means of betterment: regular living, wholesome diet, plucky, hand-to-hand fights with temptation, turning on of every interest and instinct, the assiduous development of poise and self-control, perhaps change of inveterate habits by a strong, imperious, old-fashioned act or resolve of pure will.<sup>47</sup>

This was Hall's regime of strong, robust, virile living which he later elaborated in his work, *Morale* (1920). For Hall, however, the fundamental role of the Church was not that of healing:

Again, freedom from all suffering, distress, and even health itself, precious as it is,—these are not the highest things in the world. The church does not exist chiefly to relieve pain or to cure ailments. Its higher function is to minister to the betterment of the soul and to improve morals, to make men more manly and women more womanly, and to make the world nobler, kinder, and purer.<sup>48</sup>

While the Church may act to relieve misery it must act to "advance righteousness; it must improve the best to elevate the race in every humanistic virtue. It should do its noblest work for those who are themselves best endowed and in the best health and environment, and be a potent agency in advancing the kingdom of the super-man who is slowly evolving a higher human type from the finest specimens of the *genus homo* now existing. If it saves the weakest and worst only, it does perhaps a sorry service to human evolution."<sup>49</sup> Often he argued that pain is the best tonic or "pedagogue." What we needed, he insisted, was a more "virile Christianity." Hellfire, pain, and suffering are needed for most to be moved to greater action. The Church's mission, therefore, must be protected from those who would feminize the Church with a loving, easy-going, "mollycoddling Saviour that merely speaks peace to his soul without arousing and arming him to fight."<sup>50</sup> The truly virile Christian, "does not wish to be a chronic beggar, even for healing grace or any other favors from heaven."<sup>51</sup>

The new "therapeutic dispensation" must be brought into the service of an evolving Mansoul. "Although science is rapidly enlarging its domain at the expense of faith the vast majority of Christian people do not and will not think rigorously or judge sensibly about biblical or ecclesiastical matters. So long indeed have men been forbidden to use their reason here in fields that they have grown unaccustomed to do so."<sup>52</sup> Thus it is that religion had become the cultivator of the irrational flying in the face of common sense as well as science itself. Under these circumstances it is no wonder that church people

easily accept absurdities like spiritism and Eddyism; and it is they especially who consult those who advertise short and easy methods of cure, to the utter

abandonment of all their critical faculties. Slowly expelled from physical nature, miraculous agencies have been driven to their last shelter in the sub-conscious regions of the human soul, and here in Emmanuelism, their refuge and stronghold, they resist the advances of the youngest and highest of all sciences, psychology, which is destined sooner or later to reign supreme and alone in this field.<sup>53</sup>

James took a far more sympathetic approach toward the Emmanuelist movement, arguing that some "healing" and therefore some possible "good" may come from ministers practicing therapy. Hall and Freud took the opposite view. Both had rejected the supernaturalistic explanation for human phenomena.

Hall believed that great chasm between the natural and the supernatural would be closed when scientific psychology, as the new dispensation, superseded the whole domain of religion. Once this had happened, he believed, we would have one world where the God of Mansoul is worshipped for what He truly is: man as a being who is potentially capable of becoming a superhuman being.

Psychology, then,

lays upon itself the problem of explaining on rational grounds even the lofty and intricate activities of faith, to understand inspiration, to give the *rationale* of all that is supernatural, to formulate the mysteries of atonement for the soul and therapy for the body, and to annex the whole domain of religion as its own, until most truly pious man will be most ashamed to believe what is intrinsically preposterous, and the laws of mental hygiene itself will forbid this type of thought now so common among exigites and apologists of accommodating and making surds seem rational, of peddling and compromising as if there were two very distinct world orders instead of one only, and keeping ignorance and superstition in countenance in place of better knowledge. Any natural, psychic activities can suspend or alter the laws of the cosmos.<sup>54</sup>

Unlike James, who stood at the same precipice, and for whatever personal reasons thought he saw something "More," Hall knew that what he saw was only the mirror image of "Mansoul" in himself. James still wished to straddle both worlds. Hall, on the other hand, had passed beyond the world of his childhood and into the world of twentieth-century evolutionary, naturalistic humanism. Hall clarified his position best in saying, "When psychology has expelled the last vestige of magic from religion and taken its place, then only shall we have a psychotherapy that is true to its name."<sup>55</sup> William James could not have made this statement. In retrospect it is clear that the directors of the Gifford lectures had missed a significant opportunity when they failed to invite G. Stanley Hall to follow the James lectures on the *Varieties of Religious Experience* with a series of Hall lectures on the religious contours of Mansoul. In many ways, Hall had more to say on the subject of religion than James.

### III

It is not at all surprising that Hall's ideas about religion and psychology should turn out to be so very different from his mentor's. Even though Hall was a student of James and both were born and bred in that same bracing New England atmosphere

which had produced Emerson, Thoreau, Hawthorne, as well as Melville, and both men could equally romanticize the plight of the poor,<sup>56</sup> James's personal and social environment was vastly different from Hall's. Unlike Hall, James was born into wealth and suffered from an overzealous, permissive, yet all-controlling, loving father whom he could not bring himself to hate. James grew to manhood in the midst of Swedenborgian mysticism and had a lively cosmopolitan, intellectual and cultural homelife. From his earliest years, James traveled to and from Europe, and was at home on both sides of the Atlantic. He met virtually all the cultural leaders of America as well as western Europe. The opportunities for intellectual and cultural growth were abundant. Shortly after receiving his M.D. degree in 1869, he suffered a severe emotional breakdown, the effects of which would from time to time incapacitate him, yet not restrict him from becoming the most outstanding leader in American philosophy and psychology of his time. Thus, James was reared in an upper class, urban, cosmopolitan environment which made him at home in the life of most urban centers of the western world.

In striking contrast, G. Stanley Hall was brought up in a rural atmosphere on a number of farms near Ashfield, Massachusetts. His father was a hardworking, fairly aggressive, outspoken man who instilled into his family the puritanical virtues of work and thrift. His mother was a loving, kind, religiously guilt-ridden, and highly puritanical woman with a keen sense of duty beset by a personality which compelled her to shrink from conflict. As a child, Hall learned just how difficult it was to eke out a living on that rocky, hilly countryside of Ashfield. There he learned to romanticize the harsher dimensions of life as he grew deeply attached to his mother.

It was his mother who urged him to take up the ministry, while his father wished him to work the farm. It was his mother in whom he confided and it was she he romanticized into virtual Madonnahood. Hall's adult conception of the proper role of women was no doubt dictated by the way he had romanticized his mother. She became for him the ideal woman: quiet, religious, lovingly kind, always understanding and eager to avoid conflict. Hall surmised that he had inherited from his mother his reluctance for combat, while he believed he had inherited from his father his drive to do and act with determination. Throughout, it is clear that he loved and idealized his mother, but just barely respectfully tolerated his father. As a youngster he traveled with his father on his daily chores and often listened to the barnyard chatter when neighbors gathered. Looking back over these early years from an adult perspective, he firmly believed that he had had the very best educational experience possible.

In earlier years, Hall had been embarrassed, however, when he and his father drove their hogs to market through the center of the town, just as he was when his father spoke up in public gatherings. Later he was embarrassed when he had to introduce his parents to his teacher, Mark Hopkins, while attending Williams College. These kinds of embarrassments, then as now, are not uncommon among lower class youth who become socially mobile. Out of such an environment, Hall nurtured a life-long inordinate drive to succeed.

At Williams College, Hall had a religious conversion experience which turned out not to be very traumatic. After receiving his A. B. degree from Williams in 1867, he attended Union Theological Seminary until 1869 where he eventually received a B.D. degree.<sup>57</sup> At Union he was introduced to New York City's urban environment. There he did missionary work in the slums, preaching to "fallen" women and attempting to persuade them to mend their ways. The famed preacher, Henry Ward Beecher, made it possible at this time for Hall to visit Germany and encouraged him to do so. Germany opened up a completely new way of life for Hall, both intellectually and socially. Upon his return to Union the following year, he stayed with the Seligman family of New York City serving as a tutor and then went on to teach at Antioch College. In 1876 Hall enrolled at Harvard where he took the first Ph.D. degree in psychology under William James. On borrowed money, Hall then returned to Germany, where he became deeply engrossed in the intellectual culture as well as the sexual and social life of the community. After his staid New England environment, his life in Germany was a freeing and opening experience. Hall returned from Germany with an American bride. By this time he was deeply in debt and barely making ends meet by lecturing at Harvard and Williams. In contrast to James's situation, Hall's younger years were marked by financial struggle. Both Charles Eliot Norton and William James helped persuade President Gilman that Hall was the right man for the new job at Johns Hopkins. There he founded the first psychological laboratories. Thus, Hall was 38 years old before he settled into his first really permanent position. By 1888, he moved to Worcester, Massachusetts, where, with the donations of Jonas Clark, he founded and became the first president of Clark University.

When approaching the height of his career, he met with misfortune. Within a period of two years both his parents died. This was followed shortly thereafter by the accidental asphyxiation of his wife and daughter in their home. No sooner did this all happen than Jonas Clark began to withhold financial support from the university, leaving Hall embroiled in a battle to maintain the university in spite of severely limited resources. Personnel problems at the university multiplied when William Rainey Harper raided Hall's faculty for the new University of Chicago. Under these trying circumstances, Hall continued to manage Clark University, work on the Child Study Movement and found the *Pedagogical Seminar Journal*. His life, however, continued to be marred by tragedy. Hall would not remarry until 1899 when he chose Florence Smith, who ten years later had to be committed to an insane asylum for arteriosclerosis.

Throughout these years of personal crisis Hall nevertheless continued a very productive career in which he clashed over and over again with his professional colleagues on a variety of issues, and the evidence strongly suggests that, unlike James, Hall did not have an emotional breakdown which would incapacitate him in his work. Dorothy Ross, Hall's biographer, attempts to make the case that Hall suffered from a manic-depressive problem. Her argument is based largely on Hall's admission in his autobiography that he had moods and cycles in his life which if carried to extreme could be pathological. To be sure, Ross correctly notes that

Hall passed through a crisis period in his life in the early 1890's, but this crisis was induced by a set of unfortunate personal circumstances unrelated to his personality. The remarkable thing is that Hall managed to stay as sane and productive as he did under such trying circumstances. Ross's case seems strained. The fact that Hall wrote with a good deal of hyperbole does not indicate that Hall had a hyperpersonality condition. Otherwise one would, it seems, have to indict an entire generation of writers who wrote in this grand style. Hall wrote in this much exaggerated fashion most of his life. He wrote as he lectured—in a charismatic fashion—making ample use of emotionally charged symbols. While it may be the case that Hall was emotionally repressed, as Ross further claims, it also is the case that he had very clear outlets for expressing his emotions in his teaching, lecturing, and writing and remained constantly open to new experiences.

Hall was a complex person. The product of a puritanically repressed background, Hall learned to lie at a relatively early age. It is interesting to note that, while Hall was explaining and justifying his learning to dance to his father on highly moral grounds, he was at the same time drinking beer and carrying on a very active sexual life with a number of women. Propelled by a distinct distaste for conflict, he further cultivated his ability to lie, an ability which in later years got him into numerous difficulties with his professional colleagues. Hall carried on a secret life. He was at home in virtually all the bawdy redlight districts of the major cities of western Europe and America. He loved prize fights and took lessons in all kinds of exotic dancing, just to get the feel of it. While Hall's secret excursions into the redlight district often smacked of voyeurism, Hall insisted he was merely carrying out his scientific study of humanity from the underside. The psychologist, he claimed, must know humanity in its fullest, most complete form. Hall was always open to new and different experiences.

Considering his penchant for new experiences, it is little wonder that it was through Hall's efforts that Freud and Jung were brought to America and introduced to American audiences. Shortly after Freud's visit to America, Hall's seminars took up the topic of psychoanalysis and the interpretations of dreams, studying the works of Freud, Janet, Jung, Adler, and others. Hall became so fascinated by the psychoanalytic process that he began analyzing himself. After some difficulty he finally decided to enlist expert help. He wrote a chapter for his autobiography detailing this analysis but then had second thoughts and decided to destroy it.

Although never the rational thinker that Freud was, nor ever as convinced of the importance of sex in the total analysis of the unconscious, Hall nonetheless experimented with psychoanalysis and attempted to make use of it. For example, in 1913 he wrote Dr. William Allen White:

We had last year a Dream Club of advanced students, which resulted in all studying their dreams, out of which I got some genetic and other conceptions. We have a Freud and Catharsis Club too which is thrashing out considerable material.<sup>58</sup>

However, to White's request for an article on the subject he said, "I do not feel mature enough in the subject yet."<sup>59</sup> In a previous correspondence with White, it seems clear that Hall was working toward his own particular brand of psychoanalysis. White wrote:

In your letter to me sometime ago you said that you felt that the Freudians had not seen the full application of their work in all its breadth, that in dream analysis for example they had not seen the genetic implications.<sup>60</sup>

Despite his lack of clinical therapeutic experience, which he regretted, Hall pushed on to pursue his study of the unconscious and its implications for his overall psychological study of the religion of Mansoul. His efforts were uniquely different from Freud's for, as Hall put it:

As Freudians find sex, so our analysis finds religion at the root of all. Religion is a passion of the soul comparable in universality and intensity with sex, like it subject to and even made morbid by repressions. Like sex too, religion has left the soul full of its secondary qualities which it originated and inculcated, but has often left later to stand for themselves, so that their *de facto* religious origin is not apparent. As much all over the aesthetic field is due to the long circuiting of sex, so speculative philosophy is only the long circuiting of religion, and its sublimation into the intellectual field. As the root impulse of sex is to propagate another generation, so the root impulse of religion is to prolong the life of the individual by getting his soul born into another world.<sup>61</sup>

Hall thus used Freud's material in a very different way. His efforts along these lines bore fruit in his major, two-volume work *Jesus, the Christ, in the Light of Psychology* (1917) in which he attempted to psychoanalyze away the divinity of Christ.<sup>62</sup>

Hall was still experimenting with the use of psychoanalytic procedures when he wrote *Recreations of a Psychologist* (1920). Following in the well-worn path of Schopenhauer and Otto Rank, Hall played with the psychological meaning of the double turned onto himself. Thus, in his chapter "How Johnnie's Vision Came True," one meets Hall's *anima* and *animus* atop Mt. Hatch with the role of his father and mother clearly in view. Eventually the two were reconciled into one personhood. In the later decades of his life, Hall made extensive use of Freud, Adler, Jung, and other analysts, though never to the satisfaction of any one of them.

Nevertheless, in one of his last letters to Freud he made the following comment: "But your own achievements are far and away beyond those of any psychologist of modern times; in fact history will show that you have done for us a service which you are not at all extravagant in comparing with that of Darwin for biology." Continuing, he reflected on his personal indebtedness to Freud:

I think I have read about everything you have ever written, although in my limitations, there is much that I did not understand, and a little which, if I did understand it aright I have to question. Nevertheless, I owe to you almost

a new birth of intellectual interest in psychology, as is perhaps best shown in my *Jesus Book*, which, without this, would not have been written.<sup>63</sup>

Although Hall was indebted to Freud, he was also indebted to many others. Hall fashioned his own unique vision of Mansoul from material he freely borrowed from those who impressed him. In a real sense Hall's two-volume work on *Adolescence*, his two-volume work on *Jesus*, and his work on *Morale*, correctly subtitled "The Supreme Standard of Life and Conduct," while drawn from a variety of sources can also be read as a comprehensive overview of his faith in Mansoul, of which he believed himself to be a prophet:

The true psychologist born and bred, yearns with all his heart for a deeper understanding of man and of all his psychic life, past and present, normal and morbid, good and bad, at all stages of his life . . . . He feels a peculiar urge to be intensely human and to glimpse, feel, or strive in his own brief little life for everything possible to man's estate . . . . Thus he is called today to be a sort of high priest of souls as in an earlier age the great religious founders, reformers, and creators of cults and laws used to be, for the day of great leadership in these fields seems to have passed.<sup>64</sup>

As a prophet and high priest of a new faith, Hall embraced the new sciences of anthropology, ethnology, and psychology, and further believed that the greatest knowledge which men can command is that of the evolutionary stages of the race which are implicit in each person's soul. For some, that knowledge is possible, for others it is not. Hall believed that one could look into one's own soul and there see the soul of all humanity. Hall railed all his life against absolute Berkeleian idealism and the cultist mysticism to which he thought it would lead. Hall's own idealism was tuned into his biologic nature, with its own "delicious mysticism" from which he would read the "true" story of mankind, not from viewing humanity from afar, but from the sensual biological inside. With Hall one begins to see what it means to think with one's blood. It is from inside the self that both the past and the future of humanity is to be read. Just as all great nineteenth-century figures believed that the key to humanity and its progress was to be found in mankind's history,<sup>65</sup> so too, Hall believed that the genetic history of the race, from the slime of the sea to the temple of the superman, held its highest knowledge. Some could read that history correctly, while others could not:

Genetic sense or the vitalistic category of *werden* is, in men of true sympathy, so strong that they *have* to believe not only in anthropomorphization but in animism, if not, indeed, in hylozoism. This gives us a new orientation toward both origins and destinies and shows us that the highest knowledge of anything is a description of its evolutionary stages.<sup>66</sup>

Some men lose their connection with their past and the spirit of the true *Volk*. Without it they cannot lead; with it they can move mountains.

Those who lack this sense have lost rapport with childhood, even their own, and with arrested and undeveloped souls everywhere. To maintain this vital contact is essential for all teachers and leaders of men or for success in



literature, art, poetry, politics. Here one must know how life and the world seem from under the smallest and thickest skulls. It is the secret of the charm of writers like Goethe, Tolstoi, Dickens, Hugo, and Strindberg . . . it enables us, when the problems of life become too hard, to retreat or regress to a more juvenile point of view and flee for a time from reality without the danger of becoming permanently arrested like dementia praecox cases, but rather to be refreshed and reinvigorated as by an Antaeus touch of mother earth and to gain strength for a fresh advance, which thus gathers to itself a new supply of momentum from the whole upward push of the *élan vital*, which is behind us all.<sup>67</sup>

To look inward is to look backward in communion with mother nature, as "when the overstrained city man goes back to the farm of his boyhood and reverts to the simple life, getting into close contact with mother earth, children, and animals, and giving way to all the inherited reactions of the human soul to the fresh and first-hand impressions of nature."<sup>68</sup>

Hall had drunk deeply from that strange neo-romantic well of primitive Volkish German culture and had applied it freely to his own New England countryside. Hall stayed in touch with his childhood, with his primitive, savage ancestry. Throughout his life he periodically returned to his family farm where he used to play as a child, strip off all his clothes and roll down the hillside. He thus tuned himself into his true nature by turning off the "inherited reactions of the human soul" which were really only the more recent civilized accompaniments of his Mansoul. Here, Hall was very specific:

I finally several times enjoyed the great luxury of being in complete undress, and of feeling pricked, caressed, bitten and stung all over, reverting to savagery as I had often done as a boy by putting off civilization with all clothes and their philosophy. It was a curious experience of lightness and closeness to nature.<sup>69</sup>

While these experiences may have had some therapeutic validity for this fifty-five-year-old President of Clark University, they represented much more. They were, in fact, his way of connecting his soul to Mansoul as it lay dormant in his rural childhood environment. It was the vehicle by which he believed he could freely move back to the primitive, savage stage of the race and even beyond when life first took shape. Periodically, Hall pierced what he believed was the veil which separates the time-bound consciousness from the timelessness of the unconscious. Thus he tuned into the cosmic landscape of Mansoul. Hall's descriptions of those trips into his childhood past were marked by a remarkable vigor and clarity which at times strikes one as almost photographic.<sup>70</sup> He had a tremendous desire and longing for the presumed safety and security of his romanticized past, a past which he freely fabricated.

While it may seem a bit strange for the President of Clark University to be rolling down the hillside in the nude, recapturing his youthful vigor, it is not so strange in light of the many unconventional psychotherapeutic practices that have flowered in more recent popular culture. As noted earlier, for Hall this was more

than therapy; it was the very mechanism by which he tuned into his evolutionary past. The practices and experiences he described were not new to those who had studied Volkish culture in Germany, nor were they new to certain groups within the larger youth movement in Europe much of which had its origins in the same impulse: the desire to rid one's self of the dead accretions of bourgeois civilization while experiencing the more authentic sensations of a primitive past. In many ways Hall's essays remind one of Marcel Proust's *Remembrance of Things Past*. Proust's quest, like Hall's, was a search through the labyrinth of the Vico-like timelessness of the unconscious self for the reconstruction of a more real, true, universal world of being. Both men reflected the acute alienation which affected many sensitive souls at the turn of the century. Rural life was passing, as urban industrial life was literally laying waste to that which they believed to be more real. Hall thought he saw a way out. He used the concept of evolution as the key element in structuring his story of Mansoul, which for him gave respite from the artificiality of civilization and recaptured the youthful spirit of earlier savage cultures. Although a complete analysis of the ideas which Hall plugged into his evolutionary landscape is not possible here, it is crucial to consider some of them in order to catch the critical social thrust of his new dispensation.

#### IV

Although Hall tended to be open to many different trends and seemed to embellish the overall structure of his thinking with whatever was current, much of the basic structure of his thought appeared early in his career. Upon his return from his second student tour in Germany in the early 1880's, he gave lectures and wrote articles which reflected this developing structure. In these articles there appeared the recapitulation theory,<sup>71</sup> the conflict between science and religion, and Hall's attempt to resolve the issue by way of suggesting the role for a new psychology.<sup>72</sup> These articles also reflected his conception of the child in need of stern shaping of its will and character. In later works he would talk about "coercing and breaking"<sup>73</sup> the will of the child, but the concept of *Dressur*,<sup>74</sup> which he believed necessary for certain stages of child development, was already very evident in his highly significant essay, "The Education of the Will." As Hall said, "The only duty of small children is habitual and prompt obedience."<sup>75</sup> In sweeping Fichtian terms, Hall introduced the reader to "muscle-culture," the need to develop strong bodies, and "will-culture," the need to develop strong character. Hall argued that character must be shaped and molded so that those people who are destined to become obedient servants will, in fact, become obedient servants.

While many will become fixated at the lower evolutionary stage of savagery or even barbarism and will, therefore, need "obedience" training, there are also those few who will go beyond the civilized stage itself. These few are the rare moral geniuses who are destined for leadership, who can be trusted to be trained to follow their true nature:

Thrice happy he who is so wisely trained that he comes to believe he believes

what his soul deeply does believe, to say what he feels and feel what he really does feel, and chiefly whose express volitions square with the profounder drift of his will as the resultant of all he has desired or wished, expected, attended to or striven for. When such an [sic] one comes to his moral majority by standing for the first time upon his own careful conviction, against the popular cry, or against his own material interests or predacious passions, and feels the constraint and joy of pure obligation which comes up from this deep source, a new original force is brought into the world of wills.<sup>76</sup>

This kind of character formation for the masses of people would be an "impractical if not dangerous ideal." Hall insisted it was fit only for the "rarest moral genius." Most people are not fit for freedom. Hall argued,

For most of us the best education is that which makes us the best and most obedient servants. This is the way of peace and the way of nature, for even if we seriously try to keep up a private conscience at all, apart from feeling, faction, party or class spirit, or even habit, which are our habitual guides, the difficulties are so great that most hasten, more or less consciously and voluntarily, to put themselves under authority again, reserving only the smallest margin of independence in material interests, choice of masters, etc., and yielding to the pleasing and easy illusion that inflates the minimum to seem the maximum of freedom, and uses the noblest ideal of history, viz., that of pure autonomous oughtness, as a pedestal for idols of selfishness, caprice and conceit.<sup>77</sup>

Hall's estimate "for most of us" is strangely similar to that of another charismatic leader who, in a little more than a decade after Hall died, took the public stage in Germany and announced: "Providence has ordained that I should be the greatest liberator of humanity. I am freeing man from the demands of a freedom and personal independence that only a few can sustain."<sup>78</sup> Hall, like Hitler somewhat later, saw the bulk of humanity as eager and willing to escape from freedom. Both men sensed the underlying yearning for security which had overcome western man. Both were highly sensitive to the alienating effects of industrial progress and the renting of western consciousness from an agrarian to an urban life. Finally, both seemed intuitively aware of the kinds of symbolic uses of the past which seemed to heal that wound. While Vilfredo Pareto analyzed this need for "security" by the "western mind" in what was becoming a fractured culture, others would write about the conditions of man as alienated from nature, God, and even man himself. Running throughout Hall's work from his "The Education of the Will" (1882) essay to his last work, *Life and Confessions of a Psychologist* (1923), there is a constant reference and reaction to the loss of the agrarian virtues and the growth of artificial urban life. Indeed, the work which catapulted him to educational fame was *The Content of Children's Minds* (1893), which was based on an examination of urban youngsters' knowledge of rural life.

Hall firmly believed that the scientific study of the child would reveal the vital stream of Mansoul which could ultimately overcome the devastating effects of urban civilization. Here again, however, one finds that the ideological screen which Hall used to study the child, the adolescent, or the adult invariably colored his findings.

Through his "scientific" studies of human development came his elitism, his racism, his sexist chauvinism, his penchant for primitivism, as well as his authoritarianism: all the integral elements of his personal value system. So we find him recommending that, "there are many who ought not to be educated, and who would be better in mind, body, and morals if they knew no school."<sup>79</sup> So, too, he argued, that to educate girls to be self-supporting is "wrong and vicious," for to scientifically follow nature, "Every girl should be educated primarily to become a wife and mother."<sup>80</sup> He further insisted that *Dressur* was necessary for elementary students because the preadolescent was passing through an abbreviated form of the savage stage. In like manner, he believed the adolescent was passing through the stage when civilization and reason began to dawn and therefore courses in "heroology" were appropriate to teach the noble lesson of service to the collective soul of the people. Long after the recapitulation theory had been discredited, Hall continued to cling to this evolutionary structure.

He fought a delaying action when confronting movements which ran counter to his belief system. Typical of his approach was his resistance to the women's rights movement. In a variety of public arenas he argued that women belonged in the home. However, when women began to gain some entrance to higher education he insisted that at Clark University they were treated fairly. Nevertheless, in a private letter to Col. Bullock, one finds him saying, "I am strongly opposed to giving women the slightest foothold in the college, even if we could do so under the founder's will. I feel that they would crowd out the best men a little later."<sup>81</sup> Hall went on to say that he was inclined to leave the doctoral degree open to women because so few had gone through in the last ten years. Besides, he added, "it would save us a good deal of pounding by feminists; and by depriving it we would needlessly shut off possible bequests from women who have borne a pretty large part in the endowment of universities."<sup>82</sup> Here Hall was practicing explicit institutional chauvinism. What would appear to many on the outside as a relatively open system was, in fact, highly discriminating in intent as well as practice.<sup>83</sup>

Hall knew women had a place and for him it was not in the advanced centers of learning. He romanticized women as something very special, close to nature, bearers of the race, and, indeed, the conduit through which "Mansoul" might some day become a "supermansoul." Hall's personal values were perhaps best revealed when he reacted to his son's announcement that he had found a girl whom he wished to marry. Hall said, "I hope she is physically strong and with good heredity. What's her complexion? Send me her photo."<sup>84</sup> Hall had raised physical and mental health to a near cult. His book on *Morale*, which was subtitled "The Supreme Standard of Life and Conduct," was addressed to the physical and moral athlete, calling for a new collective ideal firmly rooted in the collective *Volk*. As he described it:

Thus my book is a plea for nothing less than a new criterion of all human worths and values. I would have the home, the state, the church, literature, science, industry, and every human institution, not excluding religion, and perhaps it most, rejudged and revaluated by the standard of what they contribute to individual, industrial and social morale. This would give us a new scale on which to measure real progress or regression.<sup>85</sup>

Hall's scale for measuring progress toward a new order was clearly a totalitarian one.

While the social system could thus be improved, Hall also stressed heredity as of great importance and argued that a pound of heredity is "worth a hundredweight of education."<sup>86</sup> Thus it is necessary to pay attention to better breeding: "The nation that breeds best, be it Mongol, Slav, Teuton or Saxon, will rule the world in the future."<sup>87</sup> Eugenics, he insisted, was not merely medical certificates for fitness to marry or taxing bachelors for failing to breed their kind, or even steps to prevent the unfit from propagation, but rather it meant the constant encouragement of the "Abrahams" of the race to breed a better race.<sup>88</sup>

If farmers who can breed good cattle, sheep and horses, can also learn how to breed good men and women, the problem is solved. Germ plasm is the most immortal thing in the physical world. Backward it connects us by direct and unbroken lines of continuity with our remotest ancestor, be it Adam, the anthropopithicus, the amoeba or whatever else the human life began in, and the most optimistic law in the world is that the best survive and the worst perish.<sup>89</sup>

His complete vision ultimately would include breeding for a superrace. Hall went on,

If God, [one should be reminded here that "God" for Hall is a collective term for "Mansoul" ] the great stirpiculturist of man, were to create or choose an ideal environment for improving the human stock where the pure air and water and right, simple living and high thinking with correct adjustment of all the influences that work for the right balance between those supreme human forces, individuation and genesis, is struck, and thus establish a nursery for the slow evolution of the superman who will in body and soul realize all the highest human ideals and make what we have already dreamed must sometime come to the world, a new paradise, what better cradle or nest in which to incubate the overman of the future could be found than here?<sup>90</sup>

The new Paradise which Hall had in mind was the superstate<sup>91</sup> which he portrayed in the "Fall of Atlantis." In Hall's ideal kingdom men practiced religion in all forms, from fetish and nature worship to Mansoul worship according to each person's development on the evolutionary scale. Everyone in this society dedicated his total self to the interest and service of the society under the enlightened guidance of those Hall called "heartformers" (psychologists). The entire society was organized into groups according to their working productive function in that society.<sup>92</sup> Each group was dedicated to the ideal of being the very best of what they were destined to be. Thus, service was emblazoned on everyone's consciousness. At the top of the social hierarchy could be found the supermen, in the form of scientific researchers, constantly seeking more and more knowledge of Mansoul. Hall's message was clear: through selective breeding, genetic psychology, and a well-planned educational system, the real nature of Mansoul could flower in the form of the superstate. However, something went wrong. Hall's idyllic state eventually ended in chaotic destruction. Individual freedom at the expense of the collective ideal had eaten away at the very foundation of Hall's totalitarian collective ideal. Here, Hall's second message was also clear: if America was to arrive at the promised land of "Mansoul" it would have to learn to tighten up and discipline itself to

the collective ideal of *Morale*. This, then, was Hall's ultimate vision and promise for America.

Charles Burgess best captured the sense of what Hall strove for when he said:

With morale as the new religion of coercion for virtue's sake, with the colossus of a Christ-like superman standing on Liberty's vacated pedestal, with sublimation of self to the State therefore permeating every hierarchical layer from the slave to the *uebermensch*, Hall would at last be able to say that his battle had ended. The dawn of the new day would be upon the world.<sup>93</sup>

Before World War I, Nietzsche's view of the *uebermensch* often served as Hall's model man. In many ways Hall's superman was virtually the same as Nietzsche's. However, after the disillusioning experience of the war, Hall came to believe that his superman was unlike Nietzsche's which he believed had succumbed to German militarism. Nietzsche's *uebermensch* became for Hall a superman of sheer power. In contrast he believed his superman was more moral and cultural. His was more a Christ-like colossus, a product of the evolutionary Mansoul. For Hall, the Germany he had loved so dearly had destroyed itself by its turn toward militarism. This militarism, he believed, could also infect other cultures and nations and would ultimately lead, if not checked, to the destruction of all culture.

While Hall's ideal state was not a militarized state, it was clearly a totalitarian state, for Hall had the mind of a totalitarian. He envisioned not only a total culture where all would be subservient to the ideal, but a total humanity where ultimately the best would come to see, as he, Christ, and Buddha had seen, that view from the mountaintop.

Hall had thus preached a new religion, a totalitarian, naturalistic faith for twentieth-century man, where the psychologist replaced the priest and where sickness replaced the age-old concept of sin. Hall, however, was more. He was also a prophet of the twentieth century's totalitarian man. Being tuned into the deeper undercurrents of western culture, he felt the pangs of man's alienation and intuitively sensed the symbolic structure for which such vulnerable people came to yearn. Thus he not only sensed the truly reactionary longings of an alienated man, but also intuitively grasped the kind of symbols which could satisfy those longings and, in doing so he seemed to touch the future. Hall was not long in his grave when western man began to hear those strange Hallian themes of back to nature, soil, fatherland, hearth and home, health, strength through joy, agrarian virtue, world order, new order, charismatic leadership, supermen and superrace, ancestral calling, thinking with one's blood, and ultimately the *Triumph of the Will*,<sup>94</sup> echoing off those cold gray walls of the sports colossus at Nuremberg. Hall had touched the symbolic structure which the National Socialists would use to weld Germany into an ironclad soul of "obedient servants."

Perhaps Hall was correct in arguing that it was not German cultural ideology that led Germany astray in World War I but rather the growth of German militarism that was to blame. Nevertheless, the unanswered question remains: what role did these complex ideological, cultural currents play in keeping the trains running on time to Auschwitz and the fires burning in the crematoriums? It might be, as Hall

had argued, that these "cultural currents" of Mansoul were innocent "victims" rather than "perpetrators" of the catastrophe which ensued. The fault lies, he might have said, with a growing cancerous military mind. Then again it just might be the case, as another enlightened utopian visionary once claimed, that, "The abolition of religion as the *illusory* happiness of men, is a demand for their *real* happiness. The call to abandon their illusions about their condition is a call to abandon a condition which requires illusions."<sup>95</sup> Perhaps if we were to look more carefully at those conditions which require illusions, we might find those cultural ideological conditions which helped propel Germany not only into National Socialism, but into militarism itself. It is possible that Hall was wrong in blaming solely the military. Perhaps some combination of cultural conditions along with militarism concocted that witch's brew. The current American trends toward longing for a reactionary past, charismatic leadership, health cults, back to the soil, nature, religious cults, as well as a search for mystical roots and the simple virtues of "manhood," "womanhood," and "motherhood," stand pale in isolation. However, it may well be that such an ideological pallor in conjunction with the growth of American militarism in our atomic age may be the spark that will light the path of Mansoul to an even greater if not final catastrophe.

However one interprets these American developments, it does seem that Lawrence Cremin was correct when he said of Hall: "he injected into the mainstream of American educational thought some of the most radical—and I happen to think virulent—doctrines of the twentieth century, and there is no understanding the present apart from his contribution."<sup>96</sup>

While many of Hall's doctrines can be viewed as "virulent" in the context of the twentieth century, it is equally and perhaps more importantly clear that the conditions which gave rise to such ideas need further, more intensive examination. It is, however, also clear that just when it seemed that America was about to lose its traditional religious moorings, G. Stanley Hall, as a priestly prophet of the twentieth century, did more than any other single individual to help construct that new faith, that new religion of psychology, in which so many have now come to believe.

## NOTES

1. G. Stanley Hall, *Life and Confessions of a Psychologist* (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1923), p. 596.
2. *Ibid.*
3. Lorine Pruette, *G. Stanley Hall* (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1926), p. 199.
4. Quoted in Dorothy Ross, *G. Stanley Hall the Psychologist as Prophet* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972), p. 254.
5. Hall, *Life and Confessions*, p. 178.
6. See Merle Curti, *The Social Ideas of American Educators*, rev. ed. (Paterson, N.J.: Littlefield, Adams and Co., 1960), p. 426. Also see E. L. Thorndike, *Biographical Memoir of Granville Stanley Hall (1846-1924)*, National Academy of Sciences, *Biographical Memoirs*, vol. 12 (1928).
7. See Ross, *G. Stanley Hall*, p. 336.
8. Quoted in Curti, *The Social Ideas of American Educators*, p. 396.
9. A response to Edwin G. Boring's inquiry "Whose Student Are You?" Clark University Archives, G. Stanley Hall Collection, Box 32 folder.

10. Quoted in Pruette, G. *Stanley Hall*, p. 7.
11. This practice, while not unique to the field of early childhood, was particularly well-developed in this area and continues so to the present day.
12. G. Stanley Hall, statement of the difference between his views of religious psychology and those of Professor William James, 249a, May 9, 1907, Clark University Archives, Hall Collection, p. 1.
13. *Ibid.*
14. *Ibid.*
15. *Ibid.*, p. 2.
16. *Ibid.*
17. G. Stanley Hall, "Eddyism and Emmanuelism," May 1909, Clark University Archives, Hall Collection, Box 28, Folder no. 1, p. 14.
18. G. Stanley Hall, review of William James's *The Principles of Psychology*, in *American Journal of Psychology* 2 (1891): 590.
19. *Ibid.*
20. Eddyism is the philosophy of Mary Baker Eddy, the founder of the Christian Science, a faith based on a pure idealism which asserts that there is only one reality, namely Mind, God, Good, and that matter and evil are unreal. This idealism is combined with a healing ministry which relies heavily on the power of thought. The Emmanuel movement is an attempt to employ moral treatment for nervous disorders. The movement was inaugurated by Rev. Elwood Worcester and Rev. Samuel McComb in Emmanuel Church, Boston, 1906. The overall aim has been to revive the Church's ministry of healing in cooperation with scientific medical practice.
21. Hall, "Eddyism and Emmanuelism," p. 29.
22. *Ibid.*
23. *Ibid.*
24. *Ibid.*, p. 31.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 32.
26. *Ibid.*
27. *Ibid.*, p. 36.
28. *Ibid.*
29. *Ibid.*, p. 34.
30. *Ibid.*, pp. 36-37.
31. *Ibid.*, p. 35.
32. *Ibid.*
33. *Ibid.*, p. 38.
34. *Ibid.*, p. 44.
35. *Ibid.*
36. *Ibid.*, p. 7.
37. *Ibid.*
38. *Ibid.*, pp. 8-9
39. *Ibid.*, p. 12.
40. *Ibid.*, p. 6.
41. *Ibid.*
42. See Christine M. Shea, "The Ideology of Mental Health and the Emergence of the Therapeutic Liberal State: The American Mental Hygiene Movement, 1900-1930" (Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, 1980).
43. *Ibid.*, p. 13.
44. *Ibid.*
45. *Ibid.*, p. 14.
46. *Ibid.*
47. *Ibid.*, p. 16.
48. *Ibid.*
49. *Ibid.*, pp. 16-17.
50. *Ibid.*, p. 18.
51. *Ibid.*
52. *Ibid.*, p. 19.
53. *Ibid.*, p. 20.
54. *Ibid.*, pp. 20-21.



55. *Ibid.*, p. 21.
56. See Curti, *The Social Ideas of American Educators*, pp. 434-35. Consider the suggestion by Hall that lower-class children are not really unfortunate in being neglected. Lower-class children, he asserted, "thrive well under a certain degree of neglect." G. Stanley Hall, "What Is to Become of Your Baby?" *The Cosmopolitan* 48 (April 1910): 664.
57. See Pruette, *G. Stanley Hall*, p. 265.
58. G. Stanley Hall, letter to William A. White, February 18, 1913, Clark University Archives, Hall Collection, Box 26, Folder 9.
59. *Ibid.*
60. William A. White, letter to G. Stanley Hall, February 11, 1913, Clark University Archives, Hall Collection, Box 26, Folder 9.
61. G. Stanley Hall, "Why Kent Is Passing," *American Journal of Psychology* 23 (July 1913): 421.
62. It is not the case as Ross claimed that "Hall's picture of Jesus owed little to Freud" (*G. Stanley Hall*, p. 418), but rather it is significantly dependent on many Freudian insights.
63. G. Stanley Hall, letter to Sigmund Freud, September 24, 1923, Clark University Archives, Hall Collection, Box 24, Folder 9, pp. 2-3. See also John Chynoweth Burnham, ed., "Sigmund Freud and G. Stanley Hall: Exchange of Letters," *Psychoanalytic Quarterly* 29, no. 3 (1960): 314-15. Ross followed Burnham's estimate that the Jesus book could have been written without Freud's influence. A careful reading of both volumes leads one to question this point. This author believes Hall is essentially correct on this point.
64. Hall, *Life and Confessions*, p. 436.
65. Consider, for example, Hegel, Marx, Freud, Schopenhauer, and Wagner.
66. Hall, *Life and Confessions*, p. 461.
67. *Ibid.*, p. 462.
68. *Ibid.*, p. 463.
69. G. Stanley Hall, "Note on Early Memories," *Pedagogical Seminary* 1 (December 1899): 504.
70. See, for example, G. Stanley Hall, "Bay Life in a Massachusetts Country Town Thirty Years Ago," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, vol. 7 (1892). Also see G. Stanley Hall, "Note on Early Memories," p. 504.
71. See G. Stanley Hall, "The Moral and Religious Training of Children," *Princeton Review* (New York, January-June 1882), p. 32.
72. See G. Stanley Hall, "The New Psychology," *Andover Review* 3, no. 14 (February 1885): 247.
73. See G. Stanley Hall, "The Ideal School Based on Child Study," *The Forum* 32 (February 1902): 35.
74. The concept of unflinching obedience training. See Hall, *Life and Confessions*, p. 514.
75. G. Stanley Hall, "The Education of the Will," *Princeton Review* (July-December 1882), p. 310.
76. *Ibid.*, p. 321.
77. *Ibid.*, pp. 321-22.
78. Quoted in Herbert J. Muller, *Issues of Freedom* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1960), p. 36.
79. Hall, "The Ideal School as Based on Child Study," p. 25.
80. *Ibid.*, p. 35.
81. G. Stanley Hall, letter to George A. Bullock, November 20, 1909, Clark University Archives, Hall Collection, Box 20. I am indebted to Chris Shea for first calling my attention to this letter.
82. *Ibid.*, p. 2.
83. The same process can be found for institutional racism of the period as well.
84. G. Stanley Hall, letter to Robert G. Hall, May 16, 1915, Clark University Archives, Hall Collection, Box 2, Folder 9.
85. G. Stanley Hall, *Morale, the Supreme Standard of Life and Conduct* (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1920), p. 20.
86. Hall, "What Is to Become of Your Baby?" p. 661.
87. G. Stanley Hall, untitled and undated ms., Clark University Archives, Hall Collection, Articles 1 Addresses, 1902-1917, Box 29, Folder 1, p. 24.
88. *Ibid.*, pp. 22-23.
89. *Ibid.*, pp. 25-26.
90. *Ibid.*, pp. 26-27.
91. Hall uses this term to describe his ideal state in his essay on the "Fall of Atlantis," in *Recreations of a Psychologist* (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1920), p. v.

92. This was similar to the way Benito Mussolini organized Italy after coming to power.
93. Charles Burgess, "The Educational State in America," (Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin, 1962), p. 222.
94. These ideas were vividly portrayed in Leni Reifenstahl's film, *The Triumph of the Will*.
95. T. B. Bottomore, ed. and trans., *Karl Marx* (New York: McGraw Hill and Co., 1964), p. 45.
96. Charles E. Strickland and Charles Burgess, *Health, Growth, and Heredity: G. Stanley Hall on Natural Education* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1965), p. viii.